

# Proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

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

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## No to the pro-imperialist mobilization around Kurdistan!

For weeks, the fate of Syrian Kurds has become one of the most important justifications for the imperialist intervention under way in the region; international media have focused attention around Syrian Kurdistan (*Kurdistan Rojava*, Western Kurdistan, in Kurdish) and the city of Kobané attacked by forces of a group called the «Islamic State» (better known by the acronyms in English or Arabic: ISIS or Daech).

Syrian Kurdistan, consists of three border areas with Turkey, including that of Kobané, with 2 million inhabitants (roughly one tenth of the total population of Syria); but hundreds of thousands of Kurds are living and working in major Syrian cities, including Aleppo and Damascus.

By attacking Kobané ISIS probably wants to unify the territories it dominates; but above all it wants to ensure

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## DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST WAR IN IRAQ AND SYRIA!

In early August the American government decided to launch a limited «humanitarian action» – in the form of mass bombing! – in Iraq, after an international campaign to mobilize public opinion over the plight of the Yazidi and Christian minorities who have been threatened with «genocide» by the advance of Islamist rebels of «the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant» (better known by the acronym ISIS).

Today no one is talking about the Yazidis or Christians, it is the fate of the Kurds which is used for bellicose propaganda; the «humanitarian» operation has turned into a real war, essentially through aerial attacks at the moment. The United States are preponderantly the main military force: they have completed more than 200 bombings in Iraq, dozens in Syria and sent several hundred troops into Iraq (from where they were completely removed in 2011!); but they managed to gather a broad international coalition: according to them, forty countries are included, but since they did not give the list this casts some doubt on this claim.

The French government, tried to manifest its participation in the American intervention with maximum clarity by being the second country to carry

out bombings in Iraq against ISIS. The Australian, Canadian and Dutch governments, followed by the UK, Belgium and Denmark have also decided to participate in the air war, as well as the governments of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Qatar. Other countries such as Germany and Italy, which have joined the international coalition announced the shipment of weapons. Spain has decided not to participate in combat, but did decide to provide «logistical support». Without taking part in the coalition, Russian which was invited to the international conference in mid-September to set it in motion, announced that it would provide a «contribution» to the international military engagement (for some months already

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### Summary

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- The Immediate Revolutionary Program (General Meeting of Forlì, December 28th 1952)
- Down with the latest criminal abuses by the Israeli state! Solidarity with the Palestinian proletarian masses!
- Ukraine: Against nationalism! For proletarian class unity!
- Ukraine: The fall of Yanukovych will not solve the problems of the proletarian masses
- The monarchy of Felipe VI or the Third Republic are only forms of government of the bourgeois class, and therefore of exploitation and misery for the proletariat
- The Algerian Trotskyists in the mirror of the presidential election

## Ferguson, USA: An episode in the class war

*On 17 November, a week before a Grand Jury officially make its decision on whether or not to indict the police officer who killed Michael Brown, the Governor of Missouri decreed a state of emergency throughout the state for a period of 30 days. More than 2,000 National Guard soldiers were mobilized, and a unified command of the security forces for the Greater St. Louis area was established. For days and days media broadcasts created a climate of fear and intimidation in Ferguson and the region, so that arms sales to individuals have increased and local merchants have*

*formed armed groups to defend their stores.*

*The jury's decision not to indict the police officer has incensed not only Ferguson, but this anger has spread throughout the country and beyond: demonstrations, sometimes spontaneous, took place in hundreds of US cities and hundreds of protesters were arrested by the police.*

*In Ferguson, despite the massive deployment of police and military, despite calls for calm and «prayers for peace» by liberals and priests, since*

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# Ferguson, USA: An episode in the class war

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*the announcement of this decision, violent demonstrations have taken place with the slogan «No. justice, no peace!». But to bring justice, we will have to tear down the system of exploitation and oppression by means of the class war: under capitalism there can be no peace between classes!*

\* \* \*

On August 9 in Ferguson, a small suburb of St. Louis, a cop killed Michael Brown firing 6 bullets into him: this young black man, unarmed, with his arms raised in the air, had made the mistake of not responding to his order to walk on the sidewalk. Michael Brown was left like a dog in the street for several hours without even his parents allowed to come close to his body.

There was generalized outrage at this crime among the population and successive violent protests for ten days. Local authorities replied with the deployment of heavily armed police, through the imposition of a curfew and even by sending in the National Guard – a military body composed of reservists – just like during the tumultuous riots of the sixties; national and local religious figures (Jesse Jackson, etc. ...), volunteer «peacekeepers» (clergy, community leaders, etc., collaborating with the police) and the new black police chief (who participated in a peaceful commemorative demonstration organized by the churches) had failed to calm the population. Ferguson police and the «peacekeepers» (who approved the curfew) accused outside «criminal elements» of being responsible for the riots: the classic reaction in such cases, contradicted by the fact that the hundreds of protesters arrested were overwhelmingly the inhabitants of the city and its surroundings.

Thousands of people attended the funeral of Michael Brown, after which a relative of the victim called on the local population to register for the upcoming elections in November (1), a call relayed by the peacekeepers and local Democrats; we must bear in mind that the electoral turnout is usually very low among blacks and the poor, and that the next elections will be decisive for the Obama administration.

The liberals, religious leaders and so-called community leaders tried to defuse the persistent anger by organizing pacifist demonstrations and civil disobedience acts (such as a ridiculous «Moral Monday» in mid-October). But on October 22th the anger erupted anew and there were clashes between police and protesters after the official autopsy report was leaked to try to somehow sup-

port the police version of the crime.

## THE ELECTION OF OBAMA DIDN'T GET RID OF RACISM

The election of a black Democrat president has not changed the social situation in the United States nor eliminated the racism which is the consequence. Ferguson is not what would be termed a ghetto, but the population is predominantly black with nearly one-fifth of the total population, largely proletarian, living below the poverty line. By contrast the bourgeois are mostly white, including the local politicians, and police officers charged with defending order: for them blacks are an integral part of the «dangerous classes» as the proletarians of the nineteenth century were called. They are therefore the particular victims of police abuse and intimidation that are an important component of bourgeois rule in «free America».

The drama of Ferguson is indeed not an isolated case allegedly caused by particularly brutal and racist police officers (although in the course of events, several policemen have been suspended for racist actions or utterances); according to statistics, a black person is killed by police every 28 hours in the United States (2). The victims of the police are not all black (42.1% are white, 31.8% black, 19.7% Hispanic, etc.) (3), although they are the most likely to be; but they are mostly proletarians. Most of the time, the police are not punished for their crimes, or if they are, their sentences are

generally mild: it shows that police brutality is a normal part of maintaining the bourgeois order in the United States and the «Justice» which it enforces. The United States is the country where the detention rate is the highest in the world (730 prisoners per hundred thousand inhabitants) (4) and one black male in ten age thirty or more has gone to prison at least once in his life. The incarceration rate has risen sharply since the seventies (almost tenfold, going from 240,000 in 1972 to almost 2.3 million in 2014) and continues to increase (5) even as the internal prison regime becomes ever-increasingly harsher. The budget for the construction of prisons has for years become more important than the budget for social housing, so that one could write that prison construction has become the main social housing program in the country! (6).

The press has thrown light on police harassment in Ferguson; it manifests itself among others ways by an avalanche of fines they impose on the poorest (in 2013 they issued 24,500 for its 21,000 inhabitants), the non-payment of which can lead directly to prison. This is a practice commonly used by municipalities in the region to find revenue (7) that perfectly matches the operating principles of capitalism: extort as much money as possible from the workers!

## THE MILITARIZATION OF THE POLICE REFLECTS GROWING SOCIAL TENSIONS

On the occasion of the events in Ferguson, the well-intentioned liberal souls are again moved by the militarization of the police forces and their «excessive use of force». After the 1968 riots in Watts, a SWAT unit (Special Weapons and Tactics) was founded in Los Angeles; the following year it was engaged in a bloody battle against a group of Black Panthers. Since the 80's these special police units of civil war have slowly spread, but the process acceler-



ated after the attacks in 2001; today they exist in 80% of cities with over 25,000 inhabitants and they are deployed more than 50,000 times a year (against 3000 in 1980), 80% for mundane police operations. In 2011 alone more than 500 law enforcement agencies have been equipped with a heavily armored vehicle like that used in Ferguson. The report by the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) concerning «*excessive militarization (!) of the police*», laments that «*the militarization of American police is evident in the training of the police officers, which encourages them to adopt a 'warrior' mentality and think of the people they are supposed to serve as enemies, as well as in the equipment they use, such as battering rams, flash-bang grenades and APCs [armored vehicles]. This shift in culture has been buoyed by the Supreme Court (...)*» (8).

We absolutely do not believe that there was a «shift in culture» in American police; contrary to what liberals believe or want us to believe, the fundamental role of the police in the United States as elsewhere, is not to serve or protect people, but to serve and protect a specific political, economic and social order—capitalism. And the militarization of the police is not a phenomenon unique to the United States.

Certainly, at some points, at some times and in some countries the police present a more «human» face, pretending to be «close to the people» (such as the traditional unarmed London «bobby») but it is always to play the same role and serve the same bourgeois interests. The domination of the bourgeoisie and of the capitalist mode of production is based on violence, even when the violence is only «potential», that is even when it does not appear so openly (except in miscellaneous circumstances) but is expressed in the law with all the legal and police apparatus needed to enforce it.

Police «culture» varies depending on the severity of the social tensions: we have seen that the first SWAT units were created after the series of riots in black neighborhoods in the sixties. The reforms carried out in a period of economic prosperity to eliminate the worst and most archaic forms of racial segregation and to create a black middle class, have undoubtedly lowered tensions; but they could not eradicate the racism which is historically linked to the development of American capitalism, let alone eliminate the social inequalities created by capitalism. These have continued to grow since the Reagan years, and the phenomenon has accelerated since the last crisis. The bourgeois, who are well aware of all this, used the pretext of the «war

against terrorism» to put in place measures of **war against the proletariat**.

According to the OECD, the United States is just after Chile, the country where inequality is greatest! (9). The economist Thomas Piketty writes that inequality in the United States «*is probably higher than in any other society at any time in the past, anywhere in the world*» (10). The American poverty rate is the highest of the most developed capitalist countries (17.1% against 11% in Germany, 8.3% in Britain, 7.1% in France, etc.); and if there are more poor whites in absolute numbers, blacks are more likely to be poor (11). Real wages for the 20% of the lowest paid workers are now lower than they were in 1973 (12), and the income gap between whites and blacks (black people being more likely among low-paid workers) which was slightly reduced over the years, is again close to what it was 50 years ago (13). The black unemployment rate is significantly higher than that of whites: 12.2% against 5.6% in July this year. In Ferguson, where the number of poor has doubled in the city over the past ten years and the workers who still have a job have seen their incomes drop by a third since the crisis erupted in 2007, it is 26% (14).

Liberals of all stripes lament that the «excessive» use of force by the police is widening the gap between them and the public; they offer a variety of measures to ensure that the police are actually in the service of and under the control of the citizens; they call on protesters to obey these killer cops and try to divert the anger of the masses and youth into the electoral impasse: they only serve capitalism of which the police are the instrument! But they could not prevent demonstrations and clashes with police in Ferguson. Speaking of these people, a young protester told a reporter: «*They came down here with 'Oh let's be peaceful; let's pray; let's march; let's vote. We need to keep raising hell, until we get what we want. Putting pressure on them until we get what we want. (...) Let's keep fighting until we're dead because they're killing us anyway. (...) You can vote for whoever you want to, but the system won't change. No matter who you put in office, the system is still the same. The system needs to be changed; you don't need to put a different person in the system. You need to change the system itself*» (15).

The tragic events in Ferguson are an episode in the ongoing class war that the ruling class wages against the proletariat and the exploited masses, in the United States as elsewhere. The youth in this city have set an example that it is possible to respond by revolting; and by doing this they turned what could have

remained an isolated tragic event in a remote suburb, into a national political event.

This demonstrates that the bourgeois fear that the inexorable worsening social tensions is little by little turning the United States into a powder keg. The young Ferguson protesters understood that the path of resignation, peaceful protests and elections leads to nothing. These are the facts that prove it and demonstrate the need to revolt. These are the facts that will also demonstrate the need for **class organization** and for the **revolutionary party** to organize and lead the struggle to overthrow this system of poverty, crime and oppression.

When the proletariat is convinced of this necessity, then this will not be the time of riots, and isolated revolts, but the time when the sound of the **revolution** rings out. We're not there yet, but it is this perspective indicated by Ferguson!

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(1) Following this call, the press announced that more than 3,000 new voters were registered in a month. But the actual figure turned out to be only ... 123! Democratic sirens failed to convince the proletarian population of Ferguson that the solution to their problems is in the ballot box and that the Obama Democrats are their friends.

(2) see «Operation Ghetto Storm» [www.mxgm.org](http://www.mxgm.org) The authors of the report say the real figure is probably a death every 24 hours because they were unable to confirm dozens of other cases of police killings.

(3) [http://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/visuel/2014/08/21/ferguson-produit-d-une-longue-histoire-de-brutalites-policieres\\_4474169\\_4355770.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/visuel/2014/08/21/ferguson-produit-d-une-longue-histoire-de-brutalites-policieres_4474169_4355770.html)

(4) <http://www.hrw.org/en/node/87447>

(5) The increase in the number of people imprisoned is the consequence of the continuing increase in the severity of the legislation. In 1995, under a new law passed in California (the «Three Strike Law»), Leandro Andrade was sentenced to 50 years in prison for stealing 9-video cassettes; we could multiply these outrageous examples, including convictions of mandatory sentencing of life in prison (whose number was multiplied 4 times in twenty years and of which 80% are black). This kind of judgment has nothing to do with the classical principles of «justice,» according to which the sentence must be proportionate to the offense; it is simply to terrorize the poor as part

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# DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST WAR IN IRAQ AND SYRIA!

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it has sent off arms to the government in Baghdad).

Even though at this stage the individual states participating in the coalition say that they don't want to send troops to fight on the ground, France, Canada, Germany, Britain, like the United States, have already sent, sometimes for «several weeks», «military advisors» and other «special forces» in Iraq to train and supervise anti-Islamists, Kurdish and non-Kurdish, combatants.

## AN INTERVENTION SOLELY MOTIVATED BY SORDID IMPERIALIST INTERESTS, NOT BY SUPPOSEDLY DISINTERESTED «HUMANITARIAN» CONCERNS

The military intervention was justified by the atrocities committed by ISIS in areas where it is present (of which it did not hesitate to publish videos on the internet from time to time): killing of prisoners including civilians, beheading of hostages, etc. ; the terror this inspires is a weapon of ISIS, but it is now used against it in order to win support for military intervention: every war needs to brandish innocent victims, true or false, to justify itself.

But until the last period, as long as they took place in Syria (where ISIS has committed them since its inception), these atrocities did not disturb the conscience of the Western imperialists, a clear conscience that is not more moved by the crimes and abuses committed by the Baghdad regime that relies on real commandos of death to maintain its authority by terror!

