

# 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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## On the measures taken by the bourgeoisie regarding the coronavirus epidemic To the proletarians, to our readers, to our comrades

Faced with the epidemic of the Covid-19 coronavirus, in many countries the bourgeoisie has taken a series of unprecedented exceptionally restrictive measures.

The bourgeoisie depends on a mode of production whose aim is the valorization of capital by savagely exploiting the physical, nervous and social energies of the proletariat and the weakest strata of the population of all countries; it is therefore congenitally incapable to structure the society so that the health of humanity in its economic and social life; could be preserved: it is unable to rationalize the capitalist economy in order to harmonize it with the needs of human social life and with the natural environment, which leads to increasingly devastating crises. Therefore it cannot cope with natural events – earthquakes, tsunamis, floods, epidemics, climate change, etc.–

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## United States:

### City revolts after Minneapolis police murders african american George Floyd

During a police check on Monday, May 25, George Floyd's car is stopped; the police gets him out of his vehicle, handcuffs him with his arms behind his back, and makes him lie down. A policeman restrains him by pressing his knee on George's neck for several minutes, while three other cops stand up in surveillance. George Floyd complains and says multiple times: "I can't breathe, I can't breathe." People around ask the policeman to stop and point out that the man's nose is bleeding as they record the scene on camera; but the cop keeps pressing his knee on George's neck to immobilize him. Soon after, George Floyd dies. An ambulance arrives and picks him up. Witnesses share the video on social networks.

Minneapolis's African American community reacted immediately – as did people all around the country. Protests, riots, clashes with anti-riot police, fires erupted in Minneapolis and, in a matter of days, spread to dozens

of cities, from Louisville to Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit, New York, Chicago and Denver.

George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black American from Houston, had been living in Minneapolis for five years; he used to work as a security guard in a restaurant that had to close down because of the confinement in March, and he was looking for a job. He had the misfortune to be arrested by white cops – a misfortune that cost him his life.

The four policemen involved in George Floyd's arrest and murder have been dismissed; in a quivering voice, the mayor of Minneapolis declared: "George Floyd deserves justice, his family deserves justice, the Black community deserves justice and our city deserves justice." But what would have happened if the scene hadn't been recorded on camera? George Floyd would have been labelled an alcoholic and a drug addict,

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## Nature, Function and Tactics of the Revolutionary Party of the Working Class (1945)

This text was written by Amadeo Bordiga at the beginning of 1945, before the end of the war; but it was only published in 1947, in *Prometeo* n°7 (the theoretical journal of the Party at that time), in the series "The Theses of the Left".

The question of the party's tactics is of fundamental importance, and it must be studied in the context of the historical struggles between various tendencies and positions within the 2nd and 3rd Internationals.

It is incorrect to think that this question is secondary and derivative, in the sense that groups in agreement on theory and program might, without comprising these foundations, defend and apply different orientations in action, even only

in transitory episodes.

When problems relating to the nature and action of the party are posed, this implies a passage from the stage of mere critical interpretation of social processes to a stage in which an actively operating force can exert an influence on such processes. This passage constitutes the most important and delicate point of the entire Marxist system, and it

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## United States: City revolts after Minneapolis police murders african american George Floyd

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just like the Minneapolis Police Department tried to do, before the video belied these claims.

How is Trump, the current president, reacting in the face of the clashes, vandalizing and fires that express the anger, built-up for centuries, of an enslaved, segregated, marginalized, stamped on, Black American community who falls constantly victim to harassment and murders – in the country that claims to give lessons on democracy and civilization to the world? He is boasting about sending the Army in the cities on fire; he is calling the protesters “terrorists”; he is declaring that “when the looting starts, the shooting starts”<sup>(1)</sup>

But this anger is not caused only by yet another Black’s cold-blood murder; it is the consequence of social conditions that, because of a pandemic responded to lightly and arrogantly by Trump and his presidential advisers, have aggravated the situation of millions of American proletarians. Today, there are about 40 million more unemployed Americans due to the “public health” crisis. Reactions could only be violent, and the response from Trump and the police could only be even more violent.

George Floyd is not the first Black to be murdered by white cops in the US, and, sadly, he will not be the last. Every time the police kills African Americans, every self-righteous media and every Democrat is outraged and let loose his wailing; and they call for peace, peaceful coexistence and the respect of every American citizen’s rights, regardless of whether he is Black, White, Indian or Asian. Fancy words that have never make racism go away; indeed, there is an innate racism in every ruling class and, with the bourgeoisie, it has reached levels unheard of in previous societies.

The bourgeoisie is the class who has merged, in its ideology, the notion of intellectual and civil supremacy on all the other classes, with the “natural” privilege of being the class who first overcame the primitive barbaric conditions of life, thanks to production techniques, industry, innovations and scientific discoveries. But this supremacy, this privilege, rest on a mode of production – capitalism – based on the most advanced form of slavery: wage slavery, under which most of the population has no choice but to sell their labor power and

bodies in order to survive. A form of slavery that carries all the most abject forms of previous societies with it, showing how the capitalist society, from the standpoint of human relations, is the most dehumanizing and inhuman class society in history.



The bourgeois racism against the proletarian class, against the wage workers’ “race”, exploited for the sole purpose of making profit and thrown away like garbage when they can no longer be exploited, this racism has not replaced the former ruling classes’, the nobility’s, the clergy’s, the feudal lords’ or the antique slave owners’ racism; it has added up to it.

In the era of private property raised to its highest power, the ruling bourgeois class has introduced – thanks to the capitalist mode of production – another, much more decisive form of private property: the private appropriation of production. This private appropriation, which allows every entrepreneur to decide the fate of the wage workers he employs even when he doesn’t own the means of production, and even when the funds to start the production, or its distribution, have been borrowed, this private appropriation is the basis on which rests the bourgeois privilege – a privilege attached to the entrepreneur “race”, the capitalist “race” who has, in effect, a right of life and death on the proletariat and most of the population. And since every bourgeois competes with other bourgeois and must therefore use his social privilege and stamp on both wage slaves and bourgeois competitors, he finds an ready-made tool in the racial oppression forms inherited from former societies, these forms being perfectly compatible with the state-of-the-art capitalist oppression’s own ones.

Racism against Blacks, against Jews, against Indians, against Latinos, or against Asians, dates back a long time ago. The modern capitalist mode of pro-

duction, which has revolutionized the world, has its historical roots in Europe, in Italy, in England, in France, in Germany; White peoples who, with the development of industry, have colonized the world and subjugated peoples on every continent. And as long as capitalism exists, so will the myths of the individual, the great boss or the supreme leader, the self-made capitalist; so will racism in all its many forms, always determined by the time’s economic, political, social and cultural requirements.

In order to get rid of racism, whose

roots can be found in the economic and social structure of bourgeois society, it is the mode of production on which it grows that must be gotten rid of, starting not with culture and “conscience”, mere reflections of the capitalist economic and social structure, but with proletarian class struggle, in which the decisive element is the shared wage worker condition, regardless of the color of the skin, the race, or the country of origin. The only way to successfully oppose every form of racism is the struggle against the ruling bourgeois class, regardless of the color of its skin, its race or its country of origin, because it is benefiting from all oppressions, from all forms of racism, from all forms of slavery.

To demand the respect of rights that the ruling class never respects, rights on which it is always ready to stamp to defend its power onto all and everything, is falling for an illusion that, with time, has always shattered the reactions to bourgeois malfesance. It is might, not right, that matters. This is a lesson that the bourgeoisie teaches us every day. Only through might, the might of proletarian class struggle, will it be possible to face the bourgeoisie, in the US as well as everywhere in the world, by paving the way for the anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois revolution.

June, 2nd 2020

(1) This phrase is not innocent: in 1967, during the civil rights movement, Miami police Chief Walter Headley used the same words; so did George Wallace, a segregationist presidential candidate, during his 1968 campaign.

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with methods and means able of effectively reducing their negative effects.

Science and scientific discoveries played a major role in the development of the productive forces in the revolutionary era when the bourgeoisie, with the fundamental contribution of the proletarians and the poor peasants, violently destroyed the old feudal forms of production, property and social management; but they were inexorably bent to the interests of capitalist profit and the defense of property and production relations guaranteeing the domination of capital and therefore of the bourgeoisie.

The congenital greed of the latter, as the owner of the means of production and capital, leads her to save on everything that can hinder the accumulation of wealth as quickly as possible and in the greatest quantities; this is why it considers as an obstacle the measures of safety at work and of social prevention. The capitalists generate much more profit from disasters than from their prevention: it is an unwritten law but systematically applied, as shown by wars and all so-called “natural” disasters. Capitalism build to destroy, and destroys to rebuild in an infernal spiral engendered by this mode of production. The race for capitalist profit everywhere come before any social interest which would slow down it! A race that will only end with the destruction of bourgeois political power, the elimination of the capitalist mode of production and its replacement by the communist mode of production with no money, no capital, no goods, no market, no class divisions.

The bourgeoisie puts scientific discoveries, technical innovations and knowledge, at the service of humanity only if it benefits either financially or in terms of economic and political domination. And including in this case, the same economic causes which push to develop techniques of production and to deepen the knowledge of the vital processes of nature, of which man is an integral part, causes which can be summed up in the capitalist competition, push the capitalists to curb, even to bury, all branches of research which cannot guarantee profits in the shortest possible time. The only prevention to which the bourgeois class devotes its forces, is for its own existence, the defense of the capitalist economic system, with all its laws, its contradictions, its limits, and its political and military forms of the State

The coronavirus pandemic is used

by the ruling class to apply – in a period of particular economic difficulty for many world powers – a directly anti-proletarian policy.

The fear of the bourgeoisie is the economic recession, the stock market crisis – situations which prevent industrial, commercial and financial capital from generating sufficient profits. The economic crisis provokes a social crisis; a large part of the population suffers from its negative effects and they react in a thousand ways, most often irrational and uncontrolled. The only class that could reason rationally, act in an organized way and with specific objectives, is the proletarian class, if it is guided by its class party. The bourgeoisie is really afraid of this: the historical experience of the 19th and 20th centuries has taught it that its deadly enemy is the organized proletariat, truly aware of its class interests – and not the competing bourgeoisies of other countries, or the foreign bourgeoisies with which it is at war.

It is to prevent any attempt of the proletariat to resume its class struggle, to regain confidence in its own forces and in its own class interests, that the bourgeoisie adopts these measures of “social prevention”. The measures taken first in China and then in Italy against the spread of the epidemic, go exactly in the direction of blocking any possible reaction movement of the proletariat.

In China, once the existence of the new coronavirus was declared, the government decided to shut down the whole city of Wuhan, then the whole province of Hubei of which it is the capital, then other cities and regions where infectious outbreaks had occurred. These shutdowns forced all residents to stay cloistered at home, being able to go out only in the event of extreme medical or food necessity.

The same thing happened in Italy: in a very short time, we went from the confinement of a few localities, to that of the whole region of Lombardy, then of 13 other provinces of Veneto to Emilia-Romagna, until finally decreeing the whole country “Red Zone”. The increasingly drastic measures taken by the government day after day, summed up by the official slogan “I stay at home” (as if it was a “choice” of the inhabitants), indeed impose a round-the-clock curfew on the 60 million Italians.

Gatherings, public demonstrations and, of course, strikes, in short, the free movement of people, are prohibited; only the police and military are allowed to travel and they verify that nobody evade

these measures. Only food stores, pharmacies, gas stations, newsagents and, of course, hospitals, are open.

As a matter of fact, under the pretext of the epidemic, the bourgeoisie is putting in place a system of social control as a general test of what it deems necessary when the social situation is much more critical, when the nascent economic crisis plunges the masses into disastrous living conditions and prompt them to react against everything that represents the existing economic and political power.

The bourgeois sing always the same song: in front of a danger that can strike everyone, let us unite, we must all do our part, no more divisions between rich and poor, no more oppositions between social classes, because union is the only way to be victorious

The call to “**sacred union**” made by the ruling class during the first and second world wars, comes back whenever the bourgeois power runs a risk, of defeat in a war or of credibility and confidence in perilous situations, as in the case of “terrorism” or an epidemic. And for this social control, the bourgeoisie can count on the tireless efforts of the opportunist and collaborationist parties and unions, which once again demonstrate that they are at the service of the capitalists and their state to impose bourgeois interests against the proletariat and his class interests.

