

# Proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

**WHAT DISTINGUISHES OUR PARTY:** The political continuity which goes from Marx and Engels to Lenin, to the foundation of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Italy; the class struggle of the Communist Left against the degeneration of the International, the struggle against the theory of « socialism in one country » and the Stalinist counter-revolution; the rejection of all popular fronts and national resistance blocs; the struggle against the principles and practice of bourgeois democracy, against interclassism and political and trade-union class collaboration, against any form of opportunism and nationalism; the difficult task of restoring the Marxist doctrine and the revolutionary organ par excellence - the class party - closely linked with the working class, and its daily struggle in opposition to capitalism and bourgeois oppression; the struggle against personal and electoral politics, against any form of indifferentism, of tailism, of movementism or the adventurist practice of « armed struggle » ; the support of any proletarian struggle which breaks with social peace and rejects the discipline of interclassist collaborationism; the support of all efforts towards proletarian class reorganisation on the basis of economic associationism, with the perspective of a large scale resumption of the class struggle, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary anticapitalist struggle.

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## Multiform and indissociable Tasks of the Class Party

*The synthetic but effective article on the fundamental tasks of the class party which we reproduce below, was published in June '81 in «El Comunista», then organ of the party in Spain. Its objective was to indicate to the young elements who approached the party the traditional orientations of Marxism on this point. It is still useful to point them out today.*

Right from the start Marxism defined the characteristic objectives of the Communist Party with an exemplary clarity. The Manifesto of 1848 expresses this in a synthetic way as if engraved into the soul of the wage slaves: constitution of the proletariat into a class, therefore into a party; overthrow of the domination of the bourgeoisie; conquest of political power. It is useless to recall at any great length that for Marxists this overthrow presupposes civil war and that this political power can exist only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

72 years later, reacting to the degeneration of the social democracy and to the apolitical anarcho-sindicalist attitude, the II<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Communist International affirmed, also with crystal clarity, in its proclamation written by Trotsky: the III<sup>rd</sup> International is the party of violent insurrection and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Consequently, one adheres to the Communist Party to forge the political organ which proposes to lead the armed insurrec-

tion and the proletarian dictatorship. For Marxism, the revolution is not this Great Evening dreamed of by the anarchists and the revolutionary syndicalists who deny the need for the party and the proletarian State. The revolution will be a whole historical period of advances and retreats, of defeated and victorious insurrections, civil wars and revolutionary wars whose central question will be that of the conquest and the dictatorial exercise of political power.

The insurrection itself is only a moment—essential, without any doubt—in the war of the classes. Its objective conditions are provided by a deep social crisis (i.e. by an intense development of the struggle between classes) produced by a revolutionary thrust in the broadest layers of the proletariat which involves a general political crisis of bourgeois domination of such amplitude that the power starts to escape from the hands

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## The Counter-revolutionary Role of Opportunism

**OPPORTUNISM means:**

**on the economic level:**

- to accept and defend the capitalist mode of production and its laws, not only as the basis but also as the ultimate human society;
- to represent the economic interests of the small and medium bourgeoisie, of small and medium property (artisanal, industrial, commercial, productive and distributive) that even the ultra-developed capitalist society does not eliminate but rather augments constantly;
- to base itself on the social and political factors which defend the economic area that the unequal development of capitalism leaves at the disposal of the intermediate classes, by considering it **vital** for their survival;
- to resist technological and pro-

ductive progress insofar as this undermines their situation and threatens to proletarianize them by precipitating them into the situation of being without-reserves (pauperization).

**on the political level:**

- to reconcile opposite and/or antagonistic interests, by subordinating them to the most powerful interest;
- to rationalize (justify) the interests of the most powerful, simply asking for a minimum of participation in the political administration in return.
- to fight the excessive and violent impulses of partisan interests in favour of a gradual and progressive improvement by peaceful and legal means;

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# Multiform and indissociable Tasks of the Class Party

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of the capitalist class. Its subjective conditions are given by the existence of a Communist Party equipped with a clear programmatic vision, strongly centralized and disciplined, which knows how to conquer a determining influence on the most combative sectors of the class; and by the firm will in the party and the decisive layers of the proletariat (and the soldiers) to launch themselves into the final fight for the conquest of power.

The preparation of the revolution is thus the preparation of the party and, by its intermediation, of the masses for the supreme tasks of the class war.

## THREE FRONTS OF A SINGLE WAR

Engels wrote in a famous passage that the party has three permanent tasks: theoretical, political and practico-economic (of resistance to the capitalists). In 1926, the communist Left in the Theses of Lyon defined these three tasks in the following way:

«The activity of the party (...), always and in all situations, must develop simultaneously in these three directions:

a) To defend and specify according to new facts which arise the fundamental postulates of the program, i.e. theoretical conscience of the movement of the working class:

b) To ensure the continuity of the organization of the party, and its effectiveness, and to protect it from contrary influences external to the revolutionary interest of the proletariat;

c) To participate actively in all working class struggles, even those caused by partial and limited interests, to encourage their development, but constantly connecting them to the revolutionary final goals, by presenting the conquests of the class struggle as access roads to the essential future fights, by denouncing the danger to confine itself to partial achievements as if they were ends in themselves (...)(1)

## THE POLITICAL AND THEORETICAL STRUGGLE

The theoretical activity of the party is a fundamental condition of the revolution: without revolutionary theory, there cannot be a revolutionary movement. The scientific determination of final goals; the

acquisition and the defense of the principles of Communism, that is to say the general objectives it is necessary to reach in order to give birth to the new society; the comprehension of the dynamics of the class struggle in order to there insert the conscious action of the party (in other words, the tactics) able to ensure the revolutionary capacity of the class above and beyond the fluxes and refluxes of victories and defeats; all this requires the constant analysis of events in the light of the Marxism and the full possession of the Marxist theory. Theoretical combat translates the consciousness of the party which it would be anti-Marxist to wish to find in the individual consciousness of each militant, in the same way that the comprehension of military strategy is not the task carried out by all the officers and all the soldiers of an army. Theory is the compass of the revolutionary party without which there can be only the crass empiricism of opportunism which nourishes itself on the ideology of the class enemy.

The political struggle, insofar as it can be distinguished from the theoretical fight and assumes its own physiognomy, is expressed in the activity of the party which historically ascends these levels: a) the propaganda of the principles of the Communism and the conclusions of the doctrine in relation to concrete experiences, in opposition to all other parties and forces of the enemy classes and of proselytism; b) the conquest of an increasing politico-organizational influence on the combative masses of the class, tending to subordinate their struggles towards revolutionary objectives and their general requirements; c) the armed insurrection and the establishment of the new class state. It is in this specific and characteristic activity that the *raison d'être* of the party materializes. Without it—and, today, in the absence even of the first level—one can speak neither about party, nor of party action.

## THE PARTICIPATION IN PARTIAL STRUGGLES

The active participation in the partial struggles of the working class, and in particular in the trade-union (syndical) struggle, constitutes one of the terrains of party activity, although one would not say that it is an activity that characterizes it. What distinguishes the

Communists on this terrain, is not the act of taking part in the trade-union struggle (open in principle to any proletarian independently of their political positions), nor to take part in it in this or that way; it is the act of taking part in order to reinforce the conviction that in bourgeois society there cannot be stable conquests, and to point out the necessity of turning the permanent guerrilla skirmishing against capital into a school of war for Communism (but the school of war is not the war itself!).

By means of this participation, the party can supplement and complete the lessons of the experience through its propaganda, gain new proselytes and extend its political and organizational influence among broader masses of the class. Reciprocally, this participation is a factor of reinforcement of the immediate organizations and a guarantee of their maintenance on the line of the class struggle. But if it is true that the Communists take part in economic struggles and that historically they are able to give them their maximum potentiality by integrating them in the revolutionary struggle, the reciprocal is not true: one does not adhere to the Communist Party by the simple act of being a trade union militant, no matter how combative. The trade-union militant fights for specific objectives of an economic nature (wages, hours of work, etc). The communist militant as such enlists his struggle in that of an organization which fights for the conquest of power.

## ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

An essential aspect of the fight of communist militants is organizational work. Any war—d in particular the class war—implies organization, from the general staff to the ranks, from communications to the means of subsistence, finances, services for information and counter-espionage etc. In the same way, the party presupposes an organization suited to combat on all terrains of the social war, with both public and clandestine structures, legal and illegal, with its information and communication networks, its administration and its administrators, with its bodies for propaganda and defense, with its territorial and sectoral organizations, vertical and horizontal, which as a whole ensemble must ensure continuity, effectiveness and safety. This is what is also meant by party work, of an aspect of its struggle as well which materially supports the work (including theoretical) of propaganda and proselytism, that the work of agitation and participation in the immediate struggles of the class and those of revolution-

ary leadership of the masses.

### FOR A NONRESTRICTIVE CONCEPTION OF THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

These various levels of the action of the party constitute the specific requirements for unitary action. Each one of these levels implies well determined working methods and, consequently, the specialization of militants. But the party, as a unitary collectivity, «always and in all situations must include everyone» as was stated above. To again use the words of Engels, the fight of the party «must be carried out in a methodical way in the three concentrated and reciprocally dependent directions» (“For the first time in the history of the labour movement the struggle is being so conducted that its three sides, the theoretical, the political and the practical economical (opposition to the capitalists), form one harmonious and well-planned entity”)[cf. MWA]. Better: «the force and the invincibility of the movement lie precisely in this attack which we could say is concentric» (“In this concentric attack, as it were, lies the strength and invincibility of the German movement.”)[ibid.] (2).

The party prepares itself and prepares the class by carrying out the whole ensemble of its tasks. It does not reduce itself to just some among them. It is not by chance that the basic structure of the party, i.e. the local section, is a territorial structure within which it incorporates the work of propaganda and political proselytism as well as organizational work and that of participation in the workers struggles. It is not by chance that the communist groups (or trade-union, or factory cells), the propaganda groups (including the editorial function), like all the other articulations of the party in the various sectors of its activity, depend on its territorial organizations (local sections, regional, national, international center). The party is not the sum of its various activities, but the centralized collectivity which assumes the permanent tasks of revolutionary preparation.

The party doesn't limit itself to theoretical work. It is not only the product of history equipped with consciousness; it is also a factor of history equipped with will. It is not a question of merely interpreting the world, but of changing it. But reciprocally, to underestimate theoretical work, is to open the door to impotence, to the disaggregating influence of the enemy, to opportunist treason.

The party does not limit itself to the

work of propaganda and proselytism. Marxism constituted historically passing beyond utopianism, which claims to transform society by education. The fight against «educationism» was always inseparable from Marxism in general and the fight against opportunism in particular. One of the first manifestations of the Left itself was the fight in 1912 against the «culturalism» of the Young Socialists, against the “Right” which aimed to reduce the revolutionary activity of young people to the acquisition of «socialist culture».

The party is very much an organ for propaganda; but it is so in order to be a body of combat.

But reciprocally, to underestimate propaganda and proselytism means to void the action of the party, to deprive it of its *raison d'être*. The army of the revolution is an army of volunteers, both on the level of the party (which is its military leadership) or on the level of the masses joined together in the immediate organizations of the class. Adhesion to the party, the orientation and the direction of its organizations and its militants, presupposes a permanent political propaganda against that of adversarial forces.

The work of the party is not limited to organizational work. Although it recognizes in Blanquism the appropriate accuracy of the requirement of centralized organization of insurrectionary action and the conquest of the power, Marxism demonstrated the limits of this purely organizational conception of revolutionary action. The revolution implies the fight of the masses lead by the party, and consequently the conquest of a decisive influence of the one on the other. But reciprocally to underestimate organizational work implies a pacifist and fatalistic vision of class struggle.

Pacifist, insofar as the class struggle is a war to the death for power: the bourgeoisie has already produced the demonstration of its capacities of resistance in defense of its dictatorship; the staff of the proletariat must prepare methodically and systematically with a war which is not only of ideas, but must be carried out with the material means of any civil war. Fatalist, insofar as it leaves to others the resolution of problems which come back again to the party and to it alone to ensure the continuity and the effectiveness of the political action of the revolutionary avant-garde. (Do you use “vanguard” or avoid its use so as not to suggest trotskyist connotations?)

### AGAINST ECONOMISM

The party does not limit itself to the

participation in immediate struggles. The prospects for the party are not limited to the horizon of the trade-union guerrilla skirmish. Its struggle does not confound it with any partial struggle and it is not the sum of its participation in them. Marx recognizes as the precursor of the communist movement, not the spontaneous movement of a trade-union (syndicalist) nature, but the utopianism which contributed a programmatic anticipation of the future society, and the Conspiracy of Equals of Babeuf which, at the same time as the intuition of Communism, contributed the proletarian struggle for the conquest of power. The genesis and the development of the communist movement does not coincide with, nor can it be superimposed on the trade-union (syndicalist) movement of the working class. This movement is immersed from its roots in the antagonism which opposes profit and wages and which does not leave nor can it leave the limits of bourgeois society. Whereas the communist movement situates itself on the terrain of the struggle for a new mode of production, on the political ground of the conquest of power. The trade-union (syndicalist) movement fights the effects of wage exploitation; the revolutionary political movement tends to extirpate their causes.

The revolutionary energies of the class are not crystallized in the trade-union movement, but in the political movement. Adhesion to the party implies going beyond the inherent limits in any trade-union movement, to raise oneself to the level of the consciousness and will of communists. This is why it was and remains opportunist the claim of the economism of yesterday and of today “to give to the economic struggle a political character» (3). The function of reformism is precisely to reduce the horizon of the proletarian struggle to the fight for a more favorable division between wages and profit. This is why, neither communist consciousness nor will can result from the trade-union movement; this is why revolutionary consciousness must be brought from outside the spontaneous movement, thanks to the action of the party, in order to integrate the action of the masses in a struggle which exceeds the limits of the economic situation and of immediate interests. To make the birth, the directives and the action of the party depend on partial struggles with their highs and lows, i.e. on the spontaneous curve of the trade-union movement, means to sacrifice final objectives to contingent results, which is even the definition of

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opportunism; that means to take up again on its account the eternal reformist formula according to which «the movement is everything, the goal is nothing».

The party is not a selected organization of propagandists (a party of professors), nor a party of trade unionists, however combative they are: it is the organization of the proletarians who unite themselves with the consciousness of communist principles, who decide to devote all their forces to the cause of the revolution.

But reciprocally, to underestimate the participation in immediate struggles means abandoning the proletariat which defends its living conditions to adverse influences; that means preventing the apprenticeship in the difficult art of the struggle and preventing the possibility of extending the influence of the party in the masses; all things considered that means making the essential conditions of the preparation revolutionary of the

party and the class impossible.

