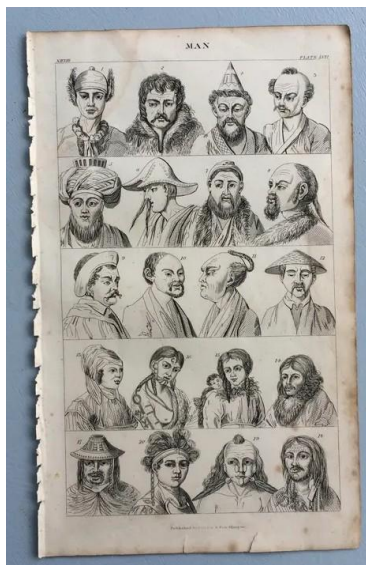


"RACES", RACISM AND RACEALISM AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT



Google images.

In our theoretical disinfection work, we felt it was important to address the 2.0 resurgence of old ideologies that have already seriously poisoned the labor movement and actively served the bourgeoisie. Thus, we are witnessing the resurgence of ghosts that, in our materialist naiveté, we believed had been relegated, even by capitalist rationality, definitively to the most reactionary bourgeois ideological mists. Among these ghosts of the past that have returned to haunt the current consciousness of society, and therefore also of the proletariat, is "race"¹. Racism and the new racialism occupy a prominent place. Before analyzing in depth, the disintegrating and divisive function of these ideological constructs, it is essential to provide precise and rigorous definitions of them in order to escape, first of all, the emotional and terroristic charge provoked by the mere enunciation of these words and their spectacular use.

Some "leftists," in their political and conceptual poverty, even go so far as to claim that it is the critique and rejection of the concept of "race" that generates racism. Firmly entrenched in their "white" petty-bourgeois certainties, they single out a segment of the proletariat whose "ethnic" characteristics or national origins become recognizable standard-bearers of "diversity." In this way, they legitimize their alignment with racial theories inseparable from the production of a renewed and updated racism -racialism- no longer through the classic "biologization" of differences, but under the guise of the generic image of a "social construct." In fact, this formulation blurs the ideological that is, the erroneous and intrinsically bourgeois, foundation of all "social constructs" -both scientific and religious- under capitalism. The same is true even of the "intellectual counter-revolution" of decolonialism, which strives to manipulate the critical categories of living Marxism into a postmodern soup in which class disappears in favor of an essentialization of the "people" and a reification of "minority" cultures.

¹We formally express our criticism of the concept of race by placing this word in quotation marks so as not to trivialize its use.

«It is also no coincidence that decolonial studies replace capitalism with modernity, accumulation with development, surplus value with racism, class with race, capital with Europe, the bourgeoisie with the West, subalternity with otherness, consciousness with identity, imperialism with Eurocentrism and internationalism with interculturality.» Collective, Critique of Colonial Reason, p.39, L'échappée, Paris, 2024.

Reminder of some definitions

As Etienne Balibar aptly points out: *“Race is supposed to be a genetic category, corresponding to an apparent physical form. For 150 years, there has been much debate in the scientific community about the names and characteristics of races. The debate is rather confusing and, for the most part, infamous. “Nation” is supposed to be a sociopolitical category somehow related to the real or virtual borders of a state. “Ethnic group” is a cultural category, defined by certain persistent behaviors, transmitted from generation to generation, and which, unlike the nation, are not, in theory, circumscribed by the borders of a state. These terms are, of course, used incredibly inconsistently, not to mention the large number of other terms that are used.”* Étienne Balibar, Immanuel Wallerstein, Race, Nation, Class, Ambiguous Identities, p.105, La découverte, Paris, 1997.

These authors then firmly specify that these terms correspond to *"temporal dimensions of the past" and that "race" is related "to the axial division of labor in the world economy, that is, to the opposition between center and periphery," which are "strictly speaking, relational concepts that refer to differential cost production structures."* p. 106-107.

The "social construction" of "race" therefore corresponds, above all, to the needs of the capitalist mode of production, which relies on visible physical differences, chief among which is skin color, to structure and hierarchize the various labor forces. It is this differentiation that immediately seeks to produce a price scale that expresses the assumed productivity and relative capabilities of different types of labor. Frantz Fanon, widely instrumentalized by "decolonial studies," already insisted in his work "Black Skin, White Mask" on "liberating the man of color from himself."

