

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.

Nr 9

Winter-Spring 2013
Supplement to
"le prolétaire" Nr. 505
- £1 / US\$1,5 / €1,5 -

The wave of strikes in South Africa demonstrates the need for class organization!

For several months South Africa has been experiencing a major wave of unrest and strikes, fueled by the deteriorating situation of the workers and exploited masses.

Miners are often in the forefront of struggles; and it must be said that if the mining industry is the most important economic sector in the country, enriching international companies and local bourgeois, the living and working conditions of the miners remain deplorable, despite a long history of

struggles that have allowed them to gain some improvements. Lonmin miners live in wretched huts which do little to protect them from the punishing heat, with exterior latrines expected to service 50 men with a miserable trickle of water, etc... A third of the miners are temporary, with lower wages than the others and no social protection, retirement benefits or medical care. "Better to die than work for this shit!" said a striking miner at Lonmin (1).

South Africa is the world's largest producer of platinum and its importance in the South African mining industry has replaced gold, but the economic crisis has resulted in lower prices on the world market, pushing capitalists to increase the exploitation of the proletariat in order to save their profits.

Lead by the Lonmin miners, other wildcat strikes have erupted in the mining sector for the same demands for wage increases, notably a wildcat strike in Anglo American Platinum (AM-PLATS) of Rustenburg, a town near

Lonmin where the strikers barricaded all access routes. Early in September the police attacked with rubber bullets against strikers at a gold mine near Johannesburg. In late September the production of the AngloGold Ashanti gold mines employing 35,000 workers was completely paralyzed across the country by the strike. Strikes hit the chromium mines, again in Rustenburg, where hundreds of miners decided on an underground sit-in to demand an increase of 12,500 rands. Early in October the Toyota plant in Durban was hit by a wildcat

strike while it was estimated that 80,000 miners were on strike at various mines in the country.

After the savage repression at Mari-kana, the government decided to open a formal investigation to calm outrage over the massacre; however there is no doubt about the causes and the facts: there is evidence that the killing was premeditated and the official union, the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) and the South African CP called for the repres-

(Continued on page2)

Summary

- Massacre of striking miners in South Africa
- The Student Struggles in Québec
- On the *Mouvement Etudiant Révolutionnaire* (MER) "Revolutionary Student Movement": Reformist Petty Bourgeois Movement
- Rescue of the Spanish Banking system
- Spain. The strike of the Asturian miners and the metal-workers of Vigo.
- Spanish Miners Struggle. The "Black March".
- Cuba. Once upon a time, a "Cheerful Carter was passing by"...
- Cease-fire in Gaza: Imperialism Means Only Truces Between Endless Wars.
- No to French Imperialist Military Intervention in Mali!
- France. No to electoral mystifications!
- Euromobilization of November 14, 2012. Only the class struggle can defend proletarian interests against capitalism!

THE "INVARIANCE" OF MARXISM (1)

(General Meeting of the Party, Milan, September 1952)

I- THE HISTORICAL "INVARIANCE" OF MARXISM

1. The expression "Marxism" is used not to designate a doctrine discovered by the individual Karl Marx, but to refer to the theory that emerged alongside the modern industrial proletariat and "companies" it throughout the social revolution. We retain the expression "Marxism" in spite of the speculation and abusive exploitation to which it has been subjected by a whole series of counter-revolutionary movements.

2. Marxism, in its only valid definition, has three major groups of opponents today. First group: the bourgeoisie, which claims that the capitalist, mercantile form of economy is definitive and denies that it can be superseded by the

socialist mode of production. This group therefore - quite consistently - rejects the entire doctrine of economic determinism and the class struggle. Second group: Stalinist (and post-Stalinist) ostensible communists who claim to accept the Marxist doctrine of history and economics, but advance and defend, even in developed capitalist countries, demands that are not revolutionary, but which are identical to or even worse than traditional reformism in the fields of politics (democracy) and economics (populist progressivism). Third group: avowed disciples of the revolutionary doctrine and method who attribute the fact that the majority of the proletariat has now abandoned them to original omissions or de-

(Continued on page 18)

The wave of strikes in South Africa demonstrates the need for class organization!

(Continuation from page 1)

sion of the strikers and collaborated with the police. The attitude of the authorities vis-à-vis other strikes confirms, if confirmation were needed, which side the government and the official unions are on.

Thus, in Rustenburg, the NUM called for an end to the strike after signing an agreement with the bosses, but the miners continued their action and accused the NUM of being “liars”. The police intervened against strikers with rubber bullets, killing one. However, the strike wave appeared to extend to other sectors: 20,000 transport truck drivers, Dunlop workers in Howick where 14 strikers were injured by rubber bullets fired by the employers militia, etc. Meanwhile the government of Jacob Zuma, which had pretended to be moved by the Lonmin massacre, has sent the army into Marakana until the end of the year “to maintain calm”.

On October 2, Goldfields expelled 5000 strikers from the dormitories they had occupied, after that, still early in the month wildcat strikes extended to another of its mines, Bokoni, hundreds of kilometers from the epicenter of strikes constituted by the cities of Marikana and Rustenburg. AMPLATS decided in the same period to terminate 12,000 strikers in Rustenburg, while AngloGold Ashanti also threatened to dismiss strikers.

After negotiations with the NUM, AMPLATS agreed to take back the dismissed miners, but it seems that the struggle has not stopped.

After COSATU (which with the South African CP and the ANC of Mandela and Zuma, is part of the anti-proletarian “Triple Alliance” in power) had repeatedly denounced the wildcat strikes at its convention at the end of September, it stated its support for workers, notably for striking truck drivers (a declaration which commits itself to nothing), while entreating them to refrain from acts of violence; the truck drivers union, stated baldly that the violent actions of strikers (attacks upon and the setting ablaze of trucks which tried to break the strike), were the work of “thugs”! For his part, President Zuma came to the Congress to affirm, with a straight face: “unionism is the only shield to protect and defend the workers” (2)! Lonmin strikers who have seen NUM (the main COSATU union) functionaries lend a hand to the police against them, will enjoy this...

The strikes have not stopped and by mid-November they extended to farm workers in the Cape region. Workers there suffer particularly bad conditions, as was brought to light by a recent report by Human Rights Watch (3). The strike was again spontaneous, but due to the lack of organization of the workers, COSATU tried to take over the leadership of the movement; taking advantage of the fact that the province is led by the opposition, it has accused local politicians of being responsible for these terrible conditions. The strikers are demanding that their daily pay be increased from R69 (7.8 U.S. dollars, i.e. the minimum wage) to R150 (17 dollars). The authorities responded with repression that killed one worker and injured many. COSATU has called for a suspension of the strike after the government had “agreed” to negotiate the increase of the minimum wage. However, at the time of writing, the strike continues ...

This strike wave that is currently shaking South Africa faces not only employer repression and the police, but also the sabotage and strike-breaking scab activity by COSATU and SACP unions, it demonstrates once again the need for an **independent class organization** to conduct the struggle against the bosses; but also for political organization, for the **class party**, to ensure that this struggle is not imprisoned in the straight-jacket of class collaboration and so that it can reach the level of a **general struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois state**.

But this orientation is not the one advocated by the extreme left political groups existing in South Africa...

Spartacist South Africa (section of the Spartacist organization’s International Communist League) incorporated in its leaflet of 28 August (4) its demand for a “*Black-centered Workers’ Government*” a typical Trotskyist demand which behind its bombastic ap-

pellation is actually purely reformist and parliamentary: if this so called Workers’ government would be an anti-capitalist one, the Spartacists should add that such a government can be obtained only by the **violent seizure of power**, the **destruction of the bourgeois state** and the establishment of the **dictatorship of the proletariat**.

Any other “Workers’” government is a fraud, a deception of the workers: a Workers’ government cannot exist in a bourgeois state, anti-proletarian by its very nature!

In the same leaflet, beside the denunciation of the Triple Alliance Government and the NUM, the SSA calls - correctly - for the self-defense of the strikers. But the Spartacists show that actually they remain the same eternal tailists of the anti-proletarian collaborationist apparatuses, by criticizing the workers leaving the NUM:

“The answer to the betrayals by the leaders of the NUM and other COSATU unions cannot be to simply leave and set up separate unions, which tends to weaken and divide the workers”.

Thus, it is the organization of workers outside the union which calls on the police to break strikes, which collaborates with the bosses, which would be the factor of division and weakness of the proletariat! How can workers’ self-defense exist within the framework of a union which collaborates with the police to kill them?

The unity of the proletariat, isn’t unity with the collaborationist apparatuses that paralyze, sabotage and openly combat workers struggles; it is unity with the workers of other companies, other sectors, other *nationalities*, exclusively for the defense of the common interests of the proletarians. It begins with the independent class organization, outside and against these apparatuses (not just a few *sellouts at the top*) which practice class collaboration to

Farm workers on strike



better defend the national capitalism and the bourgeois homeland.

The other South African Trotskyist organizations have adopted the usual reformist positions: nationalization of mines, of course “under workers’ control”. The demand for workers’ control of a company run by the bourgeois state is perhaps even more stupid than a workers’ government in that same state.

In any case it is also **contrary** to the class struggle orientation required by South African proletarians to fight the capitalists defended and supported by the bourgeois state...

Today South African proletarians courageously wage difficult struggles of resistance against a class enemy which hides behind “communist” and union false friends. But they neither can rely on these so-called revolutionary groups

which are only a particular variety of reformists, perhaps more dangerous because of their pseudo-revolutionary discourse.

They must rediscover the authentic classical positions of communism in order to organize themselves into a **class party** to enable themselves, together with the workers of other countries, go on to the attack against global capitalism!

* * *

We reproduce below the leaflet distributed during the massacre of Marikana. The official number of miners killed by the police that day is now 34, but it remains questionable. In spite of this bloody repression and multiple pressures, miners Lonmin have contin-

ued the struggle, before finally accepting the agreement with management for wage increases of more than 20,000 workers in the enterprise: rock drill operators (the backbone of the strike Marikana) obtained a 22% increase (11,000 rand) temporary miners 15% and 11% for all other workers. Management have also agreed to cover the cost of food and education for the children of victims.

(1) El Pais, 08/20/12

(2) L’Humanité, 09/20/12

(3) <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/08/23/south-africa-farmworkers-dismal-dangerous-lives>

(4) <http://www.icl-fi.org/english/leaflets/lonmin-sa.html>

Massacre of striking miners in South Africa

On July 18 the world bourgeoisie celebrated “Mandela Day”, established internationally by the UN in November 2009 under the sign of peace, freedom, reconciliation, etc. In South Africa, more than 12 million children sang hymns to Mandela before going to class, the whole population was called upon to devote 67 minutes of their time (corresponding to 67 years of Mandela’s activism) to helping others. The IMATU Union requested that this day where they celebrate “the 67 years of his life Mandela has given for the rights of humanity, equality, justice and democracy enjoyed today by all South Africans” become a public holiday, so that individuals can give much more than 67 minutes to useful causes....

All these disgusting proclamations only serve to hide the fact that Mandela and his ANC party now in power have historically worked to keep not only capitalism, but even – in the name of “reconciliation”, – the status of economic and social domination of the white bourgeoisie intact in South Africa. Apartheid is gone, legally blacks have the same rights as whites, but the reality of exploitation, oppression, poverty and racism has not changed for the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa. The only difference is that a thin layer of bureaucrats, businessmen and capitalists could integrate into the bourgeoisie, that black union bureaucrats are maintained, sometimes handsomely, to betray the interests of workers and that black mercenaries were recruited to “improve” the activity of the police.

On Thursday, August 16th this was again demonstrated by the police massacre using automatic weapons of 36 striking miners in Marikana at Lonmin, which mines metals in the platinum group. There were also many injured and more than 250 strikers were arrested. The country had not experienced such a massacre since the days of apartheid ...

Reinforced by the massacre and think-

ing that the strikers were prostrated by the bloody repression, they issued an ultimatum: return to work or dismissal.

The miners at Lonmin – a multinational based in London and employing 20,000 people at its operations across South Africa – have been on strike since Aug. 10 for a salary increase from 4,000 to 12,500 rand (480 to 1500 US \$). The conditions of life and work of the miners are particularly difficult; they toil for starvation wages “housed” in desolate slums without running water, medical care is practically nonexistent, etc.

Before the massacre Thursday, clashes between strikers and nonstrikers had already killed 10 people. The main miners’ union, the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers), whose collusion with the employers is denounced by the workers, and which was hostile to the strike, on August 13 launched an appeal to the army “to restore order” (1): the strike was in fact not legal under the labor code. A striker interviewed by the press commented: “The NUM has deserted us, it is working with the Whites and piling up money. They forgot about the workers” (2).

While the management said it was negotiating a return to work, about 3000

strikers gathered on a hill to block the entrance to the mine, saying they would not budge. To defend themselves they had obtained or assembled makeshift weapons: sticks, knives, machetes. The police, heavily armed and who, according to the strikers, were assisted by leaders of the NUM (3), have used various means to end the rally deemed “illegal”: barbed wire, tear gas, water cannons, rubber bullets before firing live ammunition against the workers.

In order to justify themselves, the police affirm – against all evidence – that they acted “in self-defense” against gunfire from the miners. With the goal of preserving democratic forms, the ANC government announced that there would be an investigation to determine what really happened. But there is no need for an inquest to understand that this is a massacre perpetrated to break a strike, and that the government and the big trade union organizations associated with it, promote capitalist interests!

The NUM leader has accused the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), a small union, composed of former members of the NUM, which lead the strike, of being the cause of violence: “That is why we say the ringleaders must be arrested” he added (4). For its part, the South African CP which includes many union bureaucrats, also called on August 16 for the arrest of the leaders of the AMCU, the shootings being “a barbaric act coordinated by the AMCU”! According to him the leaders of AMCU were expelled from

(Continued on page 4)

Massacre of striking miners in South Africa

(Continuation from page 3)

the NUM "because of their anarchy" (5)

... As for the largest Trade Union Confederation COSATU, linked to the ANC of Mandela and to which the NUM belongs, it issued a press release on August 16, which expresses its condolences to the families of the victims. But what crocodile tears these are: not a word of criticism of police violence! The only thing that these Trade Union bureaucrats condemn is the "violence and intimidation"... of the AMCU! The COSATU communiqué called on the leaders of the union organizations to meet, not to respond to the police massacre, but to deal with a "coordinated political strategy to use intimidation and violence (...) in a concerted drive to create breakaway 'unions' and divide and weaken the trade union movement." (6)!