There is no particular way which would make it possible to forge the revolutionary party concretely and to extend its influence; the party is reinforced and acquires the capacity to direct the class on the revolutionary road by developing the whole ensemble of its tasks during the course of a struggle which is inscribed in the iron continuity between its programmatic positions and its instructions of propaganda and combat.

There are no «shorter ways» because there is no other way.

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(1) cf «Lyon Theses» presented at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the PC of Italy, held in Lyon in 1926 because of fascistic repression in Italy. Texts of PCInt n°7, p. 112. (2) cf Engel's foreword in 1874 of «The Peasant War in Germany».

(3) cf Lenin, «What Is To Be Done?», chapter III

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## CANADIAN IMPERIALISM OUT OF AFGHANISTAN!

Tens of thousands of Canadians died on the battlefields of WW1 and WW2. They did this thinking that they were fighting for freedom. The real reason for their sacrifices is much more sordid; they died as cannon fodder for Canadian and International Capitalism. They died because the bonds of fraternity between the workers of the world, real, but tentative were ripped apart by the joint efforts of Stalinism and the forces of so-called democracy (the veiled face of capitalist rule). They died fighting their class brothers many of whom were mystified and poisoned by a competing ideology, fascism (the naked dictatorship of capital, where the veil is removed). They thus died for a form of capitalism, and in doing so suffered the loss not only of their lives but of the classist perspective which is the only way out of the nightmare quagmire of imperialist war.

### CLASS WAR TO END IMPERIALIST WAR!

Since the Korean War Canadian Imperialism had managed to re-invent itself as a “peace-keeper” which meant in reality that instead of shooting people in the head on the battlefield, they performed the less glamorous, behind the scenes acts of repression that freed the more bellicose imperialisms (namely the U.S.) to do their dirty work. Nevertheless it worked to a certain extent; Canada was seen by many as a peace-loving country, its outward symbol the universally loved maple leaf on young people's backpacks. So pervasive was this belief that many American youth, loathe to share the “ugly American” appellation of their parents and their nation, also took to wearing the little red maple leaf flag, as a sort of alternate pacifist symbol.

This insolent and deeply cynical posture has been dropped. Today, in Kanduhar, in Kabul and elsewhere in Afghanistan another Canadian Army carries out its grim occupation. It doesn't call itself a peace-keeping force. It is there to shoot people in the head. In fact a Canadian soldier now holds the

record (they keep such records!) for shooting someone dead over the longest distance. And in the heat of a firefight it often doesn't matter whether those it shoots are Taliban combatants or women and children caught in a merciless crossfire. This is Canada's role in Afghanistan—murderous point dog for US and Nato Imperialism.

The pacifists moan about the injuries to human rights, they seek to build a consensus of opinion punctuated by the voices of careerists and religious charlatans, to bring moral suasion on the Conservative Harper government. “Haven't we done all we can there? Isn't it time to disengage and bring our boys home?”

But Canada no longer bills itself as the world's peacemaker—their new slogan is

### “FIGHT WITH THE CANADIAN FORCES”

Internationalist communists would put forward a different perspective. They would bring the forces of the proletariat onto the terrain of struggle against their own bourgeoisie and against world imperialism.

**Strike against Canadian Imperialism in Afghanistan!  
Tell Canadian soldiers the truth about why they have  
been sent there to kill and die!**

**Form soldiers committees to struggle against this occupation!**

**Better they come home in bodybags than remain as oppressors!**

**The best outcome for the proletariat is the defeat of this Imperialist incursion!**

### FIGHT AGAINST THE CANADIAN FORCES !

For the international communist party!

03/17/2007 **International Communist Party**

## The only Way forward for the Palestinian Masses: Proletarian Struggle!

The situation of the Palestinian proletarians and masses has worsened during the last months, especially in the Gaza Strip which is subjected to a veritable blockade by Israel which has closed the principal passage point for people, goods and raw materials since Hamas assumed power. A *charge d'affaires* for the U.N. Office for Refugees affirmed on 9 August that the local economy was in danger of collapse if this blockade continued.

In industry, 80% of the companies in Gaza were forced to close, leaving more than 30,000 unemployed (their wages allowed a considerable fraction of the 1,400,000 inhabitants of the zone to live, since up to ten people are often obliged to live from one worker's wage): this is the case particularly in the textile sector which sells more than 90% of its production on the Israeli market. Nearly all day laborers were laid off, while only 5000 monthly employees remained on the job. (1). The employers' organization stated that 120,000 additional jobs were threatened if the blockade continued (2). Before the most recent events, unemployment in Gaza was already estimated at approximately 40% and the rate of poverty at more than 70% of the population ("extreme poverty" being the lot of 42% of the inhabitants in Gaza) (3).

The throttling of the Palestinian economy has its origin in the dissatisfaction of American imperialism and its local power broker—Israel—towards the Palestinian Authority (PA) directed by Fatah, the principal party of the nationalist front of the PLO which had been led by Yassir Arafat. Installed by imperialism to put an end to the Palestinian anti-colonial struggle, the PA was unable to prevent the acts of violence of the second Intifada (insurrection). To ensure that the anger, frustration, and exasperation in the face of such a desperate plight did not lead to uncontrolled movements, Fatah and its Hamas rival (and other organizations of lesser importance) took control of this Intifada by directing combative energies towards the fatal dead end of suicide attacks against Israeli civilians. Basically it was a question of avoiding what had occurred at the time of the first Intifada which, undertaken in a spontaneous way, had taken on a mass character; at that time the Israelis had the greatest difficulties in crushing it, while the Islamists, the only ones present on the ground, endeavoured might and main to attract the young insurrectionists. To push the Palestinian leaders to go further and stop all attacks and any guerrilla actions, the imperialists and the Is-

raelis, after having multiplied all kinds of economic and military pressure, raids and assassinations, estimated that elections to renew the Palestinian Authority were necessary.

But, opposite to what they hoped, it was not the more "moderate" currents, i.e. — more collaborationist — of Fatah which won the elections in January 2006, but Hamas! The organizations of the left and "extreme" left, were also defeated. A representative of the P.P.P. (Palestinian People's Party, the local incarnation of the Communist Party) gave this reason for the defeat: "the left paid the debts of Fatah" (4); by rejecting the corrupt and incompetent bourgeois politicians of Fatah, the voters also rejected the left organizations, who were members of the PLO, unlike Hamas, because they were perceived simply as PLO appendages. Despite its politically reactionary character, its law and order (including moral) program aimed at its bourgeois supporters, Hamas was able to conquer an audience among the masses while providing assistance to the most deprived while affirming its intentions of fighting against corruption and the resistance of Israel.

From the moment of the electoral victory of Hamas, the American and Israeli democracies openly declared that they were going to do everything to strangle the new government. The European democracies agreed to stop their subsidies to the Palestinians without batting an eyelid (5), as did the Arab allies of the United States; while the Israeli State itself kept the sums due to the Palestinian Authority (PA), kidnapped Palestinian ministers and drastically increased their murderous military raids. International law, just like Democracy is only used as a smoke-screen in the world capitalist jungle, where the only right which obtains is the **right of the most powerful**.

Hamas had however implied in various declarations that it had renounced its program of destruction of the Hebrew State, which it was ready to recognize and to stop fighting against; but, without speaking about its ties to Iran, this kind of declaration is completely insufficient for Israel and its imperialist godfathers (and also for other Arab States like Egypt).

Because of the potential menace of the combativeness which the Palestinian masses have demonstrated for decades, these states are prepared to accept only one force to head the PA, a force which they are certain has the will and especially the ability to maintain, including by force, imperialist order in Gaza and in the

West Bank. This is why they derailed various attempts at governments of national unity (6) and pushed their liege men in Fatah, starting with Dahlan, the chief of the Security Forces of the PA, into confrontations with Hamas, even providing their weapons.

This Dahlan, who has a long history of collaboration with the Israeli security services, is undoubtedly "the most hated man in Gaza": he has been accused of the torture and murders of opponents and of enriching himself through various forms of trafficking. Unfortunately for himself and his silent partners, the armed confrontations quickly turned to his disadvantage, with a part of his men even deserting to Hamas, others simply fleeing, whereas the inhabitants stayed in their place without taking part in one camp or the other; to symbolize its victory and to increase its popularity, Hamas took to pillaging the residence of Dahlan which was the richest villa in Gaza!

The military victory of Hamas and its consequent control of all the Gaza Strip has had as an immediate consequence the closing by the Israeli government of the points of passage into this territory and the payment of a part of the sums which it owed, to a new anti-Hamas government hastily formed by Palestinian president Abbas. That made it possible for him to pay complete wages for the first time to 150,000 Palestinian civil servants — excepting those which had been hired by the government after the 2006 elections (Hamas retorted by promising that it would ensure the wages of these 10,000 people).

For their part the European Union and the United States announced that they had ended the financial and various other sanctions imposed on the PA, in support of Abbas and his Fatah partisans. Fatah asked Israel for the authorization to import "combat material" coming from Jordan and Egypt into the West Bank: machine-guns, assault rifles, jeeps, armoured vehicles, etc, "to defend Fatah against Hamas" (the Americans undertook to restructure the Palestinian security forces "affiliated with Fatah in the West Bank") (7). The Abbas government also asked all Palestinian factions to surrender their weapons. In addition the American government decided at the end of June to increase its military aid to Israel by 25% to reach 3 billion dollars per annum over ten years; it also agreed to sell up-to-date fighter planes and other sophisticated weapons.

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## The only Way forward for the Palestinian Masses: Proletarian Struggle!

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Throughout the last months Israel has unceasingly continued its policy of insidious colonization of the West Bank, by the establishment of so-called "illegal" colonies but actually with governmental support, comprising thousands of people; by the construction of the infamous "Wall" which includes Palestinian territory; by the development of "strategic roads" which continuously carve up more and more territory and by the permanent gnawing away of Jerusalem all designed to drive out the Arab inhabitants. Today the 240,000 Israeli colonists and their infrastructures occupy 40% of the territory of the West Bank, while the 2,400,000 Palestinians are forced to cram themselves into the 60% remaining! At the same time raids and various attacks take place continuously, not even causing an echo in the international press anymore, nor of course even the least, platonic protest by the imperialist States supposedly working towards "peace" in this area.

At the time of the writing of this article, August 14, 6 people died in Gaza (including 4 civilians) while a hundred people were apprehended by Israeli soldiers and "several dozen kidnapped"...

In spite of this, support to Israel, implicit or explicit, was reinforced, not only at the behest of its traditional imperialist godfathers, but also by the majority of Arab States. Egypt had left its border points with the Gaza Strip closed, blocking the passage of more than 5000 Palestinians at the border. It required a hunger strike of a hundred of them so that, finally, at the end of 2 months, they were allowed to return to their homes; meanwhile forty people aged, and ill, died. ...

In March, Saudi Arabia organized a summit of the Arab League which proposed a global peace accord with Israel, where for the first time the claim of the "right of return" of the Palestinian refugees was abandoned. The Israeli leaders answered with ringing phrases, and by affirming that peace with the "enemies" of Israel was not possible before 3 to 5 years: the important thing for them is that the Arab States less and less concern themselves with support to the Palestinians. Rumours (contradicted by Riyadh) talked of secret negotiations between Israel and Saudi Arabia, the Americans signing large contracts for armaments with both.

In a visit to Israel on August 2, Condoleezza Rice declared that "in the Palestinian Territories there is a government

devoted to the guiding principles of peace and it is an occasion which shouldn't be missed" (to be devoted to peace means not to be opposed to imperialist interests and objectives); she promised 80 million dollars to the "Palestinian security services" of this government. The Israeli Foreign Minister responded that "Israel will not miss this occasion", explaining that it wished to benefit from the situation in the Territories to arrive "at an agreement with the moderate government of Abbas" (to be moderate means to give up all its demands). In effect, the Americans and Israelis are counting on the weakening of what remains of the Palestinian authorities to make them accept new concessions within the framework of a new orientation known as "West Bank first": "to reinforce the power of Mr. Abbas by standardizing the living conditions in the West Bank while letting the situation in the Gaza Strip degenerate, to get control over Hamas" (8), with only a minimum of humanitarian aid being provided to this territory to decrease the risks of a social explosion.

### NEITHER ABBAS, NOR HAMAS, NOR THE NATIONALIST LEFT ARE ON THE SIDE OF THE PROLETARIANS

Faced with the confrontations between Fatah and Hamas, the so-called "left" organizations were able to answer only by impotent calls for the cessation of hostilities and a "return to reason" (manifestation of June 14 in Gaza organized by the PFLP the DFLP). These organizations being only the tail of nationalism, cannot go beyond national "unity" in the name of the fight against the Israeli enemy (9).

This national unity, means unity with the bourgeois forces which dominate politically in the Palestinian Authority in the same way that they dominate economically. For the Palestinian bourgeoisie, what counts is to see itself recognized in the administration of a small bit of land where it would be able to develop its business, to exploit its proletarians and to garner its profits quietly. Having given up its dreams of a large Palestine, for a long time it has been resigned to accept what the Israelis and the imperialists offer it, if the resistance of the oppressed masses did not force it to play out the comedy of the national struggle. National unity, the traditional aspiration of the small bourgeois who fears the confrontations between classes, is for the oppressed proletarians and masses a formula for the

inability to defend oneself, whether it is against the Israeli oppressor or the Palestinian exploiter.

But actually these calls for national unity launched by the left nationalist organizations, were prosaically transformed into unity with... Fatah and the Abbas government. On August 13, responding to a call by this government, the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), the DFLP (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and the PPP organized a demonstration of a few hundreds of people with Fatah in Gaza against Hamas with chants of "We want the unity of the people!". A few days previously, Nayef Hawatmeh, the old historical chief of the DFLP, formerly denounced and hunted by the Israelis as a dangerous terrorist, had been authorized by the Israeli government to come, for the first time, to the West Bank: that is he came to support president Abbas. He was also allowed to speak on Israeli public television: where he spoke in praise of the collaborator Abbas and ultimately legitimated the policy of the Israeli government by criticizing only its inability "to act concretely" for peace (11)...

The Palestinian nationalist organizations, politically all bourgeois, including their "leftist" fringe, thus complete their political trajectory by their ignominious but inevitable homage in the face of colonial-imperialist oppression.