«Therefore, to oppose the «black» to the «white» on the basis of a racial/ethnic/cultural essence, even if it is done with the declared objective of restoring the «black» to his dignity, can only perpetuate his confinement in the colonial cage: «The white is locked in his whiteness. The black in his blackness (...) For us, whoever adores blacks is as «sick» as whoever detests them. (...) The black is a slave to his inferiority; the white is a slave to his superiority». Collective, Critique of Colonial Reason, p. 18, L'échappée, Paris, 2024.

Beyond the sophistication of language, "race" is commonly reduced to skin color, ranked, in most cases, based on the visible degree of "white purity." However, this color is the result of hereditary phenotypic variations determined by the quantity and nature of melanin contained in the skin. This changes under the tanning effect of ultraviolet radiation. In the long term, skin color is the result of a climatic factor: the amount of sunlight received in each geographic area. Specifically, this means that the closer we get to the poles, the less UV rays the skin receives on average, and the lighter the skin color. A tan can also be an indicator of social belonging, as in the example of those who can afford to go on vacation, compared to those who are forced to work most of the time indoors. The opposite also exists in the case where whiteness is a distinctive sign of belonging to a class, the nobility, for example, which does

not need to work.² Therefore, nuances of skin color are adaptations to the environment in which the ancestors of the observed individuals lived, but also social markers that must be interpreted based on different historical and geographical situations. Furthermore, it should be noted that there are often more genetic differences between people "of the same color" than between individuals of different colors but with comparable genetic heritage³.

Finally, in the long term, migration, which is occurring on an increasingly large scale, could attenuate or even eliminate differences, including skin color, between populations that were previously distant and isolated. The great capitalist miscegenation is underway, following, among others, the example of Brazil: "Even Brazilians who define themselves as 'black' -one of the five 'colors or races' recorded in official statistics- have a strong European 'ancestry.' This is the case of Afro -Brazilians in the northeastern state of Bahia, whose genetic heritage is 54% European. Due to miscegenation, the European genes of the mulattoes living in the north of the country are even more numerous (68%)."⁴ But this intermingling in no way prevents the development of racism and racialism through the very myth of "racial democracy."

«According to data from the 2015 monthly employment survey, black workers earned an average of 59.2% of the income earned by white populations. This can also be explained by the educational gap between these two groups. Furthermore, according to a study conducted by IPEA, black people are 2.32 times more likely to be murdered than white people. »⁵

Miscegenation is the ideological camouflage of an implicit racial classification in which the difference between the lives of white and non-white communities is evident and divisive. Behind "multiracial" Brazil, there is, in fact, a social apartheid, even more significant because it is implicit.

«In fact, this classification is very relative, as it is difficult to make a clear and absolute separation of all the breeds, precisely because of the crossbreeding that has taken place since the discovery of the country in the 16th century. It is interesting to remember in this regard that Brazilians celebrate «Dia da raça» (Race Day) every year, as if they were originally from a single race! »⁶

Racialization: the creation of "race" and racism

Skin color is, therefore, the main indicator (along with other morphological characteristics) of differentiation into "races," classically: Caucasian or white, Mongolian or yellow, Malay or brown, black, American Indian or red. It is on these phenotypic variations that ideology will construct biologized "racial" differences: "racialism" and, consequently, one or more

²Ancient nobles already lightened their skin. This practice was common among the Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans. Women used chalk powder or flour to lighten their skin. White was a symbol of purity and refinement, but having fair skin was also a sign of social belonging. At that time, those with tanned skin were necessarily workers, as their tan indicated they spent a lot of time outdoors. Conversely, those with pale skin were privileged, as it was a sign they did not engage in prolonged outdoor activities.

³Scientific studies, based on genetics since the mid-20th century, have affirmed that the concept of race is not relevant to characterizing the different geographical subgroups of the human species, since the genetic variability within a single geographical group is greater than the average variability between these groups.

