

# 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 indifference, 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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## *American democracy prepares to tighten the screws* **From the Democrat Obama to the Republican Trump, different methods for the same imperialistic objectives**

The Electoral Victory of Republican Trump has surprised the greater part of the American and European Intelligentsia who thought that the victory of Hillary Clinton was certain, all the more so in that she had received the support of not only the outgoing President Obama but also of the major means of American information.

*Yes, we can!* was the slogan which symbolized the accession of the first Black politician to the presidency of the United States. And although all the surveys, beyond temporary oscillations, continually gave the advantage to Clinton, this is the same slogan that summarizes in reality the campaign of Trump: Yes, we can, we can win despite the polls, despite the fact that until the end the Republican Party was rather hostile toward Trump. The political organization of the United States is organized in such a way that electoral democracy (a voice for each elector) bends to various specific

interests (the States, the financial-economic lobbies). The fact that some States having a less numerous population with the right to vote, weigh more than the others, constitutes an imbalance that can completely change the final result. The most recent examples are those of G.W. Bush who had thus been able to snatch the victory from his opponent and the victory of Trump against Hillary Clinton, although both she and Al Gore obtained hundreds of thousands more votes in total than their opponent. This veritable masquerade, bourgeois democracy, not only systematically mystifies the large masses by making them believe that through it they can decide the political, economic, financial, social and military guidelines of governments, but it even manages to surprise the major bourgeois accustomed to manipulate the elections according to their interests in the short term or the long term!

The billionaire Trump is not a new-

comer to politics; at the end of the 70's he was one of the main supporters of Ronald Reagan in the presidential elections; subsequently, according to the needs of his business interests, he has been a member of the Republican Party, the Reform Party, and the Democratic Party, before returning to the Republican Party. His latest entry into the political arena which saw him elected as President of the United States, shows that in an America still suffering the consequences of the crisis of 2007 (of which the detonator was the bursting of the subprimes bubble - i.e. the real estate sector where the Trump family has always waded), the violent contradictions that have characterized and which have struck the broad layers including of the middle classes, have opened the door to the more reactionary tendencies. Tendencies which «demanded» to be represented by personalities

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### AMADEO BORDIGA

## The Goals of the Communists

*This article appeared on February 29, 1920 in the columns of «Il Soviet» organ of the «Communist Abstentionist fraction» of the Italian Socialist Party. At that time the PSI, which had joined the Communist International, was led by a left wing calling itself «maximalist». Traditionally in the social democratic parties the «maximum» program was that of the final goal; socialism, it was reserved for Sundays and holiday speechifying while there was a «minimum» program bearing on improvements and reforms. Compatible with capitalism, this minimum program constituted the real program for action of these reformist parties. And although it said it wanted to fight for the maximum program, in reality the majority tendency in the Socialist Party remained on the terrain of the struggle for reforms: it belonged to that particular variety of reformism that the Bolsheviks called «centrism» - revolutionary in words, reformers in fact. To go towards the birth of a true communist party, the Communist Left was organized as a fraction leading the struggle against the theoretical and political confusion reigning in the PSI.*

The fundamental perspectives that the article brings to our attention have not changed after 90 years, and they indicate an invariant line which cannot be modified despite all the "innovators", all the proponents of a "socialism of the twenty-first

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# American democracy prepares to tighten the screws

## From the Democrat Obama to the Republican Trump, different methods for the same imperialistic objectives

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external to the traditional political establishment, not involved directly in the institutions, but sufficiently well-known in order to be able to attract the favor of large masses disappointed by Obama's politics.

Trump, with his eclecticism, his triviality, his sexism, his racism, combined with his success in business and his reality show experience, has thus become «the man of the Day»; his tenacity in pushing to extremes his duel with Clinton, a true representative of the establishment, has ultimately paid off and he has won. He had previously attempted the same thing in 2012 before abandoning the attempt due to bad poll results. But in 2016 things have been different. When they have been called by the electoral circus to «choose» the new President, the petty bourgeoisie ruined by the crisis, full of hatred toward the undocumented immigrant proletarians, and fiercely attached to the possession of weapons to defend their private property; along with the most highly skilled labor aristocracy, and small farmers manhandled by the fiscal authorities, plunged into insecurity in their jobs, threatened with a miserable life, have given their support to the one who said *more loudly than the other* that he was a partisan of the lowering of taxes, opposed to arms control, to the reforms of «*Obamacare*», partisan to the expulsion of millions of undocumented immigrants and, on the level of external policy, opposed to «aid» to foreign countries, to agreements with Iran and China and partisan to the fight against terrorism – equated with Islam.

The imperialist bourgeoisie in the U.S. has found in Trump the character produced by its electoral theater; he is a billionaire and he is therefore part of the big bourgeois class; he is versatile enough to be able to incarnate, depending on the situation, the inflexible or the negotiator, the slave-driver or the magnanimous; he carries on as if he is in a bar and talks like a bargain basement yahoo; Yankee to the core, he is permeated with the ideology of Great America power which, at a time when the USA is experiencing a certain decline at the international level, will be used to prepare the «American people» to suffer even more tomorrow than today, but for a great ideal, the ideal of an America that the whole world must fear.

It is still impossible to know what the political and economic program of Trump

will really be, once he is installed in the White House, and he probably does not know the answer himself. He is in the process of forming his governmental team and he must make the compromises needed to have the support of Congress, given that the elected representatives were not favorable to him. But it is more than certain that his government will defend his own interests as real estate magnate and the interests of economic lobbies who supported him and who will get more opportunities for their business, but at the same time the global interests of American capitalism. Will he meet with difficulties in Europe, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East? Without doubt, as Obama has met with in spite of the apparent agreements and the rounds of handshakes with the leaders of these countries. Will he find an area of agreement with Putin? Probably, because they may find common interests in the Middle East and Asia. The international situation is destined to change, not because of the decisions of the «unpredictable» Trump, but because the current world disorder prepares the formation of alliances that will compete in the third world war – war which is not yet on the agenda, but whose arrival could be accelerated by the next International economic crises.

Today the working class is still totally absent from the American scene (and not only American). Absent as a social class defending its own demands and making its social weight felt. The economic crises that have marked the past forty years have not been sufficient to lead to the formation in the American working class of proletarian nuclei able to represent its class interests and constitute the basis for the development of the revolutionary proletarian struggle in the most important capitalist country in the world. The American proletarians are largely disinterested in social and political issues; or they are left deceived each time by the preachers of the moment, political or religious, but always draped in the illusory bourgeois ideology according to which each is responsible for his own destiny, that for each, «where there's a will there's a way». It is impossible to guess how much time it will take for the American workers, women and men, white, black, Hispanic, Asian, to feel that they are part of the same class, a class exploited by the bourgeoisie (it also male, female, white, black, Hispanic, Asian), a class which lives in a permanent antagonism with the conditions of exploitation to which it is

subject, but whose members are pushed to respond by bourgeois means and methods: competition between proletarians, individualism, worship of the dollar god, respect for the rich and the power it gives them.

It is only by recognizing themselves as a separate class, with a historical perspective completely opposed to bourgeois perspectives; understanding that only the anti-capitalist class struggle, therefore anti-democratic and anti-bourgeois, can allow it to effectively combat exploitation, poverty and hunger; that only through this struggle is it possible to fight against the war mobilizations of the bourgeoisie; it is only by understanding the need to oppose the class struggle that the bourgeoisie conducts each day against the workers, by the class struggle of the proletariat united beyond the differences of nationality, race, sex, age, qualification; it is only under these conditions that the American working class can conquer their human dignity, free themselves from the condition of being a working beast and become the actor of its own future: a future marked by the end of any exploitation and any oppression, whether racial, sexual or national.

The bourgeoisie sustains, and it demonstrates in its own way, that there does not today exist an alternative to its society of money, of the market, private property, capitalist competition, domination by the stronger: indeed capitalism

### NOTICE

The lack of space in this issue does not allow us to publish all the available articles. However, you can find the following articles on our website ([www.pcint.org](http://www.pcint.org)) under the headings «Position papers» and «Texts and theses»:

- Flint (Michigan, USA). The real poison is Capitalism. The remedy, its Destruction. (March, 14th 2016)

- Enough of endless «Days of action», Marches and Ritual Demonstrations! Time for Open Class Struggle! (May, 29th 2016)

- May Day, the day of struggle of Labor against Capital, has become a celebration of the enslavement of Workers by Capital! When will the Workers get their May Day Back? (May, 1st 2016)

- Theses on the Historical Task, Action and Structure of the World Communist Party, according to the positions that have been the historical patrimony of the Communist Left for over half a century (Theses of Naples, 1965)

dominates everywhere in the world. But it can perpetuate its domination, in spite of the crises and wars, only if it manages to have on its side most of the exploited masses, although they are massacred, hungry, reduced to misery everywhere in the world (given the understanding that the United States is certainly not a country where exploitation, misery, unemployment, hunger and massacres are unknown!).

Will it take crises much worse than those which until now have shaken the United States for the working class of America wake up from its long torpor,

emerge from its intoxication with democracy and individualism? Without doubt; and it is written in the history of bourgeois society: *«The development of modern industry Therefore undermines, cuts from under its feet, the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable».*

These words of the **Communist Manifesto** of Marx-Engels may provoke laughter among many people, just as many

smirked at the words of Lenin before the October Revolution in Russia. The date of the funerals of bourgeois society is not written down: we are materialists, not visionaries. But it is toward these funerals that the communists are working and struggling, certain that it is capitalism itself which will create the objective conditions that will lead irrepressibly, regardless of what country in which this will first happen, for the proletariat to raise its head and take to the path of the class struggle and of the revolution.

November, 19th 2016

## Petty-Bourgeois Terrorism on an Islamic Matrix Strikes Brussels Twice The Proletarian Response Must not be Solidarity with Governments and the Capitalists but the Class Struggle against all Social Manifestations of Capitalism, Petty Bourgeois Terrorism Included!

On March 22 at 8 am two kamikazes blow themselves up at the Brussels Zaventem Airport; a little over an hour later another explosion occurred in the Maelbeek subway station, near the EU building. There are 34 dead and over 300 injured including 61 critically, the death toll can only rise.

«*We were expecting it!*» the Belgian leaders stated after the attacks; indeed not only the Belgian Government but the French, German, Italian, British and Spanish had anticipated something for a long while. After the attacks in Paris, French President Hollande stated on behalf of all the western imperialist governments: «*We are at war!*». At war, but against whom?

The war that each and every capitalism conducts is a war of pitiless competition, it is a war that takes place simultaneously on different levels: economic, political, financial and increasingly frequently through military interventions, in countries in the distant or immediate «periphery» of imperialism depending on the interests in play. And now a war that «jihadist» terrorism, itself the offspring of the great bourgeois terrorism of the imperialist metropolises, has taken upon itself leading to attacks including those of the suicide variety, in the heart of the imperialist metropolises: New York, Madrid, London, Paris and Brussels.

Brussels, capital of the European institutions, has most recently become a prime target of Islamic terrorism. Prior to the current massacre, on December 23, 2011, a jihadist opened fire on a street in Liege, leaving 5 dead and 125 wounded; on May 24, 2014 a bombing at the Jewish

Museum in Brussels left 4 dead; on January 15 in Verviers a jihadist cell that was preparing a series of attacks in Europe was dismantled.

By means of these attacks petty-bourgeois terrorism of an Islamic matrix, and not always directly linked to al Qaeda or the black Caliphate of Al Baghdadi, intends to respond to western powers for the decades of terrorizing its populations by being bombed or by being occupied by one or another Middle or Far Eastern countries. The latest situation in Iraq and Syria is characterized by imperialist military intervention – in which Belgium participates with its air force – and a continuous massacre of inhabitants by bombing, attacks by militias, and by governments supported by imperialism; this gives greater vigor to forces that have accumulated military experience and who thrive in the chaos of the ongoing wars in carving out plots of power over the cities and territories they systematically bleed, finding profits from trafficking arms or human beings, oil or drugs. To attract young people willing to serve them against the forces of major countries like the United States or European, these organizations need not only financial support and arms supplies; they also need **ideals**. Islamic fundamentalism pushes them to heroic gestures, like self-immolation and the sacrifice of one's life in attacks deemed necessary to «purify» oneself and to «purify» a corrupt and degenerate world.

This type of terrorism not only recruits its followers from among youth made desperate by unemployment and poverty; it also recruits from the petty-

bourgeois strata from which emerge elements, which in order to give meaning to a rhythm of life marked by the daily search for the money to live, by the loathsome arrogance... of the richest, by daily vexations of a racist or religious nature, clinging to the myth of a divine justice that should prevail on this earthly terrain, justice for which they are ready to become instruments of revenge. It is no coincidence that these attacks are not directed against specific individuals, against representatives of political or economic powers found guilty of specific acts, but against the anonymous crowd, against anyone being by chance in a given place at a given time; attacks that sow death among «innocent people» as innocent as those who die in the bombings in Iraq, Syria, Libya, believing that somehow their attacks will change the course of things.

In reality this petty-bourgeois terrorism is only the flip side of the terrorism of the big bourgeois, the terrorism of the major states through their wars of rape and pillage, or those proxy wars waged by smaller states, in order to perpetuate their domination and above all supporting the domination of capitalism and its laws over the entire planet. After the attacks in Paris, and especially after the series of successful or failed attempts, it was clear to everyone that Islamic terrorism could easily spread in Belgium – this European country artificially created by the powers of the time, especially Germany and France, as a «buffer state» and a country where there has never been a

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# Brussels . . .

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real «national» integration between groups of different origins, Walloon, Flemish, and German and where, besides the monarchy, there is no real governmental centralism in the country. The «*We were expecting this*» of the Belgian leaders did not mean that they were preparing for this eventuality; it was a statement of feebleness as it amounted to an entreaty for the tutelage of a more powerful and better organized state; and indeed it is the French state that came to the forefront, if only because the terrorists of November and January in Paris came from Brussels and especially the Molenbeek neighborhood where the Belgian police don't even dare enter.

The bourgeois press itself declared before the Brussels attacks that Belgium was a «failed state», a weak state built on a precarious «national sentiment». A country where many objective reasons explain the formation of a humus fertile for the birth of jihadist groups: large Muslim community with very few integrated and with high youth unemployment, easy availability of weapons, police inefficiency, poorly equipped and divided by different levels of administrative autonomy and rivalry between Flemish and Walloons (1). And precisely because Belgian national unity was precarious it was selected by major European states to be the seat of the European institutions: France would never have accepted that this office be in Germany and the inverse is equally true. Brussels appeared to be sufficiently inserted into the front for the defense of European imperialist interests (as evidenced by its colonial history), but with a nationalism too weak to challenge the interests of big states: therefore it has been «naturally» selected to become the institutional capital of Europe.

But the Belgian proletariat, both Walloons and Flemings, immigrants or naturalized, cannot have any illusions: the democracy and autonomy recognized in Belgium cities and neighborhoods are not those elements which provide for a harmonious civilian life. If ever they engage in anti-capitalist class struggle, they would be facing not only the forces of the «bankrupt» state, but also the military forces of Paris or Berlin, confronting more powerful and seasoned States that would replace the Belgian State to defend a bourgeois regime against the danger of a classist rupture that could spread to neighboring countries.