The collusion of the trade union apparatus with the capitalists, which is so abjectly expressed here, can be illustrated by one fact: the former chief fat cat of COSATU, Cyril Ramaphosa, is now a member of the Board of directors of Lonmin! During the period when he led the Trade Union Confederation, he amassed a considerable fortune, as the price for his services to South African capitalists ...

The world capitalist economic crisis also affects South Africa, exacerbating capitalist exploitation and the misery of the masses. Poverty is still endemic despite the rhetoric, extreme poverty having even doubled in 10 years. The unemployment rate, which is on the rise, officially reached the 25.2%, while nonofficial estimates put it at 40% (bourgeois 73% for those less than 35 years old!) (7). Wages are very low and working condi-

tions often bestial.

This degradation of the situation of the workers and the masses has been responsible for a resurgence of strikes and unrest for many months. What the politico-economic mafia of the ANC, the Union apparatus and the bourgeois in general are afraid of, is that this agitation will lead to a generalization of the struggles and the organization of the working class.

The leaders of AMCU lament that the police, instead of helping people, are killing workers (8). But when the weapons of propaganda and soothing hymns of democratic pacifism to Mandela, are not enough to appease the proletariat, the bourgeoisie will never hesitate to let their bullets fly.

This grim lesson learned in blood is one that the proletariat not only in South Africa but throughout the world will never forget. The confrontation between classes is a social war, which is sometimes open, sometimes concealed, but which can only end by the violent destruction of the bourgeois power, the seizure of power by the proletariat and the overthrow of capitalism. So that the skirmishes of today aid in preparing the great struggle of tomorrow which will avenge the countless victims of capitalism, proletarians of all countries will need to start by breaking with the sellout unions and parties which, by advocating collaboration between classes, disarm them when confronting the capitalists, when they are not working directly with them.

This is the first step toward being able to defend themselves and to find the path of the intransigent class struggle against capitalism

Class Solidarity with the Lonmin Miners!

August, 17th 2012

(1) http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/visuel_interactif/2012/08/17/une-

[semaine-de-violences-dans-un-conflit-minier-en-afrique-du-sud_1747167_3212.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/visuel_interactif/2012/08/17/une-semaine-de-violences-dans-un-conflit-minier-en-afrique-du-sud_1747167_3212.html)

(2) www.thestar.com/news/world/article/1243035-in-south-africa-police-fire-on-striking-miners-killing-at-least-six

(3) <http://www.timeslive.co.za/the-times/2012/08/17/killing-field>

(4) See "The Guardian", 8/17/12

(5) <http://liveblog.mg.co.za/2012/08/16/lonmin-shootings-liveblog/>

(6) <http://www.cosatuorg.za/show.php?ID=6421>

(7) <http://www.iol.co.za/business/business-news/cosatu-shocked-by-unemployment-stats-1.1292074#.UDHP2PK17Q> <http://www.npr.org/2012/05/28/153883339/over-half-of-youth-unemployed-in-south-africa>

(8) <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-malema-miners-were-killed-to-protect-cyril-ramaphosa-shares>

"Il Comunista"

Nr. 128 - Novembre 2012 / Gennaio 2013

Summary

- Ancora elezioni, ancora gigantesche fregature per i proletari!
- L'ondata di scioperi in Sudafrica dimostra la necessità dell'organizzazione di classe!
- Nuove misure del collaborazionismo sindacale tricolore e del padronato per difendere la caduta dei profitti aumentando lo sfruttamento proletario
- Sciopero generale del 14 novembre 2012. Lo sciopero dev'essere arma di lotta in difesa esclusiva degli interessi proletari contro gli interessi capitalistici, non valvola di sfogo delle tensioni sociali acutizzate dalla crisi capitalistica!
- Tregua a Gaza: l'imperialismo non conosce che tregue fra le guerre. Solo la guerra di classe contro il capitalismo potrà portare la pace nel mondo!
- Nuova pubblicazione di partito: El proletario
- Arduo lavoro di difesa delle linee programmatiche, politiche, tattiche e organizzative del Partito nella vitale critica marxista dell'imperialismo capitalista, nel bilancio dinamico del movimento comunista internazionale e nella prospettiva della futura ripresa della lotta di classe (Riunione Generale di partito, Milano, 15-16 dicembre 2012)
- La donna e il socialismo (4). (A. Bebel)
- Lottare contro la concorrenza fra proletari ed ogni manovra mistificatoria che mira a disorientare e paralizzare i lavoratori dell'ARPA Campania

Giornale bimestrale - Una copia 1,5 €; 5 FS; £ 1,5 - Abbonamento: 8 €; 25 FS; £ 6 - Abbonamento di sostegno 16 €; 50 FS; £ 12.



The Student Struggles in Québec

On 13 February 2012, an unlimited general student strike was launched in Québec against rising tuition fees decreed by the Liberal government of Jean Charest. The projected increase is \$1,625 over five years, representing a phenomenal increase of over 80% for costs which are currently \$2,168 per year, not to mention related costs that are constantly increasing and represent a disguised way of increasing the cost of education. The avowed intent is to catch up with the Canadian average which is around \$4000 per year.

Quebec currently has the lowest tuition in North America. An increase of \$500 over five years had already been adopted in 2007 as the first step towards deregulation of tuition fees. In mid-April, the strike movement involved more than 200,000 students across Quebec, including just over 170,000 in a general strike of universities and CEGEP's (colleges of general and professional studies, a somewhat intermediate level of education between high school and university).

The increase was decided by the Charest government in its budget in 2010 which was marked by numerous brutal measures to gradually destroy the social benefits of the proletariat and working people, including an annual health-tax of \$200 person, regardless of income, while the Québec public health system is tumbling into ruins.

Finance Minister Raymond Bachand declared that a "cultural revolution" was needed to convey to Québec workers that public services have a price, i.e. that they must be progressively privatized to increase the rate of profit of the bourgeoisie. In this case we should be talking about a cultural counterrevolution! Despite the utterings of Minister Bachand utilities have never been "free", they have been financed by fees and taxes whose main burden falls on the working class.

The protest movement of the students has developed rapidly since February 13, marked by increasingly numerous demonstrations, some of which have turned into confrontations with the police. On March 7, the most eventful demonstration took place and a student named Francis Grenier practically lost the sight in one eye. The outrage of the students and all those who support them escalated and the student movement was galvanized. On Sunday, 18 March a demonstration with families assembled more than 30,000 people in Montreal and thousands more in Québec City and Sherbrooke.

On March 22 a national demonstration was held in Montreal with over 200,000 participants, making it one of the largest political demonstrations in the history of Québec and even Canada! The Charest government turned a deaf ear to student demands and let loose a profoundly dishonest and demagogic propaganda about the students who would not give their "fair share" to save the education system and the fiscal consolidation!

Coming from a government marked by scandal and which didn't hesitate to give millions of dollars to banks and other large businesses, while imposing drastic austerity measures on the working class, this is all simply revolting!

With the spread of the movement police repression has become increasingly brutal, marked by numerous arrests, and by the onslaught of the bourgeois media calling the students "*spoiled rotten, irresponsible and vandals*".

This has not prevented the student protests from multiplying and amplifying from April on, notably including nighttime demonstrations that began at the end of that month to protest the intransigence and bad faith of the government. The Montreal police attempted unsuccessfully to prevent these by declaring them "illegal", but without success. Similar demonstrations took place in Québec City where the National Assembly of Québec is situated. Faced with the obstinate resistance of students and their supporters, the government enacted Bill 78 (*Loi 78*) requiring any gathering of more than 50 people to provide their itinerary at least eight hours in advance on pain of otherwise being considered illegal. Police have the mandate to arrest demonstrators who refused to disperse. Exorbitant fines are also planned for any organization, especially student, which refuses to comply with the law. Mass arrests followed the enactment of this Act, at demonstrations declared "illegal" by the Montreal Police Department.

But the determination of the demonstrators, which encompassed more than the students including even trade union activists and grassroots groups, has not wavered and the police although declaring the demonstrations illegal have let the demonstrators march night after night. On May 22, a massive demonstration that assembled more than 300,000 people according to organizers, broke Bill 78 by changing the route along the way without notifying the police and the cops were unable to stop the rally and

carry out mass arrests. In late June, although the government had closed the universities for three months, tens of thousands of people demonstrated again in Montreal and Québec City.

* * *

Journalists have pointed to a revival of Quebecois nationalism in the student movement. While it is clear for the student movement that the adversary is in Montreal and not in Toronto, this revival is not surprising: historically the struggle for access to education has always been an integral part of the struggle of Quebecois nationalism, especially during the "Quiet Revolution" in the 1960s. The development of Québec capitalism had as a consequence, exactly as in other developed capitalist countries experiencing full growth during the same period, an increase in the number of students to meet the need for highly skilled technicians and employees, as well as further developed marshalling and supervision of the proletariat. In 1966 the United Nations called on member states to ensure free access for all to higher education and advocated the introduction of free education (1); the oft-praised "democratization" (relative democratization, because working-class children have always had the greatest difficulty gaining access) championing higher education through grants, scholarships systems, etc., was a necessity for capitalism which was going through a period of continued expansion.

The strong growth in access to university and higher education in general, and the upsurge of Quebecois nationalism were two aspects of the rise of the Quebecois fraction of Canadian capitalism and its efforts to gain more prominence in the Canadian state (or to take the path to independence if this was not possible). Also in Québec as elsewhere, the development of education had become, thanks to this "democratization" of education, a way for some elements from the proletariat to escape their social status and gain access to the petty bourgeoisie: it was the royal road of the famous "social elevator" that actually worked at that time. As far as the petty bourgeoisie was concerned, it was its preferred means to ensure that their children maintained this class status.

The Quebecois bourgeoisie, through both the nationalist *Parti Québécois* and the federalist Liberal Party, retained the tuition freeze at the University level for

(Continued on page 6)

The Student Struggles in Québec

(Continuation from page 5)

several years, from 1994 to 2007. However the current situation of international economic crisis requires all governments to tighten the screws to maintain or restore the profit rates of capitalism, not only by strengthening the direct exploitation of the proletariat, through cuts in social spending but also by getting rid of unproductive or parasitic strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

The two main parties of the Québécois reformist left, *Québec Solidaire* and the new independantist party *Option Nationale*, have assured the students of their support and they even came out in favor of free education from kindergarten to university, a demand already voiced by the *ASSE* (Association for Student Union Solidarity), the student union which demonstrates a certain militancy and which is largely the instigator of this current strike.

But what good are the promises of reformist parties who above all want to position themselves in relation to possible early elections?

The current measures are not due to the particular malice of the Charest government; they are part of an overall trend of capitalism faced with a general crisis of overproduction that requires bourgeois governments of the right or left to take still more pronounced anti-proletarian and antisocial austerity measures, to find an even temporary solution to the economic difficulties. It is also futile to try to negotiate new means of funding, as do the other students' unions: today there are too many students and they are too expensive for the needs of capitalism in Québec.

* * *

The importance, the duration of the student struggle and the positive echo it met with a significant portion of the population despite the hostility of the media, all this shows that we are dealing with something **much broader** than just a corporatist student struggle. The tens or hundreds of thousands of people – petty bourgeois and proletarians – who have mobilized in demonstrations do not do so only out of love for democracy and to support the students, but because they too feel threatened by the capitalist offensive and they instinctively fear suffering their fate: increased exploitation, proletarianization, repression. The capitalist offensive threatens to precipitate the petty bourgeois (or those aspiring to the petty bourgeoisie)

into the proletariat, provoking revolt in one form or another. It is inevitable that this revolt occurs first under a reformist orientation, based on the aspiration to return to the previous period of capitalism where strong economic growth ensured their privileged social status compared to the proletarians, and the belief in a “human”, “fair”, “social”, etc. capitalism.

But a segment of the students, even if a very small minority, realize that with or without diplomas, they may be condemned to share the fate of the proletariat; the best of these elements can and must realize that their real opponent is ultimately not a reactionary government, but capitalism itself and its inflexible laws. They can then understand that if it wants to be successful, the fight must go beyond the narrow straightjacket of petty and hopeless aspiration to a privileged social status and that they have to enlist themselves in a much broader and much more long term struggle: the **class struggle of the proletariat against capitalism**.

This is obviously not the orientation that student organizations advocate, nor the various far-left groups.

CLASSE, usually presented as the most militant student association, agitates for a perspective that seems more radical than that advocated by the college and university student federations (FECQ and FEUQ), and this is why the government wanted to exclude it from the negotiations held in mid May (it participated and finally accepted the compromise nearly unanimously rejected by the striking students); but in reality this perspective does not go beyond the petty bourgeois democratic framework. Its evocation of a “social strike” and its appeal to trade unions to support the fight should not sow any illusions. Trade union leaders have actually already been called to the rescue by... the government, so as the proven servants of capitalism, they advise the students to compromise, to respect the rule of law and reject the most effective forms of struggle. The existing trade union apparatuses are **organizations of class collaboration** which, at best, negotiate the workers' demands with the bosses while containing struggles so they do not jeopardize social peace, and at worst openly sabotage these struggles.

How could they help students break Bill 78, as they were careful in May not to call upon the strikers at Canadian Pacific Railway to disobey the back-to-work order adopted by the federal government?

How could they organize real support to the student struggle, when they do not or can not organize any real support for locked-out proletarians and workers' struggles in general? In the best case all they can do is to pass motions of support that are not binding.

As for the “social strike”, it appears to be a kind of... interclassist strike where the entire population would be called upon to cease its activities to defend the students and democracy (2).

For their part, the far-left organizations support the general demands of the students such as the “right to education for all”, fight against the “commodification of education” and call on workers to support their struggle. This amounts to the call to fight for perspectives and class interests that are not theirs!

The fight against commodification of education is a petty bourgeois utopia: under capitalism all education is **entirely** shaped and strictly conditioned by the laws of this mode of production; it is also as impossible to imagine an educational system which escapes them, as it is a State above classes. No more than other state or parastatal institutions, schools and universities cannot be reformed to be quietly put to the service of the “people” or the exploited, contrary to what all the defenders of capitalism would have us believe.

This is why the proletarian **political** demand in this area is not a reform of the educational system, i. e. the democratization of education, free access to higher education, “non-commodification” of education: it is the **destruction** of the bourgeois school and university, just like all the other institutions of the bourgeois state, giving way, in a new classless society, to new forms of education of young and old people, which will not lead to the formation of socially privileged specialists. Of course this demand is impossible without **revolution** and the **seizure of power** by the proletariat.