⁴Website: <https://www.lemonde.fr/ameriques/article/2011/02/23/les-secrets-reveles-du-metissage-a-la-bresilienne14840253222.ht>

⁵Website: <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/RacismeauBr%C3%A9sil>

⁶Website: <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1965/04/BAILBY/26547>

hierarchies. This, then, is the complete definition of racism as a perfect ideological construct: specification, discrimination, and hierarchization of "races." Once these clarifications are recalled, it becomes clearer to understand the meaning of the invention and reintroduction of a concept as erroneous as it is dangerous: that of "racialization," that is, the process of assigning individuals to a racial category. This assignment implies not only a classification, but also, evidently, the hierarchization and discrimination that derive from it. This is "scientific racism", legitimized by a pseudoscientific terminological veneer, which acts as **domination and segregation**. It is the racist who creates the race, just as the anti-Semite creates the Jew⁷.

Unlike the animal world, "human races" have no biological basis. The category of "nation," on the other hand, can be considered to be based on geographical and political facts⁸. The designation as "racialized" is, therefore, a creation and a stigmatization that inevitably lead to a new racism and xenophobia. Instead of defining a proletarian by what unites him to his peers, by their common condition as exploited, bourgeois ideology uses a marginal characteristic to specify and isolate the individual, essentializing this particularity under the pretext of better formally recognizing "his dignity." Thanks to this opportunistic maneuver, the goal is to dissociate and separate him from his class brothers and sisters in order to break any possibility of union with those who are not necessarily exactly like him.

Fragmentation is reinforced by demands that consolidate differences under the pretext of efficiency, rather than acting as a unifying force. The categorical demands typical of unionism correspond precisely to this type of maneuver. Advantages and/or wage increases for these categories of workers provoke division, while a general increase in wages, especially for the lowest, tends to unify the struggle. The emphasis on one or more racial stigmas -racialization- is a process that inevitably leads, regardless of egalitarian declarations, to recognizing and configuring "biologized or historicized" categories that generate "races" and produce racism, with all the inequalities and discriminations contained in and derived from this ideology transformed into reality and material force.

Anti-racism, the worst product of racism

However, the worst product of racism remains anti-racism, especially that of the capitalist left (SOS Racismes!). In fact, it primarily confirms the existence of racism by not destroying its foundation rooted in capitalist exploitation. It limits itself to a condescending moral attitude, since openly expressing racist comments is frowned upon in civil terms. These usually operate in the background, through humorous and sarcastic references. People speak in general terms, without directly addressing the person incriminated, of course, and externalizing this or that stigma. What a bad driver... oh, yes, he's a... He dances well... he's

⁷We wrote a text on this topic: « A propos du resurgissement de la question juive » in our magazine Matériaux Critiques N° 10, as well as on our website: <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsie/textes>

⁸It is clear that on this issue we are radically opposed to the theses of Amadeo Bordiga in his book: Facteurs de race et de nation dans la théorie marxiste (Factors of Race and Nation in Marxist Theory), Prométhée editions, Paris, 1979, which is based on post-war scientific and bourgeois conceptions, without taking into account the advances in genetics and which, behind these erroneous theories, attempts to continue defending the bourgeois rights of "peoples of color" in peripheral and colonial geographical areas. Regarding this current and its critique, we refer the reader to our text: «Forces et faiblesses du bordiguisme» in our magazine Matériaux Critiques N°8 as well as on our website: <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsie/textes>

got rhythm in his blood... This succession of trivialities and stereotypes refers the person to the characteristics of the "race" that is assigned to them as an "obvious" explanation for their personal qualities. Thus, in everyday life, racism infiltrates under the guise of its denial. "I'm not racist, I have a Black friend!" This deviation is explained by the ideological fact that the force of racism and its permanent adaptation develop according to the popular belief that racism is a negative attitude and a "politically incorrect" way of thinking, but that it exists most strongly underground.

This also allows for the maintenance of the colonial attitude toward the noble savage, inverting the contemptuous attitude into a formally positive, but equally disdainful, prejudice. Anti-racism thus becomes the best vehicle for racialization. This is embodied, for example, in quota policies and so-called "positive discrimination," which, as the name suggests, makes discrimination visible, but only partially and, above all, under control. Nevertheless, these are elements that turn anti-racism into a fuel for racism. Furthermore, since anti-racism is a growing and socially valued ideology, it must be displayed, staged, and transformed into an "integrated spectacle." Racial democracy is one of the central axes of spectacular democracy.