That all changed at the beginning of this summer, when the fighters ISIS, backed by military officers and Baathist forces from the old regime of Saddam Hussein, routed the Iraqi army, and posed a direct threat to Baghdad. The fall of the regime put in place after the victorious war of the Bush administration and in whose shadow they had access to Iraqi oil, was out of the question for the United States: this is why they have decided to intervene militarily, and not because of the alleged pressure of their «public opinion» which is always nothing but a creation of the media.

The bulk of the Iraqi oil fields, operated by American (Exxon ...), British (BP, Shell), Russian (Lukoil ...), Italian (ENI), French (Total) and Chinese (Pet-

roChina ...) companies are in the south, a Shiite area, where ISIS and its Sunni allies have few chances to penetrate. But a significant part is located in the region of the North around Mosul, over which Kurdish nationalists have long asserted their claim vis-à-vis Baghdad; expanding their territory by close to 40%, they were able to occupy part of this territory by taking advantage of the collapse of the Iraqi army, and they now want to defend it against Isis and its bourgeois Sunni allies. Furthermore, the autonomous government of Kurdistan had recently decided, against the advice of Baghdad, to grant oil concessions to the major Western oil companies, including American «majors» Exxon and Chevron and French Total. In delivering weapons to Kurdish fighters (de facto support to Kurdish independence) (1), the Americans and the French protect their big oil interests! (2)

On the other hand, neither the big imperialisms nor the States of the region, see any good coming from the questioning of the State borders born from the colonization and the imperialist carving up of the Middle East by an «uncontrolled» group like ISIS, which took over the Baathist version of the old Arab nationalist chimera of a union between Syria and Iraq, repainting it in the colors of radical Islam.

## RECOMPOSITIONS UNDERWAY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The agreement reached last summer under the auspices of Russia for the elimination of chemical weapons by the Syrian regime was a turning point in American policy: it meant that, given its failure to find or develop a reliable political force among the rebels, the fall of Assad's regime carried with it too many risks to the stability of the regional imperialist order for the Obama administration.

Syrian rebels are divided into multiple armed groups either more or less autonomous or roughly gathered into various «fronts» in accordance with the subsidies received from local bourgeois, neighboring countries and the imperialists, some living by robbery, extortion or smuggling. The Arab countries of the Gulf initially funded the most Islamist of the groups while Turkey gave its support, all this under the eye of Washington. Behind their reactionary common references to religion

and Islamic law, and based on hatred aroused by the bloody regime in Damascus, all these groups actually defend specific and often rival bourgeois interests; for instance ISIS owed its success largely to the fact that it managed to finance itself through various means ensuring control of a part of the production and the smuggling of Syrian oil to Turkey. None of these groups deserves the support of the proletarians of whom they are actually as resolute enemies as they are of the Syrian state.

The continual efforts (in terms of money and arms) of the Americans (supported by the French, British and other imperialisms) to collect some of these groups in a «Free Syrian Army» under their control and to recruit a «moderate Islamist» political force among the Syrian politicians in emigration commanding some credibility in Syria were repeated failures. To the point that the pro-American ASL (which operates on the ground as a veritable mafia) not only was defeated in various places by the forces of the regime, not only has faced competition from other more dynamic rebel organizations, but to resist the attacks of the new organization named ISIS, it undertook an alliance with a powerful Islamist group, the al-Nusra Front, which openly supports Al Qaeda, the No. 1 enemy of the United States!

The dozens of bombings of Americans and their allies in Syria against ISIS along with Al Nosra positions (3) demonstrate that the enemy of American imperialism in Syria is not the regime of Bashar al-Assad although it is guilty of many more crimes and massacres than the Islamists: new proof that it is never the fate of the populations that determines the action of the imperialists and the bourgeoisie of all countries!

Through the current instability, which is as much the result of the economic crisis as of the fierce inter-bourgeois rivalry, realignments of power are at work in the Middle East: American imperialism has sketched out a rapprochement with the same Iran that it threatened with bombing not long ago, Turkey, after having utilized ISIS (4), is preparing to invade a part of Syria to establish a «buffer zone», Israel which refuses any Palestinian self-determination, is in favor of the independence of the Kurds, etc. Because of its oil resources, but also due to its strategic location, the region is critical to global capitalism; and it will remain so as long as capitalism lives on; it is doomed to be the scene of violent clashes of interests leading inevitably to war, «local» or

more general, of which the populations are the victims. In addition to the dead and wounded in the fighting and bombing, hundreds of thousands of people fleeing the fighting had to leave their residences in recent weeks to seek refuge in Turkey or in other parts of Iraq; they add to the hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees who have found a precarious refuge in Lebanon, Jordan or elsewhere. Needless to say, the plight of those refugees condemned as they are to abject poverty are not bothering the bourgeois...

### ONLY THE CLASS WAR CAN OPPOSE BOURGEOIS WAR!

Governments call on the population in general and the workers in particular to a «national union» in support of the ongoing military operation, repeating almost word for word the same old language it used a century ago, during the First World War. Everyone knows that these grandiloquent appeals to the «sacred union» to defend the «homeland» only served to call the workers to sacrifice themselves to defend the sordid interests of «their» exploiters, «their» national capitalism. Bolshevik revolutionaries denounced the lie of the «defense of the fatherland»; calling for «revolutionary defeatism», they took the motto of the German Socialist, Liebknecht: **the real enemy of the proletariat is in their own country**; it is the capitalist class; it is against this class that we must fight, it is capitalism that must be smashed by the revolution.

From this point of view nothing has changed today. The enemy of the workers is not a nebulous «terrorism» that should be protected against by military interventions and wars (for years to come according to British Prime Minister Cameron) on other continents and repressive measures at home; it is «their» own bourgeoisie, «their» own capitalism, a hundred times more guilty and criminal than all the «jihadists» put together.

Since its inception, capitalism has covered the planet with fire and blood, spreading misery and destruction to satisfy its thirst for profits, causing death by dozens and dozens of millions in wars, while leading a social war without interruption against its proletarians. Today inflicting austerity policies, it throws them out onto the street and delivers them over to the brutality and crimes of the police in an attempt to restore its failing economic health; calls to national unity for the war, are just the counterpart of calls for national unity

for the economic war. And if the proletariat fails to stop it beforehand, capitalism will inevitably plunge humanity into a third world war even more destructive than the previous world wars, in order to overcome its internal contradictions which it finds increasingly difficult to control.

There is only one way to put an end to all of this, the one indicated by Marxism and the history of the labor movement: the road to the reprise of the class struggle, of independent class organization, of the **constitution of the proletariat as a class and thus as a party** (the *Communist Manifesto*) to lead the proletarian struggle until the victory of the international communist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a necessary step to eradicate global capitalism.

This is the path that must be prepared starting with the refusal of any unity with the capitalists and their state, any sacrifice for the interests of the bourgeois economy, any renunciation of the exclusive defense of proletarian interests, any support for military intervention, any participation in the campaigns of imperialist mobilization, even and especially when they are camouflaged behind «humanitarian» alibis.

### Down with the new imperialist intervention in the Middle East!

**No to national unity in support of imperialism!**

**For the revival of the anti-capitalist class struggle!**

**For the international communist revolution!**

(1) The American policy up to now is the defense of Iraqi unity; that's why they oppose the evacuation of Kurdish oil by a Turkish pipeline to be sold on the world market. Turkish interests are just the opposite.

(2) The French authorities also justify their military intervention by the fact that negotiations on major arms contracts are underway with Saudi Arabia. *One believes they die for their country, but one really dies for the arms merchants*, as it was said during the First World War ...

(3) Syrian rebel groups still funded by the Americans have publicly condemned the attacks on al-Nusra. This group is accusing ISIS of not really fighting the regime in Damascus and of not following Islamic principles with sufficient rigor (!); It demanded to be removed from the American list of terrorist organizations, that is, to be recognized by the United States.

## “le prolétaire”

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**Summary**

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# No to the pro-imperialist mobilization around Kurdistan!

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control of the border with Turkey: the city is a vital transit route for oil from Rakka, the provincial capital which it grabbed by chasing out the Al Nusra Front. In fact the various rebel factions are struggling not just against the regime in Damascus; they are also infighting amongst themselves to carve out the fiefdoms that they administer on behalf of their sponsors. The strength of ISIS is that it has managed through various means, including, but not limited to, the most brutal violence, to federate around itself more of these bourgeois interests than its rivals.

In addition to statements by UN officials and bourgeois political leaders in favor of the Kurds of Kobanê, appeals to the usual democratic personalities, in addition to the international mobilization of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and its allies as well as other Kurdish groups, in many countries there has been set in motion the active participation of left-wing forces, in the name of the fight against ISIS obscurantism and the urgency to avoid a «massacre» of civilians in Kobane. This involvement by the allegedly revolutionary «far left» serves, ultimately, only to vouch for the imperialist intervention in the eyes of the proletarians outraged by the actions perpetrated by the Islamists of ISIS.

We cite, for example, extracts of a leaflet by a libertarian organization active in the campaign in France, the OCL (Libertarian Communist Organization), which «explained» its position thus:

*«If we call to mobilize and amplify solidarity with the resistance of Kobanê and more generally with the struggle of the Kurdish people, it is primarily because there is an emergency and every day, every hour counts. And if the emergency affects us, it is because the liberation movement of Kurdistan – with its on the whole positive characteristics as well as others that are questionable and objectionable – appears to us today, in this region, as the main force not only to counteract the double barbarism of the Islamists and the regimes in place, but also to introduce in the Kurdish zones and many areas beyond, sufficient elements of transformation and rupture from which it becomes at least possible – and conceivable – to postulate forms of equality, of openness for these autonomous political spaces [?] appropriation of these in common [?], and advance intelligible and audible perspectives of*

*social and political liberation. This is the one condition not sufficient but necessary to inflict a setback against the barbarians through action, to again make the air breathable and this world habitable here too» (1).*

What is not *audible* in the leaflet of the OCL attacking the «dictatorships in Damascus and Baghdad», «jihadists» and «oil monarchies» is an open denunciation of imperialism. The tract critiques primarily the lack of effectiveness of US bombing (deemed «laughable» by the military experts of the OCL), and affirmed only that the imperialist coalition «*claims to be fighting to eliminate jihadists*», i.e. that it does not really fight! It is true that if we really thought that we were in the midst of a struggle against «barbarism» (George Bush would have said against the «evil empire»), we might well wish the victory of the cruise missiles and fighter-bombers «civilization»!

The OCL has probably been satisfied with the growing intensification of the US intervention over the following days.

This is certainly the view of the French Trotskyist NPA (New Anti-capitalist Party); in a statement of 19 October entitled «*Total and unconditional support to the women and men freedom fighters of Kobanê*» (2) they do not hesitate to write: «*The NPA welcomes the effectiveness of US Air Force strikes in the last 4 days.*» And saluting also «*the decision of the US staff to integrate a commander of the YPG [Kurdish militias linked to the PKK] at the headquarters of the airstrikes*» and welcoming in advance a «*shouting match with Turkey at [a meeting of] NATO*», the NPA «*denounced the spinelessness and hypocrisy of the [French] Government and the European Union*» who remain spectators to the events!

## WANT DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST? CALL ON IMPERIALISM!

A «global» day of solidarity with Kobanê was organized on November 1. In the official call that day, it was said: «*If the world wants democracy in the Middle East, it should support the Kurdish resistance in Kobanê*» (3). Who is «the world»? The appeal, a little lower, more accurately speaks of «global players»: «*It is high time to give the global players the reasons to change their minds.*» And to dispel any ambiguity about who the «players» are who should change their minds: «*The so-called international*

*coalition to fight the ISIS, have not helped Kurdish resistance effectively despite witnessing the ongoing genocide committed against Kobanê. They have not fulfilled their real international legal obligations*». We see that it is indeed an appeal to imperialism (or a pressure put on it) for a stronger military intervention in the Middle East, advancing the usual disgusting bourgeois arguments: democracy, international law, «humanity», «ongoing genocide», etc., which have always been used to justify wars.

«International legal regulations» are the set of rules that codify the relationship between bourgeois states; based on the balance of power, this international right is not respected by those, if they have the force, that it encumbers, as evidenced by the history of international relations.

«Democracy» is the system of peaceful bourgeois domination that is based on class collaboration; it is possible when capitalism is prosperous enough to buy social peace through the corruption of large areas of «labor aristocracy» and the rest of the workers of some through the concession of benefits that are only crumbs off the masses of profits accrued.

In countries where capitalism is too weak and where social tensions are very high due to the need to extract every last drop of surplus value from the masses, the bourgeois domination inevitably takes a brutal, violent, terrorist turn. The terror of the Syrian Islamists is only the counterpart to the terrorism of the state and Syrian capitalism that has been exercised without restraint for decades. ISIS crimes pale before the crimes of the regime, even today, with its murder, massacres and torture on a wide scale (as the nearly 2,000 prisoners who were murdered, often tortured to death in the jails of the regime since the beginning of the year) (4).

While the supporters of the Kurdish combatants mobilized themselves and agitated, while they demanded weapons and urged the removal of the PKK from the list of «terrorist organizations» (which registered organizations and parties who are in open struggle with imperialism and the bourgeois western states), these serious «international actors», acted on the imperialists's terrain – and in the direction they desired!

The American bombings have continued to increase (over a hundred in mid-October) and contact with the PYD (name of organization PKK in Syria) and the United States have been made public. The international press has revealed that secret and difficult negotiations were ongoing in recent weeks, (even though the Turkish government bloodily sup-



pressed Kurdish demonstrations in support of Kobané – over 30 people dead) between Turkey, the United States, the PYD and Iraqi Kurdish organizations to coordinate the defense of the city and to come to an agreement between Kurdish factions (5).

PKK/PYD obtained, essentially through the battle of Kobané, what it was looking for: its recognition by American imperialism and Western imperialism, which approved its *de facto* integration in the international coalition led by the United States.

It even got the the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) of Barzani, who heads semi-autonomous Iraqi Kurdistan, to abandon its local supporters of the Syrian KNC (Kurdish National Council, which blamed the PKK/PYD for refusal to participate in the fight against Damascus), and to recognize its pre-eminence in the Syrian Kurdish regions. Turkey, which, in the shadow of Iraqi Kurdish oil maintains close relations with the KDP (6), has made a gesture by agreeing to let the *peshmergas* (fighters) of the KDP to pass through its territory to strengthen the combatants in Kobané.

However, as a sign of the fragility of the union of the Kurdish factions, the PKK/PYD has accepted the arrival of only one hundred KDP fighters, stating they would be confined to the rear: it doesn't want to share the direction of the fighting with anyone.

### RESTRUCTURING IN PROGRESS ON THE BASIS OF RIVAL INTERESTS

We have seen that the negotiations between Turkey, the US and Kurdish factions were, and still are, difficult. Although it is part of NATO and it joined the coalition, Turkey is reluctant to let the Americans use its airfields to attack ISIS. It asked as a prerequisite to any military engagement that a «buffer zone» along its border with Syria be created which would also be a «no fly zone» (area prohibited to Syrian aviation). But the Americans refuse as this may lead to a conflict ... with Damascus!

Since the summer of 2013, in fact, US imperialism has concluded that the overthrow of Bashar Assad could lead to an uncontrollable situation in Syria, given the failure to establish an opposition force strong and reliable enough: the Libyan example shows the difficulties in reconstituting a state apparatus in a country fragmented into multiple bourgeois rival factions. The Americans are officially set with the task of forming a «moderate» Islamist opposition force to the Syrian regime, warning that the task would take «months and years»;

this leaves plenty of time to negotiate with the regime and its sponsors, Iran and Russia...