The prevention implemented by the bourgeoisie has the essential aim of defending its power, its domination, its privileges. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie has demonstrated its inability to prevent epidemics and prevent them from spreading rapidly throughout the world, hiding for reasons of purely economic interest – as has been irrefutably demonstrated the gravity of the illness when it appeared; on the other hand, it reveals that it has a very different objective from that hypocritically proclaimed of “defense of public health”: the defense of the capitalist economy, at a time when the economic crisis has already knocked at the doors of China, Italy, Germany and therefore of all of Europe. The militarization of society goes in this direction and Italy, in this case, will serve as a model for the other “democratic” countries.

But there was a violent reaction to the measures taken by the government: that of the prison population.

In no less than 29 penal institutions, detainees rebelled against the *sine die* suspension of visits from their relatives, not to mention that no preventive measure, even the most basic, was planned for them. They broke the bars, they went up on the roofs, they set the bedding on fire, they attacked the infirmaries; in short, they expressed the anger accumu-

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## To the proletarians, to our readers, to our comrades

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lated over time against the unbearable conditions in which they are forced to live, showing the hypocrisy of prison policy not only as a place of punishment for the crimes committed, but as a place where detainees are “educated” to return to civil society at the end of their sentence.

The overcrowded prisons, with their terrible detention conditions, in which hygiene and the treatment of illnesses are hypothetical, are the mirror of bourgeois society. The bourgeois want to “educate” the free proletarians as are the prisoners – who are also mostly proletarians.

The proletariat must understand that the bourgeoisie and its political and union valets take every opportunity to submit it to the interests of the ruling class, to make them forget that, while being the class exploited par excellence, it nevertheless constitutes a social and historical force capable of liberation of the bourgeois influence which leads it towards an ever greater enslavement to the bourgeois state, towards the use of its energies, its capacities, its generosity, its intelligence, for the defense of capitalism and the various social forms put implemented each time by the ruling class. The proletariat can only free itself from this enslavement by breaking radically with the collaboration of the classes, by fighting on all fronts its enemy, the bourgeois class.

The closing of the borders between the nations is the further demonstration that the bourgeoisies of all countries reason in the same way: they think above all of defending their economies, their business, accusing the other countries of being carriers of diseases, treating them as “aggressors” against whom one must defend oneself as in wartime: the aggressor is always the other, But viruses know no borders ... and it will be the same tomorrow when the virus of revolutionary class struggle crosses the sacred borders of all bourgeois nations.

The drastic measures taken by governments are also an obstacle to our activity as an international party, both for the distribution of our press and for travel and meetings.

We won't give up, we will continue our political work by any means we can use, and in this case the internet is definitely useful to us. We know that tomorrow the threats against the class activity of the proletariat will undoubtedly be very serious and that the difficulties will increase, as will also be the case for our party activity.

But it would not be a revolutionary activity if it was facilitated by the bourgeoisie.

## Coronavirus: Unable to control the outbreak, the bourgeoisie uses it to tighten its social and political control

The new coronavirus, initially called 2019-nCoV (new coronavirus 2019), then Covid19, belongs to a vast family of viruses causing illnesses ranging from the common cold to the Middle East respiratory syndrome (MERS) to the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS). It first appeared in Wuhan, a big industrial city in Hubei, China.

The World Health Organization (WHO) issued its first notice on the Covid19 on December 31, 2019; but some medias (like the *New York Times*) have revealed that this coronavirus had been identified as soon as last October: the Chinese authorities have concealed their information for more than two months – like they had done with the SRAS in 2009 – out of fear that this new epidemic would be bad for business... which it eventually turned out to be in January and February 2020, not only in China, but worldwide, with the global economy suffering and set to keep suffering important damage.

Everyone has heard of Dr Li Wenliang: he is the one who first raised a flag about this new virus and the menace of an epidemic; it got him arrested, and the Chinese authorities forced him to retract publicly. In the end, they had to let him go so that he could resume his work; but, having been infected too, he eventually died in early February. Given the seriousness of this new illness and how easily it had spread in Wuhan, in China and elsewhere, because of the many commerce ties between Wuhan's companies and the rest of the world, the issue couldn't have been concealed for much longer.

As soon as January 30, one month after the WHO issued its notice, the official death toll in China was only 169, while there were 7,000 infected worldwide (China, Honk Kong, South Korea, Vietnam, Japan – the cruise ship *Diamond Princess* stranded in Yokohama with 3,700 people on board – and elsewhere).

Thanks to the various researches in hospitals and institutes around the world, the means to detect this new virus's presence have become more effective. As a consequence, the number of people officially infected has risen sharply. On February 12 there were more than 45,000 worldwide (44,700 in China) and 1,100 had died; on February 25, there were 80,350 and 2,705 had died, most of them (2,663) in China, especially in the Hubei province, source of the outbreak.

Just as it had with the MERS and the SARS, once again bourgeois science

demonstrates its obedience – it cannot be any other way in a bourgeois society – to the market, to the capitalist profit's economy. The very fact that the Chinese authorities have concealed the information for months has resulted in a huge delay in the first measures aimed at containing the spread of the virus; but the conditions of life themselves, the hygiene and the enormous mass of people in this megalopolis that looks like a gigantic hive of activity, pave the way for uncontrollable outbreaks, outbreaks that, because of the modern means of transportation, quickly spread around the world.

After the containment failed, what have the Chinese authorities done? They have isolated cities and rural areas: according to the medias, the inhabitants of Wuhan and its province have been completely cut off, confined to their homes. Cities and districts all over China are becoming militarized areas and experience martial law.

And what do the authorities in other countries do when a new outbreak of Covid19 appears? They isolate cities and neighboring territories, like they have in Italy in the ten municipalities of Lodi-giano and the municipality of Vo' Euganeo, near Padua. On January 30, Italy decided to suspend all flights to and from China; Russia did the same a bit later, closing its borders with China and other Asian countries. However, after new outbreaks had been identified in Italy, other countries like Austria and Bulgaria, along with countries that used to welcome many Italian tourists, like Mauritius, Seychelles, Jordan or even Kuwait, all decided to close their gates to Italians.

It is telling that, confronted to events like this new coronavirus, and even more so when they affect not one country but “the whole world”, the medias rush into reporting, broadcast pictures, videos and all sorts of interviews; by doing so, they feed an excessive anxiety about events that, in a society where distrust, fear, uncertainty, insecurity are everywhere, can easily lead to a panic. The first reaction is then to blame the threat on the “outsider” who doesn't belong to the close world of one's family, country or social strata. Then it's “down with poisoners!” who during the Great Plague were blamed for the illness, “down with Chinese!” treated like they were all carrying a mortal disease, “down with Italians!” like it has recently happened after

the apparition of outbreaks in Lombardi and Venetia: now the very civilized Italians (among whom one would have no difficulty finding racists) are having a taste of the same “medicine” once given to Jews, Roms, immigrants, etc.

Ofcourse, such an epidemic must not be treated lightly, and that would be true for measles, cholera, or any other illness.

But every winter sees the spread of various flu viruses that affect an important percentage of the population and kill thousands, in particular among elders and people already weakened by other diseases. These deaths don't move the authorities or the medias: vaccines already exist on the market, and many medicines are sold to address the effects of this flu. When a new virus appear, it's another matter: then, all the pharmaceutical companies in the world try to find a vaccine that could be used and with which they could make astronomical profits – especially if the authorities make vaccination almost mandatory (like they did with the avian flu). As always, business is business, and it's even better if “the health of the public” can serve as a pretext!

But there is yet another aspect that should be noted in the way the bourgeoisie handles such events, an aspect that concerns primarily the proletariat.

Something else spreads with the coronavirus: fear, in the face of what looks like an ill that only the capitalist society, with its science and its resources, the capitalist society that supposedly does every-

thing it can to save as many people as possible, can fight...

It's like saying: proletarians, you have no other choice but to leave it to the capitalists, who own the financial, economic, political and military means, to “protect” you from these ills that cannot be prevented, except maybe in the future, when science will have made progress...

For the bourgeoisie's interests don't lie solely in the business and profits it makes with every tragedy, every catastrophe; they also lie in the attitude the proletariat adopts in the face of the problems generated by such catastrophes. It is in the bourgeoisie's interest that the proletariat not only abide by the requirements of the capitalist class every day of its life; but that it also be convinced that there's no alternative to bourgeois rule. And, to that end, the ruling class uses each and every mean that proves effective: from traditional reformists to scientists paid to spread, at the same time, fear and an unshakable belief in the almighty efficiency of bourgeois science; from authoritarianism, with all its police and military forces, to religions inviting people to pray to a god who, after having sent ills to Earth, would then make them go away...

Capitalism will never change; it will never organize society according to the requirements of human health: business, capitalist profit, are radically opposed to the needs of human life and health. It's capitalism that has to go! In other words, we must get rid of this mode of produc-

tion and social domination, get rid of it for good, and replace it with a society centered on the needs of the human species, in harmony with itself and nature.

History has taught the bourgeoisie that the proletariat is the only social power able to confront it and shatter its own political and military power. By becoming the new ruling class, the proletariat can then apply its political program, aimed first at eliminating the bourgeoisie as a class (i.e.: not only as a ruling class), then at eliminating itself as a proletarian class as well; indeed, the new mode of production established by the dictatorship of the proletariat won't be based on capital's exploitation of wage labor in an economy that turns everything, living beings included, into commodities; it will be based on the actual needs of the human species' social life, it will get rid of all division of society in classes, and therefore of all exploitation of man by man.

Only in such a society can all potentially positive discoveries be actually used for the benefit of human beings, rather than for markets; only in such a society can all activities potentially nefarious to humanity's present and future be eliminated. Then, prevention will be a fundamental aspect of science, because this new science will be able to make progresses only dreamt of (at best!) by a bourgeois science entirely determined by the interests of the **economy of disaster** that is capitalism!

March, 1st 2020

## On the struggle against pension reform in France In the Face of the Sabotage of Union Leaderships, Lead the Struggle on a Class Basis!

The day of action on 17 December was an undeniable success. While the transport strike (SNCF-railway, RATP-Paris subway and buses, etc.) continued, it was marked by renewed mobilization in the streets (twice as many demonstrators as on Dec. 10) and strikes, particularly in schools. That day the strike movement affected refineries and other sectors, while Arcelor Mittal steelworkers had been on strike since the 5th. Numerous picket lines were set up in bus depots in the Paris region despite police interventions to unblock them. The strike also affected the refineries and there was a blockade of many ports, etc.

The government was in trouble with the Delevoye affair : after the revelations about the concealment of some revenues, the minister in charge of making the proletarians swallow the degradation of their future retirement pensions was forced to resign; the CFDT and other

ultra-collaborationist unions that supported the government project until now, were forced to oppose it - no doubt in order not to be disavowed by their base.

It was the moment to generalize and accentuate the mobilization and strike movement, as the unions had been trumpeting (we are going to 'harden' the movement, they claimed!). Result: the *Intersyndicale* (interunion coalition) meeting that evening decided to... decide nothing: “it wasn't completely mature to set a new date for national mobilization tonight” according to the education main union FSU. The workers were asked to fall back on local initiatives - which, inevitably, were little followed; at a time when proletarians have a pressing need to centralize and unify their struggle, the *Intersyndicale* tended to break up the movement while waiting... what? Railway workers who have been on strike for more than 10 days cannot wait forever for

the union leadership to judge that the situation is mature!

But this is actually **sabotage**, pure and simple! The union leadership is too eager to continue the usual comedy of negotiations with the government to consider organizing a real struggle. “*Without a response from the government in the next few hours*”, the CGT, FO, FSU, Solidaires unions “*will decide on the necessary follow-up beyond December*”! (Intersyndicale press release). It would be difficult to make more open mockery of the striking workers who are told to wait until next month (9 January). Strikers replied immediately: if the union leaders go on holiday, we will continue the struggle!

All these trade union apparatuses are **defenders of the established order**: above all, they do not want a generalisation of the movement that would risk becoming

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## On the struggle against pension reform in France

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dangerous for the proper functioning of capitalism, threatening social peace and collaboration with the class enemies of the proletarians - whom they consider as "partners". The is therefore betting on the exhaustion of the strikers, while the leadership of UNSA-Railways and the CFTD at the request of the government openly call for a 'Christmas truce' to break up the movement.

No illusions! These professionals of the "social dialogue" with the bosses and the bourgeois State, will never be true defenders of the class interests of the proletarians.

Against this sabotage, open or not, of union apparatuses completely integrated into the bourgeois network of maintaining social order, salvation lies only in the organization of the struggle on class bases. Already in many places strike committees have been set up to lead the

struggle, "inter-professional" general assemblies are being held to extend and unify the movement over the differences of trade and corporation, effective picket lines are being set up, and calls for national days of mobilization are being made by the strikers to get around the blockade of the union apparatuses. These initiatives are still limited, but they point the way forward for workers in the current and future struggles against all bourgeois attacks.