«Because the ultimate meaning of the integrated spectacular is that it was integrated into reality itself as it spoke of it; and that it reconstructed it as it spoke of it.» Guy Debord, Comments on the Society of the Spectacle, p.19, Gérard Lebovici Publishing, Paris 1988.

Multiracialism does not mean the absorption of racial differences through assimilation, but rather, on the contrary, provokes the multiplication of racisms, with anti-racism as an auxiliary driving force. The United States, built almost entirely based on slavery-based immigration and the massive importation of populations of multinational origin, is in this case the perfect example of a society in which racism and xenophobia are systemic (white supremacist, Black Power, indigenist, etc.). Similarly, anti-racism is mobilized in a complementary manner to channel the exploited classes toward a "race war" as a substitute for class struggle.

Racism / anti-racism, united to divide the proletariat

It is precisely the polarization around these types of issues that allows society capitalist to adapt to the needs and changing reality (immigration/emigration) of the MPC, while focusing on a secondary contradiction in relation to the one that has historically been the bearer of another project for society. In fact, we know, depending on the circumstances, racializing capitalist societies (apartheid in South Africa, officially abolished in 1991, but still in force in practice) and others that promote state anti-racism (France, with its High Authority for Combating Discrimination and for Equality, created in 2004). Therefore, contrary to leftist fables, it is not a specific element of capitalist nature, but rather a circumstantial one and related to the evolution of needs in terms of available labor, just like the migration issue.⁹

The primary political function of this polarization between racism and anti-racism lies in the disunity and disarticulation it provokes within the proletariat and its struggles. Once oriented

⁹We studied this topic in our text: «Capitalisme et migrations» in our magazine Matériaux Critiques N° 11, as well as on our website: <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

toward these secondary consequences regarding the centrality of exploitation and its rate, attempts at partial resolutions are doomed to be mere superficial patchwork. Once again, bourgeois law proclaims "racial equality" to better camouflage the effective and widely practiced inequality through the multiplication of statuses (political refugees, economic refugees, undocumented immigrants, in transit, etc.), always ordered primarily by skin color and national origin. Race versus class.

To combat the racism developed within the capitalist system, political anti-racism proposes new categories of analysis. To "fight" racism, we must overvalue the notion of race. The Party of the Indigenous of the Republic,¹⁰ which disseminates its ideas through its media outlet, Paroles d'honneur¹¹, is an important representative of this political movement. Founded by Houria Bouteldja and Youssef Boussoumah, it has acquired considerable influence in the political sphere of the capitalist left. By bringing together the so-called communist thinkers - Stathis Kouvelákis and Frédéric Lordon, a worthy follower of Stalinist thought, and defenders of the nation as a structuring element of the class struggle- the PIR has constructed a theoretical mix that combines "communism," colonialism, imperialism, nation, people, and racism. Within this hodgepodge, they can quickly bring out the social and capitalist construction of "race" to better return to its essentialization.

*"By constantly speaking of "whites," "Jews," or "us" as social groups structured by an organized and unitary agreement in competition with others, which, for example, turn Nazism into the work of "whites" as a whole and include "Jews" in the responsibility for genocide, since "Jews" are "white," and that all "whites" are responsible for "white crimes," including those who ended up in their ovens, then Houria's little world will soon be ready to fall into the renewed race war, no doubt to distance itself from the stereotypical "white crimes." On the one hand, she explains to us that "race" is a social construct, but on the other, she attributes essentialist qualities to "races": "whites" are settlers and Nazis, and Jews also."*¹²

This identitarian and racist logic sees the world classifying human beings according to their skin color and religion. Black people, Arabs, and Muslims must fight against white power. White people can join the struggle by renouncing their white privileges to better fight white power. "Race" replaces class, as Houria Bouteldja states in the presentation of her book "Les blancs, les juifs et nous" (Whites, Jews, and Us). These statements and decolonial thought are aptly collected and commented on in the booklet "Les amis de Juliette et du printemps" (Friends of Juliette and Spring).