Meanwhile the risk of collapse of the Iraqi regime made them see ISIS as the real enemy to be defeated. But the bombing of Syria, where the ISIS bases are, requires a minimum of agreement with the Assad regime, which has an air force and sophisticated air defenses. Although officially denied, the US imperialists have therefore resumed contacts with the hated Syrian regime, leaving it to even intensify its attacks against insurgent groups! Similarly, Paris, still strongly stating its opposition to Damascus, has quietly approached, like it seems, other European capitals, with Syrian Security forces to ask for their help in combatting hundreds of young French people who went to fight in the Islamist ranks (7). The attempt failed because the Syrian authorities have made as a condition to their collaboration, the reopening of the French Embassy in Damascus, but the fact is significant of a turning point in western imperialist politics.

By focusing attention on the fighting in Kobané, the international media, responding obediently to the *desiderata* of US imperialism, have **hidden** the fact of the attacks of the regime against the rebels in Aleppo, Homs and elsewhere; according to the Syrian Observatory of Human Rights, no less than 553 bombings were carried out by the Syrian air force against the rebels just in the period from October 20 to 25 (8): in a well-crowded Syrian sky, US aircraft and cruise missiles and Syrian planes are not fighting, but share the task ...

For Turkey's Erdogan, conversely, the designated enemy is the Syrian regime and the various Islamist rebel factions are at least potential allies. So he bitterly criticized the United States for not attacking the forces of Damascus and renouncing the fight to make the regime of Bashar al-Assad fall. While Erdogan continues to maintain, for reasons of nationalist propaganda, the dream of the lost Ottoman Empire, Turkey nurtures real regional imperialist ambitions, and it does not want to sacrifice those to American interests. Concerned about the impact of the unrest in Syria (tens of thousands of Syrian refugees on its territory), the Turkish government further fears the creation of an independent Kurdish state, which could stir secessionist aspirations among Turkish Kurds.

Turkey gets along very well with the authorities in Iraqi Kurdistan mainly led by the KDP of Barzani, because of the oil of course, but also because they have claimed to be hostile to independence.

But their differences with the Baghdad government are constantly growing and the ISIS thrust has changed the situation. While they theoretically number in the tens of thousands and are heavily armed, the Kurdish Peshmerga have not lifted a finger to rescue the regular Iraqi army when it was attacked by ISIS; they quietly waited for its stampede to enlarge their territory by seizing the city of Kirkuk and its oil-rich surrounding region. And in late June, after Israeli authorities stepped up sensational statements in favor of an independent Kurdish state (9), Barzani told the BBC that he would hold a referendum on the independence of Iraqi Kurdistan. We have not heard such talk again, but Iraqi Kurdistan, armed by various Western imperialisms, today enjoys *de facto* independence.

### THE PKK, BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST PARTY

Created in the late 70s, the PKK is a Kurdish nationalist organization in Turkey, also present in the Turkish emigration to Europe, which commenced operations in the mid-80s for independence of Turkish Kurdistan in the Maoist guerilla mode. It has succeeded in large part in channeling to its advantage the anger of the Kurds who have always been subject to the very tangible oppression by the authorities in Ankara (long banned from speaking Kurdish, even in private, repression of any attempts towards Kurdish organization, etc.), while they make up about a fifth of the population of Turkey. In the mid-90s, the PKK abandoned its platonic references to Marxism and replaced them with references to Islam; it also gave up any demand to independence and replaced it with a call for autonomy. It now puts forward an ideology worthy of a purely democratic parliamentary party. Early in 2013 it called on his supporters to lay down their arms after the opening up of a «peace process» with the government.

For years the PKK, protected by the regime of Hafez Assad (father of the current Syrian president), had constituted a rear staging base in the Kurdish regions of Syria; its opponents accuse it of having collaborated with the Syrian intelligence services during this period in order to suppress any opposition to the regime. But a few years later a rapprochement between of Syria and Turkey led to the expulsion of the PKK militants, which led to the arrest of their leader, Ocalan, now serving a life sentence in Turkey.

The deterioration of relations with

(Continued on page 8)

# No to the pro-imperialist mobilization around Kurdistan!

(Continuation from page 7)

Turkey since the outbreak of civil war in Syria has led to a new rapprochement of the PKK and its organization in Syria (PYD) with the Damascus regime. In 2012 the regime withdrew its soldiers and police from Rojava as it had an urgent need to resist the insurgency, in practice handing over the keys to the region to the PKK/PYD: unlike other Syrian Kurdish parties and organizations it has indeed always refused to join the revolt against the regime and has maintained contacts with the Syrian authorities. It even waged bloody battles with the insurgents, both with the Islamist Al-Nusra Front, and the «moderate» pro-American Free Syrian Army to defend the borders of his territory; and inside it, it did not hesitate to suppress its political opponents: such was the case in the city of Amouda where the repression of a peaceful demonstration by the PYD in June 2013 caused several deaths and ended with the kidnapping of several opposition activists; in protest, demonstrations, sit-ins and hunger strikes were held in several places requiring the return of abductees (10).

The PKK/PYD boasts of having made, according to the new precepts of Ocalan, a «revolution» in Rojava in establishing a territorial organization... on the Swiss model! According to him this revolution has transcended the French, Russian and Chinese revolutions because of its democratic character...

In fact, the PKK/PYD is an anti-proletarian bourgeois nationalist party, which is not only unable to lead a revolution, but also to defend the interests of the exploited class: it has never hesitated to seek the support from the bourgeoisies of any State or any imperialism; its recognition by US imperialism is a further demonstration.

Contrary to what its propaganda says, relayed without batting an eyelid by its European supporters such as the so-called libertarian communists whom we mentioned at the beginning of this article, the PKK/PYD **does not** call for «no confidence in the states and the regimes in place»! It **does not** exhort «the population (...). to engage directly in the resistance, to struggle, to organize themselves, to arm themselves militarily and politically, to defend themselves socially, to coordinate their popular militias, to rely only on their own strengths and mobilize to protect their territory and their lives and repel the jihadists» (11). As a matter of fact

the population of Kobané, far from involving itself in the resistance, has fled to Turkey (12), demonstrating that the current war is not its war.

## ONLY ONE ISSUE: THE PROLETARIAN CLASS PERSPECTIVE

How could it be otherwise? This would require that there be a real revolution in motion, not a democratic pseudo-revolution à la Switzerland, but a social revolution made by the exploited and oppressed masses. In bourgeois Syria, where capitalism is the dominant mode of production, historically there is no room for another revolution other than a proletarian one, a socialist revolution.

But such a revolution could not have as its arena an area such as a small agricultural region; it should be based on a powerful class movement in large urban centers where the workers of all nationalities are concentrated; the aim of such a revolution would not be to «protect the territory» of a region, but to expand first to the whole country and then internationally to all countries; it would no longer coordinate «popular» militias, but build a class army, not just to defend itself against the reactionary jihadists, but to undermine their power by inspiring the unleashing of the class struggle within their territory. It would not create a more democratic and secular regime, but rather smash the bourgeois state and replace it with the dictatorship of the oppressed, the dictatorship of the proletariat essential to extirpate capitalism. Obviously such a revolution could not think of begging for the support of imperialism which on the contrary it must call on the proletariat to revolt against! And this revolution cannot be led by a national or nationalist party, but only by the international and internationalist proletarian party.

It is because nothing of this sort exists, that the revolt in Syria has escalated into bloody battles in which the various bourgeois forces confront each other, more or less supported by foreign sponsors; and to maintain or strengthen their grip over their partisans and the masses they have no alternative but to make maximum use of the most dominant reactionary ideology: religion.

As stated by Amadeo Bordiga, even the most serious crises of the bourgeois order can lead to a counter-revolutionary situation in the absence of the class

party (13), because this absence means that the proletariat is unable to act as an independent force: the bourgeoisie then has the discretion to overcome the crisis in its own manner.

But, it will be said, if there is no class party, no independent proletarian movement, at least one should oppose the most reactionary forces and support the most democratic? And if the American and other imperialist militaries may offer an obstacle to «barbarism» or «obscurantism» should we not support them, in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere?

This is a classic argument – choose the «lesser evil», the least bad bourgeois camp – which has been used countless times, in times of war as in time of peace, to bind the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, to prevent the emergence or strengthening of class organizations; its only result is always to deliver the workers defenseless to their executioners.

Not only it is impossible to help the oppressed masses by joining in one way or another the imperialism which is plundering and ravaging the planet, exploiting and massacring these masses around the world; but in doing so, we can only strengthen it, we can only increase the power of capitalism and weaken the most elementary resistance struggles of the proletariat. The number one enemy of the proletariat is their own bourgeoisie; to ally with it, whatever the pretext, is a **betrayal** of the proletariat.

It is not possible to actually oppose the reactionary forces, Islamist or not, by repeating bourgeois democratic programs and perspectives and accordingly to ally with bourgeois forces; but only by putting forward a program with an anti-democratic outlook, that is to say, classist, anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois, and to seek a union on this basis with the workers and the exploited masses of all nationalities and of all countries.

The Communists had established this Golden Rule in 1920: «*The Communist International has the duty of supporting the revolutionary movement in the colonies and the backward countries only with object of rallying the constituent elements of the future proletarian parties – who will be truly Communists and not only in name- in all the backward countries and educating them to a consciousness of their special task, namely, that to fight against the bourgeois-democratic trend in their own nation*» (14).

90 years later, at a time when there is no longer a Communist International to rely on, the watchwords must be complied with even greater application since



the International itself, in its degenerating, quickly forgot them. The proletariat must oppose without hesitation not only all military operations of «their» state; but any «solidarity» with the suffering people or struggles, which is outside of class positions, whether on humanitarian, democratic, nationalist or other bases, must be denounced as **anti-proletarian**. Paraphrasing what was said by the Polish revolutionary socialist Warynski about the independence of Poland (15), we could say: «there is in the world a people more unfortunate than the Kurdish people – it is the proletarians.»

This does not mean that the workers should be indifferent to the fate of the Kurds and other nationalities whose right to self-determination they must fully recognize; but it does mean that they must always defend their class interests first; and in the fight against all forms of oppression, including national oppression, against all reactionaries, including Islamists, they should never compromise on the absolute necessity of class independence and class organization, and of the unity of the proletariat over all national ethnic, religious or other divisions.

Real solidarity, not only with the Kurdish masses of Kojava, but with the proletarianized masses in Syria crushed under the reign of fire of the bombardment, or condemned by the millions to a miserable existence as refugees, is to work, here, in the heart of the imperialist metropolises, for the recuperation of the class struggle, revolutionary and internationalist, against capitalism and imperialism, and the reconstruction of its organ, the international class party.

And the essential first step is the refusal to be indoctrinated in pro-imperialist demonstrations, refusal to support non-proletarian forces and parties, refusal to adhere to non-classist perspectives.

(1) Leaflet 10/3/2014

(2) <http://www.npa31.org/actualite-politique-internationale/urgence-kobane/declaration-du-npa-31-a-manifestation-samedi-18-octobre.html>

(3) <http://peaceinkurdistancampaign.com/2014/10/21/urgent-call-for-action-global-rally-against-isis-for-kobane-for-humanity>  
Among the signatories of the appeal (various bourgeois personalities, artists, intellectuals, etc.) we find second on the list Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the same one who had blessed the transition from apartheid to a democratic regime to perpetuate the slave-like exploitation of the South African proletariat. His signature

is sufficient to characterize the appeal ...

(4) <http://syriaahr.com/en/2014/11/nearly-2000-detainees-killed-inside-the-regimes-detention-facilities/>

(5) See the detailed *Financial Times* 10/24/14 article.

(6) The two main bourgeois parties in Iraqi Kurdistan, which have fought with weapons in their hands for years, are the Barzani KDP and PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan) of Talabani formed by the merger of various parties including the former «Marxist-Leninist» Komala; Talabani has been president of Iraq since 2006 (honorary position without political power) and vice-president of the Socialist International. The PUK is close to the Iranian authorities and therefore favorable to the regime in Damascus. The Barzani clan who head the KDP has a long history of good relations with Western imperialism and Israel; it has forged close ties with Turkey and supports the opposition to the Syrian regime. In 2011 the KDP has constituted the CNK, which includes supporters of Syrian Kurdish parties in rebellion against Damascus. The PYD / PKK accuses the CNK of having abandoned the claim to autonomy of Rojava to ally with the rebels (who are hostile to it); and accuses it of being under the orders of Turkey. Various tentative agreements, never really implemented, took place between the PYD / PKK dominating the terrain because of its military organization, and the CNK.

(7) see *Le Monde*, 09/07/2014

(8) <http://syriaahr.com/en/2014/10/553-air-strikes-by-regime-warplanes-around-syria/>

(9) <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/07/iraq-crisis-israel-welcome-kurdish-state-us-turkey.html>

(10) See the press release of the TCK (Kurdish Youth Movement) which called for a «revolution» against the PYD:

<https://syriafreedomforever.wordpress.com/2013/06/23/statement-by-the-kurdish-youth-movement-tck-about-the-latest-events-in-the-city-of-amouda-and-videos-and-pictures-from-the-protests-and-sit-ins/>

(11) OCL leaflet 10/03/14.

(12) According to *Le Monde* 10/12/13/2014, there were at this time only 7-800 civilians left in Kobané out of an initial population of about 50,000.

(13) see «Activism» *Battaglia Comunista* No. 7/1952

(14) see «Theses on the National and Colonial Question» Second Congress of the Comintern, Moscow, July 1920. Jane Degras, *The Communist International*, vol 1, p. 143, 144

(15) see Jacques Droz, «General History of Socialism», PUF 1977, Volume 3, p. 324.

## El proletario Órgano del partido comunista internacional

No 5 - Octubre de 2014

- Europa y las elecciones europeas. ¡Enésimo engaño para disfrazar la brutal dictadura de la clase dominante burguesa! ¡Los proletarios de cada nación rechazan el engaño electoral y reconquistan el terreno de la lucha de clase, teniendo como perspectiva la revolución anti-capitalista, única vía en cada país para emanciparse de la vampiresca explotación burguesa!
- La monarquía de Felipe VI y la III república sólo son formas de gobierno de la clase burguesa y por lo tanto de explotación y miseria para el proletariado
- A la muerte de Santiago Carrillo (y III).
- Podemos. Un reformismo en busca de dos autores
- Miles de inmigrantes llegan a las costas españolas. ¡El capitalismo europeo sólo ofrece represión y miseria a estos esclavos modernos!
- UKRANIA: contra el nacionalismo por la unidad de clase. ¡La fuerza prima sobre el dertecho! La caída de Yanukovich no solucionará los problemas de las masas proletarias.
- Orientación práctica de acción sindical (I)

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

## el proletario

ÓRGANO DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA INTERNACIONAL

el proletario  
Nº 5  
Octubre de 2014  
el precio de ejemplar: 1,5€  
Europa: 1,5€ 3FS; América Latina: US \$ 1,5

¡Enésimo engaño para disfrazar la brutal dictadura de la clase dominante burguesa!  
Los proletarios de cada nación rechazan el engaño electoral  
Y reconquistan el terreno de la lucha de clase, teniendo como perspectiva la revolución anti-capitalista, única vía en cada país para emanciparse de la vampiresca explotación burguesa!