Organization and struggle on class bases independently and against any bourgeois and collaborationist influence!

**Withdrawal of pension reform and all government anti-worker measures! Full wage to the unemployed and pensioners! Immediate upgrading of wages and all minimum social wages! Regularization of undocumented workers and migrants! Solidarity with the victims of police repression!**

**No truce in the anti-capitalist class struggle!**

December 21, 2019

## « Il Comunista »

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## Finland: Wave of Strikes in the "Happiest Country in the World"

In March 2019, the United Nations published its World Happiness Report (1): for the second year in a row Finland was ranked first. Finland is a small Nordic country with a population of 5.5 million and a reputation for being a model welfare state. The media around the world have reported on its plans to create a guaranteed universal income for all its inhabitants to eradicate poverty.

But the reality is less rosy and it seems that Finnish proletarians do not have the same opinion on their living and working conditions as the bourgeois statisticians of the UN. If we start with this famous 'universal income' instituted in 2017, it was actually only at an experimental stage for two years. It only applied to 2,000 long-term unemployed, drawn by lot, and its amount was only 560 euros, a sum equivalent to the unemployment benefits it replaced, the only advantage for the beneficiaries being that it was granted even to the terminally unemployed. In the end, the measure was not renewed because of the hostility of the employers and the lower middle classes, who complained that the level of social expenditure and the taxes that finance it were too high.

Finland was a prosperous country which, like other northern European countries, was for a long time able to finance a welfare state capable of guaranteeing social peace and binding the proletariat

to the capitalist system and the bourgeois state. This is no longer the case; the country has been hard hit by the economic crisis of 2008, the consequences of which were felt for years. A symbolic example of this is the fall of Nokia; the former telecom giant only escaped bankruptcy by divesting itself of a large part of its activities and cutting thousands of jobs in Finland and around the world. Similarly, forestry and the paper industry, which is traditionally the country's largest sector (2) and still accounts for just over 20% of the country's exports, have suffered a severe crisis. Most paper production has been relocated to Asia and Latin America and the weakest companies have disappeared.

The economic difficulties of this former capitalist paradise have also affected or threatened large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie; this has led to the emergence of an extreme right-wing political party which has become in a few years the third political force in the country, 'The Real Finns'. In their program there is a strong emphasis on the 'defense of the bosses of small and medium-sized enterprises', alongside the defense of the 'Finnish identity' (3) and anti-immigrant and Eurosceptic positions.

After their spectacular score in the parliamentary elections of 2015 (19%), the True Finns entered the government led by the Centre Party with the National

Coalition Party, two traditional right-wing bourgeois parties.

The central objective of this reactionary government was the recovery of Finnish capitalism, which meant restoring the rate of profit by lowering the 'cost of labor' and reducing social spending.

The main tool has been a 'competitiveness pact' negotiated with trade unions, which is supposed to reduce labor costs by 3.5%. This was a package of austerity and anti-labor measures, the main ones being a wage freeze and an increase in working time (3 extra unpaid working days per year), an increase in the retirement age to 65 years from 2025 (which will vary thereafter according to the increase in life expectancy), a reduction in unemployment benefits, a 30% reduction in the payment of holiday pay for civil servants, an increase in employees' social security contributions (and an equivalent reduction in company contributions); on the employers' side, on the other hand, the 'pact' provided for a reduction in taxes.

By worsening the situation of the working class and the masses, these measures have improved the health of the enterprises; however, they have not been able to bring the country out of a recession caused by the decline in its export market share in a sustainable manner. The growing unpopularity of the government led the True Finns to leave

the government in 2017, causing a crisis within this party, with the 'moderates' leaving it to remain in the coalition. This crisis and its more open positioning on the far right did not weaken the party, contrary to what political analysts believed. The April 2019 parliamentary elections were in fact marked by the retreat of the parties that were in government, in particular the Centre Party of the former Prime Minister, which experienced a real collapse. The Social Democratic Party won with 17.5% of the vote, but was hounded by the True Finns (17.2%). The new government was formed by an alliance with the Greens (which with 12% of the votes had a historic result), the 'Left Alliance' (ex-CP) and... the Centre Party, which was disowned by its voters.

Despite the election promises of the left-wing parties, the new government only foresees a reduction in the austerity policy of the previous government; in particular, it has committed itself to carry out the 'reform' of the social security and health system aimed at reducing costs by cutting back on benefits, initiated by the Centre Party. This did not prevent it from receiving the support of the trade unions, which were much more sensitive to its promises of productive investment than to the interests of the proletarians.

### VICTORY OF THE STRIKERS

It did not take long for Finnish workers to realize, if they had any doubts, which side the new government was on. The Post Office, a semi-public institution, had decided to transfer 700 employees to a subsidiary as part of its quest for profitability, thereby cutting their salaries by up to 30%!

The project only just known, the workers went on strike on November 11. For almost two weeks, 10,000 postal workers followed the movement, in solidarity with the threatened workers and to demand wage increases. But the conflict extended beyond the Post Office: solidarity strikes were called on November 25 in land and air transport, ferries, etc.

When the threat of a blockade of the ports or even a general strike loomed, the management of the Post Office withdrew its project, no doubt at the instigation of the government, which was worried about a blockage of the economy (exports, mainly by sea, account for 40% of GDP). A few days later the Prime Minister was forced to resign under pressure from the Centre Party, which criticized him for his weakness in relation to the workers; it was the Minister of Transport who was

elected in his place on December 8, becoming perhaps the youngest acting head of government in the world – she is 34.

This undeniable success of the proletarian struggle served as an encouragement to workers in other sectors. Thus, from December 9, 100,000 workers in industry (chemicals, wood and oil, etc.) and services went on strike for three days, demanding wage increases and an end to unpaid work and, more generally, anti-social measures that the new government has absolutely no intention of repealing; since September, a strike over unpaid overtime has been widely followed.

The withdrawal of the Post Office project is only a first victory for Finnish workers in the face of the attacks on them, which the current government, under pressure from the capitalists, does not intend to spare them. But this victory can and must serve as a lesson for future struggles and as an example for proletarians in other countries: it is by breaking with the well-established practices of class collaboration and social consensus, by launching an unlimited strike and

by calling on workers in other sectors that it is possible to make a government back down.

There is no doubt that the Finnish trade unions will do everything in their power to try to get this lesson forgotten.

It is up to the proletarians of Finland and elsewhere to remember it and put it into practice!

(1) See «World Happiness report», 20/3/19.

(2) 60% of the exploited forest area belongs to private owners (26% to the State and the rest to logging companies, etc.): there are more than 600,000 of them (i.e. almost 14% of the population), half of them having only small properties (less than 2 hectares).

(3) In particular, they are hostile to compulsory Swedish language learning at school. Swedish is the country's second official language, with the Swedish-speaking minority constituting about 5% of the population.

**In Iraq, thousands of young demonstrators have been in the street for more than a month to protest against unemployment, cost of living, lack of public services and endemic corruption among politicians and government officials.**

**The youth is protesting, the police shoot to defend the bourgeois order!**

The protests against governments in Sudan, Algeria, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon have spread to Iraq as well, especially in its capital Baghdad, and in the country's southern regions: Basra, Nasiriya (Dhi Qar), Amarah (Maysan), Najaf, etc. Indeed, despite the presence of big oil companies, the south of the country is plagued with a high unemployment rate, and an important rural flight, a consequence of the main rivers (the Tigris and the Euphrates) getting dry.

In some cities, like Nasiriya, Amarah or Najaf, demonstrators have put official buildings on fire. Very violent clashes have occurred almost everywhere. Peaceful at first but determined to get inside official buildings in order to state their anger loud and clear, the protesters met with the government's repressive forces and "unknown" militias that systematically fired at the crowds. After only four days of protests, the official toll already reached 72 dead and more than 3,000 wounded, with more than 500 arrests (1): the demonstrations against Adil Abdul-Mahdi's government have met, right from the start, with a violent repression that left

no doubt as to the political will to break the movement in a bloodshed. On October 31, the toll reached no less than 250 dead and 8,000 wounded. In Karbala, a holy city for Shiite Muslims, Shiite militias literally slaughtered 18 people to death on October 29 (2). Yet from Basra to Baghdad, streets and squares are still filled with protesters.

All Medias, news networks as well as newspapers, point to the difference with the 2011 movement – the "Arab Spring". This movement, sparked in Tunisia before it hit Egypt and almost all Arab countries, had one main objective: get rid of dictators in post (Ben Ali in Tunisia, Mubarak in Egypt). Brought about by the extreme poverty endured by the vast majority of the population, the revolt embodied the belief that, with the tyrant gone and the beginning of a democratic era, social issues could find their solution.

However, the actual power was not in the hands of the tyrant and his clan: it was in the hands of the dominant bour-

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## Iraq. The youth is protesting, the police shoot to defend the bourgeois order!

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geois class (to which, it goes without saying, the tyrant belonged). That class, along with its Euro-American imperialist sponsors, considered that throwing a Ben Ali or a Mubarak overboard could cement its own power thanks to the democratic illusion: propelled by a complete electoral and parliamentary system, this illusion would calm down the masses and restore social harmony. Nevertheless, the only force centralized and organized for the defense of bourgeois interests – the armed forces – keeps being a key player in countries where capitalism is only partially developed – as demonstrated once again very clearly by El-Sisi's Egypt.

Democratic illusions progressively have been progressively dissipated by the behavior of capitalist classes which, in order to meet the standards set by their dominant imperialist counterparts, had to resort to the same weapons as the former tyrants: repression, jail sentences, targeted killings, kidnapping and disappearance of political opponents, etc. The many religious organizations (Sunni or Shiite divided along the lines of these or those particular interests, to such an extent that they go at war with each other) have played their usual part: at the same time, temper discontent and support this or that particular bourgeois faction. They have been – and still are – instigating the violent imposition of an Islamic fundamentalism, in order to control territories, natural riches and people to exploit. Bourgeois endlessly fight each other to defend their own, particular interests, be it with a military uniform, a religious cloth, a parliamentary suit and tie or a modern entrepreneur's t-shirt; but they always unite against proletarians who start mobilizing in order to defend their own class interests.

As far as the enduring democratic illusions are concerned, the current revolt movements are not different from 2011; but as far as their social composition and fundamental attitude is concerned, it's another matter altogether. This is especially true in Iraq. These movements are not led by existing opposition parties, tend towards freeing themselves from religious influence (e.g. Lebanon), and do not trust the armed forces anymore.

The Iraqi youth who is taking up the street has not lived through the Saddam Hussein era and its systemic repression; these young people are less afraid of the consequences their actions. One may say that they are more "reckless", but

thanks to this "recklessness", they are fighting the repression barehanded, making even more blatant the brutality of the State and its leaders. They are not fighting in the name of some principles of the Quran, or in order to get their leaders elected to parliament, but in order to take down the regime; they do not occupy official buildings, they set them on fire. It is a truly basic revolt, expression of a deeply rooted wrath, born from disastrous living conditions and the prospect of even worse to come; but that revolt might find itself canalized in different ways. One of them is a "grassroot democracy" following the demand for the ousting of Abdul-Mahdi's government, directly responsible for so many deaths and wounds; there would be no political demand beyond that dismissal, and this could only pave the way for some figure "of the people" to ensure continuity. There lies the true weakness of this protest and revolt movement – politically, a "people's" movement, even though proletarians are obviously part of it.

Two years after ISIS's defeat and 16 years after the American invasion, what is the economic and political situation in Iraq?

A disastrous one, according to all bourgeois experts. It is a country full of gas, oil (4<sup>th</sup> producer in the world, 2<sup>nd</sup> in the OPEC after Saudi Arabia) and... corruption (12<sup>th</sup> most corrupt country in the world, according to Transparency International) (3). Wealth piles up on one end of society, while poverty spreads in the majority: 20% live below the poverty line, and unemployment hits 25% of young workers according official data that, as everyone knows, only provide an embellished picture of reality. The succession of protests for more than a month is a clear evidence of the exploitation and poverty of the masses. The youth amounts to a high percentage of the population; it should not come as a surprise that they make the bulk of the protesters: they are first in line when exploitation and unemployment hit. Authorities, capitalists, political and cultural elites have nothing to offer to them and, in turn they do not trust them in the slightest. They express their wrath, show their courage, and put their lives on the line to wake up the consciences of those who hold economic, political, military power.