The exploitation that always and especially characterizes the capitalist mode of production never ceases because it is through the exploitation of the workers that capital derives its profit. This exploi-

tation is part of a war that was never declared openly, a hidden and generalized war masked under the veil of class collaboration in the name of defending society and the national economy, civilization and democracy – a lying misrepresentation of popular sovereignty which only serves to consolidate the chains binding the workers of all nationalities, all races or religion to the capitalist mode of production.

When the fate of their profits are at stake, the capitalists never hesitate to cut corners on safety measures, to dismiss arbitrarily, to participate in the exploitation of proletarians of other countries, to intervene militarily around the world; if participation in an thieves alliance necessitates the participation in bombings in Iraq, they order the F16's to take off and bombard – the media never show the faces of those who are bombed. Capital commands, the capitalists obey; and in their noble mission to preserve Capital and assure the valorization of capital and in maintaining their profits, they act with all the cynicism possible in this bourgeois world.

We are in a period where the proletarians of Europe, intoxicated by decades of democracy and enjoying conditions notably superior to those of the proletarians of the countries on the periphery of imperialism, are not yet aware that the bourgeoisie will never allow its political dominance to be challenged; in a period when the imperialist bourgeoisie can still boast of the alleged superiority of its civilization by concealing the actual robbery detrimental to the overwhelming majority of the population of the world, in order to make the proletarians believe that a community of values and interests unite them to the capitalists in the name of the «homeland»; but as a matter of fact whole generations of proletarians were forced to shed their blood in the name of the homeland, peace, freedom, brotherhood, without getting anything in return other than the perpetuation of their own exploitation! At a time when many collaborationist forces can still distort the proletarian interests in peppering them with the bourgeois values of democracy, nation, peace – a peace that the contradictions of capitalism will never guarantee!

Petty-bourgeois terrorist reaction is also serving the rule of capital, because it obeys the same laws, the only difference being that it is in favor of bourgeois factions who want to rip territory away from the dominant bourgeois powers. Bourgeois against bourgeois, they are fighting to seize the riches which are nothing other than the product of human labor, the wage-labor of generations of proletarians.

The war between imperialist bourgeois and «terrorist» bourgeois is not a war in which the workers should partic-

ipate and for which they should sacrifice their lives, their interests, their cause. Their cause, that is, the cause of a class that produces all the wealth of society but which is immediately seized by the class enemy, the capitalist bourgeoisie. The cause of the proletariat is historically antagonistic to that of the bourgeoisie: this is not an ideological belief, but a reality that demonstrates itself each and every day in capitalist society. The proletariat will have to learn that in order to assert its class interests it must confront the forces of bourgeois conservation which are unleashed against it every time it tries to escape the exploitation to which it is doomed – not by choice, but by the social constraint of bourgeois rule that only in this manner can extract surplus value from wage labor.

The response of the proletariat to the terrorist attacks cannot be uniting with the capitalists and their governments to defend a political system that is fundamentally anti-proletarian. The proletarian answer can only be waged on the terrain of the class struggle, organizing itself for the exclusive defense of class interests and by recognizing as allies and class brothers the proletarians of other countries.

This prospect may seem utopian and insufficiently «concrete» today; but it is actually the only one that can be taken up again for the resumption of the proletarian struggle, centered on the interests of its own class, on its own historical cause, which is to put an end once and for all to the system of exploitation of man by man, to the capitalist system that has no purpose other than capital, the valorization of capital, and which obliges all human beings to satisfy its imperatives, the imperatives of the market, and not the needs of humanity.

**No solidarity with the capitalists and their governments on the pretext of the struggle against terrorism!**

**No solidarity with imperialism, global terrorist entities which hold in their claws entire populations who they massacre and ravage to enrich themselves!**

**No justification for acts of petty-bourgeois terrorism in whatever form it presents itself!**

**Class organization for the sole defense of proletarian anti capitalist interests!**

**For the resumption of the class struggle in all countries!**

**For the world communist revolution, the only historical solution for the emancipation of wage-labor from exploitation and all bourgeois oppression!**

March, 27th 2016

(1) See <http://www.politico.eu/article/belgium-failed-state-security-services-molenbeek-terrorism/>

## *France: Nice after the killings*

# No to National Unity! No to Imperialist War!

# Class Struggle to End the Murderous Society of Capital!

Almost as soon as news of the massacre of scores of people in Nice was known and when by their own admission the motives of its author were still unknown to them, the French government officials issued appeals to «national unity» to «war» against «Islamic terrorism». In a televised statement that night, President Hollande said France would «reinforce [its] actions in Syria and Iraq».

The government itself so underlined the existence of a causal link between terrorist attacks in France and imperialist military intervention in Iraq and Syria (and Libya). Since the summer of 2014, along with a number of soldiers present on the ground, the French air force has been involved in bombings carried out in Iraq by the coalition led by the United States; since September 2015, the French Air Force has taken part in the bombing in Syria. According to an NGO, bombings by coalition aircraft in both countries caused in only 6 months (December 2015-May 2016) the deaths of between 1100 and 1560 civilians (1).

Also for months French «Special Forces» commandos have been «active», more or less clandestinely, in the fighting in Syria and Libya, alongside the US and British military.

It is this warlike intervention in the Middle East that the government wants to reinforce, cynically using the emotion caused by the carnage in Nice to ensure its legitimacy and support among the population. With almost total media support which multiply the martial declarations, this bourgeois propaganda was enhanced by the debauch of nationalism which reached unprecedented levels during the recent European football championship.

To denounce the military intervention of French imperialism, to reject calls for national unity with the capitalists and the bourgeois state, to oppose all attempts to divide the workers according to nationality, race or religion, to manifest solidarity with the struggles of undocumented workers and migrants: such are the **elementary requirements** of the struggle of the proletariat against the economic and social and political war lead by the government on behalf of the bosses and national and international capitalism. Capitalism, whatever its nationality, is moved only by sordid bour-

geois interests and its imperialist foreign policy is only the continuation of its anti-proletarian domestic policy.

To place trust in the bourgeois state and its political representatives in order to obtain a «protection» against terrorism whether this is the work of a particular Middle Eastern force or of mentally deranged individuals, can only mean for the proletariat to accept remaining the passive cannon fodder of guns or bombs by putting its fate into the hands of those who live by its exploitation, and who are its **class enemies**.

What is demonstrated by the killings in Nice and Orlando, the attacks in Paris or Brussels, is that even in the richest and most powerful imperialist countries, those who dominate and plunder the planet with impunity; the bourgeois democratic political system is less and less able to prevent the explosion of the growing contradictions of capitalism and the manifestations of the violence that is the basis of all social relations. The bourgeois ideological myths of social progress, peace, freedom, equality and fraternity, has growing difficulties in hiding the reality of this oppressive, murderous, exploitative capitalist society, where the fundamental law is the mad dash for profit which inevitably leads to contempt for human life; this contempt is found not only in police repression, military interventions by States and the bombing of cities, but also in terrorist violence by various reactionary groups, and even in the relationships between individuals and domestic violence.

As a means to escape this vicious circle of killings and military interventions that will otherwise lead inevitably to a third world war, it would be tragically utopian to seek to reform capitalism: throughout its existence, it has without cessation immersed humanity in ever more deadly wars and disasters. Only traitors or sold-out lackeys can try to hoodwink us about a «democratization» of capitalism and a «pacification» of its international relations.

The only solution is based on **the class war** against capitalism, the international proletarian revolution to establish the power of the oppressed and exploited, the **dictatorship of the proletariat**, the transition phase necessary to

end the bloody society of capital and to move towards communism, a society without war or oppression, without markets or money, without classes or states.

But for this solution to become possible, the proletariat will have to engage on the path of the class struggle: the path of struggle and organization for the exclusive defense of its immediate and long-term interests, in direct opposition to interests of the propertied classes and with complete independence from the forces and institutions linked in one way or another to social conservation. Only its reorganization into a class and consequently into a **party** (the Communist Manifesto), will enable it to fight successfully against the capitalists and their state and to cease being sacrificed on the altar of the destructive rivalries and deadly contradictions of the bourgeoisie. It will also give the proletariat the opportunity to lead at least some of the petty bourgeois strata ruined by the crisis, intoxicated by the degeneration of present society, in this anti-capitalist struggle – those who otherwise can be driven into the worst reactionary dead ends – by offering the concrete and in no way illusory objective of the combat to gain a society which is at last really human,

If this seems a distant perspective today, it is the only realistic one.

For the resumption of the proletarian class struggle!

Down with the society of capital, long live the world communist revolution!

July, 16th 2016

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(1) cf: [airwars.org/news/international-airstrikes-and-civilian-casualties-in-iraq-and-syria-december-2015-to-may-2016](http://airwars.org/news/international-airstrikes-and-civilian-casualties-in-iraq-and-syria-december-2015-to-may-2016). If the majority of the bombing in Iraq was the work of the Americans (eg 5850 airstrikes in Iraq), the coalition allies have not remained inactive: 761 airstrikes by the British and 670 by the French 670.

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## MEXICO: *Bloody Bourgeois Repression and the «Danse Macabre» of the «Far» Left*

The Mexican bourgeoisie has once again shown its bloody face.

On Sunday, June 19, at Nochixtlan, heavily armed federal police murdered a dozen striking teachers and villagers who supported them in cold blood. They were blocking a highway in the south to prevent federal police from going to the capital of the state of Oaxaca, where striking teachers organized a encampment.

Faced with protesters who had nothing but sticks and stones to defend themselves, cops used tear gas, rubber bullets, live ammunition and helicopters. Police prevented ambulances from accessing the site during the hours of the confrontation and blocked the protesters who were trying to take the injured to hospital.

The massacre of Nochixtlan is not an aberration or an exceptional event, but the symptom of the development of struggles in Mexico and the bourgeois violence that seeks to curb them.

### **Mexico shaken by bourgeois violence... and workers' struggles**

These assassinations are part of the climate of violence which has affected Mexico for years.

This country of 120 million people has witnessed a capitalist development that makes it the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest economic power in Latin America (after Brazil), but has been plagued by massacres for years. The proletarians and peasants suffer violent oppression and are also victims of clashes between bourgeois forces (many of which are linked to drug traffickers). The last decade was marked by more than 185,000 culpable homicides in Mexico (and over 30,000 disappearances). But the internal situation is not limited to crime.

The Mexican proletariat is raising its head to face the exploiters. Multiple recent struggles testify to this.

### **Wave of strikes in industry and agriculture**

In the San Quintin valley in Baja California, the agricultural laborers waged a 12 week-long strike against their bosses who impose poverty wages and working days which can go up to 18 hours. They also employ children to pick the fruit and tomatoes crops, primarily for the US market. Farm workers number 80,000 in the valley and many are immigrants, often of indigenous origin, from the southern states. The workers blockaded the main road connecting the region to California, leaving crops to rot and causing millions of dollars in losses to capitalist agribusiness. Despite the brutal police repression, workers have seen their overall situation improve. BerryMex, the largest producer in the region, had to increase wages which have become the highest in Mexican agriculture. Other companies now pay

contributions to social insurance and offer certain benefits to their employees. However, many producers continue to refuse to implement the wage increase. The strike also allowed the creation of two agricultural unions independent of the employers and the **charros** unions («sell-outs» to the State and the IRP (Institutional Revolutionary Party).

Labour unrest also affects the *maquiladoras* in Ciudad Juarez. The struggles began at Eaton Bussmann, an electrical transformer manufacturer, with the object of increasing wages and improving working conditions (payment of premiums, installation of air conditioning in the workshops ...) Then, workers of the Scientific Atlanta plant, a subsidiary of Foxconn, have mobilized for wage increases, lunch breaks, the end of harassment by foremen, paid holidays, and the right to form a union. Workers at Lexmark manufacturing printers, have at the same time, began protests demanding higher wages and protest against sexual harassment by the company's agents. Ci-

dad Juarez workers have suffered severe employer repression which has translated into strikers being fired.

35 000 miners of ArcelorMittal, in the state of Michoacan also embarked on a strike for a week in March 2016. The miners entered into struggle against redundancies and violation of their collective agreement.

The 1,700 workers of the Nissan plant in the «industrial city of Cuernavaca Valley» (Civac) in the State of Morelos conducted a two-day strike in April and achieved a 4% increase and 500 full-time hires.

Workers of the Telmex telecommunications giant, obtained a raise through the threat of a strike, although the mobilization was sabotaged by the yellow unions.

Despite the repression and the maneuvers of the charros, it is clear that the young Mexican proletariat is fighting courageously in a very difficult situation that mixes insecurity, lack of rights and brutal repression. This is also the case with education workers.

### **A long struggle against the educational «reforms»**

Since 2013, the Coordination of Education Workers (CNTE) has fought against the establishment of an education reform which, as elsewhere, resulted in lower funding, competition between schools (by measuring the «performance» against each other) and a militarization of teachers with a new evaluation



system (which will punish recalcitrants).

This reform is a translation of the «Mexico Plan» that President Peña Nieto signed with his party (the Institutional Revolutionary Party, member of the Socialist International) and its opponents/partners of the PRD (Democratic Revolution Party, also a member of the Socialist International) and the PAN (National Action Party, clerical right).

For months, teachers, breaking with the yellow SNTE union, have engaged in combat against the federal government but also against the regional governments run by the opposition. The fight mainly developed in the southern states, the poorest regions in which the indigenous population predominates.

The strikers attacked the premises of the bourgeois parties behind the «Plan Mexico» but also openly the yellow and ultra-corrupt unions such as the CTM (affiliated to the very collaborationist International Trade Union Confederation) and the SNTE (affiliated to the equally collaborationist Education International). They blocked economic activity (refinery, fuel depots, airports, roads, hydroelectric ...) and occupied symbolic places, like Mexico City's central square, the Zocalo.

The repression was extremely ferocious even before June 19. Protesters were confronted by hordes of cops. Thousands of teachers have been sacked for refusing to pass evaluation tests or for striking. Hundreds of trade unionists are in prison. This is the case for two leaders of the CNTE arrested June 12 in Mexico City, by six heavily armed men wearing balaclavas, when they were exiting a meeting of the CNTE. They were immediately transferred to the high security Hermosillo.

### RECIPES OF THE «FAR» LEFT AGAINST PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE

Faced with this strike, we could see all the components of the Mexican far left take anti-proletarian positions each one no better than the other. These «revolutionaries» agitated in every manner in order not to confront the bourgeoisie and to divert the proletariat from resumption of open warfare.

#### Recipe n°1: the united front with the bourgeoisie

In this climate of unrest, a new bourgeois party tries to surf the discontent. This is the Movement of National Regeneration (Morena) of Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), former leader of the PRD and former head of the Federal District of Mexico.

The leaders of the CNTE, even if they head up a heroic struggle, are advocates of class collaboration. They hope above all for the election of AMLO who now plays the small nationalist and populist music in the style of Chavez. The CNTE organized jointly with Morena a large protest in Mexico against repression. This allowed AMLO to advance his demands, resignation of the Minister of Education, the punishment of the guilty, but also the formation of a «transitional government» with the current president.