However, there is no doubt that the proletarians cannot remain indifferent to the difficulties and struggles of the petty bourgeoisie (or petty bourgeois aspirants that students are); there is no doubt that they need to oppose all the repressive measures taken by the bourgeois powers against the students – not for humanitarian and democratic reasons, but in their strict class interests, because the same measures are (and will be) used against their own struggles: the struggle against bourgeois repression, against repressive laws is part of the elementary proletarian struggle.

More generally, the workers cannot

remain indifferent because the attack inflicted on the petty bourgeoisie is part of the general capitalist offensive of which they are the basic target. If one had to demonstrate the interest they have that the attack fail, it would suffice to read an editorial in the leading bourgeois Montreal daily that if the government gave in to the students *"there would be no means for providing any reform whatsoever in Quebec"* (3), provided that by "reform" the bourgeois mean antisocial and anti-worker measures.

But this does not at all mean that the proletariat must mobilize and enter in struggle to defend the social position of the petty bourgeois strata, moreover when they are already experiencing the greatest difficulties in mobilizing for their own cause!

The proletarian orientation is not one of becoming an auxiliary to the aspirations of students, to support **their** perspectives, therefore to move on to their terrain of the reform of state institutions (or the defense of their old ways of working) and the bourgeois social order, but to call on them to come on to the **proper terrain of the proletariat**, which is the **class struggle** against the bourgeois state and against capitalism: *it is against capitalism that we must fight! Not for democratic reform, but for the communist revolution!*

The reformists are already at work striving to channel the "Maple Spring" into the inoffensive path of electioneering, and negotiations between the parties are going well. But no electoral change will stop capitalist attacks, it will only serve to try to paralyze those affected.

The struggle of the students and the echo it encounters are a sign that social contradictions accumulate inexorably; sooner or later they will push the workers themselves to enter into much less episodic and isolated struggles than has been the case. The oppositions between classes, which in reality never cease under capitalism will increasingly manifest openly.

In order to resist the capitalists and their State, peaceful demonstrations, democratic orientations, appeals to public opinion, will have to give way to the **real class struggle** between the two opposing fundamental classes of society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

And then it will become more and more clear that to lead and centralize its struggles, the proletariat needs a class party, endowed with a clear and unambiguous perspective based on defending the exclusive interests of the proletariat, with the ultimate objective of ending the dictatorship of capital and establishing the dictatorship of the proletari-

at, the first step towards a classless society.

While this may seem today a difficult and distant perspective, it is really the only **realistic** one; any other political perspective, such as a return to the "golden age" of the welfare state can only lead to a stalemate and failure.

In this era of mounting generalized economic crisis of the capitalist system, there is no more room for social reforms to give crumbs to the workers in exchange for social peace. The bourgeoisie wants us to pay for the crisis of its system and only the class struggle will enable us to repel its attacks – of which rising tuitions in Québec is only one small part –, before gaining the strength to move on to the offensive!

(1) Quoted in an article by the Trotskyist group *Internationalist Group*. see <http://www.internationalist.org/quebec>

student strike against capital 1205.html

(2) Read the appeal on the site bloquonslahausse.com: *"We do not make an appeal for a facade of support where some union officials prepare a press release for the umpteenth time to reiterate yet again their support for the student struggle. We want instead to call for a convergence of all of Québec's population against the policies of cuts and commodification of social services and our collective rights. Only a generalization of the student strike in the workplace can make this an effective convergence. It is, therefore, a call for the social strike which we hurl out to the entire population!"* (our underlining). www.bloquonslahausse.com/vers-la-greve-generale/vers-une-greve-sociale

(3) *La Presse*, 4/13/12. With fulsome bourgeois arrogance, the columnist describes the student strike as *"playing hooky from school!"* <http://www.lapresse.ca/debats/editoriaux/andre-pratte/201204/12/01-4514826-une-crise-artificielle.php>

On the Mouvement Etudiant Révolutionnaire (MER) "Revolutionary Student Movement": Reformist Petty Bourgeois Movement

The Maoists of the Revolutionary Student Movement (MER) like to present themselves as the vanguard of the revolutionary student movement, after the mobilization in recent months they've published five "hypotheses" supposed to draw the lessons and perspective-sopen to "future class struggles in Quebec" (1).

As if necessary, this text gives a new proof of the politically petty bourgeois nature of our Maoists. Indeed, the class struggle mentioned in the question disappears in these hypotheses, where they never speak about the working class or the proletariat; in their place we have only the "people", the "popular masses".

Mistaking their ignorance for a searching analysis, the MER says that the recent months have constituted "an inestimable acquisition for the popular masses in terms of experience in struggle. The political practice of the masses has just experienced a prodigious leap and accelerated. The social and political structures have not moved – not yet – but the people, they, on the other hand, have been profoundly marked and transformed."

The mobilization and student struggles against the repressive measures of the government were undoubtedly on an unprecedented scale, and this is explained

by the extent of social unrest, the maturation of class tensions.

But for Marxists, what emerges from an analysis of the current situation, is not that the "political practice of the masses" – a concept dear to Maoist interclassism – has experienced a "prodigious leap" with these major peaceful and democratic demonstrations; it is the enormous difficulty of the working class to mobilize against the class enemy, its persistent weakness to solidarize with its class brothers in struggle against the bosses: in short it is the absence (also recognized casually in passing by the MER) today of the proletarian class struggle.

And this absence gives huge latitude to political confusionists like the MER to mislead the workers, who mobilize spontaneously and individually, into the deadly impasses of interclassism and reformist democratism. The MER suggests that "the social and political structures" could "be stirred" in the wake of the protests in progress: They write that there is a "significant weakening of institutions of the power and the figures of authority of the bourgeoisie: Government, Parliament, the courts, the police, the mainstream media". Dream on: the

(Continued on page 8)

“Revolutionary Student Movement”: Reformist Petty Bourgeois Movement

(Continuation from page 7)

police weakened? Parliament and the entire electoral system, ideology and bourgeois democratic praxis have lost their influence? The bourgeois state in the least bit shaken? Obviously, not at all!

If the MER spouts such nonsense, it is because it wants to make the declining popularity of the Charest government pass as a weakening of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. The conclusion is logical: if the government is defeated in the next election, it is the bourgeoisie who will be beaten! The MER has written beautiful words saying that elections are a “pseudo-democratic masquerade”, it goes on to say, however, that “these elections(...) will be an ideal opportunity to deliver a supplementary blow (!) to bourgeois institutions and order.”

Elections are not and never will be

anything of the sort. Not because they would not be sufficient, or not really democratic, but because that the democratic lie serves precisely to strengthen the bourgeois order; it is the antidote to the class struggle; according to this democratic lie the vote is an easy alternative to the difficult struggle against the capitalist system: With the vote you can oust the politicians in power, with the result that there would no longer be a “bias of the Government towards the bourgeoisie”, so that the institutions would begin to “move” in favor of the oppressed.

In reality, you cannot “move” or “deliver blows to” – much less overthrow – the “institutions of power” (i.e. the bourgeois State) by peaceful protests no matter how impressive, or through the ballot box as all democrats wish us to believe, but only by the revolutionary struggle, the armed insurrec-

tion! The bourgeois state is the instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie, which cannot change its nature by gradual reforms, but must be overthrown and smashed by the revolution to give way to the apparatus of domination of proletariat essential to uproot capitalism.

But this fable is useful to the MER because it allows it to present its reformist utopia as a “real people power project” for the upcoming elections.

Against this hazy perspective, for as long as it has existed, Marxism has opposed the only revolutionary perspective: the constitution of the proletariat into a class and therefore into a party, its constitution into the ruling class through the seizure of power and the extension of the revolution to all countries!

(1) All quotations are taken from: “Les fruits du printemps 2012: 5 hypothèses sur la crise sociale au Québec” <http://www.mer-pcr.com/2012/06/les-fruits-du-printemps-2012-5.html>

“le prolétaire”

Nr. 505

(November-Décembre 2012)

Summary

- Trêve à Gaza : L'impérialisme ne connaît que des trêves entre les guerres. Seule la révolution prolétarienne internationale pourra apporter la paix au monde !
- Sans-papiers: Poursuite de la politique anti-ouvrière
- Amadeo Bordiga - Sur le fil du temps. *Précisions à propos de “Marxisme et Misère” et “Lutte de classes et offensives patronales”*
- Non à une intervention militaire impérialiste française au Mali!
- Petroplus : Comment le collaborationisme et ses larbins stérilisent les luttes
- Journée d'action syndicale du 14 Novembre. Ce n'est que par la lutte ouverte pour la défense exclusive des intérêts prolétariens qu'il est possible de se défendre contre le capitalisme !
- Les grèves en Afrique du Sud démontrent la nécessité de l'organisation indépendante de classe
- L'extrême gauche et les élections au Venezuela
- Quand les “syndicalistes révolutionnaires” revendiquent... des licenciements
- Guinée. La difficile lutte des ouvriers de Fria contre la multinationale Rusal
- VP, défenseur de l'autogestion et pourfendeur des monopoles

Bimonthly. Price one copy: 1 €; £ 1; 3FS. Suscripción : 7,5 €; £ 10; 30FS. Subscription of solidarity : 15 €; £ 20; 60FS.

Rescue of the Spanish Banking system

The Spanish and international bourgeoisies promise the proletariat more exploitation, more suffering and misery in order to save their economy

This weekend the Spanish Minister of Economy, Luis de Guindos cynically stated that the intervention of the *Euro-group* in the country's financial sector is not a rescue, but only a loan on favorable terms; this loan, which should benefit the entire economy, will be graciously granted by the principal European economies in solidarity with a partner in danger. Of course, it is completely coincidental that this announcement came the day when the Spanish team played its first football match in the European Championships...

First of all it must be said that the terms granted by the European countries are more favorable than those obtained from the private financial sector (3% according to some sources, while the Spanish Treasury borrows for 10 years at 6%), but the reality is that the loan – called “a line of credit” with a straight face – is accompanied by a series of stringent requirements involving both the tax system (tax increases through an increase in the tax base in terms of direct taxes, and increases in indirect taxes) and the labor market (new labor code reforms to further reduce all measures even slightly

favorable to the proletarians as regards dismissals, employment contracts, etc..), and in general to the social guarantees which still exist (pensions, unemployment benefits, etc..).

In addition, the finance ministers of countries involved in the rescue warned that they would pay particular attention to the macroeconomic indices of Spain, just as they do in regard to Greece, Ireland and Portugal, which, more than other countries have in practice transferred part of their national sovereignty in financial matters over to themoneylenders. In Spain as in any other country, the reactionary currents raise the flag of “sovereignty” against the dictates of the European Commission or of Germany and advocate a nationalist policy to defend national interests: it is just as anti-proletarian and class-collaborationist an orientation as the one of the so-called “left” which implores that the proletarians not be the only ones making sacrifices for the national interest.

Thus, the bailout offers nothing for free; the countries which have provided it are the main European imperialisms which are directly involved in the loan and the countries who, with the USA at their head and the IMF as their agent, participated in the definition of the plan, don't rush to the aid of the Spanish

bourgeoisie in a disinterested manner. In the capitalist world, competition between private enterprise owners just as between the nation states of the bourgeois fatherlands, is the demiurge which determines the conditions of existence of everyone. If the German and French bourgeoisie especially, but also the Americans, intervene in the Spanish economy it is because the level of interpenetration of super-developed capitalism existing on the planet is such that there are no economies isolated from the rest of the world and all depend on each other: an American or German company can have its financial assets in Treasury bills or Spanish Securities.

The comparatively great size of the Spanish financial system which dominates not only in Spain but also in Latin America, means that its bankruptcy might take others down with it including the euro and the inter-imperialist alliance which calls itself the European Union; the panic could impact the credit system heavily not only on the European level, but also globally, aggravating the recessionary crisis that affects one country after another. The rescue of the Spanish banking system, even if limited in time, is actually a demonstration of the seriousness of the international economic crisis.

This bailout is undoubtedly a poisoned chalice for the Spanish bourgeoisie, which has no choice but to accept it; the pressure exerted on it by other bourgeoisies leave it no other way out. But this rescue adds only a supplemental degree to the crisis which has been lashing the country for four years. Finance capital is the result of the merger in the imperialist epoch of industrial capital and bank capital, united to face the complexity engendered by capitalist competition. The development of finance capital which in Spain has grown from a precarious situation in the early 90s, to a level of significant importance in the world twenty years later, at its peak setting in motion a sum of bank loans equivalent to 102.6% of GDP. It is the result of strong productive development of the country starting in 1987, a development driven by an inordinate expansion of the real estate sector.

There is no financial development which is independent of production and the fall of the financial sector last year, which culminated with the call for the rescue last weekend, is the consequence of the fall in production in Spain: a 5% decline for the past 4 years. For this reason, neither the rescue of the banking system nor a more extensive and longer-lasting intervention, or any measure which limits itself to transfers of funds to

fill gaps in the economy, can produce any result as long as there is no resumption of production, and in this regard the IMF projects a GDP decline of 4.1% in 2012 and 1.6% in 2013 (if all goes "well!"), a decrease in 2 years of the same magnitude as that of the last 5 years.

As the Greek example has demonstrated to the bourgeoisie of all countries, the financial efforts to try to save the most critical situations of crisis in some countries cannot succeed if the general level of production does not begin to grow; but this will only be possible when the rate of profit, that the fierce competition between bourgeois brought tumbling down in free fall, recovers to sufficient levels. The bourgeois program to restore the rate of profit, is simple and unequivocal: to exponentially increase the exploitation suffered by the proletariat, so that the surplus value extorted is large enough to make production profitable again. This is the meaning of the structural reforms, cuts and other "emergency" measures that proliferate today in all countries and which have thrown the proletarians of Greece or Portugal under conditions similar to those of the proletariat of the least developed capitalist countries.

The proletariat has not yet been able to offer any effective resistance to these measures (which are only the first), that will plunge it into a critical situation as long as it is paralyzed by the forces of collaboration between classes, of defense of the nation presented as a common interest with the bourgeoisie, of the defense in the final analysis of competition between workers, the proletariat cannot successfully defend its own class interests in the face of the deterioration of its living conditions. Political and trade union opportunism submit it to the needs of the bourgeoisie, confining proletarian unrest to democratic protests completely foreign to classist methods: strikes convened with previous notice and a solicitous respect for the minimum services are rendered ineffective, demonstrations are reduced to symbolic processions, so as not to offend the capitalist interests; the true proletarian struggle is thus completely wiped off the map.

In no country does the capitalist crisis have a peaceful solution!