Eventually, the revolt was bound to break out; but what has proven a surprise for both imperialist and Arab bourgeois is its duration and the fact that, until now, it has remained free from the control of religious and polit-

ical organizations, with which it is always possible to make a deal, even after some rude fights.

However, the demands for the government's resignation, for democracy, elections, changes of political leaders, in the hope that all this will make it possible to improve the lot of proletarians and impoverished masses, these demands are doomed to smash against the reality of Iraqi and global capitalism. Behind the mask of religious rivalries and regional or ethnic divisions, there are too many divergent interests between bourgeois factions for a peaceful and consensual bourgeois regime to last.

There is more. Iraq finds itself in a strategic position in the Middle East, not only because of its resources in oil and gas, but also because of its geographic location. Along with Syria, it forms some sort of "buffer zone" between regional powers (Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia) trying to assert their conflicting influences; and, as demonstrated by the Gulf Wars and the perpetual civil wars, the world's most powerful imperialist powers play a part as well – from the old ones, like France or the UK, to the US and Russia, to China, which has become a prominent economic partner of Iraq. The conflict-

### El Proletario

ÓRGANO DEL PARTIDO  
COMUNISTA INTERNACIONAL

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- • • Detrás de la inestabilidad parlamentaria está la crisis política de la burguesía española. Detrás de la crisis política se encuentra la crisis social del sistema capitalista • • • Atacan con una granada del ejército español el centro de acogida para menores de Hortaleza (Madrid) • • •
- Coop 25: cambio climático y catástrofe capitalista • • • Argentina. La diversión electoral acude en ayuda de un capitalismo en bancarrota económica • • • Chile. ¡Contra el aumento del precio del transporte! ¡Contra la carestía de la vida! La lucha de la clase proletaria indica el camino • • • Luchas de masas proletarias en Colombia: ¡Por una orientación y organización de clase! • • • Revuelta en Ecuador. Contra las exigencias de la burguesía nacional e internacional, la clase proletaria debe hacerse oír • • • Francia. Frente al sabotaje de las direcciones sindicales, ¡librar la lucha sobre una base de clase! • • •
- También en Irak, miles de jóvenes han estado protestando. Los jóvenes se manifiestan, las fuerzas del orden burguesas disparan • • • Gota fría en el Levante. Los ríos y las ramblas se desbordan. Pero es el capitalismo el que anega la vida • • •
- Otra vez: un trabajador muerto en la factoría de lingotes especiales (valladolid)

Precio del ejemplar: Europa : 1,5 €, 3 FS;  
América latina: US \$ 1,5; USA y Cdn:  
US \$ 2.

ing interests of local bourgeois factions and regional powers intertwine with those of imperialist powers, making the region constantly unstable and populations dramatically unsafe.

Yesterday, the laws of capitalism asserted themselves on Saddam Hussein, his allies and his enemies alike; today, they are asserting themselves on the current government and tomorrow they will assert themselves on whoever may replace it, like for example Muqtada al-Sadr – the Shiite leader of the main opposition party in parliament, who started to demand the prime minister's resignation as well, as he expects to use the current movement as an opportunity to take his seat. On a fundamental level, nothing will change; the economy will keep experiencing booms and bursts depending on the global economy's oscillations, workers will keep suffering from poverty and unemployment.

And yet, there is an alternative; its possibility rests precisely in the hands of the working class, the proletariat, whose systemic exploitation of which is the source of capitalist profit. A class that must not only fight for its own immediate goals, but must also find its own classist way and means of struggle. Indeed, courage alone is not enough in the fight against a shameless, heavily armed enemy, and it is an ill-fated delusion to think proletarians can trust forces and classes whose interests are, by essence, opposed to their own. The proletariat must resort to its own forces, its courage, its constant resentment against the bourgeois regime (despite this regime's never-ending attempts to show a new face, with social measures, religion, etc.), in order to defend its sole class

interests by unifying proletarians of all categories and all faiths in the struggle against capitalism.

To achieve that goal, proletarians must perform a qualitative leap; they must rely only on their own forces and reject interclassism, which sacrifices them on the altar of the interests of local and foreign dominant classes. In order to free themselves, once and for all, from the delusion that the answer lies in a reform of the bourgeois system, they must learn from their struggle for immediate aims and brand as enemies those who oppose them.

The alternative facing proletarians, young and less young, in Iraq just as in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan or Algeria, the alternative facing proletarians of all countries, is inexorably the same: either they fight to help some bourgeois politicians (at best less corrupted, but always the mere face of capitalist interests) gain power – and then they condemn themselves to a life of misery under the heel of their class enemies; or they fight for themselves, for the proletariat, for the interests of this class that is the future of humankind, and not for the bourgeois society!

In this fight, proletarians will be able to move further than mere (justified but immediate) demonstrations of their wrath, to the accumulation of the practical, social and political experience necessary to their liberation. In this fight, they will feel the need of an organization representing of their whole class, beyond ethnicities, professions, age and gender, the need for a party with a political program strictly opposed to that of bourgeois parties: an international program, rather than an national

one; a program saying loud and clear that the proletarian struggle must break down every organ of bourgeois domination, starting with the State.

This internationalist revolutionary party will inevitably be a communist one, and even more so insofar as the proletarian struggle will make progress on its own classist path; it will be a party conscious that, if this struggle must be fought primarily against one's "own" national bourgeoisie, it can be successfully completed only if it takes place in an international struggle, because the proletarians' interests go way beyond any bourgeois border.

**Against any common interests and goals for bourgeois and proletarians!  
Only class organization can fight bourgeois repression!**

**Class independence is the only way for proletarian struggle!**

**Down with national flags, hail to the red flag!**

**For the formation of the international communist party!**

November, 1st 2019

(1) <http://www.ilpost.it/2019/10/05/iraq-scontri-proteste/>

(2) <https://nena-news.it/iraq-la-repressione-non-ferma-i-giovani>; see also: [https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2019/10/28/sans-pays-pas-d-ecole-la-jeunesse-irakienne-rejoint-le-mouvement-de-contestation\\_6017200\\_3210.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2019/10/28/sans-pays-pas-d-ecole-la-jeunesse-irakienne-rejoint-le-mouvement-de-contestation_6017200_3210.html)

(3) <http://www.ilpost.it/2019/10/25/sono-ricominciate-le-proteste-in-iraq/>

## **Outbreak of anti-Muslim violence in India: only the proletarian struggle for the overthrow of capitalism can put an end to nationalist and racist crimes, and emancipate oppressed minorities!**

From February 22 to February 26, while the Indian Prime minister Narendra Modi was meeting with the American president Donald Trump with great pomp in New Delhi, the Indian capital city's northeast proletarian districts, home to an important Muslim minority, have been the scene of racist terror attacks. Gangs of Hindu nationalist extremists were unleashed on Muslims, breaking into their homes and shops, and even burning them down. All of which, under the watch of an unperturbed police.

Global Medias have been reporting on "communal violence", or clashes between local believers. In fact, the local leaders of the ruling reactionary, Hindu supremacist Bharatiya Janata party (BJP), and of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a nationalist paramilitary organization from which the BJP spawned, are directly responsible for these attacks. For weeks, they had been encouraging violence against those who have been

protesting against the BJP government's new anti-Muslim citizenship act (CAA). The attacks followed an inflaming meeting speech by Kapil Mishra, BJP's unsuccessful candidate in Delhi's regional elections in early February. Mishra wanted the police to disperse the protesters who were blocking one of Delhi's main roads; failing that, his supporters would do it themselves. A few hours later, said supporters followed through with the

threats, by attacking the protesters first, then Muslim inhabitants.

The toll is heavy: almost 40 dead, some burned alive in their homes, some shot, some lynched by thugs shouting BJP slogans like "India for Hindus" or "Jai Shree Ram" (Hail Lord Ram), and several hundreds wounded.

These victims are swelling the ranks of the many who had already been struck by the repression of anti-CAA protests all over India. In order to have free rein, the government has been invoking the penal code's article 144, which forbids any gathering of more than four people, in vast parts of the country, including the

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# Outbreak of anti-Muslim violence in India

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whole of Uttar Pradesh (230 million people), the whole of Karnataka (65 million), and some parts of New Delhi.

The main cause for this violence is not some Indian peculiarity or the legacy of some centuries-old antagonism between religions. No! Ethnic and religious violence is the direct consequence of Capital's domination.

## HINDU NATIONALISTS PERPETUATE THE "DIVIDE AND CONQUER" POLICY...

British colonisers had segregated the Indian population into distinct, impermeable communities, with a clear cut between Hindus and Muslims. Having become masters in the art of "dividing and conquering", they consistently opposed Muslim Indians to the other believers. This policy end in a bloodbath when India and Pakistan gained independence. Between one and two million people died in massacres or after vast exoduses. In the end, the newly formed Indian State was home to a 15% Muslim minority.

Anti-Muslim hatred is an integral part of the BJP's ideology. This far right party is responsible for one of the bloodiest anti-Muslim pogroms in recent Indian history. The BJP's leader and current Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, was Chief Minister of Gujarat in 2002, when he orchestrated a communal massacre that is believed to have killed more than 2,000 people, most of them Muslims.

Since he has taken the helm of the federal government, the number of anti-Muslim crimes, expulsions and forced "reconversion" campaigns targeting non-Hindus have surged. RSS and BJP members act freely, helped by the passivity of both police and the judicial system. On top of this extra-legal violence, come several new anti-Muslim discriminatory laws. Last year, in the State of Assam, the BJP has established a register depriving 4 million inhabitants of their citizenship (a number later reduced to about 2 million).

In August, the government has stripped Kashmir, a Muslim-majority northern Indian State, of its autonomous status. This status had been enshrined in the country's constitution back in the days of independence, when the region had been split de facto between India and Pakistan, which both have claims on it and have gone at war with one another twice over it. For decades, clashes, repression and guerrilla have kept happening in Indian Kashmir, and dozens of thousands have died. Indian nationalists had been demanding the abolition of

Kashmir's autonomy for a long time; when Modi's government finally decided to enforce it, in the blink of an eye, the State's 13 million inhabitants found themselves under siege, and thousands were arrested; six months later, Kashmir still hasn't a rule of law.

Finally, on December 4, 2019, the Citizen Amendment Act (CAA) was promulgated. This law makes it easier for refugees to be granted citizenship, provided that they are not Muslims. Muslims risk being declared "stateless", losing all rights to citizenship and potentially being arrested and expelled. Many protests have followed (and have been brutally repressed by the government), because the CAA seems to be a milestone in the BJP's agenda of depriving India's 200 million Muslims of their citizenship, or making them into second-class citizens.

## ... IN THE HOPE OF DISTRACTING WORKERS FROM CLASS STRUGGLE

India's bourgeoisie uses Hindu chauvinism to bind the exploited classes to their exploiters, thus facilitating bourgeois attacks.

Modi and the BJP ascended to power in order to launch a ferocious offensive against proletarian conditions of life, labour, and struggle. They are the advocates of a "shock therapy" based on "structural reforms" claimed to be able to ensure a quick development of the nation's economy. The IMF has praised these "ModiNomics". The social measures and labour laws that had been granted at the time of Independence in order to prevent social unrest from gaining traction are now under attack, in the name of a legislative "simplification" necessary to "promote business". The few rules about lay-offs, salary and conditions of labour have been rewritten. Union rights have been limited as well. At the same time, radical cuts in social benefits, privatisations and massive tax reductions for employers have all been multiplying.

In the face of the discontent that such anti-proletarian measures were bound to cause, a discontent even intensified by the last months' sharp economic downturn, the government uses the classic method of every bourgeoisie in the world: it intensifies its nationalistic and racist propaganda, according to which Muslims are agents of the Pakistani enemy, and cause of all evils.

British bourgeoisie used this "divide and conquer" policy in order to secure their colonial domination. Indian bourgeois have used the same policy in order to secure their brutal exploitation of pro-

letarian and peasant masses, and the BJP is this "biggest democracy in the world" worthy heir.

Against these ethnic, racist and religious divisions, the proletariat will have to affirm its own unity and class solidarity, if it is to repel successfully bourgeois attacks, whether they come from the BJP's "fascists", the Congress's "democrats" or... the fake "communists" à la Stalin.

## DALITS AND ADIVASIS ARE STILL BEING OPPRESSED

Beside Muslims, India is home to other minorities, of a distinct nature: the native or tribal peoples (Adivasis), and the "untouchables" (Dalits).