It is false to conclude from this, as many pro-Palestinians do, that Hamas is now an organization incarnating the struggle of the masses or basing itself on their struggle. Hamas is an organization quite as bourgeois as the various nationalist factions, only more reactionary. In spite of its speeches, of its assertions that it will not give up "resistance against the occupation", Hamas itself aspires to nothing else than to be itself recognized by imperialism and by Israel. As for its victory in Gaza, it multiplied its declarations for an agreement with Abbas and therefore for maintaining the government of national unity, with an even more "moderate" program. It was very careful not to extend the confrontations to the West Bank where it was stronger electorally and politically. It proclaimed that it was ready to recognize Israel if Israel recognized the rights of the Palestinians to the Territories occupied after the 1967 War and ceased colonization. It prohibited any demonstrations. To show its ability to keep order in Gaza, at the beginning of July, Hamas succeeded in obtaining the release an English journalist held for months by a gangster clan that the Palestinian Authority Security Services didn't dare to face (10).

The provision of these services brought certain important politicians like the

former American Secretary of State Colin Powell, to plead for recognition of Hamas and an end to the blockade in order to prevent Gaza being transformed into a "tinder-box" of instability: they do not at all fear that this organization represents the struggle of the masses, but are quite conscious on the contrary that Hamas is perhaps the only one able to control them and to impose respect for the imperialist order over them. However, this position is in the minority in leading American circles because of the bonds which Hamas still has with Iran. In addition, control of the Gaza Strip by Hamas is considered to be uncertain.

In any event, the proletarians cannot grant any confidence to an organization which already displayed its real face during the general strike of Public Sector employees last autumn: trying to ruin the strike which began at the beginning of September and was followed by the majority of the 150,000 workers of the public sector to force payment of their wages, Hamas had recourse not only to the traditional propaganda of national unity in the face of Zionism, but also to intimidation and repression (dismissals of supposed "strike leaders"). The strike however held, punctuated by demonstrations and torching of Hamas buildings. On January 14, an agreement was concluded: immediate payment of one month's wages, payment by instalments of the arrears, payment of the transportation costs of the employees during the strike, suppression of dismissals, etc. (12). It was a real, although temporary, victory won by the workers over a government which wanted to be inflexible.

The Hamas government also took antisocial measures (big cuts in the Health budget), even if it didn't apply its reactionary program to the question of the women's rights. Today the situation of the proletarians and the exploited masses, plunged into increasing misery deepened by the economic crisis caused by the Israeli blockade, is terrible. They are gripped between the pincers of the imperialist pressure exerted by the armed Israeli rabble and the confrontations between rival bourgeois organizations. Their potential ally, the international proletariat, paralysed by class collaboration, is still unable to bring its assistance to them. However the only way out is that of proletarian struggle, of the class struggle, including at the elementary economic level which they have already amply demonstrated.

It is the duty of the proletarians of all the other countries, first and foremost the proletarians of the big imperialist powers, not to leave their Palestinian class brothers and sisters isolated and crushed. They have the possibility of delivering,

not charity, but the only assistance which is really effective: by engaging themselves in the resumption of the class struggle, they can indeed weaken "their" imperialism and smash the vice which suffocates the proletarians of the dominated countries. It would be the first step towards the united struggle of the proletarians of all countries to overthrow world capitalism.

This perspective is unfortunately not immediate; it is however infinitely more realistic than all the prospects presented to the proletarians and the Palestinian masses for decades and which come to nothing but to steadily worsen their situation. As long as they do not have the force to break with these **bourgeois** prospects to find the path of struggle and class organization things will not change and their blood will run only for the profit of the enemy classes.

**Class solidarity with the proletarians and oppressed of Palestine!**

**For the resumption of the class struggle and the international communist revolution!**

(1) See "The Financial Times", August 4-5, 2007

(2) According to the Association of Palestinian Businessmen. cf "International Herald Platform", 8/10/2007

(3) Report of the UNDP (Program for Development of the United Nations), 7/17/2007. It speaks of an investigation near 5000 Palestinian households carried out between 4/3/2007 to 5/8/2007, therefore before the blockade of Gaza and its economic collapse (www.undp.ps).

(4) See "L'Humanité", 2/1/2007.

(5) In fact, the European imperialists, completely conscious of the need for the maintenance of the existence of official structures so that the Palestinian Territories do not explode, partially continued their payments, which are normally used to pay the wages of civil servants and more precisely of police officers, to short-circuit the Hamas government.

(6) Mustapha Barghouti, the former spokesman of this government which, according to him included "the best democratic, pacifist and moderate" Palestinian leaders noted bitterly: "the Palestinian government that Israel wants is a government of collaborators acting like its henchmen" and he added: "They will never obtain it". This is less than certain... See "International Herald Tribune", 7/7-8/2007.

(7) The Israelis are dragging their heels with their deliveries because a part of the 5000 assault rifles provided to Fatah to fight Hamas ended up in the hands of the latter! See

"Haaretz", 8/9/2007

(8) See "Le Monde", 6/20/2007.

(9) See the official statement of the DFLP of 6/25/2007, signed by a long string of Arab néo-Stalinist organizations: "Today the Palestinian people need more than ever to reinforce national unity, to refuse fratricidal division and fights, to link the fatherland and the people, to stick to these national objectives and these historical rights in a democratic Palestinian State" or that of the PFLP of 29/6/2007: "We call on all of our people, Fatah and Hamas, for the return to reason and the consciousness of the national interests. We call on our people for unity, cohesion, the going beyond of the wounds and the sufferings, by the condemnation of bloody solutions and the reprobation of the insurrectionary logic whichever side it is on" Amen.

(10) The spokesman of Hamas declared that it hoped that the message of the release of the journalist "would reach all Europe and the Arab and Islamic countries and would convince their governments to deal with Hamas", "The Financial Times", 7/5/2007.

(11) See "El Moudjahid" (Algiers), 10/8/2007

(12) www.imemc.org, 1/14/2007.

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## THE STRUGGLES IN GUINEA

# The workers struggle in Guinea-Conakry

Guinea-Conakry is a small West African country of almost 10 million inhabitants, one of the poorest countries on the planet in spite of its mining richness: diamonds, gold, iron, uranium, etc, and especially bauxite of which it is the 2nd largest producer in the world and which comprises 90% of its export earnings. After independence French imperialism stopped all economic aid to Guinea to punish the government of Sékou Touré for having refused to enter the neocolonial association known as “the French Community” (“Communauté Française”). Obligated to turn to Russian imperialism, the regime then devoted itself to the comedy of the construction of socialism (while assuring the United States that it would never injure their interests in bauxite production!).

Towards the end of the Seventies, this repressive dictatorship sought to join up again with French imperialism while Sékou Touré replaced the references to Marx by quotations of verses of the Koran. After his death, a military coup in 1984 brought Lansana Conté, a former soldier with the French colonial army, to power. If the coup opened the doors of the sinister Boiro prison camp, releasing the political prisoners who stagnated there, it marked the beginning of a new dictatorship, selling itself to Western and in particular French imperialism and which was faced with riots against the rises of the prices that same year (1).

As it was before, today ore production is firmly in the grip of large foreign firms (American, Canadian, Japanese), while French imperialism remains the leading supplier of goods and services to the country; so that even while the Péciney company came under Canadian control, the management and the technical staff which oversees mining extraction remains French personnel (2). After decades of pseudo-socialism followed decades of liberal capitalism, 76% of the population live in the countryside and the rate of illiteracy is higher than 70%. Whereas the majority of the Guinean population lives in increasing misery, local and foreign bourgeois and the multinationals grow rich, protected by the Conté regime against an ever increasing dissatisfaction.

In November of 2005 the trade unions organized a 48 hour general strike to demand a raise in wages and pensions, the introduction of a minimum wage, etc. In 2006 a second general strike in March was followed by a teachers strike in May, then by a new general strike in June which lasted 9 days before being broken by repression (several dozens were killed).

Even though at the beginning of March 2006 a mission of the IMF and the World Bank underlined an “encouraging” improvement in the situation of the country, the reality is completely different for the broad masses: more than half of the population lives on less than one dollar per day, the persistent rise in the prices of essential products (30% inflation on average per annum; the price of a bag of rice, the basic staple, leaped from 115 000 to 250 000 Guinean francs!) has led to the reappearance of the threat of starvation while wages stagnate.

Under these conditions on January 10, 2007 the trade unions launched a new watchword, the call for an unlimited general strike. At the end of 18 days of striking marked by fierce repression which killed more than 60 and wounded hundreds (in particular the January 22 massacres by the police force of a peaceful demonstration on the Fidel Castro motorway and at other places, not to mention the attack on the trade-union headquarters, the nerve center of the strike), the negotiations between the government and the trade unions arrived at their conclusion: although the strikers and the demonstrators asked for the departure of Lansana Conté and his clan, January 27 the trade unions coalition “Inter-centrale” decreed the end of the strike against the promise of the appointment of a Prime Minister ( and other concessions). To

effect a resumption of work and make this solution, puffed up by imperialist circles, pass as a “victory for the people”, the trade-union leaders explained that the future Prime Minister would have the real power and that the sinister Conté clan, his racketeers and his killers, would effectively be rendered incapable of further ability to inflict harm.

However faced with the delay of the appointment of the Prime Minister, and of the full payment for strike days, and of other clauses of the agreement of January 27 not being respected, on February 2, the trade unions threatened to unleash a new general strike starting... Monday the 12th.

This delay allowed by the trade-union chiefs was used by the regime; instead of contacting them as they had hope for, in order to negotiate, on Friday February 9, Lansana Conté named one of his close relations: Eugene Camara as Prime Minister.

This capitalist, director of several companies, former minister for the economy and as such the person responsible for the disastrous situation of the workers and the masses, had been promoted during the strike to the post of Minister Coordinator of Governmental Actions (to replace Fodé Bangoura, hated for his responsibility in the massacres of June 2006), i.e. de facto Prime Minister: as much as if to say that the agreements of the 27th were not even worth the paper which they were signed on...

This decision immediately provoked spontaneous demonstrations: as of Friday evening the youth in the Hamdallaye quarter of the capital Conakry started to demonstrate. Saturday morning in Conakry the presidential procession was trashed by the pupils of Matam College (the windshield of the car carrying Conté was broken, forcing him to change vehicles): the presidential guard shot at the young people, killing two of their number. In the second city of the country, Kankan, where the demonstrations began Friday, a soldier who had shot at the demonstrators, leaving 4 wounded, was himself finished off. Demonstrations and confrontations were announced in various localities: Coyah, Maferinya, Boké, Dalaba, Labé, Pita (where the offices of the Prefect were torched), Siguiri (where the mansion of the Minister for the economy was burnt), N'zérékoré, etc

Without awaiting the instructions of the trade-union chiefs, the proletarians and disinherited masses spontaneously took up the fight again on Saturday and Sunday, in a quasi-insurrectionary environment. Police stations were plundered to seize weapons whereas the attacks against buildings and properties belonging to leading cliques of the regime multiplied. Frightened by these attacks, the parties of the democratic opposition on Sunday published official statements to condemn, not the repression, but... “the vandalism” of the demonstrators!

To try not to let themselves be completely swept away by the movement, but also by the fear of the “thugs” of the regime, the trade unions found themselves constrained to harden the tone; they launched the call for the unlimited general strike to start Monday while now calling for the “departure” of Conté and the government, which they had obstinately refused to do before under the pretext that “they are not involved in politics” (3)!

Actually, they were always involved in politics, but in collaborationist and bourgeois politics. What was the demand for a “Prime Minister of consensus” (as for that of the independence of the central Bank, etc), if not a political demand? And when a political demand recognizes in theory the legitimacy of the power and the official institutions in place, it is bourgeois. While following a bourgeois political orientation, one can conduct a strike movement only to its defeat: this is what the Guinean trade-union leaders were going to show once again.

## THE STRUGGLES IN GUINEA

Whereas on Sunday the capital was paralyzed in many places by barricades, the armored tanks of the army took up positions at strategic crossroads while hundreds of Liberian mercenaries were concentrated in the suburbs of Conakry to stiffen up the regime. On Monday, the first official day of the general strike, while the production of bauxite was stopped, the government, which relied primarily on the special military corps of the “red berets” directed by one of Conté’s sons, decreed the “state of siege” (full powers to the army, curfew, prohibitions against demonstrations, etc). Without awaiting this official decree the authorities had started to close the independent radio stations the previous day.

To ensure itself of the honesty of the army, a few hours before the introduction of the state of siege Conté had issued a raise for all grades, i.e. increasing the soldiers’ pay. It should be known that the soldiers in the ranks receive only miserable pay and are very badly nourished (to the point of sometimes being obliged to sell their military effects to live), whereas the officers head up juicy military sidelines and receive bags of rice which they resell at the full price. At the time of the general strike of January the soldiers circulated threatening leaflets demanding a raise in their pay. But far from calming the grumbling, Conté’s decision was accepted like a slap in the face: the raise for all grades translated itself into insignificant raises for the ranks and very substantial raises for the officers. A mutiny then erupted in the Alpha Yaya de Conakry military camp, the principal military camp and weapons cache in the country; the soldiers in the ranks drove out the officers, some even seized weapons and went on to join the demonstrators to the approving applause of the population.

If the strike had been directed by revolutionists, they would have addressed themselves to the mutineers to demand that they place themselves on the same side as the proletarians and to turn their weapons against the regime. But the trade-union leaders who after the massacre of January 22, couldn’t find anything better to do than appeal to “the honor of the Guinean army”, were anything but revolutionists: respectful of the bourgeois State, it never crossed their mind to support a mutiny...

They thought only of one thing: how to restore the “dialogue” with the authorities. Left without prospect, the bulk of the mutineers remained in the military camp, whereas another part devoted themselves to gangsterism and extortions on the population counting on the impunity which the state of siege ensured to them. During this time, the police force, the “red berets” and the Liberian mercenaries continued their exactions, sowing terror, and arresting hundreds of opponents and militant workers.

Whereas they had stated that they did not want to negotiate as long as the state of siege and the arrests continued, on the Thursday the trade-union leaders went to a meeting with the representatives of the authorities, employers and the army. This commencement of negotiations unleashed the incomprehension and the anger of the strikers (4), obliging the trade-union chiefs to beat a retreat; “It is we who launched the strike. With this phase we have arrived at, it is the strike which leads us”; Hadja Rabiatou Diallo, president of the CNTG trade union, and spokeswoman of the Intercentrale acknowledged miserably, to explain why the trade unions were obliged not to attend the second negotiation. The trade-union leaders made lifting of the state of siege the condition for the resumption of negotiations—to which the chief of staff of the army (5) answered that as long as the general strike continued, the state of siege would continue...