The relentless competition that characterizes the economic, financial, political and diplomatic relations between the companies, trusts and states worldwide, does not disappear with the crisis, on the contrary it increases, impelling the most powerful imperialist centers to crush the weaker. Commercial and financial war that characterizes the life of capitalism can only increase the confrontations that

will lead, sooner or later, to an open war. The capitalist solutions to the economic crisis can only prepare the conditions for more severe crises, up until war between the states, which can only be stopped by the proletarian revolution. Against war between the states, we must counterpose war between the classes!

It is the proletariat which must emerge from its crisis, which must end its impotence, to organize its class struggle on a grand scale. Only with the resumption of the class struggle, not only for the objectives of immediate defense that exist today, but also for the establishment of its political class party, the internationalist and international Communist Party—the organ of the proletarian revolution—will it be possible to do away with crises, poverty and exploitation completely and replace capitalist society with the future society of the human species.

The capitalist crisis has no peaceful solution!

For the proletariat to extricate itself from its political and organizational crisis and resume the path of confrontation between the classes!

For the resumption of the proletarian class struggle! For the proletarian communist revolution!

For the reconstitution of the World Communist Party!

June 16th 2012

**Nouvelle publication du Parti
" el proletario "
No 1 - Diciembre de 2012**

- El capitalismo español a la deriva
- ¿ Por qué "El Proletario" ?
- Marx sobre la deuda pública
- Rescate del sistema bancario a España. Las burguesías española e internacional prometen a los proletarios más explotación, más sufrimiento y más miseria con el fin de sanear su economía.
- La huelga de los mineros
- Marcha negra. El teatro de la lucha de clases
- Masacre de mineros huelguistas en Sudáfrica
- Crisis y lucha en Portugal
- Cuba: Hace lustros, "un carretero alegre pasó"...
- La lucha estudiantil en Quebec
- Huelga general del 14 de noviembre.

Órgano del partido comunista internacional - precio del ejemplar: Europa : 1,5 €, 3 FS ; América latina: US \$ 1,5 ; USA y Cdn: US \$ 2.

Spain

The strike of the Asturian miners and the metal-workers of Vigo: For the uncompromising defense of the living conditions of the proletariat! For struggle with classist means and methods!

Since May 23 miners, especially in the Asturias but also in the provinces of León, Palencia and elsewhere, have been on strike to demand that the central government not remove subsidies to coal production, which would mean its practical disappearance. Commencing in early June the urban transport workers, then the substitute teachers of the Asturias joined the strike. For their part, the auxiliary shipyard workers of Vigo led various events and demonstrations during the month of May which resulted in direct clashes with the police as well as members of the factory committee.

The anti-worker policies waged by the bourgeoisie in Spain as in other countries hit by the global capitalist crisis (increased age of retirement, gutting of labor laws, etc.), first by a socialist government and now by the rightist government of the Popular Party, and the repression against workers, layoffs numbering in the thousands each month in all Spanish cities, cuts in basic services or widespread wage cuts in the Public Service sector, have up until now submerged the proletarians who have seen their living conditions deteriorate without there seeming to be any alternative.

There is no doubt that social unrest has increased considerably, especially among the working class which more than any other supports the weight of the so-called “emergency situation” in whose name the bourgeoisie seeks to amend the social legislation which still

accords a few benefits to some workers, and the situation in the factories and industries where employer despotism continues to mount in even the most insignificant circumstances. But this discontent is still manifested more in vague expression of malaise, democratically oriented towards civic protest – symbolic, legalistic and confident in the ability of bourgeois laws to save the sinking ship ... All in all a frustrating situation socially accepted to which there seems to be no remedy.

The yellow unions, which are not only more or less directly funded by the state and the companies where they exist, but which also have the defense of the national economy enshrined in their principles, maintain at all costs the smooth running of production and workers’ solidarity with the bourgeoisie in the name of a common interest for which the workers must accept to sacrifice themselves. These defeatist and collaborationist trade unions are responsible for keeping the proletarian class bound hand and foot while blows rain down on it from all sides; they only organize symbolic demonstrations, or strikes concocted in advance with the bosses and the government, they systematically disrupt all attempts in the workplace to fight against the particularly painful living conditions now rampant everywhere. Two general strikes in three years and ten demonstrations announced with great fanfare but which have been nothing other than

safety valves to reduce social tension so that the cycle of capitalist profit can continue to operate without serious hindrance from the workers.

For their part, the mobilization of intermediate social strata commencing on May 15 last year, keep on exactly the line necessarily followed by the driving forces of the movement known as the “outraged”: defense of Democracy, confidence in the collaboration between the classes to find a satisfactory solution of the problems of capitalist crisis for all society, etc.. So the proletariat is caught as in pincers: on one side by the defeatism and conciliationism of the yellow unions, on the other by trends gathered together under the banner of spontaneity and autonomy, which undoubtedly express a profound social malaise but which, in fact, meet up with the first, proving once again that the class struggle is not just a problem of forms of organization.

But in spite of these political and ideological forces that strive so that the proletariat remains victim of the misdeeds of a world that seems completely irrational and yet somehow the only one possible, other material forces, with far greater depth and breadth of scope, are at work in social subsoil, undermining all the equilibrium between social classes and tending to break down the barriers that hinder the reaction of the working class. Today this is happening only precisely in this tendential fashion, through episodic events that can disappear quickly, but which without doubt trace a path.

The strikes of the miners of the Asturias (which for the first time in decades have led other sectors into struggle) and those of the workers in the shipbuilding industry in Vigo are two examples that testify to the fact that not only will social confrontation return to the forefront, but that it will do so in the most appropriate manner to struggle and to impose its immediate class interests. Even the press of the bourgeois left has recognized that what is most disturbing in the struggles of Asturias is the reappearance of “scenes of urban guerrilla warfare like the 80’s into which the region may fall”. The great fear of the bosses, the bourgeois, but also the apparatuses of the yellow unions, is indeed that the proletarians take to the terrain of open confrontation, class against class.



More than the “guerrilla” aspect, they fear that the proletarians may resort to the means and methods able to push back their class enemy by the damage caused to production by endless strikes, pickets organized to stop work not only in a plant, but of entire areas, the extension of solidarity and the struggle to other workers. It is sufficient to look at the different treatment by the authorities: on one side, the greatest permissiveness toward useless protests, ritual demonstrations that lead nowhere, symbolic actions, on the other, the repression of workers’ strikes, even when they are still controlled by the collaborationist forces. But consider also that this unrestrained repression against workers by the police or the Guardia Civil is powerless to stop the struggle.

The proletarians can be victorious in the struggle. And they can get out of their current situation of permanent defeat, provided they return to open confrontation with their class enemies. Provided they are ready to fight by taking control of their struggle, defending their own class interests, including at the most immediate and concrete level; in a world by rediscovering the means and methods of the class struggle. These methods consist of extending class unity in all situations, to overcome the competition between the proletarians among themselves, to attack production to push back the bosses, to defend against attacks by the repressive forces of the State trying to liquidate the struggle. The proletariat can and must enter into struggle, but they can only really do that if they can place themselves on the terrain of class struggle, consequently not only in the defensive or offensive economic struggle, but also in the political, revolutionary struggle, whose organ is the class party. Otherwise they will be condemned to remain in the dark tunnel of misery and exploitation in which the bourgeoisie has placed them.

For the resumption of the class struggle!

For the uncompromising defense of the methods and means of the class struggle!

For reconstitution of the Communist Party, International and Internationalist!

June, 11th 2012

Our Internet Site:
www.pcint.org

Our e-mail address:
proletarian@pcint.org

Spanish Miners Struggle The “Black March”: Class Struggle as the Theatre of Parody

On Tuesday July 11, two hundred miners from different parts of Spain, where coal mining still exists, albeit in a most straightened fashion, arrived in Madrid after marching for several weeks. They were welcomed in the capital by tens of thousands of people who literally paralyzed the entire west end of the city. On the following day, the event which was to crown the so-called “Black March” ended in clashes outside the Ministry of Industry and in the area of the Santiago Bernabéu stadium after a series of police charges and ripostes from demonstrators. In the afternoon a demonstration of solidarity with the miners in central Madrid also ended in clashes and arrests.

For months the mining regions of Spain, and particularly in the Asturias, have been experiencing conflict provoked by the Rajoy government’s refusal to respect the mining agreement and to maintain the subsidies to coal mining that are essential for the mining enterprises to continue to operate; indeed, given its near-zero profitability, this activity survives only thanks to state subsidies, granted, on an ever more limited basis since the 80’s specifically to prevent their complete termination from leading to social conflict.

The miners, on an unlimited strike since the spring, have resorted to continual acts of sabotage on roads in the affected zones, have resolutely confronted the police and the Guardia Civil and even mobilized entire villages of the mining regions in solidarity. For their part, the coal mining companies tacitly support a struggle that, if victorious, would continue to enable them to benefit from the fat subsidies that they live off. While the proletarians, not just those directly employed in the mines, struggle to defend their livelihoods and employ methods that do not respect the framework of bourgeois legality, the bourgeois seem to be encouraging a united front to obtain a common objective.

The conflict in the Spanish mines is a situation encysted by the decades. Coal mining is subsidized to maintain social peace in historically rebellious areas, where the proletarian struggle has seen some of its most brilliant episodes in the twentieth century. These State aids actually did not guarantee the permanence of coal mining, but only its

“non traumatic” disappearance over time as other activities would develop in these regions (this never took place: in the Asturias the only activities that appeared in the moribund mining area were hotels and ... cocaine trafficking); however they created a sort of oasis in the middle of the progressive precarization of the Spanish social panorama through institutional strengthening of yellow unionism and political opportunism (mainly through the Spanish Communist Party, the PCE, and its social-democratic counterpart, the Socialist Party, the PSOE...) which are responsible for managing the “gifts” of the state in exchange for control of rising social tension as the black future of the disappearance of the mines approached.

The capitalist crisis that has hit Spain has accelerated the end of mining activities dependent on subsidies: there is not enough money in the public coffers and there is no alternative but to remove these subsidies.

But the price to be paid is the outbreak of social conflict in these zones: the proletarians have taken to the streets with considerable force, leading other groups in their train (part-time teachers, transport workers, etc...), directly attacking the profits of the capitalists by blocking roads and mineheads. On many occasions the Security Forces which have recently been more accustomed to bludgeoning students than to real clashes, have been trounced trying to stop the mobilizations of the miners.

But to take on that price, the bourgeoisie can count on very powerful allies who they find in the ranks of the proletariat in struggle. The major (and lesser) yellow unions that control the mining regions (the Asturias which are one of the Spanish regions with higher rates of unionization, are the bastion of the UGT – the trade union linked to the “Socialist” Party – and its local subsidiaries, SOMA and FIA, and similarly the CC.OO – the union formerly associated with the Stalinist PCE) work to bind the demands of the mine workers to a species of regional or national “common good” that would include in the first place the capitalists proprietors of the mines and the local bourgeoisie. According to this orientation proletarians should fight, not for

(Continued on page 12)

The “Black March”...

(Continuation from page 11)

their wages or even for their jobs, but for the defence of the mining industry, for the defence of State subsidies to these industries and for the industrial future of the region. In short, they should fight for their exploitation, for this exploitation which yesterday forced them to die deep underground and which today throws them into unemployment and poverty. The forces of political and trade union opportunism, particularly strong in these areas of high industrial concentration, always seek solidarity between the classes, submission of the proletarian interests to the so-called superior interests of the country, to the necessities of the economy...

The “Black March” is a great example of how to combine, within the framework of the tough struggle waged by the miners of Asturias, Leon and Castile, this policy of interclassist conciliation with the effort to break the real strength of proletariat which is its use of class means and methods. The strength of the miners during the conflict (and in previous conflicts, mainly in the 80s) has resided in their ability to attack capitalist interests directly, through strikes and sabotage; it is why they were able to garner the solidarity of numerous other proletarian sectors in the affected areas, and it is why this solidarity based on class unity that

appears in the struggle when it is conducted with classist means, has really strengthened their struggle.

When the agents of yellow unionism organized a media-oriented march on Madrid to protest outside the Ministry, they cut the struggle from its foundations in order to reduce it to a sad and dramatic democratic demonstration of confidence in the goodwill of a bourgeoisie that would not allow the ruin of a local economy (and with that the subsidies to these unions!).

The Black March, led by those who have for decades sacrificed the proletarians of these regions on the altar of capitalist profitability, was an attempt to turn the struggle into a scene in a theatre enacting a parody of the class struggle. Miners as celebrities who are no longer proletarians but “heroes” supported by leftist or rightist city councils and whose praises are sung by the whole intellectual slagheap... just the opposite of the lessons that the proletariat must draw from the conflict being conducted in the mining areas and which in turn these specimens are attempting to liquidate.

In the near future the proletarians of the coalfields, just as those who took to the streets of Madrid and other cities to embrace them, will be faced with the choice of fighting to defend their living conditions or suffer down to their marrow all the harsh consequences of the capitalist crisis. The “reforms” and “adjustments” of recent months demonstrate

this in black and white.

But to fight, the workers must break with the nauseating democratic tradition which infests their class today. They must free themselves of the illusions which cause them to dream of an interclassist solution to the crisis through an “agreement” between the workers and the bosses, they must reject the ideas of social conciliation ... but above all they must rediscover the means and methods of classist struggle, those that actually attack capitalist profits and that enable them to triumph, even temporarily.

The unlimited strike without notice or guarantee of minimum service, the pickets to enforce it, the constitution of proletarian organs of struggle that do not disappear but which are maintained over time, etc., these are the lessons all the workers must draw so that the generosity and the determination with which they have led the fight in the mines and with which they took to the streets of Madrid are not lost.

For the uncompromising defence of the living and working conditions of the proletariat!

For the proletarian struggle with class means and methods!

Break with the agents of the bourgeoisie within the proletariat!

For the resumption of the class struggle!

July 13th 2012

Cuba

Once upon a time, a “Cheerful Carter was passing by”...

With this title we evoke Cuban music (1), but above all the image of the island of sugar, tobacco and coffee, which during the epoch of the COMECON (economic organization associating countries of the Soviet bloc) was less subject than today to global market pressures. Awakened from the dream (or the nightmare) of “socialism in one country”, the island of music and the sun, of seaside vistas, palm trees and beaches of sparkling white sand, has realized that its enviable tropical exuberance only served to conceal the weakness and material insecurity of which “Cuban socialism” had never been able to rid itself; and if the current situation does not guarantee the maintenance of social peace or economic stability, it is high time that the proletariat awakes from its somnolence and begins to take the path of struggle ...