The 80 million Adivasis form the poorest strata of India's population. They live in forests, jungles, and have almost no access to schools, hospitals or basic amenities, like clean water. Literacy is below 25%, and there is widespread malnutrition. These people are often violently forced out of their villages in order to hand over their land to the mining industry. Houses are set on fire; natives are thrown into detention camps so that capitalists can exploit the huge deposits of iron, coal, limestone and bauxite.

The Indian constitution has formally abolished untouchability, but little has changed for most of the country's 220 million Dalits. The old caste system is well ingrained in India's rural villages. Higher castes dominate lower castes and their many sub-castes, and, below them all, those who do not belong to a caste, the "untouchables", are forcefully segregated, socially and often physically. Their specific, hereditary role is to work in others' domains, or to perform tasks that others find too degrading. They have to live outside of villages and must not enter temples. They also face many more restrictions: they cannot share clean water sources with members of a Hindu caste, eat next to them or even use the same cooking tools... This segregation is violently enforced: every 15 minutes, a Dalit is victim of a crime. Some are murdered because they rode a bicycle or a horse, some because they wore sandals or a moustache...

## "THE WORLD'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY" HAS CLEARED THE WAY FOR HINDU SUPREMACISM

Hindu chauvinists and Congress Party's democrats (as well as their flunkies in "communist" parties) are two sides of a same coin.

A few years after India's independence, the RSS leaders – admirers of Mussolini and Hitler – offered their support to the Prime Minister Nehru's Congress Party, in the name of their struggle against communism and their rejection of class

struggle. Under the kind supervision of the democratic State, the RSS formed unions with the avowed goal of promoting collaboration between workers and employers. Later, during the 1971 and 1984 elections, RSS cronies campaigned for the Congress leader Indira Gandhi (Nehru's daughter). Rajiv Gandhi, who had become Prime Minister after his mother's assassination, then promoted the RSS crusade against the Ayodhya mosque. Built in 1525, it was a symbol of Islam's presence in India, and therefore a target of nationalist and bigoted Hindus. In 1985, Gandhi's government ordered the police to open the mosque's gates by force. Then, in 1989, he campaigned for re-election in the name of Hinduism. In 1992, all of this resulted in the mosque's destruction by a huge crowd gathered by the RSS, leading to violence that killed almost 2,000 people, most of them Muslims.

Today, the defence of "secularism" by the Congress and the fake communists in the CPI and the CPI(M), is sheer hypocrisy. Sheer hypocrisy as well, their "opposition" to the anti-workers measures that merely aggravate their own attacks against workers. For example, all these democrats have provided their support to the brutal repression targeting Muslim Kashmiris who demand more autonomy or independence for Indian Kashmir. All these democrats are the advocates of Indian nationalism against Muslim Pakistan and Bangladesh.

All these democrats and fake communists have Dalit and Adivasi blood on their hands. In power in West Bengal in 1979, the CPI(M) ("Communist Party of India - Marxist", which split from the "Communist Party of India") has massacred hundreds of Hindu Dalits fleeing Bangladesh. In 2006, peasants who were resisting an expropriation from their land by Tata Motors, one of India's biggest capitalist conglomerates, have been arrested and beaten up with much ferocity, while a young activist was raped and murdered. One year later in the same region, CPI(M) thugs sided with the police and have been reported to have slaughtered about 100 people who were protesting against land appropriation.

Moreover, both CPI and CPI(M) have voiced their support for the government's military offensives against the Maoist guerrillas that recruit many Adivasis struggling against the pillaging of their resources.

### **ONE DIRE NEED: THE CLASS PARTY, INTERNATIONALIST AND INTERNATIONAL**

India has never had a class party. Founded in 1925, the Communist Party quickly bowed to bourgeois nationalism. After a "peasant-worker" party, it tried to build a "popular" nationalist one.

This is why the CPI offered its political support for the Congress, just like the Chinese communist party did with the Kuomintang, an alliance that led to the slaughter of the Chinese proletariat in 1927. Of course, such a support could only come with a refusal to fight the oppression of Dalits. In the late 1920s, there were massive protests against untouchability in the State of Maharashtra. The CPI leaders refused to call proletarians to join this battle, claiming that the struggle against caste oppression was diverting them from "anti-imperialist" struggle.

The formation of an actual class party – in India and elsewhere – must be the sign of a radical departure from this rotten tradition of bowing to interclassism and nationalism. It can only happen with a re-affirmation of true Marx-

ism, of its anti-national, international and internationalist character. It can only happen under the banner of the communist revolution, against pacific transition and Menshevik-like "stage-by-stage revolution".

Only the proletariat has the power to threaten the foundations of India's bourgeois State and provide a direction to the Dalits, Adivasis and peasant masses' struggles, toward the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

Only the proletarian revolution will provide relief to the masses of pariahs struck by misery and hunger, whom reformists try their best to keep into a dead-end where the only outcome is religious and ethnic revolt, i.e. a reactionary revolt and a victory of capitalism...

March, 1st 2020

## **In Sudan, interclassism and democratism are getting the revolt defeated**

On Monday June 3, after having cut off the electricity in the centre of Khartoum, the capital, and after having blocked the internet, the Transitional Military Council (TMC), the military authority currently governing the country, had police and paramilitary commandos attack the sit-in that had been taking place for weeks in front of the armed forces' general headquarters, and remove the barricades that had been erected in some parts of the city. The commandos attacked hospitals harboring wounded people and went after medical staff, women were raped, etc. Soldiers intervened in the country's other cities as well: Nuhud, Atbara and Port Sudan, among others.

As we write these lines, the provisional death toll stands at 116 (including the bodies retrieved from the Nile), with several hundreds wounded, and an undisclosed number of political leaders and activists have been arrested or have gone missing.

\* \* \*

The Sudanese protests had started at the beginning of last year against increases in the price of flour and bread, a consequence of the austerity measures arranged with the IMF in order to redress the country's balance sheet. With the South's secession, Sudan lost 75% of its oil production, which is its main export industry and source of foreign currency, while it needs to import a large part of its food. Although the resources' pillaging

at the hands of the governing circles (who keep the embezzled billions safe in western banks) justifiably provokes the population's outrage, it only comes on the top of the consequences of the international capitalist crisis, which is the root cause of Sudan's economic issues.

With inflation already as high as 60%, it is December's fresh, drastic rises in the prices of basic goods (among which bread price's threefold increase) following the cut in subsidies decreed as per the IMF's recommendations that have sparked the unrest. The IMF's economists most certainly expected the regime's repressive apparatus to enforce successfully what can only be called starvation measures. Indeed, until then, a mighty military and police apparatus had been able to crush the first waves of protest and rebellion that Sudan had experienced since the June 1989 coup that brought Omar al-Bashir to power.

The civilian regime that was toppled then was going through an open crisis because of its inability to solve a conflict with the South that provoked in this region a famine that killed about 250,000 people, according to some NGOs' estimates. The new military regime, with the support of Islamist organizations, outlawed political parties, worker unions and other non-religious organizations, purged the armed forces, the police, and the civil service from all potential opponents, and imposed the Islamic law (Sharia). It built a complete repressive apparatus.

(Continued on page 12)

## In Sudan, interclassism and democratism are getting the revolt defeated

(Continuation from page 11)

tus, with paramilitary forces and militias specialized in suppressing social movements and revolts, like in Darfur.

Yet these repressive forces proved unable to prevent the widespread discontent from finding its expression in massive protests; initiated in Atbara, a city with a rich working class struggle history, these protests spread to the whole country and quickly started making political demands, like al-Bashir's departure and his regime's fall.

On April 11, the military finally reconciled itself to deposing al-Bashir and to arresting some of his closest acquaintances <sup>(1)</sup>

After talks with the "Forces of Freedom and Change", also known as the "Alliance for Freedom and Change" (AFC), the military founded the Transitional Military Council. Formed in January, the AFC consists of several opposition forces: the "Sudanese Professionals Association" (SPA: clandestinely founded in October, 2016, as an organization for physicians, attorneys and other professions), the National Consensus Forces (NCF), of which the Sudanese Communist Party is a member, the National Umma Party (a fully bourgeois party that governed several times before al-Bashir's military regime), etc. The AFC's constitutive agreement is the "Declaration for Freedom and Change"<sup>2</sup>; it makes two demands: al-Bashir's departure and the formation of a transitional government consisting of "qualified people based on merits of competency and good reputation, representing various Sudanese groups and receiving the consensus of the majority" that would govern for four years, "until a sound democratic structure is established, and elections held".

Nothing there that answers the needs of the deprived masses who rose up for their survival and cannot wait for four years. One should not be deceived by the Communist Party's presence: in spite of its name, this party is actually a nationalist organization that has always supported the bourgeois order and the national State, even though it was itself hit by repression.

While, despite some TMC measures like the end of the state of emergency, the masses' distrust of the military drove them to perform a sit-in in front of the armed forces' general headquarters and to go on with the protests, negotiations

were starting between the AFC and the TMC. On April 27, it was generally understood that a joint Council would replace the TMC in order to lead a three-year transition; yet as the military leaders wanted to preserve their control over this Council, the follow-up negotiations proved more difficult, and on May 20 they were suspended. The support from Egypt, the Emirates and Saudi Arabia (which together pledged a total of \$3bn in various aids for the TMC) emboldened the military into making no significant concession. As it was trying to take advantage of the enduringly widespread



religious convictions (chiefly in the countryside, most of the country's population still working in agriculture), it launched a media campaign against the AFC, accusing it of trying to repeal the Sharia.

The AFC tried to respond with a two-days "pacific" general strike on May 27 and 28 – an initiative from which the Umma Party dissociate itself. The SPA, which claims to have incorporated railwaymen' and workers' organizations, is the Alliance's wheeling flank; it constantly repeated its pacifist declarations, for the continuation of social peace and for the interclassist unity of all Sudanese. While making its call for the general strike, it devoted itself to emphasizing its non-subversive nature: the strike "only hampers the TMC by alerting it to the fact that it could be deemed powerless and utterly dysfunctional overnight", adding, "Unless it desperately and solely resorts to the use of arms and force thereby stripping itself of any legitimacy. [...] Such a self-inflicting para-

digm could easily be diffused with our peaceful antidote and our harmonious unity as attested to repetitively by our own practice and experience".

Yet as soon as the strike ended, the TMC responded by unleashing repression and the military leaders announced that the negotiations were over and that they would organize elections themselves.

Woe betides petty bourgeois with their democratic illusions! The SPA was reduced to desperate calls for the armed forces to protect the protesters<sup>3</sup> (!), while the Alliance launched a "escalation of the revolution" consisting chiefly in putting an end to the negotiations (already shunned by the military!) and asking big imperialist powers to put pressure on the TMC...

On June 8, after the repression that took place in the beginning of the week, the Organization of African Unity (currently presided over by Egypt) sent the Ethiopian prime minister, Abiy Ahmed, as a "mediator" between the military and its Alliance's opponents. Ahmed left after some nice speeches about democracy... but the repression went on, targeting even the very Alliance's leaders whom he had met with.

The UN Security Council tried to issue a resolution condemning the violence, but Russia and China opposed it. The US, fearing a new centre of disturbance, asked Saudi Arabia to make use of its influence on the TMC in order to calm things down.

Indeed, its position on the Red Sea and between Egypt and Ethiopia makes Sudan strategically important. It provokes rivalries among regional powers and global imperialism.

Once close to Iran, al-Bashir's regime had revived ties with Egypt and Saudi Arabia, to such an extent that it sent an expeditionary force to fight in Yemen's war. Today, according to France's official statement, Saudi Arabia "provides political and financial support to the Sudanese armed forces". Last year, the US have lifted their last remaining sanctions (against a regime they had accused of genocide in Darfur!) and opened a CIA centre in Khartoum. The European Union had made a deal with the regime in order to halt immigration (Sudan being a crossing point), thereby strengthening the militias and thus the regime's repressive nature. China too, as well as Turkey and Russia, are interested in Sudan's situation.

In short, Sudan is at the confluence of inter-capitalist conflicts. All these bourgeois States are and will keep trying to

alter the course of events.

Proletarians in other countries must show an interest in these events as well; they must make the demonstration of their solidarity with Sudan's proletarians and impoverished masses, first by denouncing "their own" bourgeoisie's schemes, until they have the strength to express in the struggle against capitalism the true solidarity of an active class.

\* \* \*

Gilbert Achcar, the "expert" on Middle-East for the Fourth International (ex-USFI), writes in an article<sup>IV</sup> that the Sudanese movement is superior to the Algerian one because it has an "exceptional political leadership" – the Alliance, within which "the SPA is central" –, while such a leadership is lacking in Algeria.