*«Agreeing to give up one's privileges is like asking a bourgeois to stop being bourgeois. It means giving up political, symbolic, and economic privilege, and we will have to fight for it. For equal dignity. White people must come down from their pedestal. Neither you, nor I, nor white people know what a world without white domination is like. Therefore, we are entering into the unknown. The matter is settled. The "whites" are the bourgeois of the "class struggle," while the "non-whites" are the proletarians of the "social race struggle." This has absolutely nothing to do with anyone's life. But, after all, who would demand rigor and seriousness from Gérard Majax? »*¹³

¹⁰In Wikipedia: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indig%C3%A8nes_de_la_R%C3%A9publique

¹¹Words of honor, website: <https://www.youtube.com/@ParolesDHonneur>

¹²Friends of Juliette and Spring, Race as if you were there! An evening with the racists. Fall 2016, p. 62.

¹³Idem, p 66.

For the PIR, white power is clearly identified: it is the West and its spearhead, Israel. Therefore, it is necessary to fight within the French nation and against imperialism, defending the struggle of oppressed nations and the religion of the oppressed: Islam. Overcoming the individualism of capitalism can be achieved within the religious community. The PIR, which often evokes communism, aims rather at establishing a society built on the values of Islam, as clearly stated in this video¹⁴. Once the "conceptual tools" are established, PIR activists can develop their rhetoric. They must fight against the structural racism of the state and against Islamophobia.

The fight against the latter translates into a defense of Islam in all its components, even in its most rigorous versions. Anyone who criticizes the religion is, therefore, a racist who doesn't know it. All the behaviors of "racialized indigenous people" are nothing more than the consequences of the oppression they suffer. If a "racialized" man beats or rapes his wife, it is because he is oppressed; he should not be condemned, according to Houria Bouteldja. If women wear veils, it is a reaction to colonial ideology. If homosexuality is not accepted in the Muslim community, it is a reaction to the dominant Western ideology. If antisemitism is so widespread in this community, it is due to colonial ideology. At the international level, Islam and all its components must also be defended. It is the most rigorous ones that interest the PIR. Tariq Ramadan has thus been able to accompany the movement and promote the foundations of the Muslim Brotherhood: the wearing of the veil, the moratorium on the stoning of women, and an established anti-Semitism.

“Hassan Al-Banna, for example, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt. In 1928, he felt such admiration for Hitler that he translated Mein Kampf as My Jihad. One of the affinities between Nazism and the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, still present and active in contemporary Hamas, is the intention to eliminate all Jews from the Middle East and, if possible, from the entire world. Soviet anti-Zionist propaganda thus reached a Middle East already contaminated by pro-Nazi Islamist antisemitism. Hamas is the direct heir to this religious, Nazi, nationalist, and anti-imperialist nebula, but this history has been completely obscured in the West. One of the reasons for this "forgetting" is that the reality was contradictory: European colonialism in the Middle East coexisted with the fact that Nazi ideology had been adopted by certain Islamist currents, which in turn were a reaction to colonialism. Since the victim could not also be the executioner, it was narratively easier for the anti-imperialist left to replace the figure of the proletarian with that of the Muslim, turning the latter into a universal class waiting to be liberated from the yoke of Western imperialism
15 „

The scheme is simple: the Muslim is the new proletarian; all nationalist regimes and organizations in the Middle East must be defended. The ignominious Hamas pogrom is described as an act of resistance and praised, among others, by Youssef Bousoumah on Twitter. Criticizing Iranian power is impossible because it is an oppressed nation. It must be defended. Houria Bouteldja, for her part, has always proclaimed her admiration for her hero Ahmadinejad¹⁶, a clearly anti-Semitic hero¹⁷ who was president of a government that executed homosexuals. Following her logic, the PIR cannot denounce the current repression

¹⁴Paroles d'honneur, website: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YCa8OW-xU58>

¹⁵Eva Illouz, October 8: Genealogy of a Virtuous Hatred. Tracts, Gallimard 2024, p. 40.

¹⁶Serge Halimi, Ahmadinejad, my hero, Le Monde diplomatique 2016 on: <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2016/08/HALIMI/56087>

¹⁷Streetpress: <https://www.streetpress.com/sujet/18533-exclu-les-photos-de-vacances-de-robert-faurisson-en-iran>

exercised by Iranian power ¹⁸. The only reading of events that interest them is the fight of the "Middle Eastern nations" against the "Western nations."