Of course, the Trotskyists have jumped at the chance to be the water carriers of the populist demagogue. This is particularly the case of the Izquierda Socialista (member of the International Marxist Tendency) which stands for the establishment of a «national front of struggle of rural and urban workers» that would combine «peoples' organizations, social organizations, unions, students, farmers and organizations like Morena which have chosen the electoral route» («Represión en Oaxaca, ¡debe caer la contrarreforma educativa y este gobierno de asesinos!» [www.laizquierda-socialista.org](http://www.laizquierda-socialista.org), June 19, 2016). This «front» aims to bring AMLO to power because, according to the SI, it will be «impossible to win the presidential election without a mass movement in the streets» («Movilización masiva en defensa de la CNTE, hace falta aterrizarla en la acción unitaria, balance de la marcha», June 27, 2016).

Other Trotskyists have not yet pledged allegiance to Morena, but even so defend a nationalist and populist line. This is particularly true of what remains of the two large international Trotskyist currents: the Fourth International (Usec) and the Lambertists.

These Trotskyists have acted for decades as the left-wing of the bourgeois parties, having for a long time being members of the PRD. Today they are trying to regain their organizational independence by creating a Political Organization of Workers and People (OPT), driven by the SME electricians' union activists. The Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), affiliated to the Fourth International, the Lambertist Socialist Organisation of Workers (OST) and other Trotskyist groups, but also «activists of the movement of the users of electric power, CUT activists and individuals from the experience of community self-organization of the peoples of Guerrero» involved in the OPT. («Au Mexique, avec ou sans reconnaissance légale, l'OPT est en marche», [europe-solidaire.org](http://europe-solidaire.org), 21 February 2014).

The OPT demands «a reopening of the dialog». This is worthy of the worst traitors who weep when they are deprived of the sacrosanct «social

dialog»!

Although it calls for a «socialization of the means of production», OPT has a fully bourgeois program: defending national sovereignty, developing the national economy and a «participatory and popular» democracy. The motto that adorns their website is symptomatic: «For national liberation and social emancipation». All this accompanied by a Mexican flag! ([Opt.org.mx](http://Opt.org.mx)).

The PRT, the IS or the OST are totally alien to proletarian combat, but they are merely one component of bourgeois nationalism.

Alongside them, other currents wish to be more orthodox but defend equally anticommunist positions. This is particularly the case of the heirs of the Communist Party of Mexico.

#### Recipe n°2: «people power»

The Communist Party of Mexico PCM, which participates in the «International Gathering of Communist and workers' parties» with the remnants of the pro-Soviet CP, especially the Greek Communist Party (KKE), strikes revolutionary postures denouncing indiscriminately the PRI, the PRD, PAN and Morena described as «a new social democracy» and asserting that capitalism «is not reformable». It also argues that it is necessary to «end the government of Peña Nieto, but not in favor of an anti-neoliberal government touting supporters of Keynesian management of capitalism» and claims to deny «inter-classist alliances» («El PCM con los trabajadores de la educación» [elcomunista.nuevaradio.org](http://elcomunista.nuevaradio.org), 23 June 2016).

These proclamations are strictly for show: the PCM is faithful to the old petty-bourgeois line of «struggle against the monopolies». The Presidency of Peña Nieto is denounced as a «monopoly power» against which we must build an «anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist front» («El Estado mexicano: violencia organizada para garantizar la ganancia y el poder de los monopolios» May 31, 2016). This front is of course an inter-class alliance because the «PCM is convinced that such a task can be supported by the working class, by all employees, unemployed workers, immigrant workers, forging an alliance with the popular sectors, in favor of workers' power and a people's economy» («El PCM con los trabajadores de la educación», June 23, 2016).

Another CP from Mexico, the PCdM defender of Cuba promotes the same interclassist line. Its program emphasizes the dictatorship of the proletariat but

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# MEXICO ...

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this is limited to conference documents. Not only does it not defend a class orientation in the current struggle by mixing «rights of workers» and «defense of public education» («Pronunciamiento del PCdEm sobre la represión en contra del magisterio», partido comunistademexico.wordpress.com, 23 June 2016), but, again, its objective is «to build a national Assembly of People's power» («in lugar de votar, construir poder popular» 30-30, April-May 2015). This «people's power» is inspired by the legacy of a peasant leader – and not Marxist – of the Mexican Revolution: «The thought and the example of Emiliano Zapata give us many keys that today are fundamental to achieve the unity of all the exploited, (...) and form one great classist front [sic] against the capitalists, where each exploited sector, women, men, youth, Métis, indigenous people, the workers, peasants, etc., has a place in the struggle» («Emiliano Zapata y su su legado ejemplo a 97 años de su asesinato» April 10, 2016).

Finally, the Maoists of the Revolutionary Communist Organisation defend the same perspective. They advance a populist vision in which the proletariat disappears, «the exploitation and oppression of the vast majority of people by a small class of big capitalists, dominated by the world capitalist-imperialist system» («De Ayotzinapa los «Porkys» crímenes de un perverso Estado al servicio de un sistema opresivo ¡Luchemos contra el poder y la revolución preparemos» aurora-roja. blogspot.fr!). To fight against this, their answer is a «new synthesis of communism developed by Bob Avakian», the *caudillo* of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States. This summary is nothing other than a rehash of the old indigestible plate of the «People's Republic» and the «united front» of workers / peasants / middle class / middle bourgeoisie (La Revolución Liberadora. Orientación estratégica y programa básico).

In different ways, these rejects of Stalinism dream only of a «popular» capitalism, that is to say a bourgeois regime that would grant a few crumbs to the proletariat.

## Recipe n° 3: the constituent assembly

Other organizations take up once again a classic of reformism: the constituent assembly.

This is particularly the case of two groups that seemingly are completely at odds: the PCM (Marxist-Leninist) issuing out of the pro-Albanian current and member of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, and the Workers' Movement for Socialism, member of the Trotskyist Fraction - Fourth International, one of the main components of which is the Argentine PTS.

The PCM (ml) and the MTS defend a «political general strike» that would lead to a «provisional government» based on a «popular and democratic» constituent assembly for these «marxist-leninists» («De la Asamblea Nacional Popular a la Nueva Constituyente», Vanguardia Proletaria, 15-31 January 2015) or «free and sovereign» for the «fourth internationalists» (from Tribuna Socialista, November 14, 2014).

The constituent assembly can only serve to channel the workers' struggles into a bourgeois parliamentary and counter-revolutionary solution. As Lenin said in his report to the Third Congress of the Comintern: «The Constituent Assembly is a dirty word for them. Not only for the conscious communists, but also for peasants. Life has taught them a Constituent Assembly and the White Guards, are the same thing; the first inevitably entails the latter» (Report on the tactics of the Communist Party of Russia, July 5, 1921).

This democratic slogan must be firmly fought because it is a dead end diverting the revolutionary struggle to bring down the bourgeois state. This is what the Bolsheviks did in 1917 and it allowed them to overthrow the bourgeois power: without the violent overthrow of power it is impossible that the bourgeoisie leaves power quietly to another power: it already responds with brutal violence to strikes, it will do even more so when it comes to the question of power!

## Recipe n° 4: «workers and peasants government»

Finally, the fraternal enemies of the Spartacist Group of Mexico (GEM) and the Internationalist Group (IG) reject the Constituent Assembly to oppose to it the «workers' and peasants» government.

In the Communist International as in the Fourth International, the «workers' government» or «workers and peasants» is something other than the proletarian revolutionary power, ie, the **dictatorship of the proletariat**.

It suffices to cite the Transitional Programme of which the Spartacists wish to be the Temple guardians:

*«Of all parties and organizations which base themselves on the workers*

*and peasants and speak in their name, we demand that they break politically from the bourgeoisie and enter upon the road of struggle for the workers' and farmers' government. On this road we promise them full support against capitalist reaction. At the same time, we indefatigably develop agitation around those transitional demands which should in our opinion form the program of the «workers' and farmers' government».*

*Is the creation of such a government by the traditional workers' organizations possible? Past experience shows, as has already been stated, that this is, to say the least, highly improbable. However, one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that, under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.), the petty bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie. In any case one thing is not to be doubted: even if this highly improbable variant somewhere at some time becomes a reality and the «workers' and farmers' government» in the above-mentioned sense is established in fact, it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat». (MIA, pt.2 «Workers' and Farmers' Government»)*

This government is the government of the «united front» that is to say a coalition between the Communists and the bourgeois parties that they are begging to «break with the bourgeoisie» to implement state control of the economy, opening the account books or popular credit. This is a perspective that Trotsky advanced with many reservations but that his disciples repeat at any time, it is illusory at best, at worst totally suicidal!

History has shown that it is a slogan of confusion which reinforces the belief in the possibility of the proletarians to rely on collaborationist organizations to fight against capitalism. But this is nothing but a mortal illusion! Advocates of class collaboration will never fight against capitalism: they have always opposed and they will always oppose attacks against the bourgeois system. In fact this slogan is only used to prevent the vanguard elements that emerge in proletarian struggles from breaking with the dominance of counter-revolutionary reformism.

**In Mexico, as elsewhere, only ONE ISSUE: the proletarian revolution against all reformist impasses**

All these hucksters of the «far» left



trying to foist their adulterated junk on the proletarians: national liberation, constituent assembly, popular power, workers' government ...

Claiming to fight against bourgeois terror, democratization of power and reformists lies, is to confine oneself in the straitjacket that the bourgeoisie wants to impose to exorcise the workers' struggles. Casting such calls to the proletariat is ask it to commit suicide in order to avoid being assassinated, it is to behave as its worst enemy.

The cycle of struggles for national emancipation has been completed around the world, and the young working class must look directly to the uniquely proletarian revolution. It can only do this against the democratic bourgeoisie and its supporters. Without doubt the proletariat has also the historic task of pushing through to completion, especially in agriculture, «bourgeois democratic» tasks, that is to say, the liquidation of the old pre-capitalist oppression which the bourgeoisie still has failed to achieve. But this second task should be assumed without attenuating or renouncing the primary goal, because it is transitory and subordinated to the proletarian revolution, for which the proletarians of the cities have no other reliable allies than the agricultural workers. The small peasant proprietors will be at best, like all petty-bourgeois, only uncertain fellow-travelers, always ready to turn to the bourgeoisie.

Communists, therefore call on the workers of Mexico as of all countries to reject dangerous reformist illusions and to avoid the grave error of considering those who spread them as possible allies

Revolutionaries say to the proletarians that they must accept the struggle on the terrain where they defy the bourgeoisie, and to prepare the response which will require workers' self-defense forces capable of responding to violence with violence and to arms with arms. Such a response can only have meaning if it is indissolubly linked to the perspective of the revolutionary offensive, more or less long term, against the bourgeoisie and its state, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. They call on the most conscious and most combative to participate in the hard work of the constitution of a party genuinely revolutionary and Marxist, internationalist and international, one capable of achieving this preparation and to lead this combat, the party of which the proletariat has been so cruelly deprived for decades.

There is no other way, there cannot be any other way!

July, 10th 2016

## «Dirty» Duterte The Bloody New Face of Bourgeois Democracy in the Philippines

The Philippines, whose economy was once primarily agricultural, has recently experienced a significant industrialization. In 1980, over 37% of exports were agricultural products; in 2015 they accounted for no more than 7%, while industrial products accounted for over 70% of exports (electronic products alone represented 44% of exports).

Classified in the category of «newly industrialized countries», the Philippines ranks among what bourgeois economists call the «Tigers» who, in the wake of the «Dragons» (South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan) are integrated into the capitalist world market thanks to offshore relocations attracted by a cheap labor-force. In 2015, the country experienced the highest growth rate after China.

The Philippines specializes in shipbuilding, automotive equipment, electronics, computers, chemistry and call centers. Mining with copper, gold, silver and nickel is also booming. The country also benefits largely from remittances from the very numerous Filipino emigration.

Over the last thirty years, the working class has largely developed; the number active in the «manufacturing» industry has more than doubled to 15%.

### CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AND PROLETARIAN MISERY

This development, touted by international institutions conceals severe economic backwardness and poverty. About 30% of the workforce is still employed in agriculture but, despite this, the country is not self-sufficient; it must import rice (it is one of the world's biggest importers) to feed its rapidly growing population (75 million Filipinos in 2000, 100 million today). The country is heavily in debt and corruption is endemic.

The majority of the population still lives in miserable conditions. According to official statistics, a quarter of the population lives on less than a dollar a day and according to the IBON Foundation, almost three-quarters live on less than two dollars. While according to the government, unemployment is around 7%, it is actually more than 25% if we take into account imposed part-time work below the living wage. Finally, a large part of the urban population lives in slums. Some estimate that six of the twelve million inhabitants of the capital Manila live in these shantytowns. They live amidst mountains of garbage that pollute the air, water and soil, and face expulsion policies pursued by the public authorities (as in Quezon City in 2014).

Like many capitalist countries, the Philippines has been implementing «neoliberal» measures of privatization and deregulation. Among measures implemented within this framework, there is the «contractualization» system, nicknamed «Endo» (end of contract), which prevents workers from obtaining guaranteed employee status by recruiting them to contracts (often successive) of

less than five months. In the special economic zones (SEZ's) that have multiplied, workers are deprived of almost every right and are subject to severe corporate despotism; in addition, international organizations have regularly denounced the use of forced labor in small enterprises and in agriculture (especially in sugar cane plantations)

The Philippines is also one of the main sources of emigration in the world: there are on average 6000 departures per day. Eleven million Filipinos live abroad, including three million in the United States, two million in Saudi Arabia, and some 700,000 in Canada. Moreover 300,000 Filipino seafarers are plying the oceans on merchant ships.

The integration of the Philippines in the capitalist world economy was facilitated by the close links of the country with its former colonial power, the United States.

The Philippines, formerly a Spanish colony, was conquered by US imperialism in a bloody war between 1899 and 1902. The US military devastated the country, leading real «extermination campaigns» and the internment of civilians in concentration camps, all accompanied by a racist discourse to celebrate the superiority of the Americans, descendants of «Aryan ancestors». This colonial genocide was responsible for the murder of 250-750,000 civilians (Robert Gerwarth and Stephan Malinowski «The anteroom of the Holocaust», *Twentieth Century. History Review*, No. 99, 2008).

The country was a US colony until the end of World War II before becoming formally independent only to be run by

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## «Dirty» Duterte ...

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a succession of pro-American leaders — the most famous and the most ferocious being the dictator Ferdinand Marcos who ruled the country with an iron fist from 1965 to 1986.

### PRESIDENT DUTERTE: VICTORY OF «LAW AND ORDER»

In early May, Rodrigo Duterte was elected president with nearly 40% of the votes in the second round. He won a clear victory by six million votes in a poll with a high degree of participation.

Duterte conducted a demagogic campaign centered around issues of security, based on his record as mayor of Davao. In this city, he brought «order» by setting up death squads, the Alsa Masa militia composed of former soldiers and thugs, and the Davao Death Squad. These groups are accused of murdering over a thousand people, including street children, in the 1990s, in the name of the war against drugs.