It would still take a week of curfew and repression before the proletarian pressure was diminished enough so that the trade-union chiefs finally felt free to negotiate the end of the movement. Friday February 23, the chief of staff of the army ordered the end

of the strike for the next Monday and the requisitioning of the strikers. Throughout the weekend negotiations were held under the aegis of CEDEAO (the Economic Community of the States of West Africa) and the attentive gaze of French imperialism which the previous week had threatened to send troops (5), before the agreement was to be sealed: a new Prime Minister would be named (it was Lansana Kouyaté) and the end of the strike was issued for Sunday at midnight. In order to not appear to yield too much to the military, the trade unions stated that work would commence again on the Tuesday, but that Monday would be... a day of prayer for the victims!

### THE NEED FOR THE CLASS PARTY

It is not so much the repression (more than 160 killed since the beginning of the year, thousands of casualties, hundreds and hundreds of arrests accompanied by beatings and various forms of malign treatment) than the class collaborationist orientation of the leadership—the trade-union hierarchies—which provided the logic of the movement. The exploited Guinean masses showed that they could stop the economy of the country; they had without any doubt the force to sweep away the regime in spite of its sanguinary brutality, if they had at their head a revolutionary organization equipped with the authentic communist program to centralize their forces and to move towards insurrection. In the absence of this proletarian class party to direct the struggle, it is inevitably other forces, tied to other classes, which direct the struggle and ruin it: the spontaneity of the most powerful movement of struggle is never enough to compensate for the absence of the party. This lesson of history, of which the strikes in Guinea give us a new confirmation, will have to be drawn by the proletarians of this country as by those in all the rest of the world. The reconstitution of the party is a constant need for the proletarian struggle, a need which becomes increasingly more obvious and more pressing when the fight reaches its greatest breadth ; but it is also a task which cannot be accomplished on one day or the next because its resolution requires at the same time the concrete practical experiment of confrontations between classes and the political, programmatic and theoretical struggle between the various orientations and tendencies which claim to be proletarian.

The general strike in Guinea could not solve this problem, it could only pose it. It is to the honor of the Guinean proletarians to have posed it with incomparable force (these proletarians who are in such a minority, so isolated, living in such misery, so poorly educated, who gave a masterly lesson of proletarian struggle to the still anaesthetized proletarians of the rich imperialist countries, by drawing in behind them the enormous mass of the disinherited and semi-proletarians); it will be to the proletarians of all countries to solve it together across all borders, seas and continents.

### EPILOGUE

A few months after weeks of general strike and bloody repression, “calm has returned” to the country. Thanks to the support of the trade unions, the government of the former secretary of “The International Organization of Francophonie” (to read: international organization of support for French imperialism), Kouyaté, the Prime Minister, was, at the beginning, rather popular: the criminal regime of Conté thus seems to have escaped from difficulty once again.

Besides in mid-June, Kouyaté was cordially received by the new French president who congratulated him on the political process under way in Guinea and made some promises of credit

( Continued on page 10 )

## THE STRUGGLES IN GUINEA

### The workers struggles in Guinea-Conakry

(Continuation from page 9)

and reduction of the debts due to France “as soon as an agreement is made with the IMF” (the generosity of imperialism has its limits!). Previously, Kouyaté had gone to the United States to be established and accredited, the role of the American multinationals in Guinea requiring it.

But as a matter of fact social calm in the country is only relative, because the proletarians and the masses did not receive any solution to their problems—and will not be able to receive any from this bourgeois and pro-imperialist regime. The living conditions of the masses continue to worsen as inflation increases, unemployment remains endemic, etc. According to a survey carried out in May-June by Stat View International, a majority of inhabitants of the Guinean capital live below the starvation level!

It is thus inevitable that agitation in many forms continues to express itself, more or less sporadically, which led the trade union Intercentrale to publicly keep its distance from the government.

In an open letter to Kouyaté at the beginning of July, the trade-union chiefs write: “Since your nomination, you made only empty promises to the population, especially concerning the reestablishment of basic social services”: water, electricity, transport, being items of the greatest necessity. And, after having criticized the nomination, renewal or promotion of former dignitaries of the preceding government, they affirm: “you move away from the task which is your responsibility and the people to which you must account is neglected “. All is that quite pretty but who supported the appointment of this Prime Minister and called for the resumption of work against the hollow promise that Kouyaté was going to satisfy the needs of the masses, if not these same trade-union chiefs?

These last months, after the soldiers in the ranks who repeated their threats of mutinies if what was owed them was not paid and who were even devoting themselves to various exactions, a wave of agitation seized the students of the various universities in the country. In Conakry as in Kankan (where the dean had been sequestered), courses had to recommence under heavy police guard.

In the popular districts, in particular in the impoverished suburbs of Conakry, the inhabitants (especially of the young people) protested against the cuts of electricity which make life there impossible: the reestablishment of a normal electrical service had been one of the promises of the new Prime Minister.

But a more significant positive sign of the state of mind of the proletarians is provided by the strike of several weeks duration of the 1500 workers of the Topaz Multi-Industries company.

This company is a group with Indian capital which manufactures paint, packaging, etc. in two factories (in the suburbs of Conakry and in Coyah); it is infamous for its abusive firings. The workers braved not only the climate of intimidation reigning in this company—one of most important of the country apart from the mines – but they also repudiated the existing trade unions shown to be “in connivance” with the owner. After having established a platform of demands requiring the end of “ill treatment” and to demand wage increases, they went on an unlimited strike “until the total satisfaction of [their] demands”. The strikers declared to the press: “times have changed; we will no longer allow them to stomp on our feet” (7).

It is clear that the proletarian struggle has not gone into hibernation in tropical Guinea.

But like everywhere it has in front of it the great task of breaking with trade unionism collaborationism selling out to the

owners and the bourgeois State, in order to reconstitute the weapons proper to it: the class organization for the immediate struggle for defence against the owners, like the organization to direct this class struggle and to lead it, in unison with the proletarians of the other countries, until the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of its revolutionary power: the class party internationalist and international.

Times will only really change when this task begins to be carried out!

(1) See “Le Proletaire” n°395 (February-March-April ‘88).

(2) According to the services of the French Embassy in Conakry, 70 big French companies are established in Guinea, without counting many small companies which “take an active part in the economic presence of France”. Bauxite (which is at the base of the production of aluminum) is mainly exploited by a consortium of the World Bank and Japanese and American companies. An important investment for the installation of a factory producing aluminum was decided on by a consortium directed by a Canadian group with participation of French companies and others, and a second is projected.

(3) At the beginning of February, after the cessation of the first general strike, the trade-union chiefs failed to attend a meeting with the opposition parties which they themselves had even organized, because, according to their statements, the same day they were to meet with... the representatives of the World Bank!

(4) The day after the meeting, a new born “Organization of the Young Workers and Demonstrators of Conakry” published a declaration against “trade-union betrayals”:

*We, young workers and demonstrators of Conakry are meeting this morning of Friday February 16 to define our plan of demands and we will sacrifice ourselves for the change in our country GUINEA. For that, we clearly ask the trade unionists leaders to adopt a clear position, while taking into account that more than 158 died and more than 754 were wounded across the country.*

*We demand that the mother of the workers of GUINEA Mrs HADJA RABIATOU DIALLO to be as clear as water flowing over rocks because, their decision yesterday, Thursday, to discuss with the irresponsible institutions of the Republic, was for us one of the greatest errors made in this crisis. One is either with the people or against the people.*

We are determined to die, to save GUINEA from the hands of its butchers. After all these massacres, all these slaughters, it is not any more in question that Lansana Conté remains in power. He must leave. That’s it, period.

**EITHER ONE IS WITH THE PEOPLE OR ONE IS AGAINST THE PEOPLE**

**LONG LIVE GUINEA! LONG LIVE TRADE-UNION UNITY!  
DOWN WITH THE TRAITORS!**

(5) Kerballah, the chief of staff of the army, is one of the strong men of the Conté clan. He was “lionized” (knighted)” by French imperialism at the time of a visit to Paris in February 2006.

(6) Sending of the passenger ship Sirocco. Regarding military cooperation with Guinea, the Embassy of France affirmed without laughing out loud that “the given training aims at the reinforcement of the operational capacity of the units with general concern for compliance with the rules of ethics and professionalism”. See “Rouge” n°2192. The chief of the police force of Conakry contradicted the charges of his subordinates having committed slaughters on January 22, by declaring that this was impossible because they were formed and trained by French specialists! The Guinean proletarians have experienced the bloody experiment of what is ethical and professional for imperialism...

(7) “All Africa”, April 24, 2007

## THE STRUGGLES IN GUINEA

### **Solidarity with the General Strike in Guinea!**

Six days after its official beginning on Monday, the general strike continues in Guinea. The production of C.G.B, the second leading Bauxite producer in the world, has been halted, the workers also having stopped the trains carrying ore, while the production of the other consortium continues to grind towards a halt (provoking incendiary inflation in the prices of bauxite and aluminum on the world market). All economic activities are paralysed.

To break the movement and to crush the demonstrations, the assassin regime of president-general Conté has resorted to an inhuman repression murdering more than 60 people by Saturday. Martial law and curfew orders (full emergency powers to the army, prohibition of all demonstrations and gatherings, closing of independent radio stations and cybercafés, etc.) were issued Monday and the sinister "red Berets" command-

ed by Conté's son, as well as Liberian combatants, have multiplied their atrocities: arrests, torture, massacres.

But the mutiny at the main military camp in the capital of Conakry is revealing the weakness of the regime which could not resist a long general strike.

In spite of that the trade-union chiefs agreed this Thursday 15 February to negotiate with the employers and the military leadership, whereas the day before they refused to negotiate under terror! They gave up the demand for the removal of Conté and his government, a demand they had raised with much hue and cry on February 11 so as not to be overwhelmed after the spontaneous resumption of the movement and the demonstrations. Now they ask only for the appointment of a new Prime Minister: it was already with the promise of such an appointment that they had decided on January 27 to cease the general strike begun 18 days earlier! There is scarcely any doubt that they are preparing to sabotage the struggle once again, if the Guinean workers are not able equip themselves with an independent class organization capable of counteracting their manoeuvres.

The Guinean proletarians and masses have already paid a heavy tribute suffering repression by a regime which not only defends the interests of a small clique, but the general interests of capitalism and imperialism. Their cause is that of the proletarians of the whole world, their fight against repression and bourgeois exploitation must receive the support of all those who fight against capitalism and imperialism. To begin with by opposing the threat of military intervention brandished by French authorities who have just sent a battleship to the area and have declared that their soldiers were ready to intervene from nearby Gabon.

**Stop French support for the Conté regime!**

**Withdrawal of military advisers!**

**Close all French military bases on the continent!**

**French Imperialism out of Africa!**

**Solidarity with the General Strike in Guinea until Victory!**

### **Guinea: the Army Requisitions all the Workers!**

Friday evening, Kerfalla Camara, the chief of staff of the Guinean army, announced in a radio broadcast that he has ordered the end of the general strike and the resumption of work on Monday, by requisitioning all the workers in the administration, in commercial establishments and in private enterprises!

However, in the course of the day, the deputies – pro-government in their crushing majority, the opposition having boycotted the last elections because of frauds – had unanimously decided not to prolong the state of siege which gave full powers to the army, as demanded by president Lansana Conté. According to the Guinean Constitution, the soldiers no longer have any legal authority to give orders to the workers and to the population.

But the army has force on its side, not a constitutional scrap of paper or bourgeois legality, but the force of weapons. Last pillar of the criminal regime of Conté; seriously ill and experiencing only 2 hours of lucidity per day; and who is only a marionette, the army believes itself all powerful. However it is impossible to put a soldier behind each proletarian to oblige them to work! To try to break the strike, the soldiers will need recourse to increased terror, to devote themselves to new massacres to intimidate the workers, meanwhile bestial repression has already killed more than a hundred since the beginning of the year and hundreds of people have been arrested over the last week.

The military will easily be able to continue their crimes, because the Guinean regime has the support of the States of the area (who send their emissaries to act in concert with Conté) and of the imperialist powers, starting with France which has already dispatched a warship to the gulf of Guinea and has announced that it was ready to intervene with its soldiers based in Gabon (under the pretext of guaranteeing the safety of French citizens in the country): all these States want to defend the "stability" of Guinea because this stability is necessary for the exploitation by the multinationals of the mining riches of the country and for the stability of the capitalist order in all the area.

Without this support (including military in the case of the Liberian com-

### **«Programme communiste»**

#### **Theoretical review**

Summary of Nr. 99 (June 2006)

- L'Unité de l'Europe bourgeoise: une illusion anti-prolétarienne réactionnaire • Ce qui distingue notre parti • Matériaux pour un bilan des crises du parti. *En mémoire de Bruno Maffi* - La défense des bases programmatiques et politiques de la gauche communiste implique aussi la lutte contre les déviations démocratiques et personnalistes toujours renaissantes • Les Variations d'Il Programma Comunista sur la «question nationale» • Propriété et capital (3). Encadrement dans la doctrine marxiste des phénomènes du monde social contemporain - VI. La propriété urbaine. Le capitalisme et la propriété urbaine des immeubles et des terrains - Note sur le problème de la construction en Italie - Thèses relatives aux chapitres I - VI • Notes de lecture. - *David Riazanov: Marx et Engels / Robert Camoin: David Riazanov, marxiste et communiste / D.B. Riazanov: Marx and Anglo-Russian Relations and other writings.*

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February 17, 2007

(Continued on page 16)

## THE STRUGGLES IN GUINEA

### The Army Requisitions all the Workers!

(Continuation from page 5)

batants), the regime would probably have already collapsed. The days to come will be decisive: where the dictatorship will succeed in breaking the fight of exploited, or the strike will crush the criminal regime. Whatever the immediate outcome, the disinherited proletarians and Guinean masses have as their only allies the workers of the other countries. They need the class solidarity of the proletarians of the large capitalist countries; they need the struggle of the proletarians here against French imperialism, the real gendarme of Africa.