Before the crisis in Russia and its satellites, the Cuban worker, through the ration *libreta* (book) of basic commodities and subsidized products, had access to a guaranteed minimum consumption. An European newspaper (2) reported the opinion of Cuban workers on these subsidies, “*at least with them, we avoid our youths being transformed into living torches*”, alluding to the self-immolations that were at the origin of the “Arab spring”.

But since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the USSR and with it the COMECON (representing 80% of the Cuban trade balance), these subsidies have been shrinking and are in danger of disappearing. This also applies to the products listed in the *libreta*. In 1993, with the loss of the \$5 billion in various types of aid which had been provided by the USSR, the crisis was exacerbated,

rationing became more stringent at the same time as shortages spread: the island was on its knees. The consequences were felt almost immediately: one year after, a violent social confrontation erupted, which was quickly and effectively extinguished, but which provoked a strong emigration to the United States on makeshift boats.

Faced with the disappearance of the meager Soviet “welfare state”, Cuban authorities decided to carry out a series of overtures to the traditional Western markets. This was the era of the so-called “Special Period” whose main result was the creation of an enormous mass of living labor susceptible to exploitation to enable the economic growth which Cuba urgently needs: it is through this living labor force that Capital grows!

Progressing gradually, despite various setbacks and suspensions of

measures, the authorities have come up with the current plan whose essential measure is to drastically reduce the number of functionaries. However this measure (500,000 jobs to be eliminated from a total of 4-5 million) announced by Raul Castro in 2010, has been softened and the number of jobs to be cut was reduced, evidently out of fear of consequences like those experienced after the Soviet collapse (3). It should be added that many of the remaining employees, because of their miserable wages are driven to try to find other employment (given that: *"just as the state pretends to pay us, so we pretend to work"*). The extent of the reduction in the number of civil servants has already reached more than 300,000 people (130,000 in 2011 and 112,000 in 2012) who were encouraged to become "self-employed", a status which allows them to purchase labor power. The government provides licenses and other permits for the "free" operation of about 200 "small trades" that will provide a variety of household services, alimentation, and rental of street locations for ice cream parlors etc....

There is no doubt that many of the "independent workers" are destined to be absorbed by the tourism sector which is one of the most important sources of income for Cuba. To the authorities, this is not in contradiction with the communist principles they claim to follow "they do not believe that here [in Cuba] there is **exploitation of man by man**", according to a member of the Praesidium of the Commission for Political and Ideological Work it "denies that it is in violation of the article in the Constitution which prohibits the exploitation of man by man in the case of workers who provide their labor for wages by another person with self-employed status" (4). Because wage labor is the basis of capitalist exploitation, we do not know in the name of which principles the Cuban authorities are speaking!

A LIMITED PRODUCTIVE APPARATUS

According to an official statement of the Sixth Congress of the Cuban CP (April 2011): *"The economic crisis that began in 2008 was one cause for the modest reforms towards the market introduced in recent years (...). Cuba is facing a severe crisis, although not as severe as that of 1993-1994 due to the collapse of the USSR. In 2010 the economy grew by 2%, a third of the regional average (...). Gross capital formation declined for the second consecutive year by 10% (...). Monetary liquidity has increased by 42%, twice as much as in*

1989. Although the balance of payments is somewhat improved the terms of trade deteriorated for the third consecutive year (due to the increase in oil and food prices, external debt amounted to \$14.3 billion, three times more than in 1989) and Cuba's dependence vis-à-vis Venezuela has increased. Housing construction has decreased to half the rate per thousand reached in 1989. Open unemployment stood at 1.6% but in reality it was 11.6% due to the surplus of State manpower" (5). In Cuba only the statistics are red...

It should be noted that the improvement of the balance of payments is due mainly to the export of services and people to other countries. There are tens of thousands of Cubans who work outside of the country as doctors, sports trainers and agricultural technicians, either in Latin America or in some African countries. This cannot hide the deep imbalance which marks the external trade of the country, between the products sold and those purchased

All these data can be explained in large part by the debility of the productive resources and in general of the Cuban economy, *"Nickel, Medical Services (70,000 Cuban doctors working in Venezuela and Angola), biotechnology, tourism, and finally remittances by 2 million Cuban emigrants"* (6). On this basis it is easier to plan cuts than to achieve social planning!

Agricultural production is no less calamitous. It had never been very successful even at the time of Comecon and it was never a priority for the Russian state to help Cuba to get out of its situation of mono-production, dependence and industrial backwardness. In addition it should be noted that 80% of the Cuban population lives in cities, as a result of the rural exodus due to the failure of agrarian reform. All this has hastened the decline of the production of staple foods, depressed the scarce few existing industries such as sugar (with ever lower harvests) and livestock (the theft of which reached record numbers last year) forcing the government to allocate 1.4 million hectares to 150 000 peasant farm workers ready to become small tenant farmers. Apart from a metaphorical appeal to "revolutionary duty" what other stimulus to a production that fails to take off, could the state invent?

The Sixth Congress, which this time *"was not focused on the damage caused by the blockade [American - Ed] but on the internal causes that prevent growth"* (7) has essentially stressed the need to accelerate reforms which allow a more consequential accumulation of capital, hence "the authorization of the buying

and selling as well as the right to exchange, houses and apartments" which is part of a larger overture to the expansion of capitalist private property, a faster process of expropriation and dispossession to turn the Cuban worker into a pure proletarian like in the rest of the West. What other motive could be behind these reforms?

CAPITALISM HAS NEVER DEPARTED FROM CUBA

Just because individual capitalists have fled the island doesn't mean that capitalism has disappeared from Cuba, what happened is that the State has acted as collective or public capitalist, without the need to resort to private capital. That is why we categorically deny that there has been a modification or interruption in Cuba of the mechanism of expropriation and exploitation that characterizes the capitalist system.

The supplementary impoverishment and exploitation manifested today by the gradual disappearance of the *libreta*, by dumping onto the street hundreds of thousands of employees who had previously enjoyed a guaranteed job, the buying and selling of houses and cars between individuals, incentives to businesses of all types, fiscal control, all this leads to the appearance of undesirable and inevitable realities like the ever deeper submission of the Cuban worker to

(Continued on page 14)

CUBA IN FIGURES:

Population: 11.2 million

Growth rates:

2.7% in 2011, 2.1% in 2010, 1.4% in 2009

Population growth: -0.1%

GDP per capita: \$ 5,854 (comp. \$ 5,200 in Dominican Rep).

Literacy rate: 99.8%

Life expectancy: 77.9 years

Foreign trade:

-Exports, major customers:

China 25.5%, Canada 23.3%, Venezuela 10%, Spain 5.6%.

-Imports, major suppliers:

Venezuela 35.2%, China 11.7%, Spain 8.5%, Brazil 4.6%, Canada 4.2%, USA 4.1%.

Main exports: sugar, nickel, snuff, fishes.

Main imports: oil, food, machinery, chemicals.

(Source: Le Monde, 18-19 March 2012, "Les à coups de l'ouverture économique", Wikipedia, Google)

Cuba

Once upon a time, a “Cheerful Carter was passing by”...

(Continuation from page 13)

the laws of value and wage-labor; all this paves the way for Cuba to enter into the private capitalist economy. Marx explained: “*The basis of the capitalist system is the radical separation of the producer from the means of production. This separation reproduces itself on a progressive scale as soon as the capitalist system is established, but as it then forms the basis of this, it can not be established without it*” (8).

This is not because this is a phenomenon that is found at the origins of capitalism but has ceased to exist thereafter. On the contrary, its function is reinforced and is today one of its pillars; the State, the biggest employer, concentrates an enormous amount of labor power, which in a situation of economic crisis such as the one that is sweeping the island, is forced to sever a part of it: in the name of capitalism and its crises it must radically separate the workers from the means which prevent them from becoming pure proletarians, **it must throw them onto the street!**

WHY DID THE POPE COME TO CUBA? TO BLESS THE FUTURE VICTIMS OF GLOBAL CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION!

By the skill with which the Cuban authorities have so far avoided the trauma that such reforms could provoke in the population, and which signify a solemn abandonment of the pretensions to the existence of socialism (9), Cuba has ensured itself the expressed satisfaction of the so-called “international community”. The Pope went there to carry this message; in other words, Mr Ratzinger came to the island to bless the economic turn of the Cuban Government. As always the papal visit had a highly political meaning within the framework of world imperialist policy. It was an open support to the policy of the Government, who in gratitude, promised to facilitate the practice of religion: the “opium of the people” always accompanies exploitation...

Whatever the claims by the authorities according to which the reforms will not turn into policy, given that these reforms are announced as “strategic” and “irreversible”, the declarations of Marion Murillo, vice-president of the

Council of Ministers about the Pope’s visit, are in fact very clear. According to him, the government is merely “updating the Cuban economic model to make socialism viable (!). There will not be political reforms in Cuba”, adding that “this time the changes are strategic” and there will be no turning back (10). And to think that Marxists believe that politics is concentrated economics!

Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos, the voice of the United States in Latin America, too, expressed support for the current position of the Cuban government, which has nothing to do with politics, of course!

In the same wave of enthusiasm, the current loosening of the US embargo, has the same significance. A Cuban capitalist exiled in the United States, the animator of a catholic lobby group became a supporter of the Government of Cuba since the latter has undertaken its measures of economic openness hailed by global capitalism (10).

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE, MYTH AND REALITY

How could Havana think it was sufficient to declare that the international law of value, the dollar and gold, comply with existing Cuban labor productivity? Or was the United States forced to sell to Cuba, to support its self-proclaimed “socialism”, outside the laws of the market? Was the COMECON not there to compensate for the absence of the United States? Cuba has in fact bypassed the United States embargo by trading with the countries of the Soviet bloc and today with the European countries, China, Russia, Iran or Venezuela which since the 1970s have not ceased to have economic relations with the island. Despite everything that was said about the embargo, economic relations with Washington were never actually completely cut off, and they grew vigorously after the fall of the Soviet Union. Even in the depths of the Cold War American companies avoided the blockade of trade with Cuba through their subsidiaries in Canada! Needless to say that economic sanctions, skirmishes and commercial victimization among countries and regions, have always existed and not against Cuba only. What a colossal waste of time, if there was no alternative to “defeat the blockade” than to have recourse to private capitalism!

Until now Stalinism flavored with Castro salsa has managed to intoxicate and prostrate the Cuban proletariat by giving a revolutionary value to the current economic and social context: the revolution requires sacrifices! But reality

is beginning to undermine this situation by questioning the minimum “social contract” established after the overthrow of the dictatorship of Baptista.

It is only a matter of time before the infamous flags of national-communism are torn down to give rise anew in Cuba to the flag of anticapitalist class struggle!

[Excerpted from: Venezuela Supplement to No. 49 of El Programa Comunista]

(1) “El Carretero” (the Carter) is a very famous Cuban song of Guillermo Portabales dating from the forties. see www.youtube.com/watch?v=G0vUqMi3vj8

(2) See *Le Monde, Geo Politics*, 03/18-19/2012

(3) Ibid.

(4) see Rogelio Diaz Moreno, laclase.info.

(5) See *El Pais*, 05/26/11

(6) See *Le Monde*, op. cit.

(7) Ibid.

(8) See “Capital”, First Book, c. XXVI. Ed Cartago, p. 690.

(9) Socialism has never existed in Cuba, that is to say a society without money, wage earners, market or businesses, but state capitalism in the Stalin mold powered and developed by the export of commodities, mainly sugar. Cuba has become a *second world* capitalism, such as Venezuela, mainly a mono-producer. What’s more, Cuba served as a “pawn” in the game of chess of Russian geopolitics. With the collapse of the USSR and the fall in sugar prices, Cuban capitalism has lost its ability to sustain hundreds of thousands of civil servants; so it has to develop private capitalism on the one hand and on the other to attract the capital of foreign capitalists by holding out the promise of being able to exploit at low cost a workforce “liberated” from permanent employment. Therefore at the same time as the USSR, a whole series of mystifications and caricatures, which for 70 years have made a travesty of Marxism, has received a mortal blow.

(10) See *Le Monde*, op. cit.

(11) This businessman, Carlos Saladrigas, has announced that, with these government measures, Cuban capital from abroad, as foreign capital will “flock to Cuba in large amounts in search of competitive return” (see Univision.com, 05/31/11). He said about the reforms: “*the big question is not whether there will be a step backwards, but how fast the way forward will be*” reforms see www.havanatimes.org/sp/?p=62424

Cease-fire in Gaza: Imperialism Means Only Truces Between Endless Wars. Only the Class War against Capitalism can bring Peace to the World!

After eight days of air, naval and land bombardment upon the Gaza Strip a “truce” was signed between Israel, Hamas and other Palestinian resistance organizations under the auspices of Egypt.

During these eight days where Israeli warplanes carried out 1350 raids, the bombing killed 156 people; leaving aside the victims of “targeted killings”, there were 103 civilians, including 33 children, 13 women and three journalists among the victims (one building which housed journalists was targeted by the Israeli army who wanted to stop the broadcasts of a TV station), and leaving a thousand wounded: 971 civilians, including 247 children, 162 women, 12 journalists. During this same period, Israeli repression against the protests in the West Bank left two dead and over a hundred injured while 76 Palestinians were abducted to Israeli prisons (1).

On the Israeli side, there were 5 deaths: the famous missiles launched by Hamas and other groups have no military value, but only a “psychological” value because, unguided, they fall at random (some even falling back on Gaza).

This macabre list demonstrates the essentially terrorist character of the Israeli action aimed at intimidating the local population in general and in particular the principal force that directs the territory, Hamas: it was not to intended to destroy its power, but to make it understand that it can only be tolerated by Israel (and its imperialist sponsors) to the extent that it is successful in preventing any action against Israel, i.e. to the extent that it succeeds in being an effective *screw* in this giant open-air prison that is Gaza (remember that according to an agreement with Israel which remains fully in force Egypt’s Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood continues to hermetically seal off the borders of Gaza!).

The Israeli attack received support, expressed or implied, by the big imperialist countries, starting with the United States, but also of European states, on behalf of “Israel’s right to defend itself”; regarding the right of Palestinians to defend themselves and resist, for imperialism this is a “terrorist” demand: under capitalism, the oppressed, whether they are populations subjected to colonialism or national oppression, or exploited proletarians, have only one “right”, that is to accept their fate and to respect the established order!

Since its inception, the State of Israel

has been the **policeman** of imperialism in the region, that is why the great powers, do not hesitate to pass over all its colonialist impulses and all the violations of diplomatic agreements in silence: one does not ask a henchman to follow the code of good manners!