By early September, this terror policy had been widely implemented on a national level and nearly 2,500 people had been executed by the joint attacks of the murderers from the police and those of the death squads.

Although sometimes claiming to be left-wing, Duterte said during his campaign that his political model was the dictator Marcos who was overthrown in the so-called «popular revolution» of 1986 resulting in a «democratization» that broke the hegemony of his clan on power, but in favor of other bourgeois forces. Misogynist through and through, he glorifies rape, declaring «jokingly» that he would participate in the gang rape of an Australian nun, or in saying that he had 2 wives and 2 mistresses...

It is not by chance that this reactionary demagogue has been dubbed «Dirty Duterte» by the media in reference to Dirty Harry, the cop using expeditious methods, played by Clint Eastwood, and «The Punisher» in reference to a Marvel super-hero using ultra-violence against criminals.

Economically and socially, he made promises to the poor and the workers, denouncing in particular the system of «contracts» as «anti-popular» (while refusing to make a written commitment). During his election campaign he received the support of the trade union confederations TUCP (Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, the largest confederation) KMU (Kilusang Mayo Uno, Union

of May, supposedly more combative, linked to the Maoist PCP) etc, while others were taking no position. In his government he appointed Joel Maglunsod Mindanao, the vice president of the KMU, as Undersecretary of State for Labor and Employment.

But this «social» image of defender of the poor and the support given him by the union bureaucrats, cannot hide his decades-long support for neoliberal policies. He proposed to develop «public-private partnerships» to fund infrastructure spending, to increase the «competitiveness» of the economy to attract foreign investment, to remove protectionist measures...

His real feeling about the proletariat was proven when, at a meeting in February, he warned the KMU not try to organize to organize EPZ workers: «*We are one in ideology. [But] do not do that [organize the workers] because you will destroy my administration. If you do that, I will kill you all.*» (<http://www.equaltimes.org/what-can-workers-in-the?lang=en#.V-L0MBJUXs1>).

KMU bureaucrats have complied, but the threat has already been realized elsewhere. On September 17, Orlando Abangan, a trade union activist of the Partido Manggagawa (PM), was murdered («PM Condemns vigilante-style killing of a leader», [partidomanggagawa](http://partidomanggagawa.com) 2001. [blog.spot.fr](http://blog.spot.fr)) keeping with the entrenched tradition of the Philippines ruling class of repression of the proletariat. The most brutal anti-union practices remain common; as of today the promises made by Duterte to the workers have not been adhered to, and when a trade union delegation went to remind Maglunsod of the promise to end the Endo system, the under-secretary was only able to answer that he would forward the demand to the Minister...

Duterte is therefore a totally bourgeois politician even if he occasionally presents himself as a «socialist». This does not prevent him from receiving more or less open support from multiple parties claiming to be communist.

### THE MAOIST PC OFFERS ITS SERVICES TO DUARTE – WHO ACCEPTS THEM...

The pseudo-radical face of Duterte gave a pretext to the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) to prostrate themselves before him in the name of the «democratic revolution». The CPP has championed an «alliance» with Duterte because his election «*opens up prospects for meaningful change*» («Struggle and alliance under the Duterte regime», *Bayan*, English edition, June 7, 2016). This alliance is justified in

the name of nationalism: Duterte, «*not fully subject to US imperialism*» would be «*the only opportunity of ending 70 years of government under the United States*». The Maoists have a totally bourgeois and reactionary program of «*national unity, peace and development*» that is to say unity behind the bourgeoisie, social peace and development of the national capitalist economy («Prospects under Duterte's presidency», *Bayan*, English edition, 15 May 2016). The exiled leader of the party said during the campaign, that he hopes Duterte «*will actually serve the Filipino people in their fight for national liberation, democracy, social justice, development*»; he is willing to support «*all the patriotic and progressive policies and acts of the Duterte presidency.*» (<http://josemariasison.org/interview-with-prof-jose-maria-sison-on-the-election-of-duterte-as-president/> May 11, 2016).

The CPP will quickly be rewarded for its support. Duterte offers a cease-fire to the New People's Army (NPA), a guerilla organization which has several thousand fighters and which had been carrying out a «people's war» since 1969. The new president also appoints three representatives of the «National Democratic Front», i.e. the union of the «mass» organizations of the CPP («3 NDFP nominees to sit in new cabinet», *Bayan*, English edition, June 7, 2016). The Maoists get the ministries of Agrarian Reform and Labour and Employment, for the leaders of their peasant union the KMP and of the KMU.

It is true that the CPP has distanced itself from the bloody police terror initiated by the new president («No more cooperation with Duterte's undemocratic and anti-people 'drug war'», [cpp.ph](http://cpp.ph), communiqué of 12 August 2016). It also accuses him of being a «*reactionary regime*» which betrays its promises, which capitulates to «*big business, the US, the military and capitalist bureaucrats*» while defending a «*tactical alliance*» with him («Duterte is Undermining the opportunity for change and peace», [cpp.ph](http://cpp.ph), communiqué of August 7).

So it remains a partisan (barely critical) of this reactionary demagogue: the CPP greeted his «*peaceful and independent foreign policy*» when Duterte denounced the US military presence on Philippine soil («Positive significance of Duterte's avowal to uphold an independent foreign policy» [cpp.ph](http://cpp.ph), communiqué of 11 September 2016). It calls on Duterte to make the Philippines an «*independent and non-aligned country*» («All US military forces in entire country must go home», [cpp.ph](http://cpp.ph), statement of 13 September 2016) which should conclude trade

agreements with Venezuela, Iran, Cuba, Russia, North Korea and China («Positive significance of Duterte's avowal...»).

While it may seem radical by its use of violence and its pseudo-Marxist references, the CPP is a **bourgeois** force that defends an independent capitalist development as part of a union of «patriotic forces», which is precisely an inter-class alliance that chains the workers to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

### THE «FAR» LEFT OFFERS «CRITICAL» SUPPORT

Besides the CPP, there are other pseudo-revolutionary parties.

On the one hand there is the former pro-Soviet party – the PKP-1930 (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas-1930, Communist Party of the Philippines since 1930). The PKP sharply criticized the candidate Duterte considered as reactionary a candidate as the others («Prospects for the Philippines in the wake of the May 9 general elections», solidnet.org). But less than a month later, the party congratulated President Duterte! The PKP – like its enemy brothers of the CPP – offered its services: «we support all efforts of your administration to fulfill your campaign promise» to fight against crime. The bloodthirsty work of the death squads probably satisfied these false communists. All this is, once again, justified by a completely bourgeois program «to build a prosperous country in peace, national sovereignty, democracy and social justice» («Open letter to President elect Rodrigo R. Duterte» pkp1930.org). This turnaround was justified by the fact that «his electoral victory reflects the hope of many voters»....

There are also forces from splits from the PKP from the early '90's. These splits were made on the question of the nature of the revolution in the Philippines. For the «rejectionists», especially represented by Filemon Lagman, the Philippines is not a «semi-colonial and semi-feudal» capitalist country but a country in which a workers' revolution must take power.

Despite this tactical change, these forces – the *Partido Lakas ng Masas* (PLM Party of the Laboring Masses) and the *Partido Manggagwa* (PM, Labor Party) – are equally as alien to classist proletarian positions as the PKP.

The PLM estimates that the «political situation [is] extremely interesting and challenging» and responds positively to the advances of the Maoists for «a government of national unity, peace and development» defending a «struggle for a national program against the dominance of the neoliberal elite» («Philippines left facing a Duterte-CPP

coalition government», masa.ph, May 28, 2016).

PM does not provide open political support to the government or to the PCP but asked Duterte to «wage war against contractualization as vigorous as the war against drugs» («Group Asks Duterte for big names of endo lords in the country», August 2, 2016, partidong manggagawa2001.blogspot.fr). It also demands that union activists be officially given the role of labor inspectors («PM wants union officers deputized as labor inspector for endo campaign», August 5, 2016). It would not be too difficult to find a stronger critique of Duterte government!

For its part, the Trotskyist Fourth International (Usec) has managed to build a section in the Philippines from a split in the CPP: the Revolutionary Workers Party of Mindanao (RPM-M). This party has responded favorably to the advances of the leaders of the CPP, which it called «comrades in struggle for the liberation of the oppressed». RPM believes it has «a difference of method» with the Maoists but common – bourgeois! – objectives: «democratic reforms put forward without losing sight of the elimination of the oppression of the masses» (16 June 2016 rpm-m.org «Response to Jose Ma Sison's Call for Dialogue»). It's the old program of social democracy: reforms today and socialism in an indeterminate time!

All these pseudo-revolutionary currents, completely reformist in reality, are only gadflies buzzing around the PCP itself prostrated before the Philippine bourgeoisie and its current head Duterte; they are, like the PCP obstacles to the proletarian struggle.

But there exists in the country a group that claims to represent the Communist Left, «Internatyonalismo». Is there a class alternative to this pro-bourgeois «far left»?

### INTERNATYONALISMO: ROAD TO NOWHERE

Since 2009, in fact, the International Communist Current (ICC) has had a section in the Philippines. Under the title «The Duterte regime in the Philippines, appeal to 'the strong man' and weakness of the working class», the ICC website published in June an article from its Philippine section on the presidential election, also including positions taken earlier.

Far from putting forward a real classist perspective, all Internatyonalismo has to offer its readers is whining about «the impotence [the] despair, [the] lack of perspective [and] loss of confidence in the unity of the working class and the

struggles of the laboring masses».

«One negative effect of decadent capitalism in its decomposing stage is the rise of desperation and hopelessness among the poverty-stricken masses. One indication is the lumpenisation of parts of the toiling masses, increasing number of suicides, rotten culture among the young and gangsterism. All of these are manifestations of the increasing discontentment of the masses in the current system but they don't know what to do and what to replace it with. In other words, increasing discontent but no perspective for the future. That's why the mentality of 'everyone for himself' and 'each against all' strongly influences a significant portion of the working class».

Internatyonalismo condemns the Duterte regime as «a rabid defender of national capitalism» and «a government of the capitalist class for the capitalist class»; but faced with this bourgeois power, what is the perspective? «For us, what is important is to analyse and understand as communists why significant numbers of the population are ready to accept Duterte as dictator and 'Godfather' initially. And then, «persevere with theoretical clarification, organisational strengthening and militant interventions to prepare for the future struggles at the international level». Wait and see...

Added to this there are the caricatures of struggle which the ICC section provides as an example to the proletarians: «solidarity movements (anti-CPE movement in France [student struggle], the Indignados in Spain, the class struggle in Greece, the Occupy movement in the United States)».

The logic behind this is that the Philippines is not «ripe» for the proletarian revolution. This is what was explained by the ICC in an article hailing the creation of the section («Salut to the new sections of the ICC in the Philippines and Turkey», 5 March 2009). In it the ICC reaffirmed its position on the dominated countries enunciated in 1982 («The proletariat of Western Europe at the center of the generalization of the class struggle», *International Review* 31):

«Only by attacking its heart and head will the proletariat be able to defeat the capitalist beast. For centuries, history has placed the heart and head of the capitalist world in Western Europe. The world revolution will take its first steps where capitalism took its first steps. It's here that the conditions for the revolution, enumerated above, can be found in the most developed form. (...) It is thus only in Western

(Continued on page 12)

## «Dirty» Duterte ...

(Continuation from page 11)

*Europe, where the proletariat has the longest experience of struggle, where it has already been confronted for decades with all the 'working class' mystifications of the most elaborate kind, that there can be a full development of the political consciousness which is indispensable in its struggle for revolution».*

For the ICC, the revolution will be European or it will not be! The proletarians of the young capitalist countries but also of the United States or Japan, have to be patient and wait for the conscious European proletariat to resume the fight. So the only prospect remaining in the Philippines is the development of struggles on the bourgeois democratic terrain (such as the Indignados, Occupy, or Podemos which is its legitimate offspring) or reformist (such as the «class struggle» in Greece that was made – and

was defeated – under the leadership of Syriza and the KKE).

It is clear that ultimately Internatyonalismo is unable to offer a class perspective to the Filipino proletariat, a truly communist perspective.

### FOR A PROLETARIAN PERSPECTIVE

For communists, it is neither the horizon of bourgeois revolution (even radical) nor the impotent waiting for the reawakening of the European proletariat which are on the agenda. Today, all regions of the world have been thrown into turmoil by the capitalist mode of production. Imperialism has caused capitalism to penetrate into every pore of Philippine society.

The proletarian revolution has long been maturing in this eastern Asia plowed in every direction by the irresistible movement of capitalist expansion. It means, as elsewhere, the destruction of all mercantile and wage relations, and all states erected to defend them.

Wherever it erupts and whatever

the greater or lesser importance of the residues left by the limits of the capitalist transformation of societies, this revolution will find in the violent shock with the capillary network of imperialism – as celebrated by bourgeois hacks under the name of «globalization» – the material conditions of a rapid dissemination, which will eventually have to lay siege to and destroy the strongholds of the counter-revolution in North America and Europe.

This longer perspective that is ours, the one based on materialism, implies the rebirth of the class party, faithful to authentic Marxism and enjoying a strong influence among the ranks of the proletariat. This party will be able to lead the working class in the Philippines as elsewhere toward the assault against capitalism, only on the base of the exclusive defense of the interests of the proletariat and the exploited masses, in opposition to all democratic, reformist and interclassist illusions conveyed by the false defenders of socialism.

September, 25th 2016

## IRON FIST IN TURKEY

It's enough to read just a few lines of the bourgeois press to get an idea of what will happen after the failed coup of 15 July, «The iron fist of Erdogan after the failed coup in Turkey: I am ready to reinstate the death penalty. 8000 police officers were suspended, opponents were stripped naked and hog-tied. The European Union: If executions resume, Turkey will not enter Europe»(1).

Naturally the E.U. in which Erdogan's Turkey has long sought membership, speaks only of «executions»; it can thus save face by maintaining ties with the repressive Turkish regime and other repressive European regimes.

The vendetta of «Sultan» Recep Tayyip Erdogan will be terrible; it's what he swore after the events. And that's a promise he intends to accomplish without being restricted to the Armed Forces and police who have stood against his power, but is spreading to all sectors of society. The attempted coup has certainly not surprised Western chancelleries and certainly not the American, German, English, French or Russian governments – imperialist powers have many economic, financial and political interests in Turkey and throughout the region, with the inevitable conflicts between them. They are partly forced to undergo the initiatives and maneuvers of Erdogan and are simultaneously accomplices and allies of the emergence of Turkey as a regional middle power. No

imperialism that has a minimum interest in the vast region stretching from North Africa to Central Asia can ignore this country and what happens there. The fact that the Turkish state continues to bomb Kurdish cities under the pretext of combatting PKK guerrilla actions or that for years it has let fighters of the Islamic State pass through its territory, was met with purely formal protests from Western powers.