**No to the Support of French Imperialism for the Conté regime!**

**Withdrawal of French Military Advisers in Guinea, Close all French Military Bases in Africa!**

**For the Rebirth of Proletarian Internationalism, For the Resumption of the International Class Struggle!**

**Long Live the General Strike in Guinea!** February 24, 2007

### « le prolétaire »

N° 484-485

( May - September 2007 )

#### Summary

- Nouvelle victoire de la mystification électorale. Besoin accru de la lutte prolétarienne!
- La leçon des grèves à Airbus
- Etat, démocratie et dictature dans la perspective du communisme
- Les élections ça coûte cher, mais ça peut rapporter gros !
- Non à l'union sacrée derrière le PS! Vive la lutte de classe contre le capitalisme !
- V.P. («Partisans»): Les auxiliaires maoïstes de la démocratie
- Non à une intervention au Darfour!
- Après la grève générale, calme précaire en Guinée
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- Venezuela: Chronique d'une très bourgeoise «révolution bolivarienne»
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- L'entrée de Fadela Amara au gouvernement
- «Auschwitz ou le grand alibi» n'a pas le droit de cité à la Fête de L.O.
- Qu'est-ce que l'UJFP ?

## The General Strike Continues!

The international media speaks about it as little as possible, but the Guinean masses and proletarians continue their fight against the bloody dictatorship supported and armed by French and other imperialisms. They have an urgent need for the solidarity of all the workers.

On Monday, the curfew “was reduced” by a few hours, but the strike continued in a massive way across the whole country!

The blockade of information is also total (closing of the cybercafés, of independent radio stations – except for Radio Nostalgie which plays only music! newspapers; threats on the journalists including those working for international media, etc.) Since the introduction of the state of emergency and the curfew, in addition to dozens of deaths, hundreds of people (oppositionists, demonstrators, militant workers) have been arrested, maltreated, often tortured.

The former president of Nigeria, Babangida, arrived Saturday, in the name of CEDEAO (Economic Community of West Africa), in fact to give his support to the Conté regime, while having the gall to call for the revival of the social dialogue! Babangida declared that he did not want to see Guinea “falling into a chaotic situation” and “to be destabilized by an insurrection”. The former General Babangida knows of what he speaks: From the 80's into the 90's in Nigeria he led the military regime then in power, which followed a brutal policy of anti-working class repression. According to opponents of this regime, Babangida had erected: “a fortress of rot, of disorder, of trafficking and of bad governance”. The corruption reached heights never before seen (and then it got worse still!)

Babangida declared in Conakry that when he was leader in Nigeria (when he was actually plundering it!), he maintained “special privileged relations with General President Conté”: special privileged relations between gangsters! The petit-bourgeois democratic opposition – completely absent from the conflict – rejected the coarsely obvious trap which the Prime Minister held out to it: to be used as a fig leaf by the criminal dictatorship while taking part in a new government.

The trade-union leaders did not go to the second meeting with the military authorities, the employers and the representatives of the State on Saturday, because, according to their own statements, of the dissatisfaction caused among their members and the population by their participation in the first meeting. Hadja Rabiadou Diallo (president of trade union CNTG, and spokeswoman of the Intersyndicale) acknowledged miserably: “it is we who launched the strike. With this phase we have arrived at, it is the strike which leads us “!

The trade unions have demanded the lifting of the state of siege as a precondition to the resumption of meetings with the authorities: the chief of staff Kerfalla Camara answered that there was no question of lifting the state of siege as long as the strike continued.

Finally on Tuesday and Wednesday, there were 2 meetings for a “dialogue” between the trade unions and the authorities, although the so-called “precondition” required by the trade unions (lifting of the state of siege) was not carried out.

As proof of trade-union goodwill, the Secretary-general of the USTG, one of the two largest trade-union centrals, declared while arriving at the meeting today: “We came (...) so that together, we can contribute to lifting the state of siege, but also to make it so that we all move in the direction of appeasement”.

The representatives of the government still want to make the trade unions recognize Camara, whose nomination as Prime Minister first detonated the explosive situation (while asking the trade unions to grant him a “probationary period “); and they want above all for them to call an end to the strike: the authorities have given the trade unions until Friday to finish off the strike. After the stick, a carrot: Camara has promised to give 3 ministerial posts to the trade unions. No question of outright refusal! The trade-unions declared (declaration of a spokesperson of the USTG), that Camara the capitalist, minister for 10 years in various posts most recently Minister of the Economy and as such the person responsible for the disastrous situation of the masses, has been “honest” (sic!), but too close to the ruling power! The president of the CNTG, R.S. Diallo, added: “if we

## THE STRUGGLES IN GUINEA

call off the watchword to strike, the base will not agree"! ...

While trade-union chiefs and functionaries of the "Republican Institutions" discussed pleasantly, arrests continued throughout the country: in one week there have been more than 400 people arrested and held in the military camps under deplorable conditions. Whether Eugène Camara is preserved or another takes his place (names of various politicians cir-

culate), that will not change anything in the situation of Guinean proletarians...

The path of negotiation is the path of capitulation. The general strike in progress has sufficient force to defeat bourgeois repression, if it is directed and centralized towards the overthrow of the Conté regime and against capitalism. But, in the absence of an authentic class organization to lead it, to be able stand in opposition to all the manoeu-

vres, the strike is likely to exhaust itself sooner or later.

**For Independent Proletarian Class Organization!**

**Long Live the Unlimited General Strike of the Guinean Proletarians! No to political and military support of French imperialism for the Assassin Guinean Regime! Long Live the International Anti-capitalist Struggle!**

February 21, 2007

## The Trade-Union Chiefs Liquidate the General Strike!

At the end of discussions with the authorities, religious leaders and a delegation of the CDEAO (economic community of the States of the area) directed by the former President-general of Nigeria, the gangster Babangida, the trade-union leaders decreed the "suspension" of the general strike which had lasted for 2 weeks, as of Sunday midnight.

For his part, President Lansana Conté has promised to name a new Prime Minister from a list of 5 names indicated by the trade unions and the opposition parties. The trade-union leaders speak about a great victory (while evoking a possible resumption of the strike), but it looks more like a capitulation! The news service AFP reports that this agreement "did not cause any particular demonstration of joy" in the country.

Let us recall that the chief of staff of the Army "had ordered" the end of the strike for Monday and had ordered the requisitioning of all workers, after the deputies had on Friday refused to prolong the state of siege as Conté had asked them to.

So as not to appear to yield too much, the trade-union leaders stated that, if the strike were finished as of Sunday evening, Monday would actually be... a day of prayers for the victims (several dozen killed in the last 15 days, more than one hundred twenty since the beginning of the year)! They were also content "to request" the release of the hundreds of people arrested and tortured since the resumption of the strike.

The trade-union leaders had already halted the first general strike at the end of January on the simple promises of Conté, among other things to name a Prime Minister of "consensus" (a claim puffed up by the imperialist powers which especially do not want a government

overthrown by a single strike!).

Faced with assurances which went unrespected, the movement spontaneously recommenced 2 weeks ago, taking insurrectionary forms against the regime (destruction of villas and buildings belonging to the ministers, attacks on public buildings, prisons, and police arsenals to seize weapons...). The trade-union leaders had then been constrained to radicalize their speech so as not to be completely overwhelmed: they were resigned to also demand the departure of Conté and the end of his criminal regime (which they refused to do before under the pretext that they "did not make of policy"!)...before going to negotiate with him after a few days.

Nothing has been "normalized" in Guinea.

A simple change of Prime Minister will not mean an end to the clique in power, and even less so the end of the exploitation, oppression and misery in this country which abounds in natural resources of all kinds. Against the criminals who are in power, against capitalism which is the cause of their misery, the youth, the disinherited masses, the proletarians of Guinea will have to continue to fight as they have with courage and exemplary determination for weeks in the teeth of unleashed repression. But to carry out this struggle, they cannot identify with those which once again have just sold out their struggle against empty promises: they will have to organize themselves economically and politically on a firm class basis and with openly anti-capitalist and revolutionary objectives.

**Long Live the Struggle of the Proletarians of Guinea!**

26/02/2007

### « Il Comunista »

n° 105-106

Luglio-ottobre 2007

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- Globalizzazione e crack finanziari, due fattori dello stesso processo di crisi del capitalismo
- Referendum sull'accordo sindacati-confindustria-governo: il solito modo per far passare accordi già sottoscritti sulla pelle dei proletari
- Una sola via d'uscita al calvario delle masse palestinesi: la lotta proletaria di classe!
- «Aushwitz o il grande alibi» indigesto a Lutte Ouvrière
- Il Partito Democratico, tentativo di unificare le forze di conservazione sociale borghese «di sinistra»
- Ma quali Pensioni?, sull'accordo del 23 luglio 2007 tra governo-sindacati tricolore-patronato
- Napoli: il SLL-per il sindacato di classe, deve superare le vecchie metodologie attraverso un'azione sincrona e concorde espressa da una piattaforma di lotta unitaria
- Operaio si uccide perchè non riusciva a pagare il mutuo per la casa
- Infortunio mortale alla 3b di Salgarèda (TV)
- Per difendersi ci vuole: lotta ad oltranza, sciopero immediato, allargare la lotta a tutti i posti di lavoro, manifestando in piazza contro lo sfruttamento e la morte sul lavoro, (nostro volantino)
- Rigettiamo l'accordo tra padroni-sindacati tricolore-governo riprendiamoci la lotta dura e intransigente! (nostro volantino)
- Iacorossi, volantino SLL: contro la cassa integrazione, mobilitiamoci e lottiamo!

# Against the Repression in Oaxaca, Anti-capitalist Class Struggle!

For several months the town of Oaxaca, capital of the Mexican State of the same name, has been the center of important struggles which have suffered repeated attacks by the forces of repression (police, army and paramilitary) with many victims: at the end of November the toll was 22 dead and 34 disappeared.

The starting point was the day of ritual inaction which is organized in May at the time of the renewal of the employment contracts, of the National Trade Union of Education Workers. For this corporatist and class-collaborationist trade union this was to be nothing other than a pale simulacrum of struggle designed to allow the pressure generated by the difficult conditions which the teachers experience, to dissipate and inevitably lose energy. But in the State of Oaxaca, Section 22 of the SNTE, in opposition to the practice of class-collaboration of the traditional trade-union big-wigs, decided on May 22 to launch a strike, thinking that the government of the State of Oaxaca was going to give an immediate response to the demands for negotiations. (1).

The answer was given on June 14: at 4:AM; the local authorities launched an attack of thousands of police officers, helicopters, dogs, teargas, etc. against the strikers, who had installed a Protest Encampment (*Planton*) in the central square. For several hours the confrontations opposed the forces of bourgeois law and order against the strikers; joined by many inhabitants of the city; there were hundreds of casualties, but the police were forced to withdraw, while the demonstrators began to occupy administrative buildings and started to erect barricades everywhere, manned night and day to prevent the return of the police officers; following this, the local radio and television stations were occupied to prevent the systematic misinformation by the authorities and to retransmit the news of the fight.

Following these confrontations, the movement took a very different form; gigantic protest demonstrations took place in Oaxaca, and the social claims of the teachers (payment of unpaid wages and wage increases) became secondary to the demand for the resignation of the governor. The authorities while playing for time for the situation to deteriorate,

sporadically utilized "death squads" which shot at the demonstrators during the night. The participants spoke about a "Commune" in reference to the Paris Commune as well as referring to traditional Indian communities (the State of Oaxaca is one where the Indian population is most numerous).

Under the pretext of broadening the movement, the local section of the teachers' trade union supports the initiative of the constitution of a "Popular Parliament of the People of Oaxaca". A sign of support in the face of repression and of the general dissatisfaction in contrast to the veritable Maffia of irremovable political leaders, the APPO gathers 340 organizations, associations and various parties "of various sectors of society in this State" and in mid-November, after the fall of the barricades following a new brutal and massive intervention of the forces of repression, it even gave rise to a "alternate government".

This APPO made a lot of noise in the press. Some want to see there a true Commune with the image of the Paris Commune or a kind of Peoples' Soviet, an instrument of dual power of the workers and peasants, even the beginning of the Mexican revolution!

Actually, it is nothing but an **inter-classist** gathering trying to dilute the explosive social anger in a democratic, pacifist civil disobedience struggle. After having supported the presidential campaign of the party of center-left, the PRD, the APPO tried to convince the Mexican Senate (where the right is in the majority) that the vacuum of power in Oaxaca was paralyzing the city, in order to organize new state elections. Then it engaged in discrete negotiations with the government, while the famous "combative" local union called on the teachers to resume work - which was inevitable besides after a 5 month strike and the absence of concrete prospects. While certain very minoritarian local trotskyst groups could very well denounce the treason of the local union 22 and the machinations of the APPO leaders in arriving at a compromise with the authorities, they could propose nothing other than the continuation of the movement on its democratic, interclassist basis with the objective of the dismissal of the governor.

In December the APPO published a declaration addressed "to the peoples of Oaxaca, of Mexico and the World" and to "all the intellectuals, all the artists, all the eminent members of the scientific community and others, to all the NGO's" (2) The APPO did not address its declaration to proletarians, to the working class of Mexico and the World, that is to say to those who are exploited by capitalism and who by their revolutionary struggle, can overthrow it to establish Communism: a classless society without exploitation, money and commodities, borders and States. Of course this is because the goal of the APPO, according to this declaration, is "a truly free and sovereign State of Oaxaca". Marx said that to call for a "free State" indicates the "limited mentality of humble subjects" (3): the conscious workers fight to destroy the capitalist State, not "to release it"!

The constitution of the so-called alternate government, "to build a power which little by little will itself destroy the existing power", taking charge of the functions which devolve upon the State (!) as its objective, is undoubtedly a response to this kind of criticism. But this is obviously the best means of exhausting the movement while above all avoiding confrontation with this State, which like any bourgeois State cannot be destroyed little by little! It is not a popular and democratic movement of civil disobedience, but a violent proletarian revolution directed by the class party, which will be able to cut down the bourgeois State and to substitute the **dictatorship of the proletariat**.

"Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."(4)

## DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR ILLUSIONS AGAINST THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The events of Oaxaca are the fruit of a political, economic and social sit-

uation which is not only relevant to this State, one of poorest in Mexico (but also one of those where the activities related to tourism are most promising).

The rate of Mexican unemployment was officially only 3.6 % in 2005; but the specialists generally estimate that it is actually 25%, and that practically half of the work force is in a state of under-employment or abstract employment (odd jobs). According to estimates the number under the poverty line varies from 45 to 70 million (either 45% to 70% of a population of a little more than one hundred million inhabitants), whereas the wealth of the capitalist minority never stopped increasing. The industrial development of Mexico, particularly in the form of maquiladoras, those factories where the proletarians are subjected to a bestial exploitation on behalf of American companies or working for the American market, or from the traditional international companies (Volkswagen, etc), suffers from the competition of countries where the wages are even lower, like China.