Tanto desde la perspectiva de la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo como desde la perspectiva de la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo, los proletarios de cada nación rechazan el engaño electoral y reconquistan el terreno de la lucha de clase, teniendo como perspectiva la revolución anti-capitalista, única vía en cada país para emanciparse de la vampiresca explotación burguesa!

LA PAZ?  
Los capitalistas usan la paz como un instrumento para la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo.

La monarquía de Felipe VI y la III República sólo son formas de gobierno de la clase burguesa y por lo tanto de explotación y miseria para el proletariado

La explotación de la fuerza de trabajo por la clase burguesa es la base de la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo por la clase burguesa. La explotación de la fuerza de trabajo por la clase burguesa es la base de la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo por la clase burguesa.

La explotación de la fuerza de trabajo por la clase burguesa es la base de la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo por la clase burguesa.

# For anti-capitalist class struggle! For the international communist revolution!

## PROLETARIANS, COMRADES!

The successive governments which alternately head the state have only one concern: to ensure the proper functioning of the capitalist economy. Right and left, «socialist» or «liberal», «reformist» or «conservative» they obey the aspirations and serve the interests, not of their electors or of «citizens» in general, but of the most powerful industrial and financial capitalist groups, who are the real masters in all countries. Democracy and all its electoral system is a smoke screen that serves to mask the reality of the division of society into classes with conflicting interests, and the **dictatorship of the ruling class** over the exploited class. According to the democratic principle, all «citizens», whether wealthy capitalists or those unemployed and thrown into the street are equal before the law and they have, through their ballots, the same opportunity to determine the orientation of state policy.

This is an absurd lie which reality contradicts each and every day! The state is a **machine for oppression** built up over centuries in the service of the ruling class that the bourgeoisie tore away from the aristocracy; it has continuously been strengthened and perfected so as to become the **collective representative of capitalism** (Engels). It is by its nature incapable of opposing capitalist interests, and *a fortiori*, to defend the exploited proletarians against their capitalist exploiters! If by chance a particular government or certain laws begin to interfere with the proper economic and political functioning of capitalism, this government is swept out of office, those laws ignored or suppressed. The historical examples are legion, including the most recent in Europe (from the junta of the colonels in Greece, to Gaullist France) and in the world.

## PROLETARIANS, COMRADES!

Only **hypocrites** or complete **imbeciles** could be indignant when «left» governments, in Italy or in Spain, Germany, France or Canada, etc., implement and carry out anti-worker policies with even more zeal than «right» gov-

ernments. The precise political function of reformism, that **agent of the bourgeoisie within the working class** (Lenin) which finds its support in the relatively privileged areas of the «labor aristocracy» is precisely to make capitalist imperatives acceptable to the workers, or failing that to at least cripple their reactions. With the **active complicity** of the trade union apparatuses and other organizations of **class collaboration** whose credo is economic patriotism, left-wing governments are more successful in this dirty work, while right-wing governments can experience more difficulties in controlling struggles. . The only thing that changes is that over the years the «compensation» and «concessions» granted to workers to push the deterioration of their living and working conditions through, are increasingly meagre.

Of course, each and every time these anti-worker and anti-social measures are presented as «temporary sacrifices» painful but inevitable steps needed to «straighten out» the country and restore its economic health. But after decades of sacrifice and anti-working class measures, capitalism has not regained its health and demands new sacrifices! In all countries, the capitalists require more and more, explaining that the profits of domestic firms are lower than those of their competitors, which handicaps them in the economic war and causes the loss of market share to the country's economy!

## PROLETARIANS, COMRADES!

This situation is not due to particular negligence by the national capitalists or the bad policies of various governments, but to the actual operation of capitalism. The continued economic growth during the three decades following the Second World War, was permitted precisely by the colossal destruction of the war. The post-war reconstruction initiated a large accumulation cycle that has continued through the opening up to capitalism of vast areas of the globe. But this remarkable expansion could only lead, as Marxists had predicted, to repeated and ever more serious crises of overproduction: the most serious of all that of 2008, has

still not been overcome. To overcome the crisis, there is only one remedy under capitalism: **increasing the exploitation** of the proletarians to claw out more surplus value and to liquidate the less profitable companies to restore the average rate of profit of the economy: This means **mass unemployment, falling real wages, increased workload** for those who have a job and **increased job insecurity for all**. Under this condition, the economy may restart... until the next crisis, because in all capitalist countries they attempt the same thing and overproduction inevitably reappears, sparking clashes between states. Finally it will arrive at the point where there is no other solution than a new generalized global war, a **third world war**, the only way to radically liquidate redundant productive forces by massive destruction, commencing with the tens of millions of workers that global capitalism cannot exploit...

Faced with this future of blood and misery that capitalism promises – and which it already imposes on the proletariat and peoples of various countries and regions of the world – faced with present and future attacks, the alternatives advanced by the reformists of the left and far-left parties are just **so much eye-wash**. There is no «other policy», opposed to the current so-called «ultra-liberalism», which would permit a return to the supposed «golden age» of economic growth (harshly paid for by the proletarians of the imperialist countries as well as by the oppressed peoples of countries under imperialism's iron fist), or which would lead to another capitalism, human and social: national capitalism knows of no alternative defense other than to attack the proletarians!

## PROLETARIANS, COMRADES!

Workers are not condemned to impotence: they are the ones who, through their labor power, make society live and create the wealth that the dominant class monopolizes. Thus they have in their hands the fate of this class and this society of exploitation. The resignation and passivity of the present are disseminated in the proletariat by the whole gigantic bourgeois propaganda apparatus; but they are also and above all

disseminated by the countless forces of democracy and class collaboration maintained by the bourgeoisie to divert growing discontent into the impasses of the electoral circus or impotent inter-classist agitation, to sabotage the struggles and divide the proletarians according to nationality, race, age, sex, corporation, etc.

The need to defend themselves against the bosses, against the capitalists and their state, however, will become increasingly compelling. But no defense is possible by following the path indicated by the reformist parties and collaborationist trade union apparatuses: **you cannot resist the capitalists through the ballot box or by pacifist demonstrations and processions, but only by the class struggle!**

This means the exclusive defense of the interests of the proletarian class, independent of all bourgeois interests (disguised as defense of the enterprise, the national economy or the public interest), with the methods and means necessary for any real class struggle (breaking and ignoring legalistic and pacifist laws, measures and methods which seek to sterilize the strength of the working class, use of direct action by workers, etc...) – including the independent organization of the struggle and its defense.

But this struggle of elemental resistance, which involves breaking with the organizers of workers' defeats – which is what the reformist parties and collaborationist organizations are, is still only the **first step** towards the revival of the general anti-capitalist struggle: the revolutionary struggle whose indispensable **organ** is the international and internationalist class party, which sets the goal of the overthrow of international capitalism, the establishment of its dictatorship as the essential step in moving towards a classless society, **communism**.

This final goal probably now seems overly distant; but it is capitalism itself which inexorably creates the objective conditions of the revolutionary crisis and then it depends on the capacity of the proletariat led by its party to emerge victorious, the possibility for humanity to escape a new World butchery and finally escape from this hell on earth which is Capitalism.

**Long live the anticapitalist proletarian struggle!**

**Long live international communist revolution!**

# The Immediate Revolutionary Program

## (General Meeting of Forli, December 28th 1952)

*The meeting of Forli (Italy) the report of which we give here took place after the separation from the «Damenist» current (Onorato Damen was the leader of this tendency)(1) in the Partito Comunista Internazionalista; it is part of a series of meetings aimed to fight against «activism», i.e. the idea according to which, whatever activity which may lead to immediate results is much more important than theory and principle; and to lay the foundations for the patient work of theoretical and programmatic restoration of Marxism which had been completely disfigured by the counter-revolution. This restoration was needed to dispel the confusion prevailing even among the few revolutionary militants, and to restore on sound bases the core of the future class party. It was not a retreat into an ivory tower, a fall into academicism or a refusal of practical intervention in the daily struggles of the working class – accusations hurled against us at the time; our current had understood that it was necessary to devote as much energy to the work of comprehensive restoration of the theory in order to base activity on solid terrain, against all and any deviation suggested by looking for an illusory quick success. As one of our texts states:*

*The revolutionary class will accomplish its task to the extent that it will act in all its immense struggle according to a stable doctrine and method, equipped with a monolithic program, regardless of the extremely variable number of militants and the success of various phases in the social turmoil.*

*(1)The Damenist current still exists today in the form of the Internationalist Communist Tendency, of which the main sections are the Communist Workers Organization (Great Britain) and the Partito Comunista Internazionalista (Italy).*

### I. THEORY AND ACTION

1. In the present situation, in which revolutionary energy has sunk to the lowest level, the party's practical task is to examine the historical path of the struggle. It is an error to define this study as a literary and intellectual exercise and to contrast it to one form or other of intervention in the struggle of the masses.

2. For those who agree that the current politics of the Stalinists are totally anti-classist and anti-revolutionary and that the collapse of the 3rd International was more serious than that of the 2nd in 1914, there are two positions from which to choose: they can admit that something in the platform shared by the Italian left, the Comintern at its beginning, Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the October victors has become obsolete, or maintain, as we do, that the only obsolete positions are those that the Italian left has had to combat since that time, while all those that the Russians subsequently betrayed remain fully legitimate.

3. Faced with the faltering of the Western revolutionary movement after World War I, the communist movement committed a grave mistake in its vain attempts to force the situation to evolve into an insurrection and dictatorship of the proletariat by resorting to democratic, legalitarian and workerist measures. This mistake which was widely practised, supposedly at the heart of the working class,

at the fringe of contact with the social traitors of the 2nd International, was bound to develop into a new form of social and political collaboration with capitalist forces, both nationally and worldwide, into a new opportunism and betrayal.

4. The influence of enemies and traitors was reinforced under the guise of strengthening the influence of the revolutionary party, with its robust theoretical and organizational basis. Instead of conquering the majority, as was dreamt, the solid historical core of the party was lost. The lesson learned is to not carry out the same manoeuvre nor to follow the same method. This is no small lesson.

5. In 1946, at the end of World War II, it was futile to look for a situation as fertile as in 1918, since the counter-revolutionary degeneration was much more serious; there were no large nuclei of proletarians able to remain aloof from the war-time military, political and partisan bloc, and the policy of the victorious countries toward the conquered nations was different from 1918 – they were occupied under a police regime. The situation in 1946 was clearly as unfavorable as the one that followed the great defeats of the Communist League in 1849 and the 1st International in 1871.

6. A sudden return of the masses to effective organization for a revolution-

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# The Immediate Revolutionary Program

(Continuation from page 11)

ary offensive is unthinkable. In these conditions the best outcome in the next few years would be the reaffirmation of the genuine proletarian communist goals and demands and the confirmation of the lesson we have learned from history: that improvising tactics for every new situation under the pretext of exploiting unexpected new facts is defeatism.

7. Stupid actualist-activism that adapts its actions and initiatives to the immediate circumstances of the day is true party existentialism. It must be banished to allow a bridge to be built to link the past and the future and so that the guiding principle that the party established once and for all—forbidding members and above all leaders from embarking on all the tendentious research into and discovery of «new paths».

8. This retrograde tendency; especially when it defames and deserts the work of doctrinal and theoretical restoration, as necessary today as it was for Lenin in 1914-18, assuming that action and struggle are everything, leads to the destruction of Marxist dialectics and determinism, substituting the immense historical research of the rare moments and crucial points in history on which the communist movement must rely, for a frenzied voluntarism which is the worst and crassest adaptation to the status quo and its miserable immediate perspectives.

9. All the methods of these vulgar practitioners aren't new forms of an original political method: they only mimic old anti-marxist positions and idealism, in the manner of B. Croce, which states that no scientific law can predict the historical process that «is always right» in its rebellion against every rule and any forecast on the evolution of human society.

10. Thus what must be brought to the fore is the reaffirmation, supported by our classic party texts, of the integral Marxist conception of history, of the revolutions which have taken place until today and, of the nature of those to come, whereby the proletariat will overthrow capitalism and institute new social forms. In the first place, the original positions must be set out again in all their strength, as they have existed for at least a century, thus liquidating all the banalities affirmed even by many people who are not in the Stalinist swamp, but who pass off bourgeois and popular demands likely to assure their demagogic success—as communist.

11. Such a task is long and difficult,

occupying years and years, and on the other hand the reversal of the world relationship of forces will take decades. Stupid haste and the spirit of falsely revolutionary adventurism must be rejected and scorned, as they characterize precisely those that do not know how to hold to a revolutionary position and, as many examples from the history of deviations show, leave the correct road to pursue equivocal alleyways offering illusory immediate success.

## II. IMMEDIATE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

1. The gigantic revival of the proletarian movement after WW1, whose potency was manifested on the world scale and which organized itself into a solid party in Italy in 1921, demonstrated clearly that the urgent postulate was the seizure of political power, and that the proletariat cannot do so by legal means but only by armed insurrection, that the best opportunity arises from the military defeat of one's own country, and that the political form following victory is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Social and economic transformation occurs after, the dictatorship being the primary condition.

2. The Communist Manifesto established that successive social measures that appear as possible or are implemented «despotically» differ—it will be a very long road to full communism—depending on the level of development of the productive forces in the country where the proletariat has won and the speed with which this victory extends to other countries. It indicated the measures that were appropriate for the most advanced European countries in 1848, and emphasized that these did not constitute the whole of the socialist program, rather a number of measures that it qualified as transitional, immediate, variable and, essentially, «contradictory».

3. Subsequently (and this was one of the elements that drove some to claim that Marxist theory was not stable, but had to be continuously redeveloped as a function of history) many of the measures then ascribed to the proletarian revolution were undertaken by the bourgeoisie itself in various countries, such as compulsory education, the State Bank, etc...

But this doesn't entitle anyone to believe that the precise laws and predictions of Marxism regarding the transition from the capitalist mode of production to socialism and all their economic, social and political forms should be al-

tered. It meant only that in the first post-revolutionary period—the economy of the transition to socialism, preceding the lower stage of socialism, and subsequently the final, higher stage of socialism, or full communism—had changed and become a little less difficult.

4. Classical opportunism claimed to believe that all these measures, from the first to the last, could be applied by the bourgeois democratic state under the pressure of the proletariat or even through the legal conquest of power. But in this case, these «measures» would have been adopted in the interests of bourgeois preservation and to delay the downfall of capitalism, if they were compatible with it, and if they were incompatible, the State would never implement them.

5. Today's opportunism, with the formula of popular and progressive democracy in the framework of constitutional parliamentarism, fills a historical task that is different and worse still. Firstly, it deludes the proletariat into believing that some of its own measures can be integrated into the program of a multi-party State representing all classes, that is, it manifests the same defeatism as the Social-democrats of yesterday against the class dictatorship. Next and above all, it pushes the organized masses to fight for «popular and progressive» social measures, which are directly opposed to those that the proletarian power has always advocated, since 1848 and the Manifesto.