Today Israel’s role is even more irreplaceable in a situation where the disappearance of former Arab regimes subservient to imperialism and the persistence of disorders in others are factors of uncertainty for the imperialist order. The democrats who imagine they can hinder the exactions of the Israeli state by addressing the UN or large states to enforce international law are mistaken: under capitalism **might is right**, as indeed was shown on the first day in the history of Israel.

A colonial state, it expanded its territory at the expense of the Palestinians through wars won by military force and the support of the great powers. The so-called “agreements” or peace “processes” signed over the years have not stopped the process of colonization which after a “moratorium”, resumed in 2011 in violation of UN resolutions demanding its cessation: these accords only meant the capitulation of various Palestinian organizations under imperialist pressure. In early November the Israeli government decided once again to accelerate the colonization, and issued a request for tenders for the construction of more than a thousand homes in Jewish settlements in the Arab part of Jerusalem, and others in the West Bank (2).

There are now more than 340,000 Israeli settlers in the West Bank and nearly 200,000 in annexed East Jerusalem; this corresponds to only a small fraction of the Arab population, but these settlers are grouped in a system of colonies crisscrossing the territory and they are connected through “strategic routes” planned so as to render virtually impossible any eventual independence of the West Bank.

The permanent repression of the Palestinians in order to make them bow to the colonial order has resulted in filling Israeli prisons with detainees who can languish there indefinitely: “admin-

istrative detention” allows for keeping suspects in jail for 6 months, and renewable indefinitely.

In the Spring of this year a long hunger strike of 1600 Palestinian prisoners against administrative detention was successful: sanctions were lifted, solitary confinement ended, authorization of visits for prisoners from Gaza was reinstated (they were suspended since 2006), along with the promise of liberation at the end of their sentence, against the commitment not to engage in “terrorist acts” in prison.

But the retreat by the Israeli authorities faced with the menace of an explosion in the prisons does not mean that they now intend to treat Palestinian prisoners as ordinary citizens.

If proof was needed, it was given by English lawyers in a report published in late June by the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs on “Palestinian children in military custody.” The report speaks of torture inflicted on child prisoners who numbered more than 200 in May; between 500 and 700 are imprisoned each year in the West Bank by the Israeli army, they can be arbitrarily detained without charge for more than 6 months, etc.. (3). Another report, this one on adult prisoners, released on June 25 showed that 100% of them suffered “bad treatment” or torture in various forms (4).

All this is only one aspect of the daily oppression experienced by Palestinians, oppression which does not move the leaders of our imperialist democracies, at times so quick to give lessons on human rights, but only when it coincides with their interests. The European Union is the largest importer of Israeli goods, and carries out multiple agreements of economic partnership with Israel (5): what importance could the the oppression of the Palestinian people have in the face of juicy business opportunities?

* * *

Hamas welcomed the truce with Israel as a “victory”, and effectively it was one for a party which the first time was almost openly recognized internationally as the legitimate embodiment of order in Gaza.

But this is by no means a defeat for

(Continued on page 16)

Cease-fire in Gaza ...

(Continuation from page 15)

Israel, who, to make it clear that its hands had not been tied, conducted raids in the West Bank on 22 and 23 November, arresting more than 80 people including seven elected representatives of Hamas.

But, most important, it is not a victory for the oppressed masses of the Gaza Strip.

On the one hand it is only a "truce" and the State of Israel has once again demonstrated that it can kill and destroy with impunity when it decides to achieve its goals: the smokescreen of peace agreements has long since been dissipated by Israeli bombs; on the other hand Hamas crowned with its halo of "resistance" and the number of its "martyrs" will redouble its efforts not only to prevent any attack against Israel, but also to reign through a particularly reactionary bourgeois order.

Massacred by the Israeli enemy, the Palestinian oppressed masses will be subject to the repression of their "brothers" who signed the truce with it, and exploited by the local capitalists who could eventually develop with capital promised by Qatar: the hell that they find themselves in is the hell of capitalism in which the proletarians are always the victims. Neither Egypt nor Iran, nor any bourgeois state will come to their aid.

As long as the imperialist order is not destroyed, that is as long as capitalism endures, then the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat will not end. The situation of the oppressed masses of Palestine would be not be changed in any way by international recognition of a Palestinian state as wanted by the "Palestinian Authority", miserable sell-

out stooge of imperialism even while despised by it: even if Israel and imperialism accepted it, it would be a particularly ferocious capitalist prison and perpetually under the threat of the Zionist state. There can not be a "just and lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians" as requested by the democrats who "forget" the existence of states, given that they exist through the oppression on which these states are based, and which they have the function of defending.

Only a revolutionary upheaval throughout the region, overthrowing all bourgeois states and uniting the proletarians of all nationalities and religions to smash oppression, can terminate the endless suffering of the Palestinian masses, like that of all the oppressed in the Middle East.

As seemingly remote as this perspective which is precisely that of the international communist revolution; it is infinitely more realistic than the perspective, attempted unsuccessfully for decades, of negotiations and appeals to the good will of the Israeli state and the imperialist states and which has resulted only in a continuing deterioration of the situation of the masses, even if it has allowed a layer of bourgeois Palestinians to live by the exploitation of their proletarians.

The proletarians of the imperialist countries bear the greatest responsibility for the brutalized situation of the Palestinian proletarians and masses: crushed by "their" capitalism and its Israeli protégé, they depend upon them, upon their ability to begin the fight against capitalism. Without the support of major imperialist states, the Israeli state would have the greatest difficulties in continuing its crimes and resisting the struggles they generate. The classics of communism insist that the proletarians of the

dominant capitalist and imperialist powers can never achieve the international proletarian revolution without struggling against all forms of oppression, including national.

There is therefore no better and more effective solidarity with the proletariat and the oppressed Palestinian masses than the resumption of the class struggle in the imperialist centers.

Down with the massacre, oppression and repression of the Palestinian masses!

For the resumption of the class struggle in the imperialist metropolises!

Long live the international union of the proletariat!

Long live the revolutionary class struggle against capitalism and world imperialism!

November, 24th 2012

(1) List compiled by the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, which also enumerates the list of establishments destroyed such as health institutions, schools, etc.. See: http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9046:weekly-report-on-israeli-human-rights-violations-in-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-14-21-nov

(2) <http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2012/11/07/97001-20121107FILWWW00549-paris-condamne-la-colonisation-israelienne.php>

(3) http://www.childreninmilitarycustody.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Children_in_Military_Custody_Full_Report.pdf. Often arrested at night, some are chained, deprived of sleep and food, etc.. The spokesman for the Israeli Embassy in London explained that it was the fault of the Palestinian Authority, which did not prevent them from committing crimes, forcing the Israelis to behave like this...

(4) <http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=2013695> had been beaten, 63% had been beaten on the genitals, etc..

(5) The European Parliament voted late October a free exchange of pharmaceuticals with Israel within the framework of the Association Agreement with that country. But the pharmaceutical industry Israeli is particularly involved in the occupation of Palestinian territories. See: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/rafeef-ziadah/european-parliament-israel_b_1893829.html?fb_action_ids=10151034915161927&fb_action_types=og.likes&fb_source=other_multi_line&ac



No to French Imperialist Military Intervention in Mali!

For the past several weeks the increasingly insistent sound of jackboots have been heard à propos Mali. At the End of September the French President Hollande went with the Foreign Minister Fabius to the UN General Assembly to plead for a green light for military intervention in northern Mali, which he obtained without difficulty.

But for several months, since the overthrow of President Amadou Toumani Touré, French diplomacy has been busy preparing for the military intervention, whether through negotiations with neighboring Algeria or by sending special forces into Burkina Faso (1). A Former French colony in Central Africa, Mali has experienced years of struggles, sometimes violent, by the nomadic Tuareg population living in the north against the oppression and discrimination of the central government.

After the Tuareg guerillas inflicted a heavy defeat on Malian soldiers, forcing them to retreat to the south of the country (the "useful lands" where the overwhelming majority of the population are found, in contrast to the northern semi-desert) on March 22 the defeated soldiers took power in Bamako. Under pressure from neighboring states and French imperialism the military junta was forced in early April to give way to "acting president", Traoré. But as soon as he was inducted, the new president was wounded in an attack on the presidential palace by nationalist demonstrators close to the military, and he went to France to recuperate.

The Prime Minister, Cheick Modibo Diarra, returned from the United States (where he worked at NASA), to lead the

country during the presidential vacancy. When Traoré returned from Paris in August, a "national unity government" was then formed, in accordance with the "ultimatum" issued by the African member countries of ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States); but the differences between the presidential clan and the Prime Minister, including the attitude to adopt vis-à-vis the North, have not disappeared.

In the weeks that followed, international pressures have increased for foreign military intervention in the North, where Tuareg rebels have been forced to give way to Islamist organizations.

The Islamists were probably better armed, but they have benefited most, it seems, from the anger of the people of Timbuktu and other cities in the face of Tuareg "pillages"; the restoration of order, by the establishment of a brutal Islamic order, was apparently positively appreciated, at least initially, by some segments of the population (2).

To prepare minds for a military intervention, a campaign of international opinion has and is being developed concerning the "atrocities" committed in the north (destruction of religious monuments, stoning of an adulterous couple, etc.). On the front page of *Le Monde* the Prime Minister demanded "drive the drug traffickers and terrorists out of Mali", criticizing the President for wishing to negotiate and lauding Fabius and Hollande for their contributions at the United Nations (3). Finally, the Malian government gave in and in early September formally requested foreign military intervention to wage battle in the north.

Twice as large as France, but popu-

lated by only 15 million inhabitants, Mali is a poor country which has, however, still untapped potential resources (apart from some gold production); French imperialism has multiple interests in intervening in its former colony: mineral resources with the probable presence of oil and gas and uranium deposits in the northern part, but also to protect its "influence" throughout the whole sub-region.

However, it would rather not appear on the front lines, preferring to leave the fighting to African auxiliaries, contenting itself with managing the logistics. The military presence of the former colonial power in Bamako would certainly provoke hostile demonstrations: everyone there knows that the actions of French imperialism have never been motivated by the plight of the local population!

Neither the people of northern Mali, Tuareg or not, nor the disinherited in general nor French proletarians have anything to gain from imperialist military intervention, which in one way or another they will have to shoulder the costs.

The grievances of the Mali masses will not be resolved by war, but by social and political struggle, the only way to resolve the problems of proletarians as of the Mali masses lies in the struggle against the international imperialist order which on the one hand condemns entire populations to vegetate in hopeless misery, and on the other condemns the proletarians of the entire world to an ever greater exploitation. And in this struggle it is the proletariat of the impe-

(Continued on page 18)

Proletarian

International Communist Party («programme communiste»)

The Tragedy of the German Proletariat after the First World War



The Tragedy of the German Proletariat after the First World War

(BROCHURE A5, 60 PAGES, JANUARY 2010, PRICE: 2 €, 4 FS)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Introduction
- Germany 1918-1919: the tragic retard of the party ("le prolétaire", No. 491, Nov. - Dec. 2008 / Jan. 2009)
- The tragedy of the German proletariat after the first World War (Report to a general meeting of the party - 1972)
- The situation in Germany and the communist movement ("Il Soviet", No 18, 11 July 1920.)
- Postscript: Berlin 5 January 1919

"el programa comunista"

Nº 49, Septiembre de 2011

EN ESTE NÚMERO

- • • Presentación • • • Las revueltas en países árabes y el imperialismo • • • Crisis capitalista, luchas obreras y partido de clase • • • La "cuestión china" • • • Hace cuarenta años moría Amadeo Bordiga • • • El partido comunista de Italia frente a la ofensiva fascista (1921-1924). (Informe a la Reunión General del Partido, en Florencia, del 30 de abril al 1º de mayo de 1967) - Primera parte • • • León Trotsky: Informe sobre la crisis económica mundial y las tareas de la Internacional Comunista

Precio del ejemplar: Europa: 3 €; 2 £; 8 FS; 25 Krs; América latina: US\$ 1,5; Canadá y USA: US\$ 3

THE "INVARIANCE" OF MARXISM (1)

(General Meeting of the Party, Milan, September 1952)

(Continuation from page 1)

fects in the theory, which consequently has to be corrected and modernized. Deniers, falsifiers and modernizers: we combat all three, and we believe the third group is the most pernicious today.

3. The history of the Marxist Left, radical Marxism - more precisely, Marxism - is a series of struggles against all the waves of revisionism that have attacked various aspects of the theory and method since their first organic, monolithic expression in the Manifesto of 1848. In other texts we have recalled the history of these struggles in the three Internationals: against utopians, workerists, libertarians, social-democrats, reformists and gradualists, left or right syndicalists, social-patriots and, today, national-communists or people's communists. This struggle extends over four generations and, in each phase, it is associated not with series of names, but with a well-defined, compact school and, in the historical sense, with a definite party.

4. This long and difficult struggle would lose its link to the future resurgence if, instead of drawing the lesson of the "invariance" of Marxism, we were to accept the banal idea that Marxism undergoes a "continual historical development", changing with the course of events and their outcome. This is the invariable justification for all the betrayals we have experienced in history, and for all the defeats the revolution has suffered.

5. When materialists deny that a theoretical "system" born at a given mo-

ment (or worse, emerging from the mind and expounded in the work of a single human being, a thinker or historical leader, or both at the same time) could embrace the entire course of future human history and establish its rules and principles once and for all, this does not mean that systems of principles that are stable and valid for a very long period of history cannot exist.

In fact, the stability of such principles and their resistance to attempts to demolish or "improve" them is a primary source of strength for the "social class" to which they belong and whose historical task and interests they express. Rather than to the appearance of brilliant individuals, this sequence of systems and corpora of doctrine and praxis must be related to the succession of "modes of production", i.e. types of material organization of the life of human collectivities.

6. Although it recognizes the formal content of the doctrines of all the major periods of history as being obviously partial and erroneous, dialectical materialism by no means denies that they were necessary in their time. Nor does it imagine that their errors could have been avoided by better reasoning on the part of thinkers and legislators, and that they could have been detected sooner and corrected. Each system possesses an explanation and justification in its own cycle, and the most significant systems are the ones that have remained unchanged throughout a long period of struggle and retained their organic integrity.

7. According to Marxism, there is no continuous, gradual progress in history, especially as regards the organization of productive resources. History is instead a series of periodic leaps forward that completely and profoundly overthrow the entire economic and social apparatus. There are veritable cataclysms, catastrophes, sudden crises in which everything is transformed within a short time after remaining static for a very long period; cataclysms such as occur in the world of physics, in the stars and galaxies, in geology and even in the phylogenetics of living organisms.