Yet because of its essentially petty bourgeois social nature, and of its democratic, pacifist, interclassist orientations, this so-called exceptional political leadership can only get the movement defeated!

At the end of his text, Achcar quotes, to approve it, a Financial Times (the City's mouthpiece) article stating that the Sudanese movement reminds of Russia's situation in 1917, after the Czar's fall. It is no coincidence that our Trotskyist "forgot" about the party that, in 1917 Russia, fought the bourgeois democratic leadership: today's degenerated Trotskyism resolutely turned its back on class positions and Marxist principles while espousing bourgeois democratism.

The Bolshevik party fought relent-

lessly for the proletariat to break with the interclassist coalition, to stop passively following bourgeois orientations, and to be the head of the struggle on a **class basis** – the only way for it to lead the exploited and oppressed masses, in cities and countryside, against the bourgeois power, instead of serving as petty bourgeois parties' auxiliary force.

Without a vanguard that rejects interclassism, fights the bourgeois democratic orientations and conquers the leading role in the proletarian struggle, in other words, without a firmly organized and politically sound **communist revolutionary party**, proletarians find themselves helpless in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, reduced to being used by other classes at best, to be felled in the face of the enemy class at worst.

The current events underline the pressing need for this internationalist, international, proletarian party. It will not form by itself, but will rather result for the most conscious proletarians' effort in search for a reliable compass in their struggle; this compass is the authentic **communist program** that our current has restored and defended against all deviations, and thank to which we work on forming this proletarian class's combat organ in the lack of which even the most pugnacious effort is vain.

**Class solidarity with Sudanese proletarians and oppressed masses!**

**For the formation of the international revolutionary party of the proletarian class!**

June 10, 2019

## Sudan. Post-scriptum

The events that took place since we published the above text have clearly confirmed our analysis of the bourgeois democratic opposition's nefarious role.

After the slaughters in the beginning of June, the SPA tried to respond with a pacific campaign for "civil disobedience" (it even mentioned blocking the country), with gatherings in mosques to honor the dead, etc. Yet the repression soon discouraged the attempts to gather and block the streets of Khartoum. After a few days, the SPA and other opposition forces called for the campaign's end and resumed negotiations with the military.

A few weeks later, as the negotiations were dragging on and people kept getting arrested, the opposition forces called for a two-week mobilization, starting with a big protest day on June 30 (the "Millions march") and concluding with a general strike on July 14, in order to put pressure on the military.

People attended the protest day en masse; hundreds of thousands across the country demonstrated despite the military's effort to prevent them through preventive arrests, social networks' blocking, and threats. The repression was brutal; from official sources, there has been 10 casualties and hundreds wounded in Khartoum, while soldiers were shooting protesters with live rounds in several cities, where no official toll has been published.

At the end of this first day, the SPA declared: "*Sudanese showed today that they will not retreat until they have achieved civilian rule, as they consider this is the only way to achieve the goals of the revolution as outlined in the Declaration of Freedom and Change (...). Today the Sudanese people showed they are strong and courageous, and that they are capable of achieving all the revolution's goals. There is no*

*one who can defeat them. There is no weapon which will make them turn back from achieving all of their demands.*"

However, a few days later, the Alliance's opposition parties and groups called for the end of the mobilizations, as a preliminary agreement had been drafted with the military about a three-year period during which the country would be governed by a sovereign council including military representatives as well as civilians. According to the New York Times (July 5), this agreement was reached through discrete negotiations conducted in a rich Sudanese capitalist's home by diplomats from the US, the UK (former colonial power), Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, with the opposition's organizations.

This agreement was signed in a ceremony in Khartoum on August 17<sup>th</sup> in spite of new killings.

### AN AGREEMENT TO PRESERVE THE REGIME

Contrary to what one could read in the press, this agreement was not met with euphoria in the streets of Khartoum, and it was rejected by the armed groups in Darfur and the South as a "*revolution's betrayal*": the Sudan Liberation Movement said that "*the elites of Khartoum now are stealing the revolution*".

As reported by Reuters on July 13, the agreement provoked outrage in Burri, Khartoum's proletarian district, which was the heart of the mobilizations. Besides the fact that, contrary to population's will, the military preserves its firm grip on power (including those directly responsible for the slaughters, among which the *Janjawid* militias), the agreement's terms and conditions are excessively vague. None of them aims at providing some relief to the masses suffering from the crisis, and the agreement provides for the formation of a technocratic government that will most certainly be in charge of enforcing what the IMF and the previous Sudanese government had agreed on.

In the obvious endeavor of preserving its own legitimacy in the masses' eyes, the SPA eventually called for a day of "peaceful demonstrations" to honor the repression's victims on July 13, forty days after Khartoum's slaughter. Yet while the SPA was calling for a "commemoration" day, the thousands of protesters who have marched in Khartoum and other cities in Sudan have made, by keeping on demanding the military's departure, the demonstration of the masses' enduring combativeness and implicit distrust of the opposition.

The following days new massacres occurred: on July 29 soldiers fired on a youth rally in El Obeid over bread and

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## Post-scriptum

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fuel shortages, killing six people, including 4 school children. This massacre provoked protest reactions throughout the country; during a large demonstration in Khartoum on August 1 to demand justice; the soldiers fired on the demonstrators, killing at least 4 people. The opposition then announced that it suspended negotiations with the military until those responsible for the killings were arrested and brought to justice.

But a few days later, negotiations resumed and the agreement was formally ratified, and the Janjawid militia leader confirmed as the head of the “transition committee”!

\* \* \*

The Sudanese Communist Party has refused to endorse the agreement: it has called for keeping pressure on the military and has criticized the “deep ambiguity” of the negotiation process. Yet it doesn't question the opposition's bour-

geois democratic orientations: it is actually this party that feeds the “ambiguity” by trying to restrict the mobilization's aims to a mere democratization of the regime! The opposition has not “betrayed”: in accordance with its class nature, it has remained in line with its bourgeois political orientations. It has shown that it fears an unrestrained movement of the proletarian masses more than the military's repression!

Whatever the terms and conditions that bourgeois democrats and military leaders have finally agree on, the situation of Sudanese proletarians and impoverished masses will not change. The solution cannot be found in a democratic “transition” or a civilian regime – which remains a bourgeois regime in which capitalism prevails –, but in toppling bourgeois domination, be it dictatorial or democratic, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to get rid of capitalism alongside proletarians in other countries.

However, before reaching that goal, in order to reach it, the first step must be to break with interclassism, to break with the petty bourgeois democratic opposi-

tion: the proletariat's independence regarding all bourgeois orientations, so that it can organize itself as a class both in political and economic struggles, is absolutely necessary for the fight against the regime not to end up in a mere papering over its cracks, but rather in a real struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois State.

August 19, 2019

(1) <https://www.sudaneseprofessionals.org/en/declaration-of-freedom-and-change/>

The Alliance's opposition parties are essentially emigrants' parties and they estimate at four years the time they will need to take root in Sudan.

(2) <https://www.sudaneseprofessionals.org/en/understanding-and-gearing-up-for-our-announced-political-strike/>

(3) <https://www.sudaneseprofessionals.org/en/urgent-call-killing-and-burning-at-the-sit-in/>

(4) <https://mondediplo.com/2019/06/05sudan>

## Nature, Function and Tactics of the Revolutionary Party of the Working Class (1945)

(Continuation from page 1)

was formulated in some sentences from Marx's youth: “The philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point, however, is to change it. We must now pass from the arm of criticism to the critique of arms”

This leap from pure knowledge to active intervention is understood by dialectical materialism in a radically different way from the traditional ideologies.

All too often we have seen the adversaries of communism exploit the theoretical arsenal of Marxism in order to sabotage and repudiate its consequences in the area of action and of the proletarian party while refuting and rejecting its principled critical foundations. In all these cases the deviation is a reflection of anti-classist, counter-revolutionary influences, and it manifests itself in crises which, for the sake of brevity, we refer to as opportunism.

Principles and doctrines do not exist in themselves - as a foundation established before action. On the contrary, both are formed in a process parallel to action. Competing material interests compel social groups into practical struggle, and from the action engendered by such material interests is formed the theory

which becomes the party's distinctive heritage. If the relationship between these interests and incentives and the practical orientation of the action are changed, then the party's doctrine is likewise changed and deformed.

To believe that once it has been codified in a programmatic text and given a strict, disciplined organizational form in the party, the party theory has become intangible and sacred, and that therefore many different orientations and maneuvers are permissible in tactical action, means that one has not understood, in a Marxist sense, the real problem that has to be solved before choosing methods of action.

What is the meaning of determinism? Are social events engendered by irrepressible forces, giving rise to various ideologies, theories and opinions in human beings, or can they be modified by the more or less conscious will of individuals? The method characteristic of the proletarian party resolves this dilemma by means of a radical departure from traditional methods. The problem has always been posed and a solution allegedly given on the basis of the isolated individual, and then a solution was deduced for society as a whole. In fact, the collective, rather than the individual,

must be the point of departure. Similarly, “collective” has always been understood that other metaphysical abstraction which comprises the society of all human beings, whereas for Marxism a collective is a concretely defined group of individuals who, in a given historical situation, through their social relations - i.e., their place in production and the economy - have parallel interests; these groups are, precisely, classes.

Not all social classes in human history have the same way of resolving the problem of their ability to understand correctly the process through which they are living, and exert a certain amount of influence on it. Each historical class has had its system of opinions and propaganda; each one has claimed with equal force that it interpreted the meaning of events correctly and was able to orient them toward a more or less vaguely defined objective. Marxism provides a critique and explanation of all these theories, showing that the various ideological generalizations were the mental reflections of the conditions and interests of antagonistic classes.

In this continuous succession of struggles between parties and class states (which are engendered by material interests and find their expression in political and philosophical movements), the modern proletarian class, once the social conditions for its formation have matured, emerges with new, superior abilities, both because it possesses an experimental method for interpreting gen-

eral historical development and because its social and political action and struggle have a concrete influence on the general progress of this development.

This other fundamental concept was expounded by Marxists in the following classic expressions: "With the proletarian revolution, human society leaves pre-history" and "the socialist revolution constitutes the leap from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom".

This therefore puts an end to the banal traditional terms of the dilemma: Is man master of his will, or is he determined by his environment?

Are the class and its party conscious of their historical mission, do they derive from this theoretical consciousness the strength to accomplish this mission in the interest of a general improvement in social conditions, or are they drawn into struggle, fated to success or defeat by higher, unknown forces? Above all, it is essential to determine what classes and parties are involved, what is the relationship of forces in terms of production and state power, what historical cycle have they just completed and what further cycle remains to be completed according to the results of our critical analysis.

According to religious doctrines, the cause of events lies outside men, in the divine creator, who presumably conjured the world into existence, but felt he had to concede individuals a certain freedom of choice, for which they would be accountable in the hereafter. Suffice to say that this solution of the problem of will and determinism has been completely abandoned by the Marxist social and analysis.

But the solution given by bourgeois philosophy, which claims to have achieved an enlightened critique and eliminated all arbitrary presuppositions and divine revelations, remains just as mendacious, since it always reduces the problem of action to a subject-object relationship. The older (and more recent) idealist systems seek the point of departure in the individual subject, in the Ego, i.e., in the thought mechanism, which manifests itself as the individuals action on the natural and social environment. From this arises the political and juridical deception of the bourgeois system, which declares the individual to be free and grants him, as a citizen, the right to administer civic affairs, and consequently his own interests, in accordance with opinions that sprout in his own head.

The Marxist interpretation of history and human action, while banishing the intervention of any transcendental influence of divine revelation, just as decisively overturns the bourgeois concept of freedom and individual will, showing instead that it is the individual's

needs and interests that explain his movements and actions, and that his opinions and beliefs, and what is called consciousness, are determined only as the final result of the most complex series of influences.

When we move from the metaphysical concept of the Ego's consciousness and will to the real, scientific concept of theoretical knowledge and the historical and political action of the class party, the problem is finally posed clearly and a solution can be sought.

This solution has an original meaning for the movement and party of the modern proletariat, in that the proletariat is the first class which is not only compelled to break apart the old systems and old political and juridical forms that hinder the development of the productive forces (a revolutionary task of all preceding social classes), but also wages a struggle, not to constitute itself as a ruling class, but to establish relations of production which will enable it to eliminate economic pressure and the exploitation of one class by another.

The proletariat therefore has a clearer historical understanding and a more direct influence on events that the classes that have ruled society until now.