6. Nothing better shows the ignominy of such an involution than a list of measures that would now be formulated for a Western capitalist country, upon the realization of the seizure of power, to replace (after a century) those of the Manifesto, although its most characteristic measures would still be included.

7. These demands are as follows:

a) «Divestment of capital»; a massive reduction of the part of products composed of means of production, with the target being increased means of consumption.

b) «Increase of production costs» in order to be able to give higher wages for less work time, as long as salary, the market and money exist.

c) «Draconian reduction of the work day» to at most half or less its present length by absorbing the unemployed and those engaged in anti-social activities.

d) After a reduction of the volume of production by a plan of «underproduction», concentrating production in the most necessary areas, «au-

thoritarian control of consumption» to fight the promotion of useless, voluptuary and harmful goods and to abolish activities that propagate a reactionary psychology.

e) «Rapid abolition of the limits of the enterprise» with an authoritarian transfer not of personnel but of means of labor, with a view to a new consumption plan.

f) «Rapid abolition of welfare» of the monetary type to be replaced by social provisions up to an initial minimum for those who cannot work.

g) «A halt to construction» of housing and industry on the outskirts of big and even small cities as a first step towards a more uniform distribution of the population over the surface of the earth.

Reduction of congestion, speed and volume of traffic by prohibiting unnecessary travel.

h) «Resolute struggle against professional specialization» and social division of labor through the abolition of careers and titles.

i) Closer to the political domain, obvious immediate measures to subordinate the school, the press, all means of communication and information, as well as all entertainment and leisure networks, to the communist State.

8. It is not surprising that Western communist parties and their equivalents call for precisely the opposite not only in their «institutional» (i.e., legal-political) demands, but also in their «structural» (i.e., socio-economic) demands.

This enables them to work in concert with the party that rules the Russian state and its satellites – a party which is horrified only by the fear of a return to medieval feudalism. The social transformation they are undertaking is from pre-capitalism to full capitalism, with the full array of purely bourgeois ideological, political, social and economic demands this implies. The western renegades are a hundred times more loathsome than their eastern counterparts. The feudal danger is still physical and real in Asia, but no longer exists in the West, particularly the capitalist fortress across the Atlantic which, bloated with conceit, crushes the proletarians of the world under the boot of its liberal, UN-sanctioned civilization.

## Down with the latest criminal abuses by the Israeli state! Solidarity with the Palestinian proletarian masses!

On Thursday, June 12 evening three youths; Gilad Shaar, Yifal Efrad and Naftali Frankel were abducted by two militants suspected to have links to Hamas, the Islamic political organization, while they were hitchhiking at a crossroads near Gush Etzion, an Israeli colonial settlement in Palestinian territory. From that moment, it took 18 days before the bodies of the three young settlers were found. During these 18 days at least six Palestinians were killed in the West Bank (including a child), along with no less than 600 arbitrary arrests, the closure of numerous centers and associations, including burglary and theft against the foreign media (1), the closure of roads and other forms of abuse by the Israeli army against the people under the pretext of search and capture of the abductors.

It was also two weeks of a policy of aggression and intimidation from the Government of Israel accusing Hamas of what happened, threats of possible retaliation to completely destroy this organization; and calls to officials of the Palestinian Authority (PA) of Abu Mazen (Mahmoud Abbas) that they distance themselves and break the unity of the Palestinian bourgeoisie (2). It was not surprising to see Abu Mazen rushing to publicly condemn the kidnapping and open up the possibility of a break with Hamas;

Fundamentalist, reactionary and anti-working class organization Hamas has said that it is uninvolvement in the case, while its exiled leader, Khaled Meshaal, said that while totally ignoring what had happened, he supported all actions

against the Israeli occupation (3). That is to say, those directed against the proletariat, the petty-bourgeois or the military, implying thereby that every Jew is a target.

Janin Zoabi, a member of the Israeli parliament and a member of its «Arab coalition», said that Hamas are not terrorists but freedom fighters (4), causing the call for his public lynching: in different social networks many have called for his death.

Throughout these two long weeks, members of the radical right and fascist Zionists who hold the upper hand with the complicity of government used statements by Janin Zoabi to launch inflamed racist tirades that seem to be a parody of Third Reich propaganda. (5)

«Death to the Arabs», «They are all enemies!» «Kill the traitors!» «A good Arab is a dead Arab» «The death penalty for the mejablim (terrorists in Hebrew)»; and after the bodies were found, a new wave of «Death to the Arabs», «The army should burn them all», «Hating Arabs is not racism, it's values» And many other racist expressions that have penetrated the Jewish proletariat and the broad middle classes, making them complicit in this racist delirium. (6)

### STATE MANEUVERS

On Sunday, June 30, around 5:00 p.m., in the village of Halul near Hebron, three bodies were found, thanks to the incorporation of civilian squadrons into the military forces (7). Shortly after it was confirmed that it was the three youths who had been kidnapped. The govern-

ment held a special meeting to decide how to respond. Prime Minister Netanyahu promised retaliation, and attacks on Gaza and the demolition of the houses of alleged offenders (8) began.

After the interment of the youths, during the funeral mass, some facts unknown to the public came to light. The most important of all is the recording of the telephone call from one of the hostages to the police to inform them of the kidnapping; then the sound of gunfire, apparently cries of pain from the youths and of joy from the abductors (9). All this only confirms the suspicions of a deliberate murder because at no time did the kidnappers put forward any demands, and no organization has claimed responsibility for the abduction.

In other words, the Government knew almost with certainty that the youths had been killed, but nevertheless used media scoundrels, and its mercenary rabble, to justify an operation conducted jointly with the corrupt and sell-out PA (10) to dismantle the Hamas party in the West Bank, which was the main target of Netanyahu (11), and thereby strengthen the domination of its puppets in unfortunate occupied Palestine. But it is and it will always be the Palestinian Arab proletariat which suffers the direct consequences of all this: assassinations, expropriations, arbitrary detentions and innumerable sufferings are the daily bread of the Palestinian population. And once again all this in full sight of the whole world, without sparking any reactions in the so-called «democratic countries»...

(Continued on page 14)

## Down with the latest criminal abuses by the Israeli state! Solidarity with the Palestinian proletarian masses!

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### TERRORISM...

The kidnappers have not been found, but they already have been named by the Israeli media: Marwan Abu Eisha Kawasme and Amar, two militants of the Islamist group Hamas, who in the past were held in Israeli prisons. It is true that the murder of three young people, including two minors, simply because they were Jews, with no defined political objective, is a criminal imbecility, inspired by the method of racial hatred that ultra-nationalist, reactionary and anti-working class, Islamic fundamentalism inculcated in its activists, young people with no future or prospects. But the fact remains that these attacks are based on a real and tangible material base.

The occupation by the Israeli settler state that foments national oppression and which enlists the Palestinian bourgeoisie represented by the PA to oppress the vast Palestinian proletariat, with Israeli companies paying below the Israeli minimum wage in the occupied territories, resulting in an increase in the poverty that has already caused protests and strikes against the Palestinian Government, coupled with the oppression and blockade of the Gaza Strip turning it into a veritable ghetto: all this inevitably leads to desperate reactions.

The discontent of the Palestinian proletariat with a Palestinian Authority and the corrupt nationalist organizations has indeed been recuperated by pan-Islamic fascist type organizations, who promised to fight against corruption and to break with the defeatists of Fatah; Unfortunately proletarian forces could not find the path to the class struggle due to the absence of the class party, caused by the defeats inflicted on the proletariat for decades especially by Stalinism, gravedigger of the October Revolution and all-round falsificator of the Communist program. These are the same opportunists who today support the PA and who approve the terrorist violence of the Zionist State! Forming a national Government with the reactionary and anti-working class Islamists! These are the same ones who sang the praises of Stalin, the father of the peoples!

### AND SCOUNDRELS...

Today, Jewish nationalism has claimed another victim, Mohamed Abu Khdir, 16, abducted and burned alive

and abandoned in a forest outside of Jerusalem, apparently by Jewish extremists to avenge the death of the three young colonists (12);

Today when some organizations of the extreme Zionist right launch out into the streets shouting «Death to Arabs» and battering every Arab they meet (13), the shit Israeli media speak only of the errors of the police in finding the kidnapped Jewish youths, (14) and publish countless pictures and publications in different social networks inciting racial hatred against Arabs, while they speak nothing of the dead in Palestine or the pain of Palestinian mothers which has not been brought before the UN (15);

Today when the different fractions of the Israeli left are calling for calm, organizing events to show that everyone is not for violence (16); that they are for peace, and that we must reconcile the two peoples through negotiation - that is to say reconcile two bourgeoisies who are actually already in agreement against the proletarians, clearly demonstrating the need to reaffirm that pacifists will always eventually end up joining the warmongers: this is why the perfectly natural response of the children of the Palestinian proletarians, who took to the streets to throw stones, destroy surveillance cameras, burn tires and erect barricades in memory of a child martyr, is condemned by pacifists as excess not contributing to social peace! (17);

Today when the Israeli terrorist bombing of Gaza is multiplying with dozens of victims among the population, while the bourgeois Arab states show their indifference or open complicity (Egypt) with the Jewish state;

Today when the imperialist scoundrels give carte blanche to the Israeli Government by condemning only the firing of rockets by Hamas (launched at random in the direction of the Israeli towns, they are in no way a military threat against Israel, but aimed at the civilian population, they ultimately serve only to weld the Jewish population around its leaders against the «terrorists») (18);

Today, what should be denounced and against which we must fight, is the occupation and colonization, the injustices and deportations, oppression and violence suffered daily by Palestinians, and by the Palestinian proletariat in the first instance. This violence which, because of the delinquency of all the so-called left or «Marxist» organizations

who all capitulated before bourgeois peace and order and who have placed themselves at the service of the counter-revolution, feeds a reactionary movement opposed to the class interests of proletarians in Palestine who only see their Israeli class brothers as targets of the nationalist and capitalist fighting. This is the tragedy of proletarian masses deprived of any class organization and left isolated in the face of oppression.

Exploited in all countries, whether in Israel, Lebanon, Jordan or the West Bank, Palestinian proletarians are the living expression that the proletarians have no nation. The fight against national oppression and capitalist exploitation from which they suffer can only be achieved only through a long and difficult road to place themselves on class positions, to form their own independent proletarian organizations, and work towards the International Communist revolution in close liaison with the proletarians of the region and the world.

The use of the methods of the class struggle, the resumption of the class struggle, is a condition for collaboration between Jewish and Arab workers; but this collaboration will not happen until the proletarians of the dominant nation – the Jewish proletarians of Israel – find

## « Il Comunista »

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### Nell'interno

- Sul periodo attuale e i compiti dei rivoluzionari
- Riforma del mercato del lavoro (Jobs Act). Si estende e si intensifica la precarietà del salario aumentando la concorrenza tra proletari. La via d'uscita non è in un'altra riforma, ma nella ripresa della lotta di classe contro il capitalismo!
- Ferguson, Usa: un episodio della guerra fra le classi
- Allarmismo ebola in Spagna
- La violenza ufficiale fa l'ennesima vittima: assassinato a Napoli un ragazzo disarmato!
- La morte di Maria Baratto non è stato suicidio, ma omicidio di Stato
- L'opportunismo, nemico mimetizzato
- La donna e il socialismo (A. Bebel)
- La teoria marxista della moneta (3)
- Già nel 1851, la Regina Vittoria d'Inghilterra, inaugurando l'Esposizione Universale di Londra, si inchinava all'industria moderna perché... abbatté dappertutto le barriere nazionali
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the strength to break from class collaboration with their criminal bourgeoisie, to express their opposition to the national oppression over the Palestinians exercised in their name, and their solidarity with their class brothers. Then, they will be able to unite with the proletariat of other countries for a common goal: the overthrow of bourgeois States and the establishment of the international dictatorship of the proletariat in order to liquidate the capitalist system, the only method to end all injustices, all oppressions, to end all antagonisms and all national, racial or religious conflicts which are their consequences.

In this perspective the role of the proletariat of the large imperialist countries is particularly crucial because it is the support of «their» state, of «their» bourgeoisie that allows the Israeli government to have a free hand against the Palestinian masses; the best support they can give to the proletarians and the Palestinian masses is in the open resumption of the anti-capitalist struggle in the effective realization of the union of class with their foreign class brothers, so in total rupture with democratic nationalist or xenophobic interclassism, to give life to proletarian internationalism.

**For the unity of all proletarians!**

### **For reconstitution of the international class party!**

### **For the world communist revolution!**

07/11/2014

(1) <http://rt.com/news/167628-israel-raid-rt-office/>

(2) <http://www.jerusalemonline.com/news/middle-east/israeli-palestinian-relations/abu-mazen-we-are-committed-to-locating-the-kidnapped-boys-6040>

The PA which controls the West Bank and Hamas which controls Gaza have recently signed an unity agreement, angering the Israeli government because it allowed some flexibility of maneuver by the PA in relation to its Israeli master.

(3) <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4533751,00.html>

(4) <http://www.jpost.com/Pillar-of-Defense/Zoabi-Kidnappers-are-not-terrorists-theyre-fighting-occupation-359609>

(5) <http://www.i24news.tv/en/news/israel/diplomacy-defense/36075-140702-security-council-condemns-murders-of-israeli-teens>

(6) <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/1.602661>

(7) <http://www.jpost.com/Opera->

tion-Brothers-Keeper/Large-number-of-IDF-forces-gather-north-of-Hebron-in-search-for-kidnapped-teens-361048

(8) <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4536477,00.html>

(9) <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4536301,00.html>

(10) <http://mondoweiss.net/2014/06/ramallah-palestinian-authority.html>

(11) <http://dailysurge.com/2014/06/israel-will-stop-hamas-completely-destroyed/>

(12) <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.603493>

(13) [http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter\\_article.php?id=18553](http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_article.php?id=18553)

(14) (15) <http://www.unwatch.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=bdK-KISNqEmG&b=1316871&ct=14002115>

(16) <http://maki.org.il/%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%A4%D7%99%D7%9D%D7%91%D7%94%D7%A4%D7%92%D7%A0%D7%94-%D7%91%D7%AA%D7%9C-%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%91/>

(17) <http://www.maavak.org.il/maavak/?article=1243>

(18) Obama at the White House Iftar dinner on July 14: «Israel has the right to defend itself against what I consider to be inexcusable attacks from Hamas.» [http://edition.cnn.com/2014/07/14/politics/white-house-iftar-dinner-mideast/index.html?hpt=hp\\_c2](http://edition.cnn.com/2014/07/14/politics/white-house-iftar-dinner-mideast/index.html?hpt=hp_c2)

## **Ukraine: Against nationalism! For proletarian class unity!**

### **«MIGHT IS RIGHT»**

Such is the meaning, according to a representative of a Western country to the UN, of the March 15th Russian veto of a resolution condemning the referendum in Crimea over the annexation of the region by Russia.

But in fact it is not only the action of Russia in Ukraine, but all relations between states which satisfy this adage. Russia has not complied with the treaty it had signed with Ukraine, the United States and Great Britain, securing the borders of this newly independent country in return for its renunciation of nuclear weapons remaining on its territory after the disappearance the USSR; but **all** treaties are only scraps of paper, which are only of value as long as it is in the interests of the signatories to respect them! The French government, so respectful of international law and the UN was nevertheless prepared to attack Syria without any UN decision a few months ago; same as the US actually did in Iraq, or the Europeans in Yugoslavia,

and Israel has done since its inception, etc. etc.