8. Since class ideologies are superstructures of modes of production, they are not formed from a daily accretion of atoms of knowledge. Instead, they appear in the breaches opened by violent shocks and guide the classes from which they emanate in a monolithic and overall stable form through a long series of struggles and movements until the next critical phase, the next historical revolution.

9. The doctrines of capitalism, while justifying the social revolutions of the past, assert that, beginning with the bourgeois revolution, history would advance by gradual stages and without new social catastrophes, and that ideological systems would progressively absorb the successive conquests of pure and applied science. Marxism demonstrates the falseness of this vision of the future.

10. Marxism itself is not a doctrine that can be shaped and reshaped each day with new contributions in a veritable patching and mending process: it is still one (although the last) of those doctrines that are the weapons of ruled and exploited classes called upon to overthrow existing social relations and which, in the course of their struggles, are subjected to the conservative influence of traditional forms and ideologies characteristic of enemy classes.

11. Even if it is possible as of today - or at least since the proletariat appeared on the stage of history - to envision the history of a future classless society, a society without revolutions, it must be stated that during the very long period leading up to it, the revolutionary class will not be able to accomplish its task unless it acts throughout its monumental struggle in accordance with a doctrine and method that remain stable and are codified in a monolithic program, though naturally the number of militants and the outcome of social conflicts in different phases will vary considerably.

12. The theoretical heritage of the revolutionary working class is no revelation, myth or idealist ideology, as was the case for previous classes. It is a

No to French Imperialist Military Intervention in Mali!

(Continuation from page 17)

rialist countries that have the greatest responsibility because they are the ones that can strike at the heart of world capitalism and destroy its inhuman order.

No to any imperialist military intervention in Mali!

French Imperialism Out of Africa!
Long Live the World Communist Revolution!

(1) see *Le Figaro*, 23/09/12. This article seems apparently very well informed by French military sources also speaks of a "murky role" played by the Algerian authorities. see; www.lefigaro.fr/international/2012/09/23/01003-20120923

ARTFIG00152-mali-la-france-en-pointe-contre-aqmi.php. French special forces are based in Burkina Faso see; [www.marianne2.fr / blogsecretdefense/Mali-le-COS-est-bien-present-au-Sahel-contre-ait-ou-est-ce-que-dit-Laurent-Fabius_a763.html](http://www.marianne2.fr/blogsecretdefense/Mali-le-COS-est-bien-present-au-Sahel-contre-ait-ou-est-ce-que-dit-Laurent-Fabius_a763.html)

(2) see: www.jolpress.com/international-mali-intervention-armee-militaire-assemblee-generale-onu-islamistes-nord-aqmi-ansar-dine-mujao-touaregs-mnla-charia-article-813612.html

(3) See *Le Monde*, 01/10/2012. The Prime Minister threatens: "We must now secure the major cities of Mali". Who are his targets: some "gangs of terrorists" in the north, or the oppressed masses in the cities?

October 7, 2012

positive science, and requires a stable formulation of its principles and rules of action, which play the same role and have the same decisive effect as past dogmas, catechisms, tables, constitutions and guidebooks, such as the Vedas, the Talmud, the Bible, the Koran or the Declaration of the Rights of Man. But the serious mistakes of substance or form contained within these documents have not detracted from their immense organizational and social force - first revolutionary, then counterrevolutionary, in a dialectical sequence - and often precisely these "defects" have made the greatest contribution.

13. Because Marxism denies that a quest for "absolute truth" could have any meaning, and sees doctrine not as a gift of the eternal spirit or abstract reason, but as an "instrument" of work and a "weapon" of combat, it postulates that this instrument or weapon should not be abandoned "for repairs" in the midst of an operation or at the height of the battle. Victory is secured by having good tools and weapons from the very start, in peace as well as in war.

14. A new doctrine does not appear at any moment in history. There are certain characteristic - but very rare - epochs of history when a doctrine may appear like a dazzling beam of light, and if the crucial moment has not been recognized and the light fantastic contained, there is no use resorting to the candle ends with which the university pedant or the faithless fighter attempt to illuminate their way.

15. For the modern proletarian class, formed in the first countries that underwent large-scale capitalist industrial development, the darkness was dispersed just before the end of the last century. At that time, the integral doctrine in which we believe - in which we must believe - was provided with all the conditions it required to take shape and describe a phase of history which would verify and confirm it after a series of momentous struggles. Either the position will remain valid or the doctrine will be acknowledged as false, and consequently the Marxist assertion that the proletariat emerges as a new class with its own revolutionary character, program and function in history will be proclaimed null and void. Anyone who undertakes to replace essential parts, theses or clauses of the Marxist corpus, which has been our heritage for over a century, compromises its strength more than those who deny it openly and pronounce it to be bankrupt.

16. After the "explosive" period in which the immediacy of the new demands had clarified and delimited them

better, there followed a period in which class "consciousness", instead of being improved and heightened, regressed and degenerated as a result of the stabilization of the world situation. As the history of Marxism has shown, the theory returns during periods when the struggle becomes intensified, with remarkable references to its origins and its initial monumental expression: witness the Paris Commune, the Bolshevik Revolution and the class movements after the first world war in Western Europe.

17. The principle of the historical invariance of doctrines that reflect the tasks of different historical classes, and of momentous returns to original formulations, applies to all major periods in history and stands opposed to the futile hypothesis that each generation, each season in intellectual "fashion" is superior to the previous one, just as it opposes the stupid cliché that human progress is an uninterrupted stream, and other bourgeois fads from which few people who call themselves Marxists today are able to distance themselves.

18. All the myths express this principle of invariance, especially those involving demigods or prophets who have had an audience with the supreme being. It would be quite foolish to laugh at such representations; but only Marxism has been able to uncover their real material foundations. Rama, Moses, Christ, Mohammed and all the prophets and heroes who inaugurate the epic histories of different peoples are so many expressions of this reality, which corresponds to an enormous leap in the mode of production. In the pagan myth, wisdom (Minerva) emerges from the head of Jupiter not in response to immense volumes dictated to energyless scribes, but as a result of a hammer-blow from the worker-god, Vulcan, who was summoned to calm a persistent migraine for the father of the gods.

At the other end of the scale of history, in the Age of Enlightenment, in opposition to the new goddess, Reason, Gracchus Babeuf, though perhaps crude in his theoretical presentation, stands up like a giant to state that physical and material strength are of greater value than reason and knowledge.

19. There are many examples of disciples who fought to restore a doctrine against a revisionist degeneration: the Gracchi against J. Brutus, Francis of Assisi against Christ when Christianity, born for the social redemption of the humble, lounged in the courts of Medieval lords, as would later occur in the case of the precursors of something that has yet to come about against revolutionaries who had denied the heroic phase of previous

classes: the battles of 1831 in France, and 1848, 1849 and innumerable other phases throughout Europe.

20. We state that all the recent events in history are so many uncontested and total confirmations of Marxist theory and its predictions. In particular, we refer to points which have (once again) caused major defections from class positions and plagued even those who consider Stalinism utterly opportunist. These points are, on the one hand, the advent of centralized, totalitarian forms of capitalism, in terms of both economy and politics (regulated economy, state

(Continued on page 20)

The fundamentals of Revolutionary Marxist Communism in the Doctrine and in the History of the International Proletarian Struggle

(Brochure A5, 56 pages, October 2010, Price: 2 € , 2,5 US\$; 4 FS)

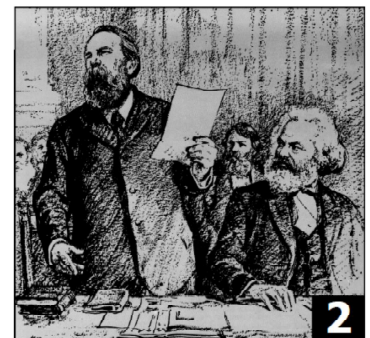
– TABLE OF CONTENTS –

- **Presentation**
- **Premise**
- **Part One.** Party and Class State, essential forms of the communist revolution
- **Part Two.** The economic organizations of the proletariat are nothing but pale substitutes for the revolutionary party
- **Part Three.** Petty bourgeois distortions of the characteristics of communist society in the "syndicalist" and "enterprise socialist" conceptions
- **Conclusion**

Proletarian

International Communist Party («programme communiste»)

The Fundamentals of Revolutionary Communism



THE “INVARIANCE” OF MARXISM

(Continuation from page 19)

capitalism, unconcealed bourgeois dictatorships), and on the other, the social and political development of Russia and Asia. For us, these confirm both our theory and the monolithic form in which it was born at a specific crucial epoch.

21. Anyone who was able to find a conflict between the great events of our time and Marxist theory would thereby succeed in proving the theory incorrect and completely discredited, and conclude that any attempt to deduce the general course of history from economic relations is in vain. At the same time, he would succeed in proving that events in any phase necessitate new deductions, explanations and theories, and consequently lead to new and different methods of action.

22. In the face of momentary difficulties, it would be illusory to seek a solution by admitting the possibility that the fundamental theory could be changed continuously and stating that now is the time to work out new chapters in order, through this act of thought, to reverse this unfavorable situation. Moreover, it is an aberration that this task should be undertaken by groups with only a few members and, worse yet, accomplished by means of a free discussion that, on a Lilliputian scale merely apes bourgeois parliamentarism and the infamous con-

frontation of individual opinions - which would be an old stupidity rather than a new recipe.

23. We are currently in the depths of a supreme depression in the curve of revolutionary potential: a time like this is anything but propitious for the birth of original theories of history. In such a period, when the prospects of an imminent large-scale social movement are nil, the political disintegration of the world proletarian class is a logical result of the situation. But it is also logical that small groups should maintain the historical continuity of the revolutionary movement suspended like a great arc between two social revolutions. Yet it is essential that these groups not seek to alter the original content, and that they remain firmly attached to the traditional formulations of Marxism.

24. Criticism and doubt of all the old, established positions were decisive elements in the modern bourgeois revolution which, in gigantic waves, mounted its assault on the natural sciences, the social order and political and military power, and later, with much less iconoclastic verve, focussed on the sciences of human society and history. This was the essential result of an epoch of profound upheaval lying between the feudal, landowning Middle Ages and the industrial, capitalist modern era. Criticism was the effect, and not the motor, of this immense, complex struggle.

25. Doubt and control of individual consciousness are the expression of

bourgeois reform against the compact tradition and authority of the Christian church. They were expressed in the most hypocritical puritanism which sanctioned and protected the new class rule and the new form in which the masses were enslaved under the banner of bourgeois conformity to religious morality or individual rights. The proletarian revolution takes an utterly different path: individual consciousness is nothing, and a homogeneous leadership of collective action is everything.

26. When Marx, in his famous Theses on Feuerbach, stated that philosophers had only interpreted the world, but the point was to change it, he did not mean that the will to change conditioned the fact of change. He meant that change came first, determined by the clash of mass forces, followed by a critical consciousness of the transformation in individuals. The latter therefore do not act as a result of their individual decisions, but under the influence of factors that precede science and consciousness.

The transition from the weapon of criticism to the criticism of weapons displaces this process from the thinking subject to the militant mass: its weapons are not only its guns and cannons, but especially the very real weapon constituted by the uniform, monolithic, constant, collective party doctrine, to which we are all subject and bound, leaving behind once and for all the debates of gossip-mongers and pedants.

(to be continued)

France

No to electoral mystifications! For the resumption of the class struggle! For the world communist revolution!

Proletarians,

The current global economic crisis which capitalism has the greatest difficulties in overcoming, is only the latest of the economic and social crises that have marked the development of capitalism since the end of World War II. It demonstrates anew that the society based on profit and the exploitation of workers is sinking ever deeper into insoluble contradictions which result in the deterioration of living conditions of the population, especially the great proletarian masses. For capitalists, the economic crisis means the risk of losing some or all of the profits they grasp under the protection of the “democratic” bourgeois state, its laws, its police and its armies; for the proletarians it means risking losing

their jobs, their wages, their lives.

While themselves engaging in fierce internecine competition, the capitalists of all countries unite to ensure that the brunt of the crisis falls on the workers: which amounts to ever more exploitation, ever more cuts in welfare benefits (expenditures which are deemed “unproductive” by capitalists, but which are vital to workers, such as pensions, social insurance, etc. – and which are actually part of the collective wage) in order to extract the supplemental profits essential to re-establishing their economy. If the underprivileged workers are the most affected, falling into a situation of ever-growing precarity, the more fortunate sectors – including the famous “labor aristocracy” which supports the reformist defense of capitalism – are not spared, and even some

strata of the petit-bourgeoisie are threatened with ruin and proletarianization.

One of the most pernicious effects of the capitalist crisis is the growing competition among proletarians, this competition. The war of all against all, is the *modus vivendi* of bourgeois society, which inevitably leads to increasingly serious clashes between capitalist groups, between states, to open warfare, to competition between workers, between young and old, men and women, French and migrants; especially now the bitter antagonism between long time residents and “foreigners” is caused and fueled by the bourgeoisie to protect capitalism and maintain its class rule by dividing the working class.

If they don’t want to be crushed by the ever-growing capitalist pressure, the workers have no choice but to unite and

France ...

organize to oppose the bosses and the state with the strength of their numbers. The bourgeoisie is well aware that they cannot effectively resist its attacks unless they fight and organize on their class terrain, i.e. with classist methods, means and objectives; it's the reason why it does everything it can to foment divisions, appealing for the defense of the company or nation, designating workers in other companies, other corporations, other nationalities, as competitors or adversaries etc..

But this constant policy of fostering divisions in the ranks of the workers would be impossible without the active collaborationist roles of the reformist political and trade union apparatuses, who, while claiming to defend the workers, sabotage their struggles, divert them into dead-ends and spread the poisons of legalism, nationalism and chauvinism. Yet another example was given 2 years ago at the time of the movement against the pension "reform" in France: union leaders in conjunction with the government, controlled the movement, sabotaging every opportunity to turn it into a real struggle; then, after a carefully prepared defeat, they presented the next presidential elections as the solution, knowing full well that the Socialist Party had no intention of removing the Sarkozy reform ...

Proletarians,

The class war which the bourgeois wages in all countries has two main objectives: 1) to bend the proletariat, which is the living force from which it extorts surplus value, to the needs of capitalism, shackling it on the political as well as the economic terrain to the preservation of capitalism, 2) to suppress, directly or indirectly, all initiatives by groups of proletarians to organize and to wage independent classist struggle to defend their immediate and future interests. To achieve these objectives, the State and all the bourgeois institutions (judicial, police, army, school, church, media ...) are not sufficient: it also requires the constant work of those close to or coming from the ranks of the proletariat: the collaborationist forces of political and trade union reformism.