The degradation of the living and working conditions of the proletariat was the origin of several tough strikes in the last few months. That was in particular the case of the long strikes in the iron and steel industry. 500 strikers occupying the iron and steel complex of Lazaro Cardenas (in the State of Michoacan) where a long tradition of struggles exists, at the end of April suffered an attack of almost a thousand police officers and soldiers which killed 2 with forty casualties. However in spite of repression, the workers have it seems it, obtained at least some of their demands.

The attrition of the bourgeois party directing Mexico for nearly 80 years, the PRI (Revolutionary Institutional Party), is the reflection of the economic changes of the country. A new party of the right, the PAN (Party of National Action) expression of more modern bourgeois circles, came to compete with the old party of the caciques ones, while on its left it created for itself the PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution). In 2000 the candidate of the PAN, Vicente Fox, became the first president not a member of the PRI. This year its successor Felipe Calderon was declared victorious ahead of the candidate of the PRD, Lopez Obrador. He denounced electoral fraudulence and by his estimation was the winner of the elections. The PRD mobilized its supporters who

organized occupations and demonstrations of several hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of people in Mexico City, and he proclaimed himself the true president.

The massive character of these mobilizations is without any doubt a sign of the dissatisfaction which has accumulated towards the politicians who direct the country; but the fact that the candidate of the PRD can incarnate the change is also the sign of the depth of the existing illusions. The PRD is a party moderately of center-left, from which the economic program is not different from that of the PAN and it was a PRD governor who authorized the sending of the forces of repression against the strikers of Lazaro Cardenas.

The political instability which seems to be infecting Mexico should not be misunderstood: the social upsurges there are still contained by open repression mixed with democratic diversions — and for a period of time this is inevitable.

But the deployment of the open social war, of the class struggle, is inexorable; moreover the Mexican emigrants in the United States already showed while massively demonstrating and by striking this May Day, undoubtedly in a still confused, but powerful, way that the Mexican proletarians are again taking up this long road.

To continue on this way they will have to avoid the democratic obstacles, the interclassist dead ends; they will have to find the fundamental weapons of the class struggle, to organize **independently of all other classes**, to constitute their **class party, internationalist and international**. That will not be done without much duress, or quickly.

But it is the condition so that tomorrow the proletarian Mexican Commune will be born and that it will be victorious!

**Down with bourgeois oppression in Oaxaca and the rest of Mexico!**

**Long live the anti-capitalist and international class struggle!**

October 2006

(1) According to an interview of a member of this trade union. cf Prensa de Frente, 29/10/06, published on [risal.collectifs.net](http://risal.collectifs.net)

(2) [www.asambleapopulardeoxaca.com/boletines](http://www.asambleapopulardeoxaca.com/boletines)

(3) Critique of the Gotha Program

(4) Ibid

## «el programa comunista»

**Nº 47 - Julio de 2007  
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- En defensa de la continuidad del programa comunista (8) / Tesis suplementarias sobre la tarea histórica, la acción y la estructura del partido comunista mundial (Milán, Abril 1966) / Tesis sobre la tarea histórica, la acción, y la estructura del partido comunista mundial, según las posiciones que desde hace más de medio siglo forman el patrimonio histórico de la Izquierda Comunista (Nápoles, Julio 1965)
- Contra la represión en Oaxaca: ¡lucha proletaria anticapitalista!
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# France: Down with the Electoral Circus, Long Live The Revolutionary Struggle!

## THE GOAL OF THE ELECTORAL CIRCUS

As the election draws near, the brainwashing keeps on growing, supplied with the daily oscillations in the polls and the various adventures and vicissitudes of the campaign. In this veritable **electoral circus** where the mystified voters are the **target** (so say the specialists in advertising marketing which is characteristic of ultramodern capitalism) of rival electoral staffs, the most important thing for the dominant class is actually not whether this or that candidate triumphs: no, the most important thing is that the circus continues to function, in other words that the masses and especially the proletarians continue to take part, continue to believe that the elections are the only means of «change» or at least the only means «of expressing their dissatisfaction».

All the riches of society come from the exploitation of the workers by capitalism. During the times of record economic expansion, the capitalists could concede to the proletarians some **crumbs** to soften this exploitation and to make

prospects for social advancement for their children glimmer a little more brightly.

But these record periods can be only temporary, even when they last for decades as was historically the case in the major countries after the last world war: after the war they experienced a vigorous revival of capitalist accumulation and a long cycle of economic expansion. This period is called «the thirty glorious years» by bourgeois reformists, and all the petit-bourgeois reformists mourn its disappearance. But they either forget or wish to conceal the fact that the immense devastations of the war were the necessary preconditions and that these three really **shameful** decades were marked by an intensification of the exploitation of the proletarians in the imperialist powers and by a systematic plundering of the resources of the so-called «peripheral» countries, accompanied by ceaseless «local» or colonial wars. These decades of expansion necessarily lead to an all-the-more acute economic crisis

since economic growth had been long and intense, as the party had foreseen in the Fifties while fixing the probable date of the eruption of the great general economic crisis of capitalism at 1975.

This pivotal date opened an epoch, which in France coincided with the first Mitterrand (Left) government at the beginning of the eighties, of deep changes in the social policy of capitalism, in all countries.

Since then it is no longer a question of continuing to grant concessions to the proletariat, which previously had made it possible to buy social peace, but now it is necessary to turn against it. Formerly the prospect for reforms meant the prospect for **improvements** of the living and working conditions of the proletariat – and the **reformists** were those who affirmed that the fight for reforms was enough to recuperate all demands and in doing so thereby preserving the capitalist system.

From now on «reforms» are synonymous with **attacks** against the working class – and the bourgeois analysts wonder how to push through these «reforms» without a fight while the reformists argue, evidence in hand, that they are the only ones capable of doing this, demonstrating their basically anti-worker and pro-capitalist nature.

The more capitalism struggles with

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Organ of the International Communist party

Summaries and Articles from Nr. 1 (October 1975) to Nr. 7 (September 1981)

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economic difficulties, the more competition increases on a world market saturated with goods, the more it feels the need for new «reforms», i.e. the need for new attacks against its proletarians in order to extort additional shares of profits from them. But even out of these attacks there arises in the bourgeoisie an increasing acuity as to the difficulty of maintaining social peace, of preventing proletarian reactions to the attacks, in a word of preventing the reawakening of the class struggle. It is not very difficult to see, mirrored through the prattle of these politicking speeches, the reflection of these interests and these fears of the capitalists. Last year, Sarkozy gave himself the image of the «Strongman» on the one hand and, on the other, of the craftsman of the «rupture» with Chirac's policy since the most influential capitalist circles consider the policy of «reforms» too weak and too timorous; compared to its allies/competitors and in particular Germany, not to mention the so called «emergent» capitalist countries like China, to which French capitalism indeed loses ground.

In parallel, aligning herself on the same capitalist exigencies, Ségolène Royal, who, as a candidate of the Socialist Party which has for itself the «natural» advantage of being the historical social fireman, has affirmed herself as an «Iron Lady» (the «right order», the recourse to the army to subdue the young troublemakers and so on) and as a follower of «Blairism», in reference to the anti-worker policy carried out by the British Prime Minister since he has been in power.

The riots of the suburbs and also the mobilizations of workers at the time of the fight against the CPE were a «close call» (see «Proletarian» n°2). The bourgeoisie suddenly remembered that attacks which are too precipitous are likely to involve igniting struggles, even social explosions.

Sarkozy pontificated to Paris and to the world that he «had changed»! Forgetting his speech on the «rupture», he endeavoured to convince everyone that he would not set off the social powder keg and that he could be as attentive towards the maintenance of the social consensus as any social democrat (1). And if the Centrist Bayrou could, thanks to the magic wand of the great media conglomerates, reach the status of «serious candidate», it is because he fitted into the equation perfectly: demonstrating the ability to comprehend and defend the interests of the large capitalists at the same time having the sensibilities required for the maintenance of social peace (2)...

## THE «FARLEFT», PILLAR OF THE ELECTORAL CIRCUS

The fundamental goal of the electoral circus and all of the circumlocutions of bourgeois democracy is to act as an antidote to the class struggle, in order to deviate working class dissatisfaction into a dead end. The force and the omnipresence of the electioneering propaganda for the last several months are explained at least partly by the difficulties stirring up enthusiasm (in impassioning) among the proletarians prior to (for) the election date when the major candidates have programs so close that in order to differentiate themselves they project their «image», their «personality» – manufactured by their «communication» experts. The multiplication of sociological studies on the phenomenon of abstention, which has been constantly increasing for years, even as the social shock absorbers have been weakened, is an additional sign of the concern of the bourgeoisie in connection with the loss of credibility of the electoral circus. After the riots of the banlieues there were a lot of initiatives to invite the young proletarians to register on the electoral rolls and to take the ballot in hand rather than the Molotov cocktail.

But it would hardly be possible to fight this erosion of electoral illusions, to

bring the proletarians back into the snares of bourgeois democratic policy, without the presence of candidates in each election who address themselves directly to them and which claim to defend their interests; due to the factor of the PCF (French Communist Party) having been mortally wounded by its too-lengthy anti-proletarian practice, the organizations of the far left were put forward to once again take up their role as diffuser of all the reformist lies and all the deceptions of bourgeois democracy. The Trotskyist organizations; LO (Workers Struggle) and LCR (Revolutionary Communist League) the PT (Workers Party), refusing even to call itself «far» left!) have for a long time dropped any reference to the «revolutionary parliamentarism» of Lenin which they had formerly invoked, to electioneer comfortably in the place left vacant on the bourgeois political scene.

They thus became small, but irreplaceable, pillars of the electoral circus. It is not we who say it, but... Sarkozy himself, when he declared that the Far Rightist Le Pen and the LCR's Besancenot would be assured the necessary legal endorsement signatures in order to be able to run in the presidential elections.

## FOR REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

No matter who is elected, the capitalist attacks will continue and it will be necessary to fight to defend ourselves. It would be deeply erroneous to believe that a Ségolène would be less malicious than a Sarkozy. The history of the last decades in France have demonstrated that governments of the left are often more successful in implementing anti-proletarian measures, while at the same time paralysing the working class.

The proletarians can count only on themselves, and their most dangerous enemies are those which claim to be on their side: it is easier to fight against a rightist Sarkozy or to push back against a de Villepin (Prime Minister of Chirac government) than it is to resist an SP'er like Jospin – because the latter can more easily mobilize the network of the collaborationist forces and their relays of contacts among the workers!

The proletarians do not have anything to expect coming out of the elections. They must turn their backs on the electoral circus, all its magicians and all its clowns in order to direct themselves towards the only **realistic** alternative: preparation of the struggle to defend their class interests, the struggle of defence against dismissals, against the degradation of living and working condi-

tions, against police repression, against expulsions, etc. This class struggle which also implies the fight against the crimes of imperialism and of internationalist solidarity with the proletarians of all other countries (even more so for us in solidarity with those under the domination of French imperialism) and which must independently emerge on the level of proletarian organization and against the collaborationist apparatuses, thus having nothing in common with the traditional **apolitical** anarchistic attitude.

To be carried out effectively and in order to exceed the stage of the purely defensive struggle, in order to become the revolutionary war against capitalism, requires an organized avant-garde which follows a **policy** based on the authentic communist revolutionary program. Not only against declared adversaries but more especially against all the false friends, against all the alleged revolutionary sell-outs to the bourgeois order who only seek to mislead it, this avant-garde must counter all the false prospects and counter all democratic and electoralist illusions.

In other words, the proletarian struggle needs **the class party** working to

(Continued on page 18)

# France: For a Return to the Class Struggle No to the Union Sacree behind the SP!

«A victory for democracy», «the French people have rediscovered the path to the polling booth», «the workers renew their ties to the governmental parties», these are some of the comments which demonstrate the bliss of the media with the result of the first round of the elections. Beyond partisan contingencies, bourgeois political commentators are resoundingly joyful that the increasing tendency towards abstention and the discrediting of the political system which has been increasing for years underwent a «crushing rebuttal».

*The polling booth rather than the street, ballots rather than Molotov cocktails*, this slogan of diverse collaborationist, pacifist and reformist associations and parties achieved a straightforward success last Sunday, showing that electoral illusions are quite alive and that the democratic mystification still functions.

The upcoming second round of presidential and legislative voting will be used to diffuse the electoralist intoxication in ever-increasing amounts, according to which the vote is the way to make things change, the only means to oppose the attacks by the bourgeoisie -

or at least to 'weigh in' on the policy pursued by the leaders of the country.

## DOWN WITH BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY!

The bourgeois democratic political system is actually based on a double lie: the lie according to which all citizens being «free and equal in right» have at their disposal the same little parcel of political sovereignty, whether they are the owner of a multinational or a unemployed worker at the end of his benefits; and the lie according to which the State (with all its political, legal, repressive etc. apparatus) is an «impartial» institution above all classes and which serves all citizens.

Actually capitalist society is divided into **classes** with **opposed** interests, divided between two poles between which gravitate intermediate social layers: the dominant class of the small minority of those which appropriate all the riches - the capitalists and - the great mass of those who have nothing - the proletarians, obliged to sell themselves to the bosses in order to live.

The State is above all the **organ for**

**the defense of the capitalist mode of production and the political domination of the bourgeois minority.** Thanks to the various official institutions, with the preponderant means of communication in the hands of the capitalists, as well as with the weight of the collaborationist organizations bought off by the bourgeoisie: «the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class» (Marx): in other words, it is the bourgeois forces which fashion «public opinion» and determine the alleged «free will» of the individual voter.

But in spite of their economic and political domination, the capitalists can't prevent that the antagonisms between exploiters and exploited lead to open struggles, confrontations during which the exploited, on the basis of the concrete experience of their collective force, can emancipate themselves from their subjection to bourgeois forces.

For the capitalists as for their reformist servants clinging to the maintenance of their privileges in the existing system, it is thus essential to divert young people and workers away from the only realistic and effective way to defend themselves, open struggle; to avoid putting the national capitalism in difficulty, and to prevent a defensive struggle that could lead to a frontal war against the bourgeois order. This is why at the time of the struggles against the CPE, the chief of the Socialist Party, Holland, declared that the CPE would be applied since the law had been voted and that the only thing to do was to await the next elections. The young people and workers did not listen to him and by their combativity they obliged the government to withdraw this measure which had been voted for (even if the trade-union leaders succeeded in stopping the movement before it went further)!

## LONG LIVE THE CLASS STRUGGLE!

In 2002, a formidable opinion campaign, carried out by just about all the media, all the parties, all associations, had brought the voting sheep back en masse towards the ballot boxes in order to support the bourgeois politician, swindler-in-chief, Chirac.