The revisionism of the 2nd International, which appeared as opportunism and collaboration in bourgeois governments, in peacetime and in war, was the manifestation of the influence on the proletariat of the 19th century phase of peaceful and apparently progressive development in the bourgeois world. At that time it appeared that the expansion of capitalism would not lead, as it did in Marx' classic schema, to the inexorable exacerbation of class antagonisms and to the exploitation and impoverishment of the proletariat. It appeared that, as long as the capitalist world could extend itself without provoking violent crises, the living conditions of the working classes could gradually improve within the bourgeois system itself. In its theory, reformism elaborated this schema of peaceful evolution from the capitalist economy to the proletarian economy, and in its practice, it quite coherently stated that the proletarian army could develop a positive activity based on the daily accomplishment of partial conquests - of a trade union, cooperative, administrative, and legislative nature - which would then become so many nuclei of the future socialist system inserted into the body of the present system, and which would gradually work a complete transformation.

The conception of the party's task was no longer of a movement that staked everything on the preparation of a final effort to realize the supreme goal; it was

transformed into a substantially voluntarist and pragmatist conception, in the sense that each day's work was presented as a solid, definitive accomplishment which was contrasted to the vacuity of passively awaiting a great future Victory which would result from the revolutionary clash.

The syndicalist school was no less voluntarist; it spoke of open class conflict and the destruction and abolition of the bourgeois state, which the reformists had wanted to infuse with socialism but in reality, by reducing the social struggles and transformation to isolated productive units, it too found that the proletariat could, through its trade union struggle, conquer a series of advantageous positions which would be so many proletarian islets in the capitalist ocean. The theory of factory councils developed in Italy by Ordine Nuovo was derivative of the syndicalist conception; here the international and historical unity of the movement and social transformation is fragmented into a series of positions conquered in individual productive units - this in the name of a concrete, analytical determination of action.

Just as gradualist reformism now regarded as secondary the realization of

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## le prolétaire

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## Nature, Function and Tactics of the Revolutionary Party of the Working Class (1945)

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the maximum program and gave priority to partial daily conquests, so too it advocated the well-known tactic of alliances and coalitions with political groups and parties which, from time to time, agreed to support partial demands and reforms proposed by the proletarian party.

From that moment on communists made the following substantial critique of this practice: the alignment of the party alongside other political formations on a front that changed according to the momentary problems dividing the political world would necessarily lead to a denaturing of the party, an obscuring of its theoretical clarity and a weakening of its organization, compromising its ability to direct the struggle of the proletarian masses in the phase of the revolutionary conquests of power.

The nature of the political struggle is such that the alignment of forces in two camps separated by opposed solutions to a given contingent problem, polarizing the action of militants around this transitory interest and the immediate objective, becomes detrimental to propaganda for the program and to a continuity with the principles of the movement. It thus creates an orientation among groups of militants that directly reflects the immediate demands which are being fought for.

The party's task - which was apparently an easy one for the social-democrats of the classic period - should be to reconcile intervention in contingent problems and conquests with the preservation of its programmatic physiognomy and ability to remain on the terrain of its own struggle for the final general objective of the working class. What happens in reality is that reformist activity not only causes the proletarians to forget their classist, revolutionary preparation, but it also induces even the leaders and theoreticians of the movement to reject it openly, and to proclaim that the final revolutionary crisis predicted by Marxism is itself only a utopia, and that only the conquests of each day are important. "The end is nothing; the movement is everything" was the slogan of reformists and trade unionists alike.

The crisis of this method assumed an overt form during the war, which destroyed the postulate of a progressive amelioration under capitalist rule.

The collective wealth accumulated by the bourgeoisie, a small part of which was devoted to an apparent improvement of the masses living conditions, was tossed into the furnace of war. Not only were all the reformist improvements consumed in the economic crisis, but the very lives of millions of workers were also sacrificed. At the same time, while the faction of the socialists that had remained healthy still entertained the hope that this violent manifestation of capitalist barbarism would tear groups of proletarians away from class collaboration and plunge them into the open, general struggle for the destruction of the capitalist system, they instead witnessed the crisis and collapse of almost the entire international proletarian organization.

The shifting of the agitational front and immediate action accomplished during the period of reformist practice revealed an incurable weakness, since the proletarians had forgotten and no longer understood their supreme class objectives. The tactical method of accepting alignments with parties in two distinct coalitions, depending on the country, and the most diverse slogans (for greater freedom of organization, for the extension of the right to vote, for the nationalization of certain sectors of the economy, etc.) was exploited by the ruling class with disastrous consequences culminating in the political alignment of the proletariat's leaders that constituted the social-patriotic degeneration.

The popularity created for these non-classist positions by the propaganda of the powerful mass organizations of the large social-democratic parties of the 2nd International was cleverly used to pervert their political orientations: it was shown that, in the interest of the proletariat and in the very interest of its march toward socialism, it was, meanwhile, necessary to defend other accomplishments, such as German civilization (against theocratic Czarism) or Western democracy (against Teutonic militarism).

Emerging from the Russian revolution, the 3rd International opposed this orientation, which had been so disastrous for the workers movement. However, it must be said that, if the restoration of revolutionary positions was rigorous and complete with regard to theoretical principles, and positions and the central problem of state power, nonetheless the organizational foundations of the new international and the formation of its tactics, including those of its member parties, were not sufficiently complete.

The critique of the opportunists of the 2nd International was certainly complete and decisive, not only with regard to their total abandonment of Marxist

principles, but also in terms of their tactic of coalition and collaboration with bourgeois governments and parties.

It was clearly shown that the particularist and immediatist orientation given to the old socialist parties had by no means secured small advantages and material improvements for the workers in exchange for their renunciation for preparation of the final attack against bourgeois power and its institutions: on the contrary, by compromising both the immediate aims and the historical goal, it had led to an even worse situation, i.e., the use of organizations, proletarian forces, combativeness, persons and lives to accomplish objectives which do not correspond to the political and historical objectives of the class, and indeed even led to a strengthening of capitalist imperialism. The war had enabled the latter, at least for an entire historical phase, to remove the danger created by the contradictions of its productive mechanism, while the taming of the trade union and political apparatus of the enemy class by means of the political method of national coalitions enabled it to overcome the political crisis created by the war and its after-effects.

As the Leninist critique shows, this completely denatured the task and function of the proletarian party, which does not exist to save the bourgeois fatherland or the institutions of so-called bourgeois freedom, but to hold the proletariat's forces in battle formation on the general historical line of the movement, which must culminate in the total conquest of political power via the overthrow of the bourgeois state.

In the immediate post-war period, while what we are accustomed to calling the subjective conditions of the revolution (i.e., the effectiveness of the proletariat's organizations and party) appeared unfavorable, and while the crisis of the bourgeois world which was then manifesting itself in full scope offered favorable objective conditions, it became necessary to remedy the first deficiency by means of a rapid reorganization of the revolutionary International.

This process was dominated - and it could not have been otherwise - by the grandiose historical fact of the first proletarian revolutionary victory in Russia, which had given full expression to the major communist directives. But there was a tendency to base the tactics of the communist parties in other countries, which were composed of socialist groups opposed to war opportunism on a direct imitation of the tactics successfully applied by the Bolsheviks when they conquered power in the historical struggle from February to November 1917.

From the very start, this success gave

rise to intense debates on the tactical methods of the International, especially the united front tactic, which consisted in addressing frequent invitations to other proletarian and socialist parties to undertake common agitation and coordinated action with the aim of unmasking these parties and turning their traditional influence on the masses to the communists' advantage.

Yet in spite of urgent warning from the Italian Left and other opposition groups, the leaders of the International did not recognize that this united front tactic, by aligning revolutionary organizations alongside the social-democratic, social-patriotic, opportunist organizations from which they had just separated over irreconcilable differences, not only would disorient the masses and at the same time render the advantages expected from this tactic illusory but – what was much more serious – would end up corrupting the revolutionary parties themselves. Even though the revolutionary party is the finest product of history and is least limited by history, it still remains a product of history, and therefore is subject to changes at every alteration of the social forces. The problem of tactics cannot be regarded as merely brandishing a weapon at will, such that no matter what direction it is pointed, it always remains identical to itself. No tactic can be condemned in the name of an a priori dogma, but all tactics must be analyzed and discussed on the basis of the following criterion; though we may eventually win influence over the masses, is there a danger that we might compromise the character of the party and its ability to guide them toward the final objective?

By adopting the united front tactic the Communist International too embarked on the same opportunist path that had led to the 2nd International to disaster and liquidation. The characteristic of the opportunist tactic has been the sacrifice of the final victory to contingent and partial successes; the United Front tactic was also revealed to be opportunistic, since it too sacrificed the primordial, irreplaceable guarantee of final victory – the revolutionary capacity of the class party – to contingent actions that were to have secured immediate partial advantages for the proletariat (increase in the party's influence on the masses and a greater participation by the proletariat in the fight for the gradual improvement of its material conditions and for the protection of any conquests already gained).

In the context of the aftermath of the first world war, which appeared to be objectively revolutionary, the leadership of the international was inspired

by the fear – not without foundation – that it would not be ready and without mass following, when explodes a general European movement which might lead to the conquest of power in some of the large capitalist countries. The possibility of a rapid collapse of the capitalist world was so important for the Leninist International that today we can understand how, in the hope of leading the broad masses in the struggle for the European revolution, it went so far as to accept membership of movements that were not real communist parties, and how it sought, through the elastic united front tactic, to maintain contact with the masses who were still following the apparatus of parties that vacillated between social conservation and revolution.

Had this collapse come about, its consequences for the politics and economy of the first proletarian power in Russia would have been so great that an immediate recovery of the international and national organizations of the communist movement would have been possible.

Unfortunately, the least favorable outcome, a relative stabilization of capitalism, ensured, and the revolutionary proletariat had to resume its fight with a movement that had sacrificed its political orientation and its homogeneous composition and organization, and consequently was exposed to new opportunist degenerations.

However, the error that opened the door of the 3rd International to the new opportunist wave, one more serious than previous waves, was not just an error in estimating the future probability of the proletarian revolution; it was an error of historical orientation and interpretation, i.e., the desire to generalize the experiences and methods of the Russian bolshevism to countries of a much more advanced, capitalist civilization. Pre-1917 Russia was still feudal Russia in which the capitalist productive forces were constricted by the shell of ancient relations of production. Obviously in this situation - analogous to France in 1789 and Germany in 1848 - the political party of the proletariat would have to combat czarism even if it seemed impossible to avoid the creation of a bourgeois, capitalist regime after the overthrow of czarism. It was also obvious that the Bolshevik party would be able to establish contacts with other political groups, since this was necessitated by the struggle against czarism. Between February and October 1917 the Bolshevik party encountered objective conditions favorable for a broader plan: the possibility of grafting the revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat directly onto the

overthrow of czarism. It therefore hardened its tactical positions, fighting from reactionary supporters of the czarist, feudal restoration to the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. But while there was a real threat of a restoration of the absolutist, theocratic feudal regime, the political state and formations created or influenced by the bourgeoisie continued to lack any stability in the extremely unstable situation at the time, and proved to be unable to attract and absorb the autonomous forces of the proletariat. These conditions made it possible for the Bolshevik party to accept contacts and make temporary agreements with other organizations that had a certain influence among the proletariat, as happened during the Kornilov episode.

By making a united front against Kornilov, the Bolshevik party in reality ought against a real feudal reaction, and furthermore, there was no reason to fear either a reinforcement of the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary parties (which might have subjected it to their influence) or a state power with sufficient stability that it might take advantage of the temporary alliance with the Bolsheviks and subsequently turn against them.

The situation and the relationship of forces were completely different in the countries of advanced bourgeois civilization. The perspective of a feudal reaction was totally absent (as it is today), and consequently any reason for possible common action with bourgeois parties was lacking.

Moreover, the state power and the logical, natural corollary of the united front tactic. It was applied in Germany, where it resulted in a serious defeat for the German proletariat and its Communist Party.

With the overt progressive degeneration of the International after the 4th Congress, the united front slogan served to introduce the aberrant tactic of forming electoral blocs with parties that were not only not communist, but also non-proletarian, the tactic of popular fronts, and support for bourgeois governments. Or - and this relates to immediate questions - it was claimed that the proletarian party, suspending the fight for its specific goals, should form the left wing of an anti-fascist coalition comprising proletarian as well as democratic and liberal parties, with the aim of combating bourgeois totalitarian regimes and, after their collapse, of forming a coalition government of all parties, both bourgeois and proletarian, opposed to fascism. In this way, beginning with the proletarian united front, unity was gradually extended

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until it finally included all classes, bourgeois and proletarian, ruling and ruled, exploiting and exploited.