To fight capitalism, the PIR proposes that we participate in a war of races and nations and invest in the religious community. The great absentees from their conceptual delirium are the proletariat, the class struggle, and the implacable critique of capitalism and its exploitation. Let it be clear: authentic communists, **those for whom communism has never existed**, are radically opposed, through class struggle, to all religions, all nations, all borders, all states, and, consequently, to all political forces that defend all of these, in one form or another.

The class struggle

On the contrary, the class, ¹⁹the only interpretation of events that interests them is the struggle of the "Middle Eastern nations" against the "Western nations" and in particular, the working-class interpretation directly affirms its international character (reflected in most of its eponymous organizations) and its **non-racial** nature. This is the historical example ²⁰of the **Industrial Workers of the World**, whose Philadelphia dockworkers from 1913 to 1922 structured and united in an organization composed mostly of "blacks" (and led by one of their own, Ben Fletcher), but which would also include "whites" from Italy, Central Europe and Ireland. This is an important example, considering that the main American union, the **American Federation of Labor** (which still exists), was strongly opposed to organizing workers of color (blacks, but also Asians) and openly pursued an anti - immigrant, racist and nationalist policy.

"Blacks were also excluded from AFL unions." YH Nouailhat, "Economic evolution of the United States from the mid-nineteenth century to 1917." p.333 Higher Education Publishing Company, Paris 1982.

«The AFL, composed primarily of skilled workers, advocated the philosophy of "professional unionism" (...), which sought to counter the monopoly of production established by employers with a monopoly of workers managed by the union. In this way, the AFL managed to improve the conditions of some workers while leaving many of them. » Howard Zinn , A Popular History of the United States, p. 375, Agone, 2002.

In contrast to this segregationist and reactionary policy, the IWW built a truly unitary, revolutionary and internationalist organization.

«The statutes and resolutions adopted during the first Convention aimed to link the immediate struggles of workers to a revolutionary goal born of class consciousness. Any wage earner could join the new organization, regardless of profession, race, creed, or sex. For the IWW, unlike the AFL, «it made no difference whether one was Black or white... American or foreign.» Joyce Kornbluh, Wobblies & Hobos, The Industrial Workers of the World, Traveling Agitators in the United States, 1905-1919. L'insomniaque, Montreuil, 2012.

¹⁸Web page: <https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2025/07/30/en-iran-le-gouvernement-intensifie-sa-campagne-de-repression-et-les-executions-se-multiplient66254063210.html?search-type=classic&iseclickrank=24>

¹⁹This topic is in our text: « Quelle classe ! » in our magazine Matériaux Critiques N° 13 and on our website: <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/textes>

²⁰On this subject, Peter Cole's book, Black and White Together, le syndicat IWW interracial du port de Philadelphie, les nuits rouges, Paris, 1921. So: « La soumission du procès de travail au procès de valorisation au travers de l'exemple du mouvement ouvrier américain (1887 - 1920) » on our website: <https://materiauxcritiques.wixsite.com/monsite/archives>

This politics of unity in and through struggle is opposed to the differentialist politics of intersectionalism, which seeks to "connect" all oppressions by maintaining them within a large macrosociological whole based precisely on the crystallization of all these differences to create new, separate identities. It is not about overcoming differences but rather multiplying them ad infinitum. Separation is the organizing principle, while the principle of all workers' associations (revolutionary parties, workers' councils, workers' committees, etc.) is, on the contrary, that of unity and the tendency to converge to found a single international organization (see the three Internationals). This relationship with the growing unity of workers as the sole lasting political achievement is directly related to the fact that it is the bearer of an emancipatory social project that, even in its first formal expressions, must manifest this immediate revolutionary necessity. In this way, racism is combated practically without having to go through the symmetrical trap of anti-racism. It's about completely destroying the entire set of polarizations and internal contradictions of capital. Our motto is very clear: no racism, no anti-racism, international class struggle!

"We do not seek to crown this 'civilization', but to destroy it from top to bottom." A. Bordiga²¹

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²¹Amadeo Bordiga, Race and Nation Factors in Marxist Theory, p.78, Prométhée Publishing, Paris, 1979.