In all probability, if it had succeeded, the coup prepared for some time by some sectors of the Armed Forces, would have given Turkish policy an orientation appreciated in a very different manner by the United States and NATO (2); but the military coup plotters did not take into account, nor probably did Western imperialism, that the bourgeois factions of which Erdogan is the representative enjoyed strong popular support: Erdogan and his Prime Minister were followed when they made the «call to the people» to «resist» and to «defend» the legitimacy of the elected president(3). The western imperialisms did not react immediately; they waited to see the results of the coup (which normally would have liquidated or imprisoned the president), before, after its failure, uttering platonic statements in defense of «stability» and support to the legitimate «democratic order» of the country.

On the night of July 15 to 16, several military detachments, particularly in

Ankara and Istanbul, and guided by their officers under the command of a «leading staff» of a few generals attempted to overthrow Erdogan (4).

Their «official» motives? To restore secularism and democracy in Turkey against the growing Islamization.

Their real motives? To restore the social and political influence that the Armed Forces have always had in Turkey, but which the governments of the AKP (the ruling party) have sought to reduce. The international media has explained that the heads of the military units that participated in the coup feared an impending purge at one moment or another because of their hostility to Erdogan; the failure of the coup could be explained because the imminence of this operation would not have left time to the generals involved to constitute a unified operation center. In five hours the putsch fizzled out, while the soldiers who occupied the Istanbul airport refused to fire on the crowd who had gathered there after crossing the Bosphorus.

This was a struggle for power within the ruling class: bourgeois power in Turkey is not limited to the Army and the Islamist factions, including the «Gülenistes» (4) opponents of Erdogan who have some significance.

As of July 19th the purge involved 50,000 firings and 10,000 arrests. It affects not only the Army, the Police and the Judiciary, but concerns all public

administrations and, of course, schools, universities and religious organizations. The possibility of reintroducing the death penalty, as requested by the AKP and numerous deputies, is a terrorist threat brandished to have a deterrent effect on fractions which have made an attempt in one way or another on the «legitimacy of the constituted power»; but that does not mean that this step will not actually be taken by the parliamentary majority who supports Erdogan.

What could the proletarians have expected from a successful coup and what can they expect after the victory of Erdogan's supporters?

Two bourgeois factions with opposing interests clashed in a struggle for power and the proletariat had nothing to do with either of them. The secularism and democracy brandished by the military putschists are along the same bourgeois themes as religion and authoritarianism. But what is more, democracy and its political mechanisms— true modern ideological intoxication by which the bourgeoisies of all countries distract and paralyze social movements, particularly the labor movement by reducing it to impotence— are increasingly serving an inexorable political centralization of bourgeois power; This is even more evident today than it was in the past when they opened the door to fascism.

Besides an increasingly ruthless exploitation by the capitalists, proletarians now have to await the systematic restriction of «civic rights» and ever more widespread militarization of social life by the bourgeois regime. This happens not only in countries with an economic and political recent development like Turkey, but in those with a long democratic tradition as in France as well; and the pretext is obviously the same. The fight against «terrorism» internally and externally, the fight against «subversion»!

The workers have long suffered a spate of economic, social and political anti-worker attacks, imposed by all States to «fight the crisis», that is to say in defense of capitalist profits over a protracted period; they have the most difficulty finding the impetus for an effective fight against these measures and their consequences in terms of unemployment and lower wages because the «workers'» trade unions are overwhelmingly collaborationist and put the defense of social order ahead the class interests of the proletariat. The situations where political and trade union collaborationism has driven down the proletarians in France and in Turkey, in Italy as in Egypt, are tragically negative. Their immediate future is determined by capitalist objectives because the trade union and political organizations that deal with proletarian interests drown them instead in the interests of national capitalism.

Certainly as long as bourgeois power is capable of ensuring the country's workers an income slightly above basic survival and maintain at least a layer of the proletariat under more favorable conditions than those of the mass, the ruling class can rest on an important material basis for influencing the proletarians. But the economic crises that are inseparable from the functioning of capitalism, the internal contrasts between bourgeois factions and external contrasts with the bourgeoisies of other countries, the struggle of imperialist competition, always more lurid and violent, are themselves material factors that tend sooner or later to turn social contrasts into oppositions between antagonistic classes, between the bourgeois and the proletarian class, inevitably polarizing the social antagonisms that have existed in capitalist society since its birth.

It will not be easy for the proletariat, in Turkey, in the very «civilized» Europe or elsewhere, to engage in the path of class struggle, the only way to open the prospect of a future without exploitation, without oppression, without coups or wars.

This will not be the result of a general «awareness» by the proletarians who «choose» not to trust democracy, or «social peace» in the «supreme interest of the country» in the «fatherland» or any «cultural identity» taken as an historical and eternal rationale for «the people»; it will not be the result of a progressive and gradual development of «democracy» through which the «people» could would make its «will» felt, through street demonstrations or the ballot box, against all existing financial, political and military powers, put bluntly — against bourgeois power.

The class struggle is determined by the explosion of the contradictions of capitalist society, which set all social strata in motion in an inexorable and confused manner causing them to come into collision; in this social turmoil there necessarily emerge the forces that materially and historically represent the two determinant tendencies: the forces of social conservatism against the forces of the social revolution, the bourgeois forces against those of the proletariat.

The proletariat will learn and learn over once again to fight for itself, for its own class interests, because it will be forced to fight against its total subservience to capitalist power, against the violence, exploitation and oppression of the bourgeoisie which holds it under its yoke; it will recognize the need to fight so as not to be turned into cannon fodder whenever inter-bourgeois and inter-imperialist rivalries evolve from economic violence into warring violence.

All this will not happen by spontaneous generation, under the stimulation of conspiratorial organizations or by a grad-

ual and peaceful classist organization of the proletariat. Even this necessary classist reorganization will be the result of a hard struggle against pacifist and democratic habits «inoculated» by opportunistic organizations, against the illusions of the «one big night» where the rebelling workers could get rid of the dictatorship of servitude in the wink of an eye, or a «direct democracy» which would allow the spontaneity of the masses to find the orientation for the struggle.

The history of the labor movement teaches that the class interests around which the proletariat organized their forces are not the heritage of the masses as such, nor of their spontaneity. The proletarian class interests are defined by the history of many years of labor struggles and the history of its union and political organizations, a history of which only the class political party — because it does not let dictate its orientation by the contingency of the ebb and flow of struggles, their victories and their defeats — was able to take stock and condense it in its theses and its program and has the task of reintroducing into the proletarian ranks the struggle against *contingentism*, *movementism* and *spontaneism*, all the opportunist deviations which, given the ideological and material bourgeois pressure are constantly reborn in the proletariat.

Even though the signs of recovery of the proletarian class struggle have not yet manifested, either in the coun-

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## El Proletario

**Órgano del partido comunista internacional**  
No 11 - Agosto - septiembre - octubre de 2016

- ¿Fuera de tono?
- Esclavos del cielo
- Venezuela: ¿Estado de Emergencia?
- ¡Emergencia de la lucha proletaria!
- «La materia nunca muere»
- Otro terremoto devastador sacude el centro de Italia: por enésima vez, prevención inexistente y terreno fértil para las especulaciones de la emergencia y de la reconstrucción
- Sobre la carnicería de Niza. ¡No a la unión nacional! ¡No a las guerras imperialistas! ¡Lucha de clase para acabar con la mortífera sociedad del capital!
- ¡México: Sangrienta represión burguesa y danza macabra de la «extrema» izquierda
- Tesis para la propaganda entre las mujeres (extracto). III Congreso de la Internacional Comunista —Julio de 1921
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## TURKEY ...

(Continuation from page 13)

tries hit by crises and war as the Middle East or in those still somewhat prosperous as in Europe or North America, in the economic sub-terrain the factors of a crisis that according to the bourgeois themselves, looks disastrous, reviving the specter of a third world war, accumulate ever more acutely. The only force that can impede this global conflict, or who can fight it and stop it, as occurred in 1917, at the time of the Russian revolution, is the proletariat led by its class party.

There is no alternative: war or revolution, bourgeois and imperialist dictatorship or dictatorship of the proletariat. History knows no half measures.

July, 19th 2016

(1) See *Il Corriere della Sera*, 07/19/2016

(2) We must not forget that there are

24 NATO bases in Turkey, the most important, that of Incirlik, comprises 5,000 US soldiers; on these bases are positioned more than 100 tactical nuclear bombs. The strategic position of Turkey for control of the eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Middle East is a given.

(3) The success of Erdogan relies on clear economic results: «In 13 years Erdogan revolutionized the country. He creates a new urban middle class which adores him. The average income per person under him has risen from \$2,000 per year to \$11,000. If you do not understand that, you cannot understand how he survived the coup. » *Il Corriere della Sera*, 07/18/2016.

(4) «The putschists are not an isolated group, as it was said by judging on the speed with which they were arrested. Quite the contrary. We find among them the commanders of the Second and Third Army deployed along Syria, the most important border and most unstable country which includes the Incirlik air base, from where US jets and their allies NATO bombed the positions of the Islamic State.

The site also found that operate specialized commandos from helicopters, personnel of the police and gendarmerie, the tank battalions, entire squadrons of aircraft. «The problem was that all the forces that make up the best part of our army lacked a unified command and a political leader who can speak to the nation outside the military language. They are like ghosts of the past» explained Orhan Bur-sah, *Hurriyet* newspaper commentator. «They thought it was enough to capture the Chief of Staff Gen. Hulusi Akar and force him to make a public statement to the nation in their favor to win consensus. But they went a bit too fast. Akar, already in their hands before Friday midnight, refused to cooperate. And other commanders of the Army responded with force. The most important among them is the General Umit Dudar, chief responsible for Istanbul, who ordered the armed resistance».

(5) The imam Fethullah Gulen, resident for years in the US, representing an Islamist faction which was at first an ally and then opponent of Erdogan, is considered by him as the «brain» of the coup.

## Referendum on Europe: British Proletarians Have no Side to Support!

The referendum campaign on whether Britain should remain within or exit the European Union has become increasingly more animated in recent weeks, whereas before it was met with a certain indifference, especially among proletarians and the laboring population. Supporters of «Brexit» (out of EU) beside their traditional argument of the defense of British sovereignty have increasingly brought to the forefront of their propaganda the «threat» that the flow of European and non-European migrant workers into the country represents, fueling nationalist and chauvinist sentiments; the side that favors maintaining EU membership seeks to dramatize the risks of economic crisis that would be represented by leaving the EU.

Recent surveys indicating that a majority of voters are in favor of Brexit have also caused not only a decline in the British currency, but a bear market, and not just in Europe, concerned about the consequences such an event would have on a global economy already in full slowdown. Britain is indeed one of the major European economies, and the inevitable economic perturbations that would be engendered by its exit from the EU would not be negligible, at least for now. This is why international organizations like the IMF or the OECD warned against this possibility, joining similar scaremongering refrains by Prime Minister Cameron or the Bank of England (the central bank of the United Kingdom).

Given that the bulk of British trade is with the European Union (depending on the month, from 38 to 48% of exports, and 47 to 55% of imports according to official customs statistics), it is understood that

the most important capitalist sectors of the country, whether the largest enterprises or the City of London – veritable financial center of Europe – are in favor of staying in the European Union; 80% of members of the Confederation of British Industry, which includes the largest companies, are of this opinion. During his official visit to Britain in April, President Obama urged the British to stay in the European Union; He thus expressed the interests of many US firms that are established in the country in order to have more convenient access to the European market (a market of over 500 million people), while enjoying a linguistic, legal and social environment more similar to that of their country of origin: these companies would inevitably suffer from the loss of free access to this market.

However, the fact that major bourgeois political forces (understood to include current government ministers) have

declared in favor of Brexit, is explained by the fact that this would be in the interests of some capitalist sectors; this is particularly the case among small and medium enterprises (SMEs) producing for the local market (or that of the Commonwealth, the rest of the former colonial empire), and who see in the European regulations unnecessary constraints to their business: about half of the managers of these SMEs are in favor of Brexit.

One can find an expression of this division among the British bourgeoisie in the fact that the British Chamber of Commerce has declared its neutrality on the issue (after its president, who therefore had to resign, declared himself a supporter of Brexit in speech given at a meeting where Cameron had come to plead for staying in the EU!). In the milieu of supporters of abandoning the EU, some believe that the future of British capitalism will be played out more in non-European markets, Asian or other, since the proportion of trade carried out with the European Union has been in decline for the last fifteen years; while others think that free of the constraints of the 'single market' Europe would increase the competitiveness of goods made in Great Britain compared to European goods...

**BREXIT OR MAINTAINING  
MEMBERSHIP IN THE EU:  
A FALSE ALTERNATIVE FOR  
BRITISH PROLETARIANS**

Prime Minister Cameron had without

doubt decided on holding the referendum for domestic political reasons; but he also used the threat of calling the vote for Brexit to obtain concessions from other European states (which makes quite a bit less credible his assertions about the catastrophic consequences of leaving the EU). Notably he has obtained satisfaction on the possibility of not granting social allowances for a number of years to workers coming from Europe, that is to say, to make this part of the proletarians living in the country a source of cheap manpower, super-exploitable by British capitalism. Social benefits are not a gift granted by the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, but are what is referred to as the «indirect wage», i.e. the part of the salary that is not paid directly to workers: to lower this share drives down the real wages paid by the capitalists to their employees. After granting it – without too much trouble! – to the British bourgeoisie, the EU leaders reaffirmed maintaining ... the special status of Britain in the EU; obtained by previous governments it translates to the fact that the country is not part of the euro zone nor of the «Schengen area» (which allows the free movement of persons) and it enjoys exemptions from EU rules in critical areas for it, such as finance; whether Labour or Conservative, successive governments have always effectively defended the interests of British capitalism against their proletarians as well as against their European competitors-partners! It will be the same in the future, whatever the outcome of the referendum...

The conclusion is clear: the supporters of Brexit as well as those wishing to stay in the EU are divided on the best way to defend the bourgeois interests. The proletarians of Britain do not have to support one or the other because they are both equally their class enemies. Against the defenders of British sovereignty who are threatened by the European Union, as against supporters of keeping this alliance of bourgeois states that is the European Union to preserve national capitalism, the only camp which they must take part in is that of class independence and the international unity of the proletariat.

But this is not what the so-called «revolutionary» groups present in the country are saying to the proletarians: on the contrary virtually all of them appeal for mobilization in favor of either of the two bourgeois camps!

The groups that wallow in the wake of the Labour Party are campaigning, just like the latter and the union apparatus for a vote in favor of remaining in the EU; this is true of the Trotskyists of «Socialist Action» and those of «Social-

ist Resistance», justifying this in the name of the fight against racism: Yes, a vote for Fortress Europe that is responsible for the deaths of thousands of proletarians immigrants seeking to cross the Mediterranean, would be a vote against racism!

However most of the groups and parties of «far»-left call for the Brexit choice either openly in the name of sovereignty as do the «Marxist-Leninists» of the Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist, or because they claim the EU is the main capitalist force threatening the workers and that Brexit would weaken the Conservative party: this is the pretext of the Socialist Workers party (leading party of the far left), the Socialist party or the Spartacists of International Communist League.

For these contortionists for one or the other side, participation in the referendum and supporting bourgeois forces would be a clever move for the proletariat! They thus demonstrate that they are completely foreign to the proletarian cause: to support a bourgeois camp and to call to participate in the electoral mystification means in effect opposing the class positions that are essential for the proletarian struggle. Their positions on the issue of the European referendum are the demonstration of the anti-proletarian nature of these various so-called socialist or communist groups.