In other words, beginning from a debatable, contingent tactical maneuver which explicitly required absolute autonomy or revolutionary and communist organizations, the effective liquidation of this autonomy was accomplished, along with the negation, not just of Bolshevik revolutionary intransigence, but even of the Marxist notion of class.

This progressive evolution of the Communist International stands in contradiction to the tactical these adopted at the first congresses and to the classic solutions given by Lenin in "Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder"; on the other hand, it authorizes us to state, after the experience of twenty years of the International's existence, that such a serious deviation in relation to the initial goal, parallel to the reversals of the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle, has derived from an originally inadequate method of posing the problems of the party's political tasks.

Today, without recalling the full range of arguments developed in the discussions at the time, it is possible to conclude that the balance sheet of the too elastic, maneuvering tact was not only negative, but disastrous.

Under the Comintern's guidance, Communist Parties everywhere tried repeatedly to exploit situations in a revolutionary direction by resorting to the united front, and then by opposing the victory of the bourgeois right, as it was called, with the tactic of left blocs. This tactic resulted only in resounding defeats. From Germany to France, to China, to Spain - nowhere did these coalition attempts draw the masses away from the opportunist parties and bourgeois or petty-bourgeois influences, and steer them in a revolutionary, communist direction. In fact, they led to quite the opposite result, by benefiting the anti-communists. The Communist parties were either mercilessly attacked by their former allies when the coalitions were broken, and suffered severe defeats in their attempts to fight on alone; or, if they were absorbed by the coalition, they gradually became completely denatured to the point that they were practically no different from the opportunist parties.

It is true that between 1928 and 1934 the Comintern, unexpectedly turning against bourgeois left currents and the social-democracy, issued slogans for political autonomy and independent struggle. But this sudden tactical about-face only succeeded in completely disorienting the Communist parties, without producing any historical successes in the fight against the fascist counter-offensives or against concerted actions by the bourgeois anti-proletarian coalitions. The cause of this reversal must be sought in the fact that the series of different tactical slogans were thrust upon the parties and their cadres as so many unexpected improvisations, without each communist organization being prepared for the various outcomes. However, the party's tactical plans cannot and must not become the exclusive monopoly of leading circles; on the contrary, because they define in advance the attitude to take in the various predictable situations, they must be closely linked to the theoretical cohesiveness, the political consciousness of the militants and the traditions of the movement, and must permeate the organization so that it is always prepared in advance and can foretell what the reaction of the unified structure of the party will be to favorable or unfavorable events in the course of the struggle. To expect anything more or different from the party, and to believe that it can resist unexpected shifts in tactics, is not to have a more complete or revolutionary conception of the party. On the contrary, as the historical facts prove, this is the classic process defined as opportunism, which leads the revolutionary party either to dissolution and shipwreck under the defeatist influence of bourgeois politics, or to vulnerability and disarmament in the face of repression.

When the degree of development of society and the course of events induce the proletariat to make use of causes that are not its own by appearing in the false revolutions the bourgeoisie needs from time to time, it is only opportunism that triumphs. The class party enters into crisis, its leadership is subjected to bourgeois influences, and the return to the proletarian path can only come about through splits from the old parties, the creation of new nuclei and the national and international reconstruction of the proletarian political organization.

In conclusion, the tactic the international proletarian party will apply when it is rebuilt in all countries must be based on the following directives.

The practical experience of opportunist crises and struggles waged by left Marxist groups against the revisionisms of the 2nd International and the progres-

sive deviations of the 3rd International has shown that it is not possible to maintain intact the programmatic positions, the political traditions and organizational solidity of the party if it applies a tactic which, even in its formal positions, contains attitudes and slogans acceptable to opportunist political movements. Similarly, any wavering or tolerance in the area of theory will result in opportunist tactics and action.

The party is therefore distinguished from all other openly hostile or allegedly friendly parties, as well as those that claim to recruit their members from among the working class, by the fact that its political practice is alien to maneuvers, combinations, alliances and blocs traditionally formed on the basis of contingent postulates and slogans shared by many parties.

This party position has an essentially historical value, and in the area of tactics, distinguishes the party from all other parties, precisely as it is distinguished by its original vision of the period now being traversed by capitalist society.

The revolutionary class party is alone in understanding that today the economic, social and political postulates of liberalism and democracy are anti-historical, illusory and reactionary, and that the world has reached the point where, in large countries, the liberal organizational form is disappearing, making way for the more modern, fascist system.

However, in the period in which the capitalist class had not yet begun its liberal phase, and still had to overthrow the feudal power, or where, in large countries, it still had to complete major stages and phases of expansion - phases which were liberal in terms of economics and democratic in terms of state's role - a transitory alliance of Communist parties with parties which, in the first case, were openly revolutionary, anti-legalitarian and organized for armed struggle, and in the second case, with parties that were still fulfilling a task that secured useful and truly progressive conditions for the capitalist class to advance more quickly along the path to its own overthrow, was both understandable and admissible.

The passage of Communist tactics from one historical epoch to another cannot be diminished to a local or national casuistry, nor be lost in an analysis of the complex uncertainties that the historical cycle of capitalism undoubtedly entails, without culminating in the practice condemned by Lenin in "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back".

The policy of the proletarian party has been above all international (with distinguishes it from all others) ever since

its program was first formulated and the historical need for its effective organization appeared. As the Manifesto states, Communists, by supporting all revolutionary movements against the existing social and political order, put forward and defend, along with the question of property, the interests that are shared by the whole proletariat, independent of nationality.

Insofar as it has not been perverted by Stalinism, the conception of revolutionary communist strategy is that the international tactics of communists is intended to bring about the collapse of

the bourgeois front in the countries where the best possibilities for this appear, by mobilizing the proletariat's resources for that purpose.

Consequently, the tactic of insurrectional alliances against the old regimes was historically closed with the grandiose Russian revolution which eliminated the last major military apparatus of a non-capitalist nature.

After this phase, even the theoretical possibility of the tactic of blocs must be considered as having been rejected by the international revolutionary movement.

The excessive importance attributed during the first years of the 3rd International to the application of Russian tactical positions to countries with stable bourgeois regimes, and also to the extra-European and colonial countries, was the first manifestation of the opportunist danger.

The second imperialist war and its already obvious on sequences were characterized by the preponderant influence, in all areas of the world, even those subjected to the most backward forms of

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## Peter

Our Comrade Peter Mc Arthur died of a heart attack on September 25, 2018 in Toronto (Canada); He had just turn seventy a few days before.

Authentic proletarian, faithful to his class, he had worked in several trades – in factories, on the railways, as a corrector, and so on. But for thirty years and until retirement he worked as a taxi driver in Toronto.

Endowed with a strong sense of humor and a lucidity that to some people could appear for cynicism (which was not the case), his curiosity led him to be interested, in addition to politics, in a variety of topics such as cosmology where his knowledge allowed him to argue with some scientists pretending to be Marxists.

Gifted with artistic sensibility, occasionally he wrote poems, while being a lover of rock bands and singers of the seventies.

Suffering from heart problems he professed a strong skepticism towards bourgeois medicine that had nearly killed him twice (by prescribing drugs that had been proved toxic). Unfortunately he was not taking enough care of him using to say "I know my body is a temple (bible quotation) but I am an atheist".

His first political engagement in the seventies had been with the Spartacist movement. After breaking with them he came across in a seller (Stalinist) of second hand books of a copy of the Communist Program, our theoretical journal in English.

Enthusiastic about its reading he decided to get in touch with the International Communist Party and he became part of the small group in the early 80s working to build a party section in Canada.

The crisis that struck our organization at that time shattered the group before this prospect could materialized. As in other places, Canadian activists

and supporters dispersed in all directions, some abandoning political activity while others, while maintaining their political convictions, remained isolated. This was Peter's case. He did not get back in touch with us until a few years ago (regretting that he did not do it before).

Despite his isolation in English speaking Canada, he strove to distribute the party press at rare events and gatherings.

A few months ago he ironically told us that he had made "a mass distribution": handing out forty leaflets and sale of several *Proletarians* in a demonstration gathering 75 people!

But above all he devoted his efforts to the publication of *Proletarian* as well as the translation of party's texts and statements – hoping that in a not-too-distant day our theoretical journal *Communist Program* could reappear.

Recently he got in contact with Canadian activists and supporters of the IGCL (International Group of the Communist left) with whom he conducted fraternal but intransigent discussions..

At the end of August '18t he had received an eviction notice from his home (in a block of buildings to be transformed into a shopping center); he sought to set up a struggle committee in connection with the increasingly difficult situation that is the lot of proletarians on the question of housing.

The few tenant's strikes that have taken place in Toronto since the beginning of 2018 against evictions or rent increases, show that this prospect was not unrealistic, even though many residents had already left. Sadly he had not the time to see his efforts materialize.

The comrades who knew him will not forget his dedication and commitment to our militant work.

His disappearance is a heavy loss for the party; but we are convinced that young forces will appear sooner or later to continue his fight, thus rendering him the best tribute possible.

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## Nature, Function and Tactics of the Revolutionary Party of the Working Class (1945)

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indigenous society, not so much of powerful capitalist economic forms, but of the irresistible political and military control exerted by the large imperialist fortresses of capitalism, presently organized in a gigantic coalition that includes the Russian state.

Consequently, local tactics can only be aspects of the general revolutionary strategy, whose first task is the restoration of the programmatic clarity of the world communist party, followed by the reconstitution of its organizational network in all countries.

This struggle develops in an environment where the illusions and seductions of opportunism hold sway: Propaganda in favor of the crusade for freedom against fascism in the ideological domain, and in the political domain, the practice of coalitions, blocs, fusions and illusory demands presented together by the leaderships of numerous parties, groups and movements.

Proclaiming that history has irrevocably rejected the practice of agreements between parties constitutes an essential and fundamental directive, and not a simple contingent reaction to the opportunist saturnals and acrobatic combinations of politicians. This is the only way for the proletarian masses to understand the need for the reconstruction of the proletarian party as fundamentally different from all others.

Even for transitory phases, none of the movements in which the party participates may be led by a super-party, by a higher organ consisting of a group of allied parties.

In the modern historical phase of world politics, the proletarian masses can only mobilize in a revolutionary manner again by building their class unity around a single party which is compact in its theory, its action, in the preparation for the insurrectionary attack and the management of power.

Every manifestation of the party, however limited, must make it apparent to the masses that this historical solution constitutes the only alternative against the international reinforcement of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie and its ability – not definitive, but still growing – to overcome the contradictions and convulsions that threaten the existence of its regime.

### 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 elective democracy, constitutes the organ for the defense of the interests of the capitalist class.

3. The proletariat can neither crush or modify the mechanism of capitalist production relations from which its 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; it 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 ruling class and set up its own dictatorship; meanwhile depriving the bourgeoisie and members of the bourgeois class of all political rights and functions as long as they survive socially, founding the organs of the new regime exclusively on the productive class. Such is the program that the Communist Party sets itself and which characterizes it. It is this party therefore which exclusively represents, organizes and directs the proletarian dictatorship. The requisite defence of the proletarian state against all counter-revolutionary initiatives can only be assured by depriving the bourgeoisie and parties which are enemies of the proletarian dictatorship of all means of agitation and political propaganda and by equipping the proletariat with an armed organization in order to repel all interior and exterior attacks.

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 military potential of the State, with governments adopting a more totalitarian form. All these are neither new sorts of social organizations in 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 Marxist 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 reject 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 bourgeois or petit-bourgeois parties, or with pseudo-workers' parties with a reformist program.

9. The global imperialist 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 global workers' 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. The proletarian State, to the extent that its apparatus is an instrument and a weapon of struggle in a historical epoch of transition does not derive its organizational strength from constitutional rules nor from representative schemas whatsoever. 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, inside the country, stamping out the rebellion of the vanquished classes and of the middle and petit-bourgeois layers and of the opportunist parties which, in the decisive phases, are inevitably allied with the counter-revolution

11. The defense of the proletarian regime against the dangers of degeneration inherent in the failures and possible retreats in the work of economic and social transformation – whose integral realization is inconceivable within the limits of only one country – can only be assured by the constant coordination between the policy the workers' State and the united international struggle, incessant in times of peace as in times of war, of the proletariat of each country against its bourgeoisie and its State and military apparatus. This co-ordination can only be secured by means of the political and programmatic control of the world communist party over the State apparatus where the working class has seized power.