Bourgeois propagandists who denounce the Russian annexation of the Crimea as «*the first military annexation in Europe for 70 years*»; «forget» that the largest annexation accomplished in Europe since the Second World War was of the GDR by West Germany! Since the collapse of the USSR under the blows of a very deep recession, «legally intangible» and internationally recognized borders of many European States have been amended and some States have even disappeared, sometimes peacefully, sometimes in the midst of armed conflicts and wars involving the major powers. The case of the Crimea is by no means an exception...

But the case of Crimea caused an international political crisis and its consequences are likely to be long-lasting. The major European countries, led by Germany, have not enjoyed being presented with a *fait accompli*, and seeing their offers of negotiation contemptuously rejected by Moscow. However,

the economic interests of both sides are too strong for the crisis to lead, let's not say to an open war which nobody wants, but to a new «cold war» evoked by the media.

Russia has a vital need to sell its gas to Europe, its banks are heavily involved in Ukraine and Western investments are a necessity to develop a still very weak economy. Germany does not want to lose its investment in the Russian market, where it has implanted itself widely since the demise of the USSR; and, as with Italy, albeit to a lesser extent than Poland, it cannot do without Russian gas and oil. As for France, which has also invested in Russia (for instance, Renault has invested into the main local car firm) despite government statements on sanctions to be imposed, it does not intend to waive its «military cooperation» with Russia which was concretized in the very profitable sale of military vessels: French president has stated that France honored its contracts. As billions of euros

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## Ukraine: Against nationalism! For proletarian class unity!

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are at stake, it may well allow a violation of the so-called international law! In the United States, large corporations, oil among others, have made representations to Obama that sanctions which could be detrimental to their interests not be applied against Russia...

«Right» is only the sanctioning of a **relationship of forces**, and when the balance of power changes, the law is worthless: here is the very valuable lesson of which Putin has reminded the world. This applies not only to relations between states, or between economic powers, but also to the relationship between **social classes**. Confrontations between classes are not resolved according to the principles of legality and law, but according to the actual relationship of forces. Workers must not be paralyzed by the law and bourgeois legality which are the legal sanctioning of

their subjugation to capitalism. They need to rebuild their class strength class in order to oppose the enemy class frontally, regardless of nationality, language or ethnicity, and whatever norms are imposed by legality. The bourgeoisie itself does not hesitate for one second to violate its own laws against the workers, it does not hesitate to use para-legal forces, right-wing gangs and various thugs to assist the forces of legal repression: against this repression the proletarians must therefore organize their own self-defense and not rely on the police and the justice of the bourgeois state.

Today there is a profusion of nationalism on both sides; the provisional government of Kiev, beset by many difficulties and faced with extremely serious problems (notably debt) has already warned that sacrifices would be necessary to put the economy back on track. The only solution it has to motivate these future **anti-worker** attacks, is to play the nationalist card. In this respect the Russian intervention is a real **boon** for it in trying to create a climate of national unity!

On the other hand, Putin praises

Russian nationalism by presenting himself as the protector or the liberator of Russians and Russian speakers in Ukraine, while in the eastern regions of Ukraine, the capitalists call for regional unity to face-down Kiev.

But the nationalist intoxication won't be able to mask the reality of class antagonisms forever. Ukrainian proletarians will be forced to enter into struggle to survive, as they have already done forcefully in the past. Then they will see in fact that their enemy is not the proletariat from another region or another nation, but their own bourgeoisie, allied to a particular imperialist power. When the miasma of nationalism dissipates, then the **union of the proletarian class will reappear across all borders** against the capitalists, their parties and states with their legal and illegal forces of repression, and reconstitute the **international revolutionary** party to lead the struggle.

Then there will resound again in Ukraine as elsewhere, the class war cry of 1848:

**PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

March 16, 2014

## Ukraine: The fall of Yanukovych will not solve the problems of the proletarian masses

Since late November, Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine has been the site of mass demonstrations in Independence Square (the *Maidan*) to protest against the government's decision to sign an economic agreement with Russia rather than the European Union.

The economic and social situation in Ukraine is precarious. Yanukovych won the presidential elections, promising to go back on the antisocial «reforms» of his predecessor, the famous Yulia Tymoshenko, blond idol of the Western media.

But with an economy on its knees, choked by a short-term debt in excess of its financing capabilities, the Ukrainian government refused, for fear of a social explosion, to follow IMF recommendations of drastic cuts in social benefits and sought to negotiate parallel economic aid with both the EU and with the USSR. Among other items the Ukrainian negotiators demanded from the EU was financial compensation for the loss of its markets with Russia if the Ukraine signed an agreement with Europe.

Finally, the Russian proposals be-

ing more favorable, an agreement with Russia was signed: the latter has promised \$15 billion without binding constraints, unlike the IMF, «*neither an increase nor a decrease or freeze in benefits, pensions, scholarships or expenditures,*» according to statements by Putin himself (1).

But the illusions of a rapprochement with the EU (although for EU officials, there was never any question of integration of Ukraine into the EU, but simply an «association agreement») were such that the signing of the agreement – which is still preliminary – with Russia, sparked demonstrations. Initially small, these demonstrations gradually gained amplitude until they involved perhaps hundreds of thousands of people.

From mid-January, they took on a new character because of repression by the authorities, not only the police brutality «usual» in such cases, but also the voting of very repressive laws and the use of thugs to attack the demonstrators, some of whom have «disappeared» after being abducted (apparently there are dozens of such

cases). Pro-European demands gave way to an expression of widespread discontent resulting in the demand for the departure of President Yanukovych.

After the economic disaster in the 90s that followed the disappearance of the USSR (according to a report from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, at the end of those years, the country's GDP was only 37% of what it had been in 1990); the Ukraine then experienced a period of economic growth which has increased inequalities; a handful of wealthy capitalists – the «oligarchs» – seized most of the wealth of the country, financing the various parties represented in parliament to defend their interests (2). The discontent of the population was such that in 2004 a so-called «Orange Revolution», supported by the Americans, overthrew then-President Kuchma. But the new authorities (including Tymoshenko) quickly disappointed the population by imposing austerity measures and a new political crisis broke out in 2006, opening the way to Yanukovych. In 2008-2009 the international capitalist

crisis hit the Ukraine hard (GDP was down nearly 15% in 2009), and the economic recovery is still pending (2013 was a year of recession after zero growth in 2012)(3).

A country of 46 million people, Ukraine is divided into an eastern part where heavy industry is concentrated and whose population is often Russian-speaking, and a less populated and predominantly agricultural western part, which is traditionally rather hostile to Russia. Internally divided, the country is also the target of the rival capitalist appetites of the Eastern and Western powers. If the European Union authorities do not want the integration of Ukraine at any cost because of the insurmountable problems that this would imply for European finances and institutions, Germany, Poland and the other countries of Central Europe are interested primarily in maintaining the stability of this country, along with the market it represents. The United States has not remained inactive and is working to cut the country's ties with Russia. For its part, the latter for obvious geopolitical reasons, wants to keep Ukraine in her lap. Unofficial voices have even been raised in Moscow to warn that a grave crisis in Ukraine leading up to partition, could result in a war whose objective would be to annex the Crimea where the Russian Black Sea fleet is based...

The various imperialist powers have been maneuvering in recent days to influence the course of events. After the massacre of 19 February which left dozens dead (around 90 including a dozen police), an agreement was signed between the government and opposition parties under the auspices of the German, Polish and French Ministers of Foreign Affairs and a Russian envoy. But the ink on the agreement had not dried when Yanukovych, noting that his followers had abandoned him and that the police and the army had left him in the lurch, ran away and was soon after removed by a vote of parliament. A provisional government was appointed under the leadership of the party of Tymoshenko, released after two years in prison for alleged embezzlement.

The Maidan protesters, initially mostly students, were mainly from the middle classes, petty bourgeois faced with economic difficulties; although proletarians have probably participated, they were drowned in this interclass protest including « *unemployed people as well as the CEO of Microsoft Ukraine* » (4) under the banner of de-

mocracy and Ukrainian nationalism. Gradually as time has passed, the traditional opposition parties have been increasingly discredited by their attempts to compromise with the government and the extreme right, ultra-nationalist, Christian and neo-fascist organizations gained importance among the demonstrators. These groups have a paramilitary organization and it is they who took the initiative to occupy various government buildings, while on the Maidan square they were hunting down any leftist organizations.

The Ukrainian working class, which has behind it a rich history of struggle (it's enough just to recall the great miners' strikes in the Donbass, thirty years ago) has been absent as such throughout these dramatic events: there were no strikes, or other significant events in the large industrial centers of the country. Admittedly, this is probably at least partly due to regional divisions exacerbated by the government parties (the East part of the country massively voted for Yanukovych against Tymoshenko in the presidential elections of 2010). But the fact remains that the demands and perspectives advanced by the bourgeois political forces which have been at the head of the opposition movement, had little to attract the proletarians subjected to harsh exploitation (the legal working week in industry is 48 hours, the average monthly wage less than 200 euros, the official unemployment rate of 8%, after peaking at 15 % in the mid-90s). However, the absence of the proletariat as a force present in the Ukrainian political crisis is ultimately the result of the total absence of any classist organization that represents and defends its interests.

The petty bourgeois layers are also victims of the crisis of capitalism, and they sometimes mobilize even before the proletariat, as we have seen in recent months in several countries around the globe. But as their existence is linked to the capitalist mechanism of the extortion of profit, they are inherently unable to advance other perspectives than chimeras of improving the functioning of the bourgeois economy, of a democratic capitalism and the disappearance of class antagonisms. The proletariat is the only class that is able to provide a definitive solution to the misery and suffering of the masses, including the petty bourgeois, by the overthrow of capitalism, and until they have sufficient strength for this revolutionary outcome, to extract, even temporarily,

concessions from the capitalists by means of overt class struggle. The entry into open struggle of the proletariat has as a consequence the ability to rally around it at least a portion of the petty-bourgeois masses in the process of proletarianization. But if it fails to engage in the struggle, if it fails to free itself from the collaborationist forces of all types which cripple it, the bourgeoisie will inevitably turn the rage of the petty bourgeoisie against it, to crush it down even more, to further increase its exploitation.

Designated victim of the resolution of the current political crisis in which it did not take part, the Ukrainian proletariat will have to suffer in the short term heavy attacks on the part of the bourgeoisie, regardless of which new team is in power: there is no other way to shore up the national capitalism. Like its class brothers in all countries, it can only respond by smashing the nationalist, democratic or regional fetters that tie it to the interests of capitalism, by taking the path of independent class struggle, by restoring the class organizations it requires, and, in particular, the supreme organ which is the real **class party**, the antithesis of the bourgeois party which calls itself the «Communist Party of Ukraine».

This is a task that cannot be accomplished overnight and will not be conducted within national boundaries, a difficult but exalting task that is the only realistic one:

**The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win!**

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(1) See: Catherine Samary, «Ukrainian society caught between its oligarchs and its troika» [http:// alencontre.org/video/ la-societe-ukrainienne-entres-es-oligarques-et-a-sa-troika-2. html](http://alencontre.org/video/la-societe-ukrainienne-entres-es-oligarques-et-a-sa-troika-2.html)

2) In Parliament the «Party of Regions» of the oligarch Yanukovych has for an ally the Communist Party while in opposition there is the «Fatherland» party of oligarch Yulia Tymoshenko, the «Oudar» party (Punch) led by a former boxer and praised by European Governments, and the «Svoboda» (Freedom) far-right nationalist party funded by another oligarch.

(3) See Catherine Samary, cit.

(4) See: [http:// pratelekomunizace. wordpress. com/ 2014/ 02/ 19/ maidan- and- its- contradictions- interview- with- a- ukrainian- revolutionary- syndicalist/](http://pratelekomunizace.wordpress.com/2014/02/19/maidan-and-its-contradictions-interview-with-a-ukrainian-revolutionary-syndicalist/)

## The monarchy of Felipe VI or the Third Republic are only forms of government of the bourgeois class, and therefore of exploitation and misery for the proletariat

The abdication of King Juan Carlos in favor of his son Felipe has no other purpose than the restructuring of certain aspects of the form of the State. 6 years of economic crisis, together with the corruption scandals of the royal family and the increasingly pronounced discontent of broad sectors of society towards the monarchy, were enough to challenge the current model; which coming about during the period of transition from Francoism to democracy, has for 39 years played its role in ensuring the submission of the proletariat to the requirements of the bourgeoisie under the cloak of democratic collaboration between classes.

After the death of Franco, a previous crisis – the so-called oil crisis –, caused a significant increase in clashes between proletarians and bourgeois on the terrain of the immediate struggle for wages and living conditions, as well as some «social» issues that had generated a groundswell of tensions in the last years of the dictatorship (the situation of women, the Basque and Catalan questions, etc...). In addition, the example of neighboring Portugal where the long colonial war had finally put an end to the dictatorship and rendered the struggle of broad layers of the working class uncontrollable, weighed like an infernal specter on the spirits of the Spanish and European bourgeoisies. The so-called «democratic transition» was a great social pact dominated by the figure of the king, but actually led by the simultaneous support of European and American bourgeoisies and collaboration of all sectors of the regime and the opposition. Its purpose was to act as a guarantor of the Government of the bourgeoisie which have to deal with the aggravation of the class struggle, at the same time as to address the urgent need to reorganize the strategic sectors of the national economy to defend its position in inter-imperialism competition; a task that would not be carried out if the State form had continued to be that of the «organic democracy» operating since the end of the civil war.

It was necessary to achieve democratic reform in order to give a semblance of reality to the fiction that the proletariat could see its aspirations fulfilled not by struggle, but by collaboration with the

bourgeoisie guaranteed by elections, a parliament, a constitution and a parliamentary monarchy. It was an indispensable condition to demand sacrifices from the proletariat for the supposed common good through the democratization of the state and the smooth running of the economy. The German bourgeoisie through its Social Democratic Party, the French bourgeoisie as the power with the most interests in Spain, the United States itself and of course the so-called democratic opposition (which went from Basque and Catalan nationalism to the far-left parties including the PCE, united in the Democratic Platform) collaborated elbow to elbow to ensure that institutional reform was done as cheaply as possible (although, of course, there were inevitably costs, but which were incurred without problems; the transition was not so peaceful: there were hundreds of victims during this process).

In the final analysis it was a remodeling of the Franco system (in fact already very different from the one established in 1939), directed by the State apparatus itself, hand in hand with the democratic parties, charged, thanks to their influence on the proletariat, to make sure the workers observed the social pact.

Thus, the monarchical constitution was accepted both by sectors of the Franco regime which was the form taken by the domination of the bourgeois class for 40 years, and by «workers'» parties which submitted the proletarians to the discipline necessary so that everything would take place without too much difficulty.

Indeed, those parties with the PCE and the PSOE (Socialist Party) in the lead, imposed order, including in the streets by attacking without hesitation any strike or protest that would have put at risk even some secondary aspect of the reform, forcing the proletarians to put the «national interest» before their own interests and also to collaborate in the «dirty war» against ETA militants...