In Britain there is another Trotskyist group, the «Socialist Equality Party» (a member of the «International Committee of the Fourth International» better known by its website wsws.org), which has the merit of denouncing both contending sides and participation in the referendum as contrary to the interests of workers. However this is not sufficient to be defined as an authentically class position; Indeed, in its statements it called without hesitation for opposition to the EU, but it condemns only «British nationalism» and nowhere does it call for opposition to the **British state!** Besides opposition to the EU and British nationalism, its slogans are for the unity of British and European workers and for the Socialist United States of Europe.

But an important part of the proletarians present in Europe and Britain are non-European, proletarians who are Africans, Arabs, Turks, Pakistanis, Indians, etc., represent a significant fraction of the working class of Europe and are a living link which connects to the proletarians of these countries: the European proletariat is actually in part extra-European and any political orientation which takes for its framework bourgeois Europe's borders means the rejection of part of the proletariat and restricting its

international nature.

The main enemy of the proletariat in Britain, no matter what their race and their nationality is «their» own bourgeoisie, with its tradition of exploitation and imperialist pillage well established, and its state strengthened to a solidity historically unequaled in the world.

The only allies on whom they can rely in the fight against this very tough and very experienced enemy, are precisely the proletarians of other European and non-European countries which all sides see as a menace. To reject bourgeois propaganda, to be free of illusions in the benefits of bourgeois democracy, to reject all false alternatives presented to them by capitalists with the help of their lackeys on the left or far left, is a basic requirement in order to go forward to the reconquest of the class independence which they were the first to set an example of before being subjugated by the power of their capitalism then set to conquer the world market. In undertaking this path, the proletarians of Britain will also have to reconnect again to the combat begun by their glorious predecessors for the constitution of the party and class organizations which are fiercely anti-bourgeois, once more bringing to life the old but always immanent watchwords: **Proletarians of all countries, unite!**

June, 8th 2016

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N° 521

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AMADEO BORDIGA

# The Goals of the Communists

(Continuation from page 1)

century" who claim to discover new ways when they are merely following the old beaten track of the eternal revisionists and traitors, the "centrists" of yesterday and today.

\* \* \*

**The socialist revolution takes place when, in capitalist society, the conflict between producers and the productive relations has become intolerable and there are forces tending to establish a new system of relations.**

This revolutionary tendency runs up against armed force, of which political institutions centralized in the bourgeois state regulate the organization and the operation, and by which the dominant class prevents the existing relations – that it finds beneficial to preserve – from being modified.

For the revolution to accomplish its economic task, it is first necessary to destroy the political system that centralizes power, the only means available to the oppressed class for this is to organize and to unify itself in a political party.

The historic goal of Communists is precisely the formation of this party and the struggle for the revolutionary conquest of power.

This will release latent forces capable of generating a new economic system based on technical advances by productive forces which are now squeezed by the political structure of capitalism.

The task which is the purpose of the Communist Party is therefore characterized by two basic principles:

1) universality, because it contains the largest possible number of proletarians and acts on behalf of the class and not for vested interests and local groups of workers;

2) attachment to the final goal, the maximum program, because it is a result that is not immediate and cannot be achieved gradually.

Without doubt during its evolution bourgeoisie society provides partial solutions to specific problems, but they have nothing to do with the full and final solution pursued by the Communist Party.

Even the interests of the proletariat, where the interest is contingent and limited to more or less extensive groups, may, to some extent, be satisfied within the bourgeois world.

The conquest of these particular solutions is not the concern of the Communists. It is a task which is spontaneously allocated to from other organizations of the proletariat, such as unions,

cooperatives, etc. ...

The communist party intervenes in these partial conquests to focus the attention of the masses on the general problem of the final conquest of power. As the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" states, "The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers."

After the revolutionary conquest of power, the productive forces latent in the stifling yoke of the capitalist system will be liberated.

Even then, the main concern of the Party will not be a task of economic construction, to which the extraordinary explosion of organisms will spontaneously contribute: the bearers of the energy of a new world which was already in force in the conflict between producers and forms of production and which the political revolution does nothing other than allow it to grow. The real task of the Party will still be the political struggle against the bourgeoisie; vanquished, but still seeking to regain power; and the struggle for the unification of the proletariat beyond selfish and corporatist interests.

This second activity will take on increasingly greater importance during this period.

Today the existence of a common enemy, the power centralized in the state, the omnipresent capitalist in the factory, naturally cement proletarian solidarity that stands up against the formidable organized solidarity of the owners.

Tomorrow, when the workers of a factory, a city, an occupational group have been freed from the menace of the capitalist exploiter by the force of proletarian power, it is possible that local interests will take on more power and virulence until all acquire communist political consciousness in its universality.

This is perhaps the reason for the action taken by the Russian Soviet State and which the bourgeois press has announced as the dissolution of the factory committees.

The most difficult problem of the communist tactic has always been to adhere closely to these characteristics of finality and generality which we talked about earlier.

Instead of focusing all their strength and despite all the difficulties in the

implacable Marxist dialectic of the revolutionary process, the Communists have often yielded to deviations where their action is lost and crumbled in so-called concrete achievements and an overestimation of certain institutions, which seem to constitute an easier bridge across to communism than the terrifying leap into the abyss of the Revolution, the "Marxist catastrophe from which will arise the renewal of humanity."

Reformism, revolutionary syndicalism, the cooperative movement are this and nothing else.

Some current maximalist trends which, faced the difficulties of the violent destruction of bourgeois power, search for a terrain to achieve and to concretize their activity, to render it possible technically, as well as initiatives that overestimate the anticipated creation of organs of the future economy such as factory committees, fall into the same mistakes.

Maximalism will only experience its first victory with the conquest of all power by the proletariat. Before that, it has nothing else to propose that the ever more vast, ever more conscious organization of the proletarian class on the political terrain.

## « Il Comunista »

Nr.145 - Settembre 2016

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- Un altro devastante terremoto sconvolge il centro Italia: per l'ennesima volta, prevenzione inesistente ma terreno fertile per le speculazioni dell'emergenza e della ricostruzione!
- Messico: La sanguinosa repressione borghese e la danza macabra dell'«estrema» sinistra
- Pugno di ferro in Turchia
- La presa di posizione del partito di fronte alla carneficina di Nizza. Sulla carneficina di Nizza No all'unione nazionale! No alle guerre imperialiste! Lotta di classe per mettere fine alla mortifera società del capitale!
- A cent'anni dalla prima guerra mondiale. (3)
- Piacenza: Muore un operaio investito da un camion, durante un picchetto alla GLS.
- Con i morti ancora caldi e i vivi agonizzanti sotto le macerie, il giorno dopo il terremoto nel centro Italia già si parla di «ricostruzione».
- La Sinistra comunista d'Italia sottoposta al supplizio borghese dei «Dizionari biografici»
- Tra pace e guerra

Periódico bimestral. Precio del ejemplar: 1,5 €; £ 1; 5FS; Suscripción: 8 €; £ 6; 25 FS; Suscripción de solidaridad: 16 €; £ 12

## «Worker-Communism» or Petty-Bourgeois Democratism?

The «Worker-Communist» current has acquired a certain notoriety internationally over the past several years; in affirming to represent a resolutely communist, anti-Stalinist critique of the usual positions of the so-called «far» left, Trotskyist or otherwise, this current can entice militants or proletarians in search of truly revolutionary positions. But we'll see that in a package that may seem attractive the merchandise on offer is adulterated.

This current is also known under the name: «Hekmatist»; Mansoor Hekmat (now deceased) was indeed his leader and theoretician, and his authority is always asserted by the various groups of this current. We will refer mainly to the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (W-CPI), because it is the organization most known internationally; present in the Iranian emigration in many countries, it publishes texts in several languages. In addition, we will quote the text of an organization which is in its orbit, the French group «Worker-Communist Initiative», whose publication is called *Worker-Communism* (1). The texts or statements of Mansoor Hekmat are available in Persian on the internet, the most important being translated into English (2).

### THE «UNITY OF COMMUNIST MILITANTS»

According to the Hekmatists, their current dates back to the group «Unity of Communist Militants» founded in December 1978, in the period following the fall of the Shah, by Hekmat and his comrades. According to Hekmat: «*The UCM, formed in December 1978 and initially called Sahand started a vigorous theoretical campaign against the nationalist and populist theories and conceptions of the radical Left. It called the 'national bourgeoisie' a myth and the development of an 'independent', 'national' capitalism a reactionary utopia. It rejected the concept of a democratic revolution with the task of solving the agrarian question and developing forces of production, and saw the task of the current revolution as creating political and social conditions necessary for a socialist mobilization of the working class and an uninterrupted march towards a socialist revolution*» (3).

The UCM therefore marked a rupture with the existing so-called revolutionary political currents in Iran which were so deeply marked by Stalinism and nationalism and for whom support for the «national bourgeoisie» was a basic credo.

But a reading of the theses of Hekmat: «The Iranian revolution and the role

of the proletariat» (1978) adopted by the UCM, demonstrates that this break was at best, incomplete.

Thesis 3, (b) affirmed: «*the revolution in Iran is democratic since the ruling imperialist system in the dominated Iran, has given a democratic content to the Iranian revolution, from the point of view of the objective conditions (intense economic exploitation and violent political repression of the working class and other toiling classes: peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie...) and also from the point of view of the subjective conditions (the presence of classes alongside the working class – mainly the peasants – prepared, as a result of the objective conditions of their social existence, to accept revolutionary methods of struggle against the existing system)*»

And thesis 4: «*the revolution in Iran cannot be, in its practical content, «directly» and immediately, a socialist revolution*». Therefore, the objective was the establishment of a «*people's democratic republic*» (4), that is to say, according to Marxism, a regime that remained **bourgeois**. Its refusal to see in the supporters of Khomeini an expression of the «anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie» that would be supportable, the position of many pseudo-socialist currents in Iran (and outside of Iran), thus did not go so far as to reject a conception of the revolution «by stages» (first the bourgeois-democratic stage, then the socialist stage), directly inherited from Stalinism.

### THE ANONYMOUS WORK OF THE PARTY

Another point that is emphasized by his supporters is that Hekmat then began publishing articles under his own name: «Before this, following a tradition of the Iranian left – wrote his biographer – his writings were published anonymously. The publication of articles signed by the author was one of the results of the critique of the practices of the Iranian left, whose leaders had as a rule remained anonymous» (5)..

«Unlike Bordigist anonymity, with the preeminence of the party over the individual until the complete absorption of the first into the second – wrote another Hekmatist – Mansoor Hekmat affirms the necessity of known and identifiable political figures: «*After all, if you want people to come with you, you have to show yourselves to them. You can't do this without a political name, identity and image. To mobilize 2 million people, you need 10,000 real people with known identities and faces, with influ-*

*ence and respect among the people*» (...). It is the entire conception of the relationship between the individual, the party and society that is at stake: «*In political struggle the individual is important. The individual is what gives a face to trade unions, political parties and movements; it makes them tangible for and accessible to people. When you look at an organisation, you look at not only its functions, role, programme and raison d'être, but also at the people who make it up. This is crucial in making the relation of society with that organisation concrete and real.(...) Being locked up in the closet, being faceless and existing on the margins are not marks of communism. (...) For Marxists, appearing as real people, is indeed socialism; it is a duty of socialism; it is the starting point of socialism. Everything else is not socialism*» (6).

«Bordigist anonymity» does not mean that the militants are «hidden, faceless,» that is to say clandestine! Its function is the struggle against the absolutely bourgeois individualism whose extreme form is the cult of the leader, the **cult of personality**, whose ravages were immense in the revolutionary proletarian movement.

Historically linked to Stalinism, the leadership cult is found in varying degrees in all bourgeois parties, democratic or dictatorial, but also in a number of parties and organizations that claim to be revolutionary but where political issues give way to quarrels between individuals and personal agendas. Conversely anonymity means giving primacy to the collective character of the work of the Party. No one can serve the party for purposes of career or personal prestige (even if it is only the prestige in the very small circle of the «revolutionary» milieu!). All militants do not have the same abilities or the same opportunities to work; but all give the best of themselves to the party, this collective and impersonal organ which seamlessly integrates their efforts beyond the limits and the vicissitudes of individuals, because they know that they collaborate in the great historic goal of the emancipation of the proletariat, and thereby that of the whole of humanity.

The class party must not and cannot base its influence within the proletariat by attempting to earn «respect» through the popularity or prestige of individuals and big names, including the most famous: This is not socialism, this is the **antithesis** of socialism! The party can and must only expect to win an influence through its political, theoretical and prac-

(Continued on page 18)

## «Worker-Communism» ...

(Continuation from page 17)

tical activity in all areas consistent with proletarian interests, knowing that this «conquest» depends on the capacity of the workers in a given period to enter into struggle to defend their interests.

### THE FUSION WITH KOMALA AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN

The crisis of the various organizations of the Iranian «far left» with the ebb of the social movement and the rise and consolidation of Khomeini's power, reinforced the audience of the UCM. In particular it came in contact with Komala: a «pro-Albanian» party in existence for several years in Iranian Kurdistan. This party, along with its rival the DPIK (Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, organization of nationalist bourgeois notables), had participated in armed struggle to achieve autonomous status for Kurdistan after the fall of the Shah.

For a whole period the new Iranian central government failed to establish control over an area held by the fighters of various Kurdish organizations (Komala, DPIK, Peoples' Mujahideens); many opponents of the Khomeini regime, including UCM militants, took refuge there to escape the increasingly strong repression in the major cities.

After the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, Komala received the support of Saddam Hussein's regime which allowed it to install bases in Iraq; but a veritable war between Komala and the DPIK facilitated the victory of the Iranian army against both. In late 1984, there were no longer «liberated zones» in Iranian Kurdistan, although guerrilla groups still existed there. In the meantime, Komala began to revise its political positions during its 1981 congress, allowing a convergence in politics and of «joint work» with the UCM (7). The merger between the two organizations in 1983 led to the formation of the Communist Party of Iran, the Komala organization in Iranian Kurdistan being its armed wing; the leader of Komala was appointed general secretary of the new party.

We do not have the documents on the political and programmatic foundations of this unification, but what we said about the theses of the UCM is enough to understand that this could not have been on a truly Marxist basis. Furthermore all the differences between the two organizations had probably not been confronted and resolved: the very fact that Komala continued to exist as part of the CPI indicates that the creation of the new party was more a matter of a compromise between organizations than a true

fusion.

Regardless, the differences within the CPI, revolving – it seems – particularly around the Kurdish question (8), took a sharp turn in 1989 when Hekmat resigned from the party leadership to form an internal faction. He was re-elected to the leadership, but differences eventually led to a split in 1991. Considering that Kurdish nationalism had become dominant in the CPI, Hekmat and his comrades then founded the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (9); in 1993, a sister organization, the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq was formed on the same political and programmatic bases by the fusion of the «Communist Current» (this group originally had also been pro-Albanian) and the «League for the Emancipation of the Working Class» issuing out of the old Iraqi Communist Party (10). It is from this moment and in the years following that Hekmat developed and made more precise the particular conceptions known as «Worker-Communism».