Reformism, collaborationism, never puts into question the capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois state (and the social domination of the bourgeoisie), it always seeks to reconcile proletarian and bourgeois inter-

ests. Even when it takes combative poses, it always makes the defense of the living and working conditions of the proletarians dependant on the interests of the enterprise and the national economy: defense of wages or employment if the company makes Profits! Acceptance of sacrifices in terms of wages, work rate or employment, if they are necessary for the company to be competitive! Acceptance of competition between workers and campaigns against absenteeism if it helps increase productivity, etc..

Reformism, collaborationism, is so necessary for the bourgeoisie that even in times of crisis it devotes significant resources to operate the network of institutions of the collaboration between classes, to finance the trade unions and political parties – not to mention the electoral system and the stipends it means for tens of thousands of elected officials, the huge amount of subsidies to the most diverse associations that contribute to building the ever-famous "social bond" supposed to be able to oppose class confrontations, contributing decisively to the democratic and conservative intoxication of the proletarians.

Proletarians,

History has demonstrated to the bourgeoisie that the methods of democracy are the most effective to consolidate its power, by making the exploited believe that it is possible to peacefully defend their interests through democratic institutions, thanks to an (illusory) political equality among all citizens. As a matter of fact, this formal political equality only masks the fundamental inequality of bourgeois society between those who own nothing but their labor-power and the capitalists, to whom they are obliged to sell this commodity in order to live.

Elections are one of the mystifications of the bourgeois democratic system; another is the myth of conciliation between the classes by which the reformists pretend to overcome antagonisms in the name of "social partnership", and of which nationalism is the logical consequence. If in the past it was the right-wing parties and the extreme right who were the harbingers of nationalism, for a long time the same has become true of the left reformist and/or so-called communist parties which side under the national flag, or embrace economic protectionism.

For the proletariat, nationalism means during peacetime sacrificing their class interests to defend the

national capitalism in economic competition, and, tomorrow, in time of war, agreeing to sacrifice their lives for this same sordid goal: under capitalism, peace is preparation for war. If the proletarian revolution fails to overthrow it beforehand, capitalism will not hesitate to plunge humanity into a third world war to try to resolve its internal contradictions when they reach an extreme intensity.

Proletarians!

Whatever the politicians in government, left or right, capitalism is preparing a future of sacrifices, misery, of tears and blood. No election will prevent the situation that exists today in Greece Portugal and Spain, the situation which is coming in Italy and Britain, will inevitably be the situation of France, the U.S.A. etc.: a situation marked by a capitalist offensive against workers, with cuts in wages and benefits, with wave after wave of layoffs, with growing social despotism and repression. International tensions may hasten the outbreak of new imperialist military interventions, including under false "humanitarian" pretexts as was the case in Libya.

But the workers are not condemned to remain eternally helpless and passive victims of capitalism; they have an immense potential strength because it is by their labor that the whole system operates. For this strength to materialize, enabling them not only to resist the capitalists and their state, but even to set the goal of smashing capitalism, workers must take the path of organization and class struggle, in a complete break with the policies and defeatist practices of collaborationist reformism.

History has shown that in fighting on its class terrain, in engaging in open confrontation against all exploiters, the proletariat was able to stand up to the bourgeoisie and to overthrow it. It will be able to do so again when it rediscovers its class weapons and organizes around its class party to lead the struggle up until the international revolution and the establishment of its dictatorial class power – the necessary step to uproot capitalism and pave the way for a communist society without classes and without exploitation.

In the same way that the proletarian class movement will be reborn, so also will be reborn the revolutionary class party, international and internationalist! **By creating the world-wide proletariat, the bourgeoisie will have produced its own gravediggers!**

May 1, 2012

Euromobilization of November 14, 2012 **Only the class struggle can defend proletarian interests against capitalism!**

Proletarians!

Confronted with the deterioration of living conditions, with generalized layoffs, unemployment and restrictions on basic services such as health, transport, social security, the working class is faced with the dilemma of accepting the miserable situation into which the bourgeoisie wants to plunge it or to really enter into struggle.

The anti-crisis measures of the various governments, which are in fact anti-worker measures, have solved nothing and those recently announced will solve nothing either.

For the bourgeois class, the economic crisis means a drastic reduction in its profits; capitalist competition which commences from the struggle of a company against its competitors and proceeds to clashes between countries, makes still more difficult the recovery of profits which are necessary for the capitalists to sustain their economic system; these problems will inevitably impact directly on the conditions of life and work of the proletariat which is ever more exploited (exploitation by means of extortion of work which is not paid for).

Increasingly lower wages for the workers still employed and mass layoffs are the most direct measures taken by the capitalists to seek to restore the rate of profit weakened by the crisis. If the basic services that are used by the vast majority of proletarians undergo cuts, it is because the bourgeois class does not want a portion of its profits, already reduced by economic difficulties, to be spent to maintain the conditions of life of the proletarians: Accordingly, the bourgeois economic system condemns an increasingly large part of proletarians to impoverishment.

The problem is not that European governments have engaged in an improper policy; "austerity" is a necessity for the bourgeoisie against fierce competition engendered by the capitalist economy, the global economic crisis only aggravating the situation in each national economy. And it is obviously the weaker economies such as Ireland, Portugal, Greece, but also Spain, and Italy, which suffer the most negative effects of the crisis; but even the countries with slightly less vulnerable economies like Great Britain, France and even Germany, are not spared.

Proletarians!

The bourgeois class, as has already been written in the Manifesto of Marx and Engels, is always in struggle against fractions of the same class with opposing interests, and against the bourgeoisie of other countries to defend or capture market share; but also and always against the proletariat to maintain the wage slavery necessary for the extortion of profits, and to defend its social domination. It is the capitalist system that requires the bourgeoisie to reduce ever more proletarians to poverty; it is the capitalist political system that impels the bourgeois class to take measures of rigid and dictatorial social control which a formal democracy only manages to conceal with great difficulty. In the factories and businesses as in everyday life every proletarian lives in a situation of insecurity, precarity and increasing poverty feeling in his very marrow that there is no way out of this society entirely oriented towards the search for profit.

Due to the devastating effects of the crisis and the still dominant influence of reformist forces over the largest part of the proletariat in all countries, demoralization and reluctance to respond to the continuing deterioration of conditions of existence with truly classist struggle, have continued to increase in the workers' ranks. However, elemental spontaneous reaction to intolerable living and working conditions have in some cases led the proletarian masses to express their discontent and sometimes, as in Greece in running street battles. Social conflicts are inevitable and the bourgeois class is always ready to respond: the State with its police, its army, its judges and its body of officials is there to demonstrate that the bourgeoisie is ready to defend its interests by all means; peacefully when this is sufficient, but also with violence when the "dialogue between the social partners" and the various "negotiations" with the forces representing the workers are no longer able to contain the anger of the latter.

The economic crisis hit not only the proletarians; it affects layers of both the petty and middle bourgeoisie, it ruined shopkeepers, artisans, professionals and other categories of so-called "middle classes" or the labor aristocracy, the layers that form the basis of social reformism, interclassism and col-

laborationism. It is the forces of trade union and political collaborationism, more than openly bourgeois forces that are at work to control social tensions and extinguish the outbreaks provoked by the situation of the masses, these are precisely the ones who have organized the events of November 14.

Proletarians!

On the initiative of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), you are asked to mobilize against the "politics of austerity" against the "reduction in public spending" and for a "European social contract".

It is with the most hackneyed clichés of the most trivial reformism in whose name anti-labor forces have always sold out the interests of workers. Today, in an era of increasingly violent attacks against the living conditions of workers, the collaborationists still dare to speak about defense of the "European social model", of social contract, when social confrontation, the class struggle against the so-called social model is urgently necessary to respond to the capitalists.

The stated objective of the unions is a new capitulation before the enemy of the proletariat, the bourgeois ruling class; and it is an unconditional capitulation because the capitalists in all countries have already passed – with the tacit agreement of the reformist organizations – a series of anti-worker measures, and they are preparing to pass more. And this will continue until capitalists find themselves faced with a united proletarian force, organized and determined to fight, instead of a demoralized mass, divided and torn by internal divisions, by competition between young and old, men and women, native-born and immigrants, etc..

The "riposte" which the collaborationist trade unions say they want in order to oppose the politics of austerity only serves to confuse and mislead the workers in a vicious circle because they link their demand for the maintenance of the network of social shock absorbers and the refusal of more work flexibility, to a policy of "economic recovery" and redistribution of profits in accord with a "social justice" that bourgeois society has never been and will never be able to achieve.

Economic growth under capitalism means increased profits and there is no

other way to do this that by increasing the exploitation of the labor force; in periods of crisis, when markets are saturated by overproduction, profits can be preserved only by the direct reduction of real wages.

The “day of action” organized on November 14 by the European trade unions, even if in some countries where the proletariat discontent is growing, as in Spain, Portugal or Greece, it results in a general strike (but limited in time and announced sufficiently in advance so that the capitalists are able to prepare for it) and not by the usual “labor-crawl” processions, organized elsewhere (or, worse, “Internet actions” in Britain!), in reality has an anti-proletarian function: the central orientation indicated for this day, is the economic recovery (which cannot be anything other than increasing exploitation), not the intransigent defense of the lives and work of the proletarian masses; in addition the collaborationist unions would also like to mobilize the proletariat for a “social contract” with the capitalists.

But proletarian interests are completely opposed to those of the capitalist exploiters and their lackeys. All the propaganda about the “general interest” of the homeland and the defense of the national economy, only aims to convince the proletarians that they must consent to sacrifices, accept wage cuts, resign themselves to redundancies ...

The “general interest”, it is actually nothing other than the interest of Capital!

Proletarians!

In order to change this situation, to resist the continued degradation of their living conditions, to stop layoffs and maintain to every possible extent an acceptable wage level in comparison to the cost of living, workers must take the struggle in hand: they must break completely with the conciliatory policy of the union leaders and fight instead for the exclusive defense of their class interests.

In capitalist society, the worker is the one who is subject to daily exploitation to support the entire society: it is this society, in every country, which lives on the backs of the workers!

There is no common interest between proletarians and capitalists, despite all the efforts of political and trade union collaborationism to make us believe otherwise.

The proletarian struggle becomes a class struggle when it actually attacks the interests of the class that owns the means of production to make it yield to the demands of the workers.

To achieve this it is necessary to use truly classist means and methods such as the unlimited strike without notice, without respect to minimum service, etc., effectively paralyzing production and distribution to exert real pressure on the capitalist resistance; a strike organized and defended against the attacks of the enemy forces implemented by the bosses, the state or the forces of collaborationism, means and methods of practical class solidarity for which even a partial struggle concerns all workers and must be supported by all without hesitation.

With these methods the proletarians will be able not only to combat the most serious consequences of their exploitation, but they can also combat the competition that constantly divides them in the search for a job or the struggle to maintain their salary, and which is used by the capitalists to reduce them to impotence. In overcoming this competition it is possible to maintain an organization, even if minimal, to fight against bourgeois attacks and the deterioration of living and working conditions in every domain.

The strike must be reacquired as a weapon of proletarian struggle, not a harmless safety valve used by interclassist collaborationism to preserve social peace and to perpetuate the enslavement of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie!

Proletarians!

The capitalist crisis is far from over. And the measures with which the bourgeoisie intends to emerge from the crisis by attacking the workers are also far from being the last.

It's up to the proletariat to get itself out of its organizational and political crisis, by breaking from class collaboration, by struggling against the politics of unity and national reconciliation for the defense of the national economy by putting into action its class organizations for the immediate struggle, and utilizing these to prepare for the generalized struggle against all of its enemies.

– **For the reprise of the class struggle!**

– **Against the collaborationist orientation of the unions and their methods which can only lead to defeat!**

– **Against all democratic and interclassist alliances with democratic and pro-capitalist reformist organizations, camouflaged behind so-called workers' “unity”!**

– **For the exclusive and uncompromising defense of the living conditions of the working class!**

November, 8th 2012

“el programa comunista” N° 49, Septiembre de 2011

EN ESTE NÚMERO

• • • Presentación • • • Las revueltas en países árabes y el imperialismo • • • Crisis capitalista, luchas obreras y partido de clase • • • La “cuestión china” • • • Hace cuarenta años moría Amadeo Bordiga • • • El partido comunista de Italia frente a la ofensiva fascista (1921-1924). (Informe a la Reunión General del Partido, en Florencia, del 30 de abril al 1° de mayo de 1967) - Primera parte • • • León Trotsky: Informe sobre la crisis económica mundial y las tareas de la Internacional Comunista

Precio de ejemplar: Europa: 3 €; 2 £; 8 FS; 25 Krs; América latina: US\$ 1,5; Canadá y USA: US\$ 3

CORRESPONDENCE :

France :

Programme, B.P. 57428
69347 Lyon Cedex 07

Switzerland : Editions Programme,
Ch. de la Roche 3, 1020 Renens

Italy : Il Comunista, C. P. 10835,
20110 Milano

Registration number to the “commission paritaire de presse”: 52926. Managing Editor: Dessus. **payments:** by checks or international money, **order to:** Dessus. Printed on our press.

PARTY'S PRESS

• **“le prolétaire”** - (*bimonthly in French*) • Price per copy £ 1 / € 1 / Sfr 3. **Subscription:** £ 5 / € 7,5 / Sfr 30. **Subscription support:** £ 9,5 / € 15 / Sfr 60.

• **“programme communiste”** - (*Theoretical review in French*) • One copy £ 3 / € 4 / Sfr 8. Latin America: US \$ 2 / USA et Cdn: US \$ 4. **Subscription:** price for 4 copies. **Subscription support:** £ 20 / € 40 / Sfr 80 / Latin America: US \$ 10 / USA and Cdn: US \$ 40.

• **“il comunista”** - (*bimonthly in Italian*) • one copy: £ 1 / € 1,5 / Sfr 5. **Subscription:** £ 6 / € 9 / Sfr 35. **Subscription support:** £ 12 / € 19 / Sfr 70.

• **“el programa comunista”** • one copy: £ 2 / € 3 / Sfr 8 / Latin America: US \$ 0,5 / USA and Cdn: US \$ 3. **Price support,** one copy: £ 4 / € 6 / Sfr 16 / Latin America: US \$ 1 / USA and Cdn: US \$ 6.

• **“el proletario”** • one copy: Europa: 1,5 € / 3 Sfr / £ 1,5. Latin America: US \$ 1,5 / USA and Cdn: US \$ 2.

• **“Proletarian”** - (*Supplement in english to “le prolétaire”*) • price per copy: 1,5 €, US \$ 1,5, £ 1, 3 CHF.

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.