Those who now call for the Third Republic, not only were the source of the monarchical constitution, but also defended it tooth and nail against all those who opposed it.

Today *Juancarlism* is finished. The personage of the king was generally discredited because of a growing loss of confidence in public institutions and

the series of scandals in the royal family. For the myth of democratic cooperation to remain, the king who had focused discontent in recent years had to go. His abdication aims to ease tensions, to restore the top echelons of the state and renew confidence in it, in a word to make a country in crisis a little more governable.

At the same time that the monarchy represented by Juan Carlos was discredited so as to become a source of tension rather than social cohesion, this widespread discontent affecting the proletariat as well as some sections of the petty bourgeoisie, found its political expression in an old and new parliamentary left which defends the democratic illusion that a change of the model of the State – the transition from constitutional monarchy to bourgeois democratic republic – could improve the living conditions of the **people**. This illusion is based on two points.

On the one hand is the idea that the republic is the ultimate expression of democracy, democracy being the regime that is farthest from capitalism and which consequently would definitively avoid crises and misery. On the other hand is the fantastic belief that the deterioration of the living conditions experienced by the proletarian class which constitutes the majority of society in the capitalist world, is not the result of a crisis caused by the falling rate of profit of enterprises, but a **scam** by the ruling elites to defraud the **popular classes** of their social and economic rights.

By this logic, the republic would be able to reorganize the country so that all classes could live in harmony without fighting against each other, for the greater glory of the national economy (which of course would work in the people's interest).

The maneuver is the same as in 1978 with the monarchical Constitution: to make believe that through democratic reform all classes will be able to coexist peacefully and that therefore there should not be struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but a democratic conciliation (monarchical yesterday, Republican today). This is what the Spanish bourgeoisie seeks by the abdication of Juan Carlos. The perfect equivalence between the republic

and the monarchy is clearly demonstrated by their respective supporters who use and re-use the same arguments and have the same goals. The republican parties which have proposed a hypothetical Third Republic did so in total respect to the monarchical 1978 Constitution, the supreme law by which the bourgeoisie sanctioned its domination over the proletariat: convening of a referendum, democratic modification of the state, central role of parliamentary assemblies in this whole process... They want the state to reform itself, to change its attire to better fulfill its class role. In fact it would be a new edition of the famous hara-kiri committed by the Francoist parliamentary assemblies to give way to a constitutional monarchy. In both cases, it is basically to defend the bourgeois State, whatever its form.

The interests of the proletarian class cannot be met under the monarchy of Felipe or under the Third Republic. For The proletariat what is important is not the form adopted by the bourgeois State, but the very existence of that State which imposes and promotes the interests of national capitalism, both in terms of the internal situation and internationally in its dealings with foreign imperialisms.

This does not mean that the proletariat is indifferent to the form of the State, which depends on material forces including the confrontation between classes which plays a central role. We cannot exclude the possibility that tomorrow, as a result of a worsening of the proletarian struggle, the bourgeoisie under the pressure of this struggle, gives the state a republican form. It would then be a way to temporarily lower the social tension and bring the proletariat onto the path of submission to the political power of the bourgeoisie.

This is what happened in 1931, when the bourgeoisie found itself unable to govern the country by monarchical means; it took it only a few municipal elections to put an end to Alfonso XIII and impose a government of republican parties. A year later, the Republic murdered peasants in Viejos Casas; the following year the proletarians of Alto Llobregat, in 1934 the workers of Asturias and in 1936 began the massacre of the revolutionary proletariat which was completed by the Franco regime.

Proletarian aspirations cannot be met by the capitalist system and its State. It is the capitalist system itself which opposes the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, which generalizes social production but submits it to the categories of private

property and wage labor, which periodically plunges the proletariat into poverty, which use it as cannon fodder in wars, which destroys it when the workforce becomes supernumerary and is no longer usable by the national economy.

The proletarian class brings with it a new mode of production which will rise on the ruins of the current mode of production.

But to impose this new mode of production, it will have to first destroy the bourgeois State, whatever its form, totalitarian or democratic, monarchical or republican, because this State is the instrument of political domination of its class enemy. It will replace it with its own class State – which is no longer a State in the usual sense of the term (Engels) – and through this intermediary exercise its dictatorship over the remains of the bourgeoisie and the classes allied with it which will never abandon the field without a fight to the end.

This dictatorship is necessary not only to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie, but also to act despotically in the economy to lay the groundwork for the socialist transformation of society, a transformation that will obviate the existence of the State to the extent where the disappearance of social classes (and not merely the end of the **confrontation** between classes proposed by the reformers of all kinds, as if the existence of classes was eternal) will bring about the disappearance of the need of any form of political coercion.

In confronting the monarchy or republican dilemma, the proletariat has only one alternative: to constitute itself as a class for itself and therefore into a political party to go forward to its historic goal, the communist revolution.

When confronted with the Republican proposals intending to bind the proletarian class in an interclassist fight alongside bourgeois and petty-bourgeois with the stupid aim of putting an end to class antagonisms, the only response of the proletariat can be in beginning to struggle for its immediate demands against the bourgeois, large and small; in fighting back against the attacks suffered during the crisis by attacking the interests of its enemies; in creating and developing its class organizations including only proletarians and breaking down the pressure that competition exerts on wages and living conditions; in following the path which, from the defensive struggle ascends, thanks to the intervention of the class party, to the general political struggle, class against class.

Against the red and gold monarchist flag and the republican tricolor flag, only the proletariat can raise the red flag of the social revolution for the conquest of political power, the destruction of the bourgeois state and the liquidation of the capitalist mode of production.

**Down with the monarchy, the republic and all forms of the bourgeois state!**

**For the resumption of the class struggle!**

**For the communist revolution!**

### **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)

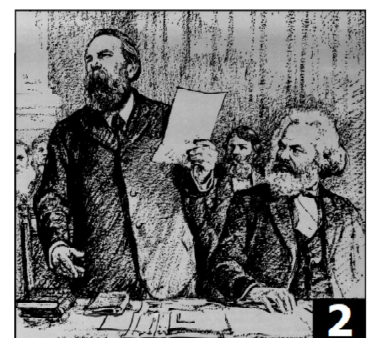
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## **Proletarian**

International Communist Party (programme communistes)

### **The Fundamentals of Revolutionary Communism**



# The Algerian Trotskyists in the mirror of the presidential election

On April 17 President Bouteflika was re-elected for a fourth term as president of Algeria with 81.5% of the vote; his main «competitor», former Prime Minister Ali Benflis, won 12% of the vote.

Among the other candidates, Louisa Hanoune, leader of the Workers Party («Lambertist» Trotskyists), was credited with a score of 1.5% (1). A special feature of this election, whose outcome was never in doubt, is that Bouteflika, seriously ill and a stroke victim, is impotent; a veritable living Mummy, he has almost lost the power of speech and can move only with the greatest difficulty. No matter that he no longer has the required faculties to even inaugurate chrysanthemums, he was re-elected as «head of State» with a Breznevian percentage! One could not dream of a better demonstration that elections are a pure **masquerade** and that the State, beyond the politicians who head it at any particular time, is the impersonal defender of the **class domination** of the bourgeoisie and the corresponding **capitalist mode of production**; even when they do not attain such a degree of farce, in the bourgeois regime, to quote Marx, the elections are to designate once every 3 or 6 years which member of the ruling class «will represent» and trample the

people underfoot in Parliament (2).

Elections, and the entire democratic mechanism in general, are a very valuable means of indirect defense of the capitalist order; by legitimizing the bourgeois political system that would allow all, including the oppressed and the exploited not only to «express themselves», but to decide State policy, they are an antidote to the revolutionary proletarian struggle. The denunciation of the democratic mystification, demonstrating that its purpose is to hide the reality of class antagonism and bourgeois dictatorship, is a constant task of Marxist revolutionaries: they must constantly remind the proletarians that it is by force and not by the ballot, that the odious capitalist regime can be overthrown.

Or, as Lenin said: «*The need to instill this idea systematically in the masses – and specifically this one – that violent revolution is the basis of all the teachings of Marx and Engels*» (3).

Let us examine how the parties which, rightly or wrongly, are deemed to be the Algerian heirs of the leader of the Red Army have comported and are comporting themselves in the current situation.

## THE BOUNDLESS SERVILITY OF THE WORKERS PARTY TOWARDS THE BOURGEOIS STATE

We have seen that Louisa Hanoune, leader of the Workers Party, had participated in the presidential elections, contributing in this way to give some credibility to this farce. It is a constant attitude for the WP to help the authorities when they are confronted with calls for a boycott of the elections and in any case with a massive abstention.

But in recent months, the WP was concerned about the clan warfare raging within the ruling political circles at the approach of the presidential election. Thus in early February, Louisa Hanoune did not hesitate to run to the aid of general «Tewfik» (Mohamed Mediene), the head of the DRS (Department of Intelligence and Security, formerly the sinister «Military Security» notorious for the brutality of its repression and its abuses of all kinds against opponents)! He had been criticized by the Secretary-General of the FLN (National Liberation Front, the main Government party) Saadani for its interference in political affairs. Saadani who publicly called for the resignation of Toufik because of the repeated failures of these services, especially accused the DRS of «*inventing stories* [of corruption] in the president's inner

circle» (4). For Louisa Hanoune, these statements meant that due to «*some supporters of a fourth term*» [of Bouteflika] «*our country is facing the most serious political crisis in its history, a crisis more serious than that of the summer of 1962, because it is the integrity and stability of the nation State which are at stake*» because of the «*risk of foreign intervention*» it would imply (5)!

After having thus on February 7 noisily supported the opponents of the re-election of Bouteflika, Louisa Hanoune met on February 13 with the Chief of staff of the army and Deputy Defence Minister, General Gaïd Salah, deemed to be the «strong man» of the presidential clan.

According to a communiqué of the WP, she stated at this meeting «*the need to preserve the unity of the military institution and its cohesion against any attempt to divide likely to undermine the stability of the country and pave the way for foreign interference*»; and she said that the Algerian army «*rightly deserved the international recognition earned by its proven track record in the fight against terrorism which is a source of pride for the Algerian people*» (6)!!! No doubt after this, that the general and

the Trotskyist (poor Trotsky!) parted company as the best friends in the world...

According to Marxism, the army is the backbone of the bourgeois state. The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky therefore prescribed anti-militarist actions to the communist parties (on a class basis and not a pacifist one): «*The proletariat rejects in principle and combats in the most energetic manner all military institutions of the bourgeois state and the bourgeois class in general. (...) The maximum of attention and energy is constantly required in the agitation against the special troops that the bourgeoisie arms for the class war*» (7). But Algerian proletarians do not need to have read the constituent Theses of the Communist International to know which side of the class divide the military and the DRS are on: they have learned it in their blood if only coming out of the savage repression of the riots of 1988 which left hundreds of dead. By publicly rallying to the defense of «*the unity of the military institution*» and the «*stability of the country*» and by supporting the DRS, the WP could not demonstrate more brilliantly its alignment with the bourgeois order; but its servility towards the authorities manifested itself again after the elections.

In a press conference held after the proclamation of the election results, Louisa Hanoune was congratulatory... on the re-election of Bouteflika: «*it's a clear, straightforward mandate, national in scope that he has obtained (...). There was no massive fraud (...). The choice of the people to give a mandate to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, was enacted by the desire to avoid the country's switch to the unknown and chaos*» (8). A few weeks later, during May 1, while a small group of activists was dispersed in Algiers by the police for having called for an independent assembly, she quietly attended the official ceremonies, laying a wreath between the Minister of Labor and the Secretary-General of the official trade union, the UGTA, whose role as strikebreaker is known to all.

In early June, members of the WP attacked the autonomous unions that have formed in response to the collaborationism of the UGTA, accusing them of bringing harm to it: «*As a matter of fact, they are tools in foreign hands who want to make Algeria pay for its sovereign position towards the Arab spring that shook some countries in North Africa and the Middle East*». And they called on the Government to put them «*back on the right path*» (9). The WP is indeed hostile to the revolts that many Arab States experienced: at a joint press conference last November, the WP and the FLN thus claimed that the «*revolutions of the Arab spring are just chaos programmed with support from foreign parties*». According to



Hanoune, it is a «*chaos that targets the Republics by a movement organized by foreign non-governmental organizations (NGO's) targeting the integrity and stability of the country*» (10)! Exactly the arguments of a Mubarak or a Ben Ali...

Meanwhile in mid-May, the WP had decided to participate in the consultations decided by the Government on a

### THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY: DEMOCRATISM IN ITS VERY MARROW

Compared to the fanatical defense of the nation and of order of the «Trotskyists» of the WP and their disgusting servility vis-à-vis the government, it is not difficult for the Socialist Workers Party (PST/SWP sympathizing organization of the Fourth International Usec) to appear to the left. The SWP denounced in a statement of 11 April the «*electoral masquerade*» and it called for a «*massive abstention*» (12). It criticized the WP by writing that «*Louisa Hanoune abandoned her working class identity*» and that the platform of her party «*does not address the workers, the unemployed, youth and women and the downtrodden. It is akin to an offer to the power in place and the employers to reform the system and save the liberal regime*» (13).

But looking closer, things start smelling fishy. We must first note that the SWP had not announced its definitive position on the presidential election a few days before the election, some party activists being supporters of participation in this «masquerade»... On the other hand, in an interview last February, Mahmoud Rachedi, the Secretary General of the SWP, said he was still waiting for the WP response to his project to develop an «Union of the Left» that could «*present a single candidate against economic liberalism and against foreign submission*», the WP being, according to his own statements, «*closest to our political vision*» (14).

So the WP has not yet lost its working class identity? Still Louisa Hanoune had made her statements in favor of the army; but Rachedi, reminding us that according to the SWP «*she is trapped by its opportunistic positions vis-à-vis Bouteflika*» would only say in the interview about Hanoune's meeting with the defense Minister: «*Our party is for freedom, thus the freedom to meet whoever we want [!]. (...) We would just wish that the President of the WP who has the opportunity to meet with Bouteflika or Gaid Salah speaks more about the workers, the unemployed and those on strike for example!*»

Which is the more opportunistic of the two, the one that asks for an audience with the Chief of Staff of the

revision of the Constitution (which all the opposition parties have dismissed as a mere diversion) on behalf of the «*aspirations of the Algerian people for real democracy*» (11).

Yet another demonstration that when politicians, right or left, talk of democracy and aspirations of «the people», they are thinking only of maintaining order and social stability.

Army to speak about the «stability of the country» and the unity of the army, or those who find this normal in the name of freedom, just adding that she should have been telling him something about the workers?