But immediately after his death in 2002, a major crisis struck the Hekmatist movement.

That same year, the new secretary-general of the W-CPI advanced the perspective of participating in a «provisional government guaranteeing public freedoms» (11) – that is to say participation in a bourgeois democratic government, which met opposition from other party leaders. The emergence of a strong wave of agitation in Iran in 2003 exacerbated the differences to the point where a split occurred in the W-CPI; neither of the confronting tendencies was hostile in principle to the participation in such a government, but the splitters felt it desirable as a first step to increase the strength of the party and to prevent the possible collapse of the Islamic regime leading to a situation like the one in Lebanon (the «black scenario»), at a time when the socialist revolution was not possible; they accused the others of a lack of «voluntarism» (12).

For these ones, participation in a provisional government was not to be excluded on principle; but it was only eventually possible on the basis of an existing relationship of forces in the street, the normal perspective being the «immediate establishment of socialism» (13); we will return to this last position. The scissionists created the Worker-Communist Party of Iran-Hekmatist. They received the support of the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq from which a faction then detached to form the Left Worker-Communist Party, linked to W-CPI.

As we know the Islamic regime did not collapse and neither of the two factions, and then the two parties have had the opportunity to put their positions into practice...

\* \* \*

This presentation of the genesis and life of the Hekmatist current is no doubt schematic; but the troubled history of this current has already demonstrated that its claims to embody a current enlisted within the historical continuity of the communist struggles of the proletariat and further, to have discovered the explanation of proletarian defeats and their remedy, should be held to close account. If we examine the theoretical texts of «Worker-Communism,» we will find the key to a political practice that is not in reality classist but **opportunist**.

### PROGRAM OF THE WORKER-COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN

This program was written by Hekmat in 1992 after the formation of the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (14); it has always been affirmed as their basic text by the different groups that are related to Worker-Communism, in Iraq, Iran and elsewhere. Its critique is thus instructive, as we will see from reading its general theoretical and political sections.

The text was clearly written with reference to the Communist Manifesto and other phrases lifted from fundamental Marxist texts can be found there, but the copy is not worthy of the original, far from it!

We reproduce the first paragraph, «A Better World»:

«To change the world and to create a better one has always been a profound aspiration of people throughout human history. It is true that even the present-day so-called modern world is dominated by fatalistic ideas, religious as well as non-religious, which portray the present plight of humanity as somehow given and inevitable. Nevertheless the actual lives and actions of people themselves reveal a deep-seated belief in the possibility and even the certainty of a better future. The hope that tomorrow's world can be free of today's inequalities, hardships and deprivations, the belief that people can, individually and collectively, influence the shape of the world to come, is a deep-rooted and powerful outlook in society that guides the lives and actions of vast masses of people. Worker-Communism, first and foremost, belongs here, with the unshakable belief of countless people and successive generations that building a better world and a better future with their own hands is both necessary and possible.»

Basically, everything is already said here, and we could dispense with the effort of reading any further to conclude that we are in the presence of an idealistic, non-Marxist, document: «the lives and actions» of the «people» would be «guided» by a «belief»; in a few sentences Hekmat has disappeared histori-

cal materialism according to which it is the struggle between **classes** (not «the action of a large number of **people**») which is the motor of the history of humanity and materialism for which it is not the world of ideas that determines human action, but rather their actions under the weight of material determinations, which determine their ideas.

The consequences of this view are immediate: if it is ideas that are decisive, then the struggle of ideas becomes a priority and, for example, religion can then be pushed back by waging an «ideological» struggle, including, work along with bourgeois atheist associations; or you can explain the events that led to the degeneration of the Russian Revolution by the simple fact that the Bolshevik leaders did not have clear ideas about what they should have done. It's worth noting in passing that this hope of a better future is constantly generated by capitalism itself which revolutionizes the production process, presenting these innovations as a continuous progress which is trumpeted about by reformist forces claiming that capitalism can be improved and reformed.

But one could argue that we draw conclusions too quickly from too few, or awkwardly written sentences, or ones written in a «popular» vein so as to more easily reach the masses. In our opinion, in the case of a text deemed important by supporters of Worker-Communism, this argument would be of no value. However let's continue reading the text...

Things get worse still with the following paragraph, entitled «Freedom, equality, prosperity».

The Worker-Communist program thus takes up the motto of the bourgeois revolution (Freedom, Equality, Fraternity), replacing only the last term with «prosperity»! Marx and all Marxists after him have long explained that the motto expressed the bourgeois program to end the unequal foundations and multiple barriers of the feudal system that blocked free capitalist development; «fraternity» is an ideal of peace and harmony between the classes, it could never be realized in the new relations of production. The replacement of «fraternity» with «prosperity» does not make it any less a bourgeois motto, it just adds a twist to the typical petty-bourgeois flavor (it is the petty-bourgeois who aspire to prosperity within the framework of capitalism).

Therefore, zero Marxist critique in this paragraph, but these few considerations: «*However, throughout human history certain ideas have always come to the fore as the measures of human happiness and social progress, so much so that they are today part and parcel of the political vocabulary worldwide as sacred principles. These ideals form precisely the intellectual foundations*

*of Worker-Communism. Worker-Communism is a movement to change the world and build a free, equal, humane, and prosperous society*».

We have received their confession: these completely **bourgeois** ideals, are the **intellectual foundations** of Worker-Communism!

## REFORMISTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

The next chapter, «Class struggle, proletariat and bourgeoisie», seems at first glance more in line with classic Marxist positions: the author remembers and states that «*the history of all societies (...) has been a history of class struggle*» etc.

But the concepts are blurred and when things are not clear there is always a hidden agenda. In many texts the Worker-Communists repeat that their conception of the relationship between reform and revolution is one of the things that most characterizes them. Let's see what their program says.

According to Hekmat, present-day society is divided into two «camps». «*The camp of the proletariat, of workers, for all the variety of thoughts, ideals, tendencies and parties in it, represents the will to change the system in favour of the oppressed and the poor. (...) Worker-Communism emerges out of this class struggle. It belongs to the camp of the proletariat*». So the different thoughts (sic!), parties and tendencies currently present among the proletarians, all represent the «will» (re-sic) to change the system? The forces of inter-classist collaborationism that are predominant today in the proletariat, would be surprised to be informed of this!

What we have here is a very specific attitude vis-à-vis the reformist parties and organizations, which we are told are in the same camp as the Worker-Communists.

Lenin, spoke of «**bourgeois workers' parties**»: these organizations and parties are «workers» in the sense that they recruit at least part of their membership among workers, but they are **politically** bourgeois, because their fundamental political activity consists of support to the bourgeois order and power. They are therefore not part of the same «camp» as the party and class organizations, but they belong to the enemy camp; to use another formula used by the Bolsheviks, they are not «the right wing of the proletariat, but the left wing of the bourgeoisie»; or rather, they are the «labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie within the proletariat». The problem then is how to detach the proletariat from the influence of these agents of the bourgeoisie. What is the actual position of Worker-Communism in relation to these parties and organizations?

The program is careful not to say so openly, but we can already see that it does not repeat the Bolshevik theses that we have just recalled. In a speech at the first conference of W-CPI cadres (15), Hekmat said: «*The question of the relationship between revolution and reform, and hence the relationship of the revolutionary element with movements and organisations geared to social reform, is one of the main pillars of our outlook*». What does it mean?

«*Supporting trade unions and having close relationships with their Left wing, strengthening the labour movement as a whole against the bourgeoisie, is a vitally important task. But, we must scrutinize, as communist workers, the visions, the policies, and the views of working-class organisations and*

(Continued on page 20)

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

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

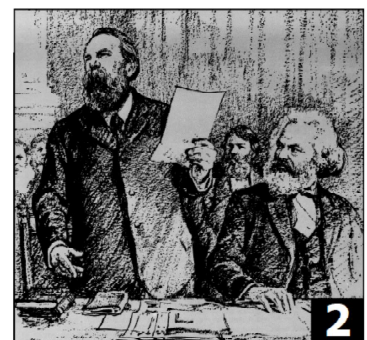
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## Proletarian

International Communist Party («programme communiste»)

### The Fundamentals of Revolutionary Communism



## «Worker-Communism» ...

(Continuation from page 19)

their leaders».

He would therefore support – while scrutinizing them carefully! – existing organizations of the working class and their leaders. Yet there is no need to scrutinize them carefully to understand that these organizations (which Hekmat called the «labor movement as a whole») are **class-collaborationist organizations**, they are ultimately the **transmission belt** of bourgeois influence within the class.

This is however not the opinion of Hekmat, who say: *«The radical leaders of the workers in the USA, Canada, Germany, Britain, etc., should be confronted with the question as to why they are not communists; why they have nothing to say and nothing to do concerning the economic foundations of the present system, the state, religion, the educational system, the equality of sexes, the war drive of the Powers, and so on, and so forth. We do not criticise the sectarian isolationism of the non-worker Left only to bow, in the next step, to the vocational and equally isolationist attitudes of the reformist workers' movements, and to their alienation from the general cause of the working-class social revolution»*. But it is the Worker-Communists that should be confronted to the question of how they imagine the reformist organizations and their leaders – even «radical» – could no longer be reformist, that is to say not be supporters of the capitalist system?

Reformism, is not a set of misconceptions, it is a **material force** whose power, drawn from the capitalist system, i.e. drawn from the exploitation of wage labor, allows it not only to corrupt certain individuals, certain organizations, but even some sectors of the proletariat, those that Marxism called the **labor aristocracy**. The «alienation from the general cause of the working-class social revolution» that is to say, if we are not afraid of words, the **counter-revolutionary** nature of reformist organizations, therefore arises from material causes as powerful as capitalism itself. Someone who claims to be a revolutionary, must relentlessly warn the workers that these organizations and their leaders are actually their **adversaries** who will do anything to prevent them from taking the road of class struggle, including by bringing bourgeois repression down on them, as they have done repeatedly in the past.

Hekmat produces a voluntary confusion between the **struggle for reforms** (better: immediate demands, partial, limited, etc.) that, indeed, the communists must not disdain, and the attitude towards the reformist **organizations**,

agents in the collaboration between the classes and opponents of the revolution. These are two completely different things, because it is in the struggle for these demands that communists can and must combat the reformists in order to have the opportunity to snatch the proletariat from their influence.

The reformist parties and organizations are not sincere but pig-headed supporters of the workers' struggle, they are its **adversaries**; they **always** try to prevent it or, if this is not possible, to control, to divert it into abortion as quickly as possible.

However, to maintain their influence, their members, and the justification for their existence (including in the eyes of the bourgeoisie!), these organizations are constrained to pretend to defend the interests of workers and to claim to be their «representatives». They therefore cannot but take up and defend, at least in words, some proletarian demands; but on the condition that they are compatible with capitalist interests and that they can be obtained through «social dialogue» and political compromise, the workers' mobilizations eventually organized by them serving primarily as a safety valve and secondarily as a means of pressure in the well-established framework of collaboration between the classes.

If the W-CPI program manages to avoid remembering all this when it delivers its platitudes about the struggle for reforms, it is not by chance or lack of information. It is because the «Worker-Communists» are none other than one of these «centrist» parties as they were called by the Bolsheviks, pseudo-revolutionaries incapable of breaking with reformism, parties that have not only «close relationships with [its] Left wing», but are part of the left wing of reformism!

\* \* \*

The fourth chapter, «Worker-Communism» is a confusing tracing over of the Communist Manifesto. Without giving a detailed critique, we will only note the most important confusion that comes up very often in Worker-Communist texts: «Worker-Communism is the **social** movement of the proletariat» (emphasis added).

In the speech quoted above, Hekmat says that Marxism is a «social movement»; and speaking of «objective socialist character of worker socialism», he explains: *«worker-socialism is an independently existing social movement and not a derivative of the activity of Marxists or communists. (...) Socialism is (...) first and foremost, a framework for a certain social struggle that is being waged inevitably and independently of the presence or absence of a party; ... a social endeavour that has continued nearly throughout the nineteenth and*

*the twentieth centuries, and is still, to-day, clearly observable. There is always a part of the working class who are not content with a defensive struggle, who do not believe (...), who think that (...), who think that (...) and finally believe that (...). This is nothing but the very definition of worker socialism»*.

So this famous **objective** social character turns out ultimately to be essentially **subjective**: the thought of a part of the working class! As Marx said: *«It is not a question of what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, at the moment regards as its aim. It is a question of what the proletariat is, and what, in accordance with this being, it will historically be compelled to do.»* («The Holy Family», ch. IV, 4, Critical Comment n°2)...

Let's go on:

*«Even behind the activities of right-wing trade unions, behind the words of local labour leaders, however naïve [sic!] and timid [re-sic!] such words may be, we recognise certain facts pertaining to the socialist tendency and the socialist struggle of the working class»*.

So trade union bonzes who have sold out to capitalism somehow express the existence of a tendency and a socialist struggle of the working class?

*«Worker-socialism is the tendency within the class which creates radical leaders [sic! always with the accent on personalities and chiefs...], and maintains the constant pressure of radicalism on non-radical leaders. To recognise and emphasise, therefore, the existence of an objective, socialist endeavour within the working class itself, notwithstanding the intellectual expression [sic!] it might find in different periods, is one of our important characteristic features as a current and a political tradition. (...) The party we are forming to-day (...) is formed in the tradition of workers' struggle for economic equality in society [sic!] – a socialist struggle that has been constantly waged in capitalism – and only in there does WCPI seek the source of its power and strength»* (16).

Let's go over this again: there would exist permanently in the working class a social movement **intellectually** aspiring to socialism (or, which is the reverse, to economic equality in **bourgeois** society!) in various expressions (we would find its mark even in the reformist organizations, which would then be one of its expressions): Worker-Communism, Marxism. W-CPI would be based on this social movement, this tradition of struggle for economic equality. What we have here is a pure profession of **spontaneist** and **immediatist** faith.

In reality, according to genuine Marxism (not the Marxism turned into porridge by Hekmat), there exists permanently in this society a class struggle



because it is capitalism that generates social antagonisms. This struggle is sometimes hidden, sometimes open, it has its ups and downs; in periods of economic prosperity in the richer countries, the bourgeoisie that consciously and scientifically conducts this struggle, manages to obtain and maintain a veritable **social peace** for a longer or shorter period. Social antagonisms have not disappeared, but they appear only indirectly by acts that are classified under «miscellaneous», «social problems», etc. In these periods where the domination of the counter-revolution seems total, there **does not exist** a social movement aspiring to socialism; in these periods, revolutionaries are reduced to small minorities against the current, isolated and misunderstood including by the proletarians.