Today a campaign of different opinions but also totally disastrous wants to

## Down with the Electoral Circus Long Live The Revolutionary Struggle!

(Continuation from page 17)

conquer a decisive influence upon the masses by a theoretical, political and tactical struggle without concessions against the system of bourgeois political domination and against the intrigues of the capitalists and their servants of any and all species. A class party which will then be able to direct the proletarian masses in the revolutionary war to overthrow the bourgeois State, to install the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries and to enable humanity to reach the classless, stateless society: Communism.

For the proletarians conscious of their class interests and eager to fight for them, there is today no more important and necessary a task than to contribute, outside and against the democratic and electoral circus, in liaison with the struggles of the working class, to the efforts towards the reconstitution of the interna-

tional and internationalist class party, the party of the future **world communist revolution!**

March 2007

(1) We do not speak here about another point upon where Sarkozy has had to back-pedal: his pro-American declarations. Because of the clashes of interests between French and the American imperialists in many fields, it is indeed impossible to reach the presidency without professing hostility to the USA.

(2) This is why Simone Veil - the president of the Committee of support for Sarkozy - thought she had found Bayrou's weak point by recalling that when he was a Minister for National Education «he had made a million people take to the streets» (quarrel on the school laws).

ensure the success of a new swindle: reinforcement of the Socialist Party as an alternative to the 'Sarkozyist' right-wing. After having succeeded in bringing back to the polling booths not a few workers and young people from the working population who had previously turned away, this campaign seeks to create, behind the candidate manufactured by the media, a gathering around the SP in the name of 'anti-Sarkoskyism'. When the centrist candidate Bayrou declared that «powerful interests» were behind the standpoint of «*Le Monde*» in favour of the presence of the SP Royal in the 2<sup>nd</sup> round, he undoubtedly did not allude only to the Lagardère media group, but to the most influential sections of the bourgeoisie which have been preparing this solution for many months.

In effect, in a situation where French capitalism encounters important difficulties on the world market, all the capitalists insistently demand the acceleration of the attacks against the workers, more clearly calling into question the «social rights» conceded formerly (and Bayrou, Royal as well as Sarkozy agree on this point).

But the bourgeois leaders know that proletarian reactions to new attacks are inevitable; since they are not able to prevent them, they have need of a sufficiently strong party on the left to control

them and to channel them in an inoffensive way. Because of the delinquency of the Communist Party and immaturity of the electoralist far left, only the SP can act as a bulwark of the capitalist order. This is the fundamental objective of the anti-Sarkozy united front backing the SP: not to obtain the more-than-improbable electoral victory of Royal, but to reconstitute on the left a sufficiently solid anti-proletarian force to maintain calm on the social front.

The union in progress around a party which (with its accomplices of the «Plural Left») served French capitalism and imperialism with great fidelity in the more than a quarter century since the election of Mitterrand and which promises to serve it better still; this union which is advocated by the shameless electoralist far left, must be fought by all those which want to really defend the interests of the workers and to resist the bourgeois order.

#### **NO SUPPORT TO BOURGEOIS AND REFORMIST ORGANIZATIONS!**

It is necessary to refuse the coarse trap of the anti-Sarkozy union: the adversary is not this or that bourgeois politician, because bourgeois politicians of the left as well as of the right, are only executants of capitalist interests; it's not

out of spitefulness that Sarkozy wants more repression and more anti-workers measures, but because he openly and loudly voices the capitalist demands - while Royal agrees with them but in a sober way.

The adversary - it's precisely the bosses, the capitalists, the bourgeoisie, the capitalist system which use the left or the right in turn to hoodwink the proletarians and to repress them; the adversary - it's the bourgeois State and its political system with all its bought politicians, these are also the ones who recommend the eternal dead-end of the «less evil», of the supposedly «realistic» policy of compromising with the class enemy.

The only solution, the only realistic way is that of the rupture with social-liberalism, with collaborationism, is that of the desertion from the electoral ditch to return to the terrain of open struggle, of the intransigent class struggle against the capitalist interests.

#### **NO TO THE UNION SACRÉE BEHIND THE SP!**

#### **NO TO THE ELECTORAL CIRCUS!**

#### **NEITHER SARKOZY, NOR ROYAL!**

#### **FOR ANTI-CAPITALIST CLASS STRUGGLE!**

April 26, 2007

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# The Counter-revolutionary Role of Opportunism

(Continuation from page 1)

- to take part, at the side of the dominant class, the big bourgeoisie, in all the struggles for social conservation – ideological and practical – and in all wars for the defense of the national (and colonial) «economic territory» on which its own parasitic existence depends.

## on the social level:

- to physically occupy the intermediate places between the large bourgeoisie and the proletarians (in the cities and rural areas, the institutions, the bureaucracy, the enterprise), by considering small personal property (including intellectual), small enterprise, the small firm, the family, the village or the district, as the ideal dimension of social life;

- to confound itself in general with the «mass», «the people», by fear of having to pay somebody too much (the State, a supplier, etc), by fear of assuming responsibilities for others, and at the same time,

- to distinguish itself from the «mass» (mass of the impoverished possessing little or nothing) by its privileges and its advantages.

## THE PETIT-BOURGEOIS LAYERS

**Opportunism** is thus the manifestation on all levels, including philosophical, religious and behavioral, of the social layers which have demonstrated their impotence historically, both compared to the dominating class and to the proletariat. These social layers, which are permanently **terrorized** by the threat of losing their privileges and of tumbling into the proletariat, even into the lumpen-proletariat, are also frightened by the prospect, which is however their great ambition, of joining the ranks of the big bourgeoisie; social layers which aspire to stop history, i.e. to render eternal the situation which allows their survival without problems, risks, without violent jolts, wars and social confrontations the consequences of which they can only fear; and to make the locomotive of history reverse as soon as the proletarian revolutionary movement appears, and in which they see, with reason, the threat of the total and final disappearance of their particular advantages.

These social layers of the small

and middle bourgeoisie, to which it is necessary to add the **aristocracy of labor** which, comprised on the basis of a privileged situation compared to the proletarian mass, share the same mentality and the same reactionary attitude as the petit-bourgeoisie, bound to oscillate perpetually between the big bourgeoisie and the proletariat, insofar as their interests appear at such-and-such a moment to be more threatened by one or the other. Historically they are the most enthusiastic partisans of **democracy** – this political and social framework which, according to bourgeois ideology, would allow each individual, each company, to act freely, entrusting its fate to the laws of the market and to the State – supposedly *above all classes* – the defense of personal freedoms and private property. These social layers are numerous; indeed they form a considerable mass – the peasantry in the less developed capitalist countries, urban in the others – and dream of constituting the **majority**, while worshipping the idea of an *individual conscience* which, according to them, determines good or evil, peace or war, well-being or misery. They have absorbed all the bourgeois illusions of freedom, equality, fraternity, adding to them a good amount of superstition and fatalism: they believe readily in the existence, after the physical life, of the ‘great beyond’ where all terrestrial injustices are repaired and all sacrifices rewarded. It is not by chance if the petit-bourgeoisie class, historically vacillating between the opposing classes and whose members concretely live in the competition of all against all, represents a fertile ground for all prejudices and all superstitions: all that occurs or can occur is the result of the will of a higher being – an inflexible destiny, a god, a brilliant leader, a democratic Madonna.

In the course of the long period which saw the emergence and the victory of the bourgeois class vis-à-vis the aristocracy and the clergy, the degenerated aristocratic layers – in the economic and social sense – represented a particularly tenacious reaction to the new society and the new anti-feudal mode of production. Similarly, for the whole historical period where the proletariat tends to continue as the class bearing the emancipation and progress of all humanity, the petit-bourgeois layers represent a specific reaction (and a mobilizable reac-

tionary mass) against the proletarian movement. In addition, the petit-bourgeoisie has its historical identity within capitalist society, which arises from its **specific counter-revolutionary role**. Marxism explains that the petit-bourgeoisie cannot have a historical class potentiality, independent of the other classes – whereas the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the classes at the two poles of contemporary society, have this potentiality because they each are the bearers of a particular mode of production: communism and capitalism. The social layers which comprise what is called the petit-bourgeoisie, are actually **semi-classes**, bereft of a specific mode of production, bereft of a revolution and a specific society. They are irreducibly attached and dependent on bourgeois society based on profit, on the extortion of surplus value.

But in the development of the social confrontations and the struggle between the two fundamental classes this does not preclude that, so as not to be crushed between the hammer of the proletariat and the anvil of the bourgeoisie, the petit-bourgeoisie tends to play a particular role, its own role, which can, in certain circumstances, appear as (in its eyes and in those of others) even a decisive independent role.

In certain phases of the bourgeois revolution, these layers could give a powerful contribution to this revolution, that is undeniable; but they did it under the pressure of the impersonal needs of a capitalism grappling with the old feudal society and for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie. Once this phase of bourgeois revolutions is terminated, the petit-bourgeoisie expresses its counter-revolutionary role more and more clearly.

Opportunism, which is thus the political expression of the various layers which make up the petit-bourgeoisie, describes a historical trajectory while oscillating between an anti-proletarian counter-revolutionary role and an anti-bourgeois counter-revolutionary role. In this sense the conservative and reactionary tendency of the petit-bourgeoisie assumes different characteristics according to particular historical phases and different geographical areas: **in order to fight the revolutionary proletariat** it bases itself on the big bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces related to the old pre-capitalist society, and on the im-

perialist forces concerned with opposing the movement of the revolutionary proletariat; **in order to fight the revolutionary bourgeoisie** it bases itself on the reactionary forces related to the Ancien Régime and on the imperialist forces concerned with opposing the bourgeois revolutionary movement, not hesitating even to seek the support of the proletariat on the condition of course that this proletariat loses its class independence.

Given this political and social behavior, in the historical phase where the bourgeoisie no longer has any revolutionary role, it goes without saying that the petit-bourgeoisie can no longer express and defend anything but the reactionary positions of social conservatism. The big bourgeoisie uses it and sustains it accordingly; precisely because of its characteristic as a semi-class and its historical impotence, it turns to anything that gives it the illusion of becoming a true social class, with a particular historical program, distinct and superior to that of any other social class. But the only thing which it has the possibility of attaining is bourgeois ideology, which even in a «radical» form, is moderated or openly reactionary.

The **invariance of opportunism** consists in this conservative, counter-revolutionary social and political role. To play this part, to try «to have weight» in society, the petit-bourgeoisie can only base itself on its own material conditions, related to small production, small property of which it defends the interests and the limits and from which arise the immediatist, separatist, reactionary and racist political positions which characterize it.

The proximity of many of the petit-bourgeois layers to the proletariat enables them to transmit to the working class their positions, their illusions, their superstitions, their fears and their ambitions. This work of intoxication of the proletariat appeared very invaluable and even sometimes crucial, for the social conservation and the defense of bourgeois interests. It would be impossible for the big bourgeoisie to directly carry out this intoxication, to diffuse it with as much force within the proletarian masses: the chasm between classes is too obvious. It is not the same with the petit-bourgeoisie, which in a period of prosperity certain proletarians can hope to join: the class antagonism is much less clear and it is often taken as an individual and non-social difference.

History has demonstrated that du-

ring the time of grave economic and social crisis the bourgeoisie did not have any scruple in cutting out this game and founding itself on overt class dictatorship, while the petit-bourgeoisie on the contrary needs democracy like it needs air to breathe. It is in the democratic environment that the petit-bourgeoisie can best exert all its capacities as mediator and intermediary, to the point of filling all the economic, political and social areas permitted by capitalist development. It is not by chance that it is only in the most developed capitalist countries that the petit-bourgeoisie proliferates in the sectors of commerce, the so-called «service industry», administration, bureaucracy, culture, information, religion or sport, rather than in the traditional sectors of the craft industry, small production and agriculture. One more often encounters in these last sectors elements coming from the proletariat with the hope of escaping from their condition in «setting oneself up on one's own account»

#### THE DEMOCRATIC LIE

But the bourgeois democracy of today is no longer that of the first, revolutionary phase of the bourgeoisie, nor even that of the liberal phase. Marx and Engels had already revealed not only the limits, but especially the fundamental illusion of bourgeois democracy, the unsurpassable form of the political organization of society.

During the time opened by the First and the Second world wars, bourgeois democracy became always and increasingly the simple political and ideological facade of the social domination of the bourgeoisie, which no longer leaves any possibility of obtaining by its intermediation even a tiny modification – let us not speak about moving towards socialism! – of the existing order in favor of the exploited class.

Increasingly it boils down to the simple mask of the **dictatorship of the bourgeoisie**, it is always and increasingly a colossal **lie**. The freedom called upon so much by the democrats and all the bourgeois is reduced in the reality of capitalist society to the freedom of the majority to sell its labour power and in the freedom of some others to buy it: for the greatest part of humanity, this «freedom» is translated into a **tragic necessity, with the only alternative being misery and hunger**.

This lie is however the vital pro-

tective lymph of bourgeois middle-class ideology, and the petit-bourgeoisie does not have any other ideological source in order to quench itself: it nourishes it, it endorses it, it calls upon it, it demands it, it begs the powerful ones not to turn their backs on it, it defends it tooth and nail because it sees there the means of its social prestige and its economic and political defense.

Opportunism can base its positions and its demands only on democracy. Democracy is thus not only «*the best method of government of the dominant bourgeois class*», because it succeeds in involving the proletariat in the defense of the general interests of capitalism (see Lenin), but it is the specific counter-revolutionary instrument opportunism uses with respect to the proletariat to divert it from class struggle and particularly of the revolutionary fight.

This counter-revolutionary instrument is used in all situations and in all phases of the class struggle. Especially after the Second World War and the experiments of Fascism and Nazism, it is used as a **preventive action** in relation to the attempts of the proletariat to find its classist terrain of struggle and to reorganize in associations for the defense of its interests.

Liberal democracy was successful in enrolling the proletariat of the various countries in the world imperialist butchery; but it did not succeed in preventing the revolutionary proletarian movements which after 1917 shook the bourgeois domination of the world and threatened to vanquish it in Europe following the Russian victory. One then needed Italian Fascism and German Nazism so that the bourgeois had the means of taking repressive action on a large scale and for a long time: 20 years in Italy, 12 years in Germany. As a result, the combined action of **Fascism** – i.e. of the open and declared bourgeois dictatorship – and **Stalinism** – i.e. of the democratic and national degeneration of the world communist revolutionary movement – caused **the most serious and major defeat that the proletariat had experienced since the birth of its class movement**.