The political proximity to the WP admitted by Rachedi, is none other than proximity in opportunism, proximity in the renunciation of Marxism, as we shall see. If one examines the positions of the SWP, we see in fact that they are all motivated by **democratism** and not by class positions. The call for abstention in the presidential elections was not based on a Marxist critique of bourgeois democracy and the inability to use the bourgeois electoral process in favor of the workers, but on the consideration that this election «*is not democratic and its result will have no legitimacy*». But what «legitimacy» should Marxists recognize in elections, even the most democratic? As long as capitalism persists the bourgeoisie remains the dominant class and it dominates the exploited and oppressed classes and the proletariat in particular, at all levels including at the level of «ideas», «opinions» and ... elections. In the «Theses on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship» of the Communist International, Lenin wrote: «*All the socialists, by demonstrating the class character of bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy bourgeois parliamentarism, expressed this idea already formulated by Marx and Engels that even the most democratic bourgeois republic cannot be anything but a machine to oppress the working class for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. (...) Marx (...) proved [by analyzing the experience of the Commune] the exploitative nature of democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism*» (15). This does not mean that the proletariat and the oppressed cannot fight and free themselves from the domination of the bourgeoisie; this means they cannot do it through the mechanism specifically established by the latter to perpetuate its rule; they have to fight on another terrain, that of open confrontation, class against class, to violently smash capitalism.

But this is not the way indicated by our Trotskyists; The 4/11 release also

states: «*the SWP calls for the election of a constituent Assembly representative of the interests of workers, young people, women and all oppressed people of our country. The SWP reiterates its call for a democratic convergence, antiliberal and anti-imperialist*». In its communiqué of 4/20 on the outcome of the elections, the SWP reaffirmed: «*only a convergence of democratic energy and antiliberal and anti-imperialist forces can impose the satisfaction of the aspirations of the majority of Algerian men and women. A convergence which will impose the election of a constituent Assembly representative of the interests of workers, youth, women and all the oppressed of our country*» (16), etc.

The objective is thus a «democratic» assembly of diverse «social forces», in other words, according to Marxism, a gathering of several **classes**, an **inter-classist** assembly. The SWP tasks such an assembly with the struggle against «liberalism» –i.e. a particular bourgeois policy– and against imperialism –that is to say, foreign capitalism. No question of proposing the struggle against capitalism in general – and first against the private capitalists **and** Algerian state capitalism – in other words against those who directly exploit the workers of Algeria, if we want to achieve a democratic convergence! The latter will suffice, no one knows how, to «impose» the satisfaction of the aspirations of the majority of the population, perhaps through the famous representative constituent assembly which the Trotskyists of all countries invoke at one time or another.

Interclassism always involves **sacrificing** proletarian interests to the interests of other more or less propertied classes that one wishes to attract; and the illusionists are always ready put the proletarians to sleep with democratic mirages. Also the statements of the SWP also take up the bourgeois or petty bourgeois words of «people», «popular sovereignty» and so on, instead of demonstrating the falsity of these conceptions and use the Marxist notions of class and class struggle.

But it isn't a question of vocabulary! According to the Communist Manifesto, **the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains**; According to the «socialists» of the SWP they possess, in the same way as other Algerians, the «national wealth»! The SWP is indignant that «proponents of liberalism» want «to monopolize our national wealth» (4/11 communiqué).

And if one defends «our» national wealth, it is logical that one defends the nation and the national State which protects it. Another PST leader, Nadir Djermoune, referring to many election speeches about «conspiracies» aimed

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# The Algerian Trotskyists in the mirror of the presidential election

(Continuation from page 21)

at national sovereignty, also speaks of the danger of «a challenge to the minimum of sovereignty of the Algerian state by imperialism (...). Only a popular mobilization is able to roll back these imperialist objectives. But these mobilizations will be doomed to failure if from the outset they do not pose as a principle the anti-imperialist resistance and the defense of the national State. The current protest movements are built on the idea of ending the national State and this, by an unfortunate confusion between the regime and the State. The latter is still regarded as an object in the hands of the ruling oligarchies which should be broken so as to bring about a democratic state» (17). Into the trash bin goes the Marxist thesis, borne out by the historical experience of the Commune, that the proletariat must have as its objective the destruction of the bourgeois state! But it is true that Djermoune is talking of people and not the proletariat...

The same author has also published, in the context of the presidential elections, an article on «The challenges of the democratic struggle in Algeria» (18).

In this text he is comically pondering what democracy means and on the possibility of «discovering» a form of democracy that would be better than the «most advanced» form that exists today, the «so-called bourgeois democracy or parliamentary democracy». And he responds: «We must invent new superior and universal democratic forms that meet the collective and individual aspirations of all social and cultural categories at a given moment in history».

«All social categories»: It's clear, now it is the class struggle that is thrown into the trash! Djermoune can conclude his text with the SWP policy proposal: «A transition, which seems to be accepted by all, in order to be democratic, cannot spare the need for a constituent assembly as a starting point for a national debate where all components of society are represented» (19). Interclassism, defense of the national state, national unity, we see that the political congruence between the WP and the SWP is perfect...

If Djermoune and the other leaders of the «Socialist» Workers' Party had read the texts of an author who was not a supporter of the «national debate», but of the national and international class struggle, a certain Trotsky, they may have been able to «discover» what

is really the Socialist position regarding democracy:

*«In the practical interests of the development of the working class, the Socialist Party took its stand at a certain period on the path of parliamentarism. But this did not mean in the slightest that it accepted in principle the metaphysical theory of democracy, based on extra-historical, superclass rights. The proletarian doctrines examined democracy as the instrument of bourgeois society entirely adapted to the problems and requirements of the ruling classes; (...) It was just for this reason that the theoreticians of the proletariat had to expose the metaphysics of democracy as a philosophic mask for political mystification.(...) In the name of its fundamental task, the Socialist Party mobilized the masses on the parliamentary ground as well as on others; but nowhere and at no time did any party bind itself to bring the masses to Socialism only through the gates of democracy. In adapting ourselves to the parliamentary regime, we stopped at a theoretical exposure of democracy, because we were still too weak to overcome it in practice. But the path of Socialist ideas which is visible through all deviations, and even betrayals, foreshadows no other outcome but this: to throw democracy aside and replace it by the mechanism of the proletariat, at the moment when the latter is strong enough to carry out such a task.»* (20) Such sentences should be branded with red-hot iron on the fronts of all the petty bourgeois democrats who want to pass themselves off as Marxists!

The Algerian «Trotskyists» whom we have reviewed constitute, like their colleagues in other countries, a current perhaps revolutionary in words (if that!), but certainly not revolutionary in practice. Internationally Trotskyism in all its variants is a fundamentally democratic and nationalist movement, that is to say petty bourgeois; a degenerate political movement formed on the basis of all the errors of Trotsky in the thirties, which have been aggravated still more over the decades so as to lose any revolutionary proletarian character and to merge more and more with the heirs of Stalinism and with the reformists in general; a current that uses some vague and carefully sorted references to Trotsky and Marxism to better oppose authentic Marxism (denounced as «ultra-left»); a current that only welcomes workers' struggles and only speaks to workers' demands so as to obstruct proletarian class orientations.

It is outside of Trotskyism that the proletarians of Algeria and elsewhere should organize on classist bases; It is only outside and against these false revolutionaries the same as outside and against all the alleged Marxists in the Stalinist or Maoist matrix, that it will be possible for the workers' vanguard to find unadulterated Marxist positions and the authentic communist program; it's outside and against all these currents they will need work in union with the proletarians of all countries, for the reconstitution of the international class party, the indispensable organ to lead the proletarian struggle against the capitalists and their States and to lead the future world communist revolution!

(1) No doubt to give more plausibility to the results, a low participation figure was announced: 50.70% (while for the 1995 presidential elections a completely implausible figure of 75% was provided). That was enough for many commentators, including «Trotskyists» to ramble on about the decline in participation. But as a journalist said ironically «efforts» were made by the authorities to achieve a turnout of more than 50%. <http://maghrebemergent.com/presidentielles-2014/item/36619-1-abstention-en-hausse-a-fait-perdre-benflis-mais-fragilise-bouteflika4.html>

(2) See Marx «The Civil War in France,» quoted by Lenin in «The State and Revolution», Collected Works, Volume 25, p. 456 (ch.3, para. 3).

(3) Lenin, «The State and Revolution», ibid. 433.

(4) <http://www.lecourrierdelatlas.com/652903022014Saadani-pilonne-general-Toufik.html>

(5) <http://www.algerie1.com/zoom/la-big-anxiety-de-louisa-hanoune/>. Louisa Hanoune is prone to these melodramatic declarations.

(6) <http://www.algerie1.com/actualite/rencontre-hanoune-gaid-salah-l'institution-militaire-ne-simisce-pas-dans-la-vie-politique/>

(7) See «Theses on the structure, methods and activities of communist parties», para. 30 Third Congress of the Comintern in Moscow, June 1921.

(8) El Moudjahid, 28/4/14.

(9) <http://snapest.ning.com/profiles/blogs/le-parti-des-travailleurs-tire-sur-les-syndicats-s-attaquant>

(10) <http://80.246.2.217/Le-printemps-arabe-un-chaos.html>

(11) <http://www.lexpressiondz.com/actualite/194447-le-pt-participera-aux-consultations.html>

(12) <http://afaqichtirakiya.wordpress.com/2014/04/12/le-pst-appelle-les-algeriens-et-les-algeriennes-a-ne-pas-cautionner-cette-mascarade-electorale/>

(13) <http://www.algeriepatriotique.com/article/le-pst-louisa-hanoune-aban->

donne-son-identite-ouvriere

(14) <http://www.elwatan2014.com/component/k2/item/802-benflis-hamrou>

(15) First Congress of the Communist International, Moscow in March 1919.

(16) <http://afaqichtirakiya.wordpress.com/2014/04/20/pour-une-convergence-des-energies-democratiques-et-des-forces->

sociales-anti-liberales-et-anti-imperialistes/

(17) <http://afaqichtirakiya.wordpress.com/2014/04/23/elections-algeriennes-victoire-a-larrache/>

(18) <http://www.npa2009.org/content/les-enjeux-du-combat-democratique-en-algerie>

(19) *ibid*

(20) See Trotsky, «Terrorism and Communism» (1920). (MIA) Djermoune ended his text with a rather obscure quote from the late French Trotskyist Bensaïd which asserted that revolutionary activity is always uncertain and indeterminate. It is not surprising that Bensaïd considered this text by Trotsky «appalling»!

## Ferguson ...

(Continuation from page 3)

of the «war against crime», which is actually part of the class war.

The increase in incarceration is a source of profit for a series of companies specialized in the construction and management of private prisons, etc. (to the point that there was a case where corrupt judges were highly paid by these companies to send as many people as possible to prison), but it is costly for public finances. That is why in several states court decisions have recently imposed a reduction in the number of people in jail; it caused a slight decrease in the rate of incarceration in 2013, but these decisions are little respected and have been rejected by the Supreme Court, as in California. See: <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/jim13st.pdf>

(6) [http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/arss\\_0335-5322\\_1998\\_num\\_124\\_1\\_3261](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/arss_0335-5322_1998_num_124_1_3261)

(7) see «Guilty of being poor,» Le Monde, 10/08/2014. After the events of

Ferguson Municipal Court St. Louis decided on 10/01 to remove 220 000 arrest warrants for traffic violations ...

(8) «War comes home. The Excessive Militarization of American Policing,» *ACLU*, 06/01/2014. [www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/assets/jus14-war-comes-home-report-web-rell1.pdf](http://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/assets/jus14-war-comes-home-report-web-rell1.pdf)

(9) According to the «Gini coefficient» (the index most widely used to measure inequality), among the 31 countries belonging to the OECD. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/12/19/global-inequality-how-the-us-compares/>

(10) <http://scalar.usc.edu/works/growing-apart-a-political-history-of-american-inequality/index>

(11) The rate of poverty is greater than in the '70s and if the gap has narrowed, it remains 2 times higher among blacks than among whites. Especially for children, the higher rate of poverty is due to the weakness of social benefits and other social measures in the United States. Before taxes and transfers, the child poverty rate in the USA is not very different from the rates of other western capitalist countries. See <http://>

[www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/ContemporaryAmericanSociety/Chapter%2012%20-%20Persistent%20poverty%20-%20Norton%20August.pdf](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/ContemporaryAmericanSociety/Chapter%2012%20-%20Persistent%20poverty%20-%20Norton%20August.pdf)

(12) <http://scalar.usc.edu/works/growing-apart-a-political-history-of-american-inequality/index>

(13) The average income for a black household in 2011 was 59% of the average income of a white household, against 55% in 1967, and the gap has widened since the last recession. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/08/22/kings-dream-remains-an-elusive-goal-many-americans-see-racial-disparities/4/#chapter-3-demographic-economic-data-by-race>

(14) <http://fortune.com/2014/08/15/ferguson-income-inequality/>

(15) <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/26043-between-the-peacekeepers-and-the-protesters-in-ferguson>.

The mother of a youth killed last year by police in St Louis with 21 bullets riddling his body while his hands were in the air, regretted that there were no riots after this murder and that all the protests were peaceful and orderly—and had come to nothing.

## SUMMARIES OF PREVIOUS "PROLETARIAN" ISSUES

### N° 10 (Winter-Spring 2014):

.. To survive the proletarian class must fight against the bourgeoisie and all those who live on the exploitation of wage labor. Only the proletarian class struggle is historically able to end the oppression of man by man and all class divisions through revolutionizing capitalist society from top to bottom! .. Democratic cybersurveillance - «Secularism» against the proletariat .. The «Charter of Québécois Values», an anti-proletarian charter .. The removal of the Morsi government .. Massacre of Muslim Brotherhood demonstrators in Egypt. .. On some political reactions to the impeachment of President Morsi by the Egyptian army .. A new massacre in Syria .. Only the revival of revolutionary proletarian class struggle can stop them and vanquish them! .. Down with the French military interventions in the Central African Republic! .. Slaughter of Proletarians in Bangladesh: Capitalism is the Assassin! .. The «Invariance» of Marxism (2) .. The proletarian suburbs of Stockholm .. Renault-Cleon .. Canada. The Lac-Mégantic Disaster .. The historical class struggle for the working-day (K. Marx)

### N° 9 (Winter 2012-2013):

.. The wave of strikes in South Africa demonstrates the need for class organization! .. The «Invariance» of Marxism (1). (General Meeting of the Party, Milan september 1952) .. 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: For the uncompromising defense of the living conditions of the proletariat! For struggle with classist means and methods! .. 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! .. (See also in addition our tract «Down with French military intervention in Mali! Down with French imperialism!») .. France. No to electoral mystifications! .. Euromobilization of November 14, 2012. Only the class struggle can defend proletarian interests against capitalism!

### N° 8 (Spring 2012):

.. Fever on the Stock and Financial Markets: Sign of Relapse of the World Economy .. The Arab Spring is over. The illusions in change have dissolved, and the proletariat and the proletarianized masses of the Arab countries are confronted with the reality of capitalist power – the iron heel of the capitalist states and imperialism. The only way out is through proletarian class struggle! .. Manifestations by the outraged from Spain to Israel from Greece to India, Britain to the United States, Chile, Italy, Portugal in Canada, New Zealand, etc: students and the middle classes descend into the streets in launching a cry of revolt against banks and governments: "They are stealing our future!" .. Portugal: the proletariat crushed between the capitalist crisis and the complicity of trade union and political opportunism The Revolt in Britain Foretells future Revolts in Europe .. Greece at the brink of bankruptcy .. Egypt amidst bloody military repression, islamist reaction and workers' struggles .. Dictatorship of the proletariat and class party .. Elements of Marxist Orientation .. March 8th, a Proletarian and Communist Day .. Women and Class Struggle .. Lenin. International Working Women's Day

## 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.