*When in the years 1914-1918, one spoke about «opportunism» it was not a moral judgement on the treason of the leaders of the revolutionary movement, who at the decisive time appeared as agents of the bourgeoisie while launching watchwords dia-*

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# The Counter-revolutionary Role of Opportunism

(Continuation from page 21)

metrically opposed to those of their former propaganda. **Opportunism is a historical and social fact, one of the aspects of the class defense of the bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution; we can even say that the opportunism of the leaders and the proletarian executives is the principal weapon of this defense, just like Fascism is the principal weapon of the counter-offensive which supplements it, so that the two means of this struggle are integrated with a common aim.** («Guerres et crises opportunistes», *Textes du P.C. International*, n° 4, p. 42). Opportunism is thus one of the aspects of the defense of the bourgeois class, and the corruption of the proletarian organizations is the historical result of this defense: opportunism always responds as a preventive action of the dominant class, and as a preventive action, it **prepares the ground** for the bourgeois counter-offensive (Fascism) which will break out against a revolutionary class movement potentially threatening to the central power. These two means of struggle of the bourgeoisie are complementary for the defense of capitalism.

\* \* \*

How does opportunism actually act? Let us look to the text which we have just quoted:

*Opportunism is characterized by the fact that at the critical moments in bourgeois society, which are precisely those for which the extreme watchwords of revolutionary action were provided, it «discovers» that it is necessary to fight for other objectives which, far from being those proper to the proletariat, require a coalition between its forces and a part of those of the bourgeoisie.*

This definition gives us the fundamental characteristics of opportunism; however it would be false to conclude from this that opportunism appears only at those rare decisive moments; being a social and historical fact, it has material bases for a permanent role in the bourgeois society. Let us see the consequences of opportunist action:

*The political consciousness of the workers is based above all on the strength and the continuity of the action of their class party. If thus at the*

*opening of the decisive situations, the leaders, the propagandists and the press of the party suddenly begin to speak a new language – which means that the bourgeoisie has succeeded in mobilizing the opportunists in its favor, this causes a great confusion among the masses, and the almost unquestionable failure of any attempt at independent action.*

The goal of opportunism is to disorientate the proletarian movement, to make it deviate, to cause its failure. If there is a real class movement, it means that its action is independent of the organizations of class collaboration and with even stronger reason of the openly bourgeois parties. To ruin this movement, the bourgeoisie must seek to disorientate it from the inside, i.e. base itself on the opportunist forces which may exist there, so that they sabotage the classist actions and drag this movement back into the orbit of collaboration, reformism and respect of the established order. This is what it succeeded in doing through Social-democratic opportunism, then finally through Stalinist and post-Stalinist opportunism.

In its initial revolutionary phase, the bourgeoisie fought not only against political feudalism and its superstructures, but also against the first independent workers' associations (see the famous Le Chapelier law prohibiting trade unions during the French revolution); in the following phase of consolidation and capitalist expansion in the world which was the golden age of reformism, the bourgeoisie tolerated the workers' associations and allowed their growth, while endeavouring to politically capture them by increasing amounts of social «democracy». In the third historical phase, the phase of imperialism, its attitude changes again. Let us quote our text once again:

*At the imperialist stage, capitalism seeks to overcome its economic contradictions and to control all social and political developments by inflating its State apparatus inordinately; in the same way it modifies its action with regard to organized labor (...) at the third stage the bourgeoisie understands that it can neither remove them, nor to let them develop on an autonomous platform, and it proposes to incorporate them by any means into its State apparatus. Exclusively political at the beginning of the century, it becomes both political and economic in the imperialist era: the*

*State of the capitalists and the owners is transformed into the State-capitalist and the State-employer. Within this vast bureaucratic apparatus, it provides gilded prisons for the chiefs of the labor movement. A thousand forms of arbitration, a thousand institutions of social assistance apparently behaving to maintain balance between classes, distance the leaders of the labor movement from the autonomous forces, and gradually integrate them into the bureaucracy of State. Demagogically these leaders continue to speak the language of class action and proletarian demands, but of course they have become unable of the least action against the bourgeois power.*

## STALINISM, THE WORSE WAVE OF OPPORTUNISM

The opportunist wave corresponding to the third period of the bourgeois cycle (imperialism) is thus characterized by a **movement towards integration into the official state institutions** by organized labor, initially the political organizations, then the organizations of immediate and trade union defense.

Compared to the preceding opportunist waves, Stalinism, which represented the forces of Russian national capitalism, found itself in a particular historical situation: that of having to destroy the most powerful revolutionary party, the one which constituted truly the superstructure of the world communist movement, the Bolshevik party, the party acting on its own terrain. This Russian **national** bourgeois objective was also a **vital objective** of the international bourgeois counter-revolution; Stalinism represented the Russian version of the **international** bourgeois counter-revolutionary offensive which was called Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany. Their class nature is identical, their objectives are the same, their methods are comparable – with the difference that Fascism and Nazism were the counter-revolution in mature capitalist countries (though unequally developed) where the proletariat had not yet succeeded in releasing itself from reformist praxis, while Stalinism was the counter-revolution in a country where a young capitalism still had in front of it bourgeois revolutionary tasks and where the proletariat had seized power;

the support of world imperialism was thus necessary for it.

The improvisist assertion of a new objective – *the construction of socialism in a single country* – which meant giving up the international revolutionary struggle, or rather of endeavouring to make this struggle serve Russian national interests, was the demonstration that opportunism had installed itself at the head of the Bolshevik party. Stalinist opportunism logically associated this objective of the search for alliances between proletarian forces and bourgeois forces, under the pretext of their being opposed to the more «reactionary» bourgeois elements or even to allegedly feudal reaction. The search for open alliances with the bourgeois States was merely the consequence of this same orientation.

The class party, whose *strength and continuity of action* constitute the only possibility for the proletariat of forming its political consciousness and finding its correct line of action, was for the world bourgeoisie the obstacle to be destroyed. Social-democracy did not completely succeed in achieving this enormous crime; but Stalinism which claimed to combine the defense of democracy (this particular form of bourgeois domination) with the fight for «socialism» and «peace», succeeded in completely destroying the class party which had reorganized internationally in reaction to Social-democratic opportunism.

With Stalinism, the defeatism in regard to the proletarian class struggle reached a degree unknown at the time of the preceding opportunist waves, which explains the depth of the so-called Stalinist counter-revolution, also unknown up to that point. The destruction of the class party, the destruction of the class trade unions, the complete falsification of communist theory and program are the three great defeats of the world proletariat which politically thrust it back several decades.

For example, the opportunism of the Second International had «discovered» at the time of the First World War that socialist objectives were to be put aside and that it was necessary to fight for the bourgeois objectives of defense of the fatherland and democracy. But it did not dare to go further. It said that it was only a truce, and that at the end of the war, the socialist struggle would begin again. It was of course an entirely demagogic promise: the Russian experience, the German experience showed that

Social-democratic opportunism fought the revolution with all its forces and did not hesitate to achieve the vilest repressive body of work for the bourgeoisie against the proletarians in struggle.

But Social-democracy continued to use a Marxist language; even if it denatured it, even if it castrated its revolutionary edge, it did not however dare to falsify Marxism completely or to baptize bourgeois objectives as socialist.

Stalinism went much further; it seized all, it maintained all the names (party, soviet, workers' State, International, Marxism), but it falsified their contents from top to bottom. Much more than Fascism, which also attempted an effort similar to this, and much more than Social-democratic reformism, Stalinism ripped away from the revolutionary proletariat its banners, its watchwords, its prospects; and it reorganized them according to Russian national interests, but also as we have seen, to the needs of the international counter-revolution.

Social-democracy had thought up a truce in the class struggle; Stalinism imposed «**peaceful coexistence**» with imperialism and the «**fight for peace**» as the objective of the class struggle, class collaboration on all levels, right up to international institutions of the UNO type, supposedly so that the «Nazi monster» never raised its head again.

Actually the objective was different: it was the proletariat which was never to raise its head again. This is why Stalinism didn't limit itself to falsifying everything, didn't limit itself to closing its borders in order to develop its national capitalism, didn't limit itself to giving up the international revolution. It also had to eliminate physically the revolutionists, the Bolshevik old guard, all its opponents known and unknown, active or potential. This bloody and pitiless repression makes the repressions of the South American dictatorships with their thousands of «disappeared» fade; it does not have anything to envy in the Nazi repressions and even the sorrowfully infamous «holocaust». The most balanced estimates fix the number of deaths at the time of the purges and «collectivization» at more than one million. Imperialism, and in particular «the great Western democracies», hid the Stalinist slaughters: the world war matured in the economic basement of capitalism and it was discreetly prepared in the secrecy of the chancelleries. The important thing was

that the proletariat, and the Russian proletariat in particular, did not raise its head; the important thing was that the living example from the proletarian revolutionary victory disappeared: the Bolshevik October, the party of Lenin, the Red Army of Trotsky, the Communist International; the important thing was that in resounding show trials (which could not have been held without active complicity of the press organs of the international bourgeoisie) the former chief leaders of the revolution acknowledge being spies and corrupted assassins. Only Stalinism could carry out this counter-revolutionary «**historical mission**» for the benefit of the world bourgeoisie, which gave it the right to lobby for a leading role in the imperialist combats.

It did this with such success that not only could Russia exit from the quarantine to which it had been relegated by the dominant imperialisms after the failure of their armed interventions against the Soviet power, but that, following the collaboration activated during the Second imperialist world war, it provided the foundations of the Russo-American condominium within the framework of the division of the world market into immense zones of influence (the «socialist camp» and the «Western camp»).

No openly bourgeois force could have achieved this terrible counter-revolutionary action carried out by Stalinism, including its external subsidiary companies, the parties of Thorez, Togliatti and Co., whose current descendants still continue to carry it out today, in different circumstances, but with the same anti-working class zeal.

Such was the decisive historical importance of Stalinist opportunism for the maintenance of world capitalism.

And such was, on the contrary, the importance of the defence and the restoration of the **historical line of Communism** represented by the struggle without compromise against Stalinist opportunism and all its manifestations carried out between the wars by the revolutionists and in the post-war period by our current reorganized in party form. This struggle without truce must continue today; not only against the degenerated inheritors of Stalinism but also against those who pretend to envision in these completely counter-revolutionary forces who knows what «progressive» potentialities on which the proletariat might rely.

## PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

*The International Communist Party is constituted on the basis of the following principles established at Leghorn in 1921 on the foundation of the Communist Party of Italy (Section of the Communist International):*

1. In the present capitalist social regime there develops an increasing contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, giving rise to the antithesis of interests and to the class struggle between the proletariat and the ruling bourgeoisie.

2. The present day production relations are protected by the power of the bourgeois State, that, whatever the form of representative system and the use of the elective democracy, constitutes the organ for the defence of the interests of the capitalist class.

3. The proletariat can neither crush or modify the mechanism of capitalist production relations from which his exploitation derives, without the violent destruction of the bourgeois power.

4. The indispensable organ of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is the class party. The Communist Party consists of the most advanced and resolute part of the proletariat, unites the efforts of the working masses transforming their struggles for group interests and contingent issues into the general struggle for the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat. It is up to the Party to propagate revolutionary theory among the masses, to organize the material means of action, to lead the working class during its struggle, securing the historical continuity and the international unity of the movement.

5. After it has smashed the power of the capitalist State, the proletariat must completely destroy the old State apparatus in order to organize itself as the dominant class and set up its own dictatorship. It will deny all functions and political rights to any individual of the bourgeois class as long as they socially survive, founding the organs of the new regime exclusively on the productive class. Such is the program that the Communist Party sets itself and of which it is characteristic. It is this party therefore which exclusively represents, organizes and directs the proletarian dictatorship.

6. Only the force of the proletarian State will be able to systematically put into effect the necessary measures for intervening in the relations of the social economy, by means of which the collective administration of production and distribution will take the place of the capitalist system.

7. This transformation of the economy and consequently of the whole social life will lead to the gradual elimination of the necessity for the political State, which will progressively give way to the rational administration of human activities.

\* \* \*

Faced with the situation in the capitalist world and the workers' movement following the Second World War the position of the Party is the following :

8. In the course of the first half of the twentieth century the capitalist social system has been developing, in the economic field, creating monopolistic trusts among the employers, and trying to control and manage production and exchange according to central plans with State management of whole sectors of production. In the political field, there has been an increase of the police and army potential of the State,

governments adopting a more totalitarian form. All these are neither new sorts of social organisations as a transition from capitalism to socialism, nor revivals of pre-bourgeois political regimes. On the contrary, they are definite forms of a more and more direct and exclusive management of power' and the State by the most developed forces of capital.

This course excludes the progressive, pacifist interpretations of the evolution of the bourgeois regime, and confirms the prevision of the concentration and the antagonistic array of class forces. So that the proletariat may confront its enemies' growing potential with strengthened revolutionary energy, it must repel the illusory revival of democratic liberalism and constitutional guarantees. The « Party must not even accept this as a means of agitation ; it must finish historically once and for all with the practice of alliances, even for transitory issues, with the middle class as well as the pseudo-proletarian and reformist parties.

9. The imperialistic wars show that the crisis of disintegration of capitalism is inevitable because it has entered the phase when its expansion, instead of signifying a continual increment of the productive forces, is conditioned by repeated and ever-growing destruction. These wars have caused repeated deep crises in the workers' world organizations because the dominant classes could impose on them military and national solidarity with one or the other of the belligerents. The opposing historical solution for which we fight, is the awakening of the class struggle, leading to civil war, the destruction of all international coalitions by the reconstitution of the International Communist Party as an autonomous force independent of any existing political or military power.

10. It is from its revolutionary nature and not its conformity to any existing constitutional model that the proletarian State draws its power for social reorganization.

The most complete historical example of such a State up to the present is that of the Soviets (workers' councils) which were created during the October 1917 revolution, when the working class armed itself under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The Constituent Assembly having been dissolved, they became the exclusive organs of power repelling the attacks by foreign bourgeois governments and stamping out inside the country the rebellion of the vanquished classes and of the middle class and opportunist sections which are inevitable allies of the counter-revolution at the decisive moment.

11. The integral realization of socialism within the limits of one country is inconceivable and the socialist transformation cannot be carried out without failures and momentary set-backs. The defence of the proletarian regime against the ever present dangers of degeneration is possible only if the proletarian State is always co-ordinated with the international struggle of the working class of each country against its own bourgeoisie, its State and its army ; this struggle permits of no respite even in wartime.

This co-ordination can only be secured if the world communist party controls the politics and programme of the States where the working class has seized power.