Wanting to constitute a party on the basis of the existence of a social movement within the class, that is to say according to Hekmat, on the basis of what the proletariat «thinks» or «expresses» at a given time, means tailing the contingent state of mind of the proletariat, a mindset that changes according to the situation. It is then natural that the party can have a «proximity» with the reformists, these prison guards of the bourgeois order, because at a given time they enjoy a preponderant influence among the workers... The real communist party, is alien to this opportunism: it can and must be based on the non-contingent basis of the **historical** balance sheet of the class struggle, of the Marxist theory and program (a specifically political program and not a social movement) to synthesize its lessons and lead the way to the future proletarian emancipation. With the full consciousness that this implies in some more or less lengthy periods and under certain circumstances, to fight **against the current**, to remain isolated from the broad masses subdued by the class enemy, mystified by the power of its propaganda machine and disoriented by the false workers' parties, sold-out to the enemy.

This party is then capable of not succumbing to the ideals of freedom and equality and to understand their bourgeois nature (the Communists do not fight for economic equality for workers with non-workers, for their freedom in relation to the bourgeoisie, but for the abolition of classes and the capitalist mode of production); knowing that, as Engels said in *Anti-Dühring*, the demand for equality is a deformed expression for the proletariat of demanding the abolition of social classes.

### REVOLUTION IN ONE COUNTRY AND THE IMMEDIATE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

Another highlight of the program

often put forward by Hekmatists is the notion of the immediate transition to socialism, contrary to thesis 4 of the UCM we cited in the preamble above: «*The immediate aim of the worker-communist party is to organise the social revolution of the working class. A revolution that overthrows the entire exploitative capitalist relations and puts an end to all exploitations and hardships. Our programme is for the immediate establishment of a communist society*» (17).

It must first be noted that this statement is in contradiction with the second part of the program where a number of political and social reforms extensively and painstakingly enumerated are presented as «immediate» demands. Well then is the immediate goal the social revolution or democratization of the existing state? This second part of the program says, «*as long as and wherever capitalism prevails the worker-communist party also struggles for the most profound and far-reaching political, economic, social and cultural reforms that raise the living standard of people and their political and civil rights to the highest possible level. These reforms, as well as the strength and unity gained in the struggle for their realisation, will make it easier for the working people to deliver the final blow to the capitalist system*».

So the reforms, which would actually be able to increase the standard of living of the people (of which classes of the people?), will be the preparation of the revolution: This is just what the reformist used to say to justify their abandonment of revolutionary politics. According to Marxism, the fight for immediate demands by the proletariat (or reforms addressing its needs) must be «the communist school of war»; Communists must always remember the proletarians that the demands or reforms that are obtained can only be precarious, still at risk of being imperiled, and that they must never lose sight of the generalized and revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. On reading the Hekmatist program, one has the impression that the big words on immediate revolution are used to justify the possibility of a reformist practice...

Let's return to the thesis of the immediate transition to socialism; while it could not be more radical in appearance, it constitutes an open rupture with the materialist Marxist positions. We shall see this by examining another text by Hekmat: «The experience of the workers' revolution in the Soviet Union. Outline of a socialist critique» (18); we do not have space here to criticize this in such detail as should be done, so we will limit ourselves to address the most significant features.

After having rightly refuted the ex-

planation that the victory of the counter-revolution was caused by the bureaucratization of the state, the degeneration of the party, etc., Hekmat states that one should look for the cause elsewhere. According to him, after the victory of the revolution in 1917, «*The building of socialism in Russia, in the true and Marxist sense of the term, not only was possible but was also imperative for the continuation and consolidation of the revolution*». «*the backward Russia of the close of nineteenth century could become a capitalist or a socialist Russia in the twentieth century*»; «*Given the conditions of Russia, both alternatives enjoyed the historical possibility for their realisation*». It is because the Bolsheviks had «*not built a socialist society in the Soviet Union*» that the counter-revolution triumphed. Hekmat rejects conceptions «*which base their analyses on the 'impossibility' of the economic transformation of the Russian society after the seizure of power by the working class be it formulated as the 'necessity of world revolution', the 'backwardness of Russia' or else, because such outlooks basically deny the very **raison d'être** of the working-class revolution in Russia*».

We'll repeat this: if a **socialist transformation** was not possible in the country, then a workers' revolution had not taken place. Essentially Hekmat sees the workers' revolution as a purely **national** phenomenon.

The Mensheviks who shared this same position, said, since the coming revolution can only be bourgeois, the proletariat must allow the bourgeoisie to lead it. The Bolsheviks said: the proletariat must strive to lead the revolution, not to establish socialism which is materially impossible, but to ensure the victory of the anti-feudal revolution in Russia and push for the workers' socialist revolution in the developed capitalist countries of Europe.

This international vision of the revolution is completely foreign to Hekmat who defends what might be called the thesis of «**the revolution in a single country**»: The question comes down to what was possible in Russia, and according to him two alternatives were possible for the «modernization» of the country, the proletarian alternative or the bourgeois alternative.

Under the leadership of Social-democracy (which was at the time the name of the revolutionary class party) the proletariat «*of the 'modernist' [bourgeois - Editor's note] opposition, and acquired and took up its own independent ideas, perspectives and horizon on social and political issues*»; but, says Hekmat, «*whilst this separation had occurred completely in the ideological and polit-*

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## «Worker-Communism» ...

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*ical terrains, a corresponding thorough separation did not take place in the economic thinking, i.e. with regard to the perspective of the economic development of the post-Tsarist Russian society. There was no essential polemic before the 1917 revolution in which the economics of the post-revolutionary society was clarified».*

Russian Social-democracy suffered from an «incomprehension» of socialist economic tasks because its critique of capitalism focused on the anarchy in production: The «vanguard workers» didn't have «an alternative economic vision and [were not] immunized against the bourgeois perspective in the matter of economic development». It is only «when the issue of Russian economy and its course of development effectively became a pressing question, that the common elements between the old ideals of the Russian anti-Tsarist bourgeoisie, namely modernism, industrialisation, etc., and the economic expectations of the advanced rank of Russian workers - an issue so far uncriticised - made their presence felt. At the historical and decisive juncture of the '20s it was these common elements which blocked the forward march of the proletarian revolution in the economic terrain, and led the proletarian revolution onto the main road of capitalist development in Russia». «The workers' party, lacking a clear vision for the revolutionary transformation of the production relations, and under the economic and political pressures of the capitalist system both domestically and internationally, retreated to the common grounds of its economic stands with the perspective of the bourgeoisie».

This whole analysis reveals an incredible ignorance of the discussions and inflated polemics in the Russian and international socialist movement on the possibility of the establishment of socialism in Russia; and not only at the time of Lenin but also in the previous period. Hekmat apparently knows nothing of the work and conclusions of Marx and Engels; he writes that in the Communist Manifesto and The German Ideology, Marx «had established the feasibility of building socialism 60 years before [the Bolshevik leader] Zinoviev denies it to Russia».

Let us recall first that Marx and Engels never spoke of «building» socialism, Stalin's term dating from the time when Russia was in reality building... State **capitalism**. Socialism is first **destruction** - destruction of capitalism so new production relations can flourish between people and new forms of pro-

duction; but in order for capitalism to be destroyed, it must be the dominant mode of production, that is it must first take the place of pre-capitalist modes of production!

The question of the possibility of the transition to socialism in Russia was one of the central issues to be addressed for the establishment of the first Marxist groups in the country. The «populist» petty-bourgeois current estimated that Russia was in an exceptional situation: it could proceed directly to socialism without going through capitalism as in Europe, thanks to existing communal relations in the rural Russian «commune» (the *Mir*).

Based on a profound study of the socio-economic structure of the country, Marx came to the conclusion that it was theoretically possible that the Russian commune, in which forms of primitive communism still existed, could play that role, allowing Russia to leap over capitalism; but the condition was that the Russian revolution give the signal for the European proletarian revolution, directly Socialist, that would provide the productive forces necessary for this gigantic historical leap.

But a few years later, Marx and Engels concluded that due to the accelerated degeneration of the commune and the development of bourgeois mercantile forms, this possibility no longer existed; there was no longer a Russian «exceptionalism», it was no longer possible to avoid the transition to **capitalism** since «Russia can only accelerate the course [NB: accelerate, not establish] toward socialism in seizing the opportunity that the anti-feudal revolutions historically gives the proletariat, on the base of the help of a triumphant social revolution in Europe» (19).

Hekmat makes pretense to a materialist analysis, but he does not care to analyze the economic and social conditions of Tsarist Russia to determine if they allowed the transition to socialism: he regresses not only in relation to Marx and Engels, but even in relation to the populists who, if they drew false conclusions, at least founded their perspective on existing social structures (the rural commune).

Furthermore, his analysis takes place, as we have already noted, in a purely **national** context, solely the history of Russian society: he does not suspect that the Marxist perspective is **international**, both at the level of politics and in terms of economic analysis. He is therefore perfectly incapable of understanding that the Russian Revolution was the combination of two revolutions (or more): the anti-tsarist national revolution long maturing in the very guts of the country, a bourgeois revolution whose protagonist was essentially the peasantry (a class totally

absent in his analysis); and the socialist proletarian revolution, whose protagonist was the working class and whose arena was international; the meager Russian capitalism was the «weak link» of the international capitalist system, broken by the revolutionary wave after the terrible events of the World War.

Propelled to the head of the revolutionary movement, the proletariat had to push the bourgeois revolution to the end, in close alliance with the peasantry; but in terms of the socialist revolution, in which, due to the weak degree of prior capitalist development, it was not possible in the economic field to take more than a few steps forward, the Russian proletariat could only count on the victory of its European class brothers.

The fate of the proletarian revolution in Russia was therefore inextricably linked to the fate of the international proletarian revolution for which it had to do everything it could: «the perspective to which everything must be subordinated, was the extension of the revolution and the communist dictatorship beyond the Russian borders. The administration policy of Russia, even though it was a precarious intermediary management, was correct, because the well-known fundamental principle of the world communist perspective was that the Russian economy could not move towards socialism along with the greater part of Europe, but only after her. The economic practice of the party had a simple instruction: to wait in the fortress of the captured power; it had not the one to transform, much less the idiotic prevailing instruction: to build» (20).

All of this tragic problematic over which the proletarian power in Russia was finally broken is absolutely ignored by Hekmat. The «**building of socialism in one country**», moreover a backward and largely feudal one where the proletariat is only a small minority, is possible and even necessary, he states, «The establishment of socialism is the immediate and vital task of any working class which succeeds to win political power in a given country».

One might ask why we need a transition period that Marxism defines as the dictatorship of the proletariat, if the establishment of socialism is immediately possible?

In fact to our author, false Marxist and true idealist, no matter the material conditions necessary for the transition to socialism, whether a country is predominantly peasant and still at a pre-capitalist stage; no matter the requirement that the revolution has triumphed «at least in the major countries of the world and the workers there have concentrated in their hands at least the most important productive forces»



(Marx, Engels, «Address to the CC of the Communist League», 1850);

No, what is determinant is the ideas, the freedoms of «choice», the will to move in one direction or another. The «*fundamental theoretical inadequacy*» of the Bolsheviks was that they had not reflected on «*the question of which specific production relations and which economic forms should be established in Russia*» (as if these relations could be established at will!), so they let themselves be captivated by «*bourgeois thinking*» and then they made the «*choice of the bourgeois option for the development of Russian society*».

And forces in opposition to Stalinism who were convinced of «*the necessity of world revolution and the impossibility of socialism in one country*» were, therefore, not internationalists to Hekmat: their «*refusal to advance the Russian revolution (...) was itself tantamount to refusing to promote the Russian workers as active and effective internationalists*».

This is logical: if it was really possible to establish socialism in Russia, opponents must be denounced as enemies of the proletariat as well as the Stalinists who had «chosen» the path of bourgeois development.

Let's summarize. For the Hekmatists, socialism can be **immediately** implemented in one country, even backward, regardless of the victory of the revolution in other countries, so regardless of the international revolution.

This is a position which is not Marxist: to envision the proletarian revolution as an essentially national phenomenon, is all at once non-materialist, voluntarist, and in essence nationalist. Internationalism is not only, as Hekmat says, to believe «*in the international character of the working class and [to defend] the workers' revolution anywhere, i.e. [to defend] these revolutions because of their working-class character*»; internationalism is to understand that the fate of the workers and their struggles of all countries are strictly dependent on each other, conditioning them; if the proletariat must first attack and vanquish its own bourgeoisie, the communist revolution has by definition an **international** character; materializing in the victory in one country or another, it will be victorious or vanquished at the international level.

There can be no question for the communist revolution of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist order, only periods of truce, and any victory in one country is only temporary: it is not for any other reason that the Communist Manifesto puts forward the imperative: **Workers of all countries, unite!**

Upon coming to power the proletariat of course must immediately implement all concrete steps possible to begin

to uproot capitalism and move towards the socialist transformation of society: if a country has reached a sufficient degree of capitalist development, there is nothing in theory to prevent the socialist transformation of its economy.

But the proletariat should not imagine that this transformation can be quick and easy, and with even more reason, immediate and complete: the economies of various countries are now so interlinked that we can only consider the establishment of socialism on an international scale; and above all it must not be imagined that national and international bourgeoisies will tranquilly let it work towards the establishment of socialism.

This is why its most important immediate task is to make every effort to spread the revolution to other countries, to support the workers who are fighting there, in a word to foment the international revolution. Otherwise defeat, in one form or another, is inevitable in the long run.

Lenin wrote that the proletarian power in Russia could hold on for 10 to 20 years provided they maintained good relations with the peasantry (the majority of the population), until the victory of the proletarian revolutions in Europe.

During this period, in which the economic and social backwardness (not just the degree of industrialization as Hekmat imagines) forbade thinking of establishing socialism, the power had to orient the development of capitalism (the necessary basis for any future development of socialism) in the direction of **state capitalism**. The situation was extraordinarily difficult because the proletarian party thus had to manage and control capitalist forms. We know what happened: it is capitalism that finally took control of the state apparatus **and the party**, finding in the Stalinist faction its instrument and in the theory of socialism in one country, its flag.

Contrary to Hekmat, the solution to this drama could not be national, but international: the destiny of the proletariat and the revolution in Russia depended on the European proletariat.

Now even though the European proletariat undertook great and arduous struggles in the first postwar period, it did not have the strength to overthrow the bourgeois power (other than in a transitory fashion as in Hungary) and afterward it had the greatest difficulties in breaking with the reformist forces and of organizing itself firmly on class bases; these difficulties were exacerbated by the more and more elastic tactical orientation that the CI took in seeking to artificially speed the maturation of situations.

Our party has repeatedly said that the highest conquest of the October Revolution was the establishment of this

International, which was renewing the program and the revolutionary praxis betrayed by the parties of the Second International. And among the most important lessons to be learned for the future of this revolution, there is the balance sheet and evaluation of the constitution of the International and its action with its limitations, weaknesses and errors. What has Hekmat to say about it? Nothing...

Or rather, he says something: the insistence of the Bolsheviks on the international revolution (the revolution in Germany) is «*one of the reasons for the lack of any concrete steps being envisioned by the Bolsheviks in regard to the question of economic transformation in Russia itself. The Bolsheviks had indeed made the realisation of their own economic horizon dependent on the success of the German revolution. (...) it is also understandable why in opposition to the traditional vision in the party which awaited the coincidence of revolution in Germany*

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## The Tragedy of the German Proletariat after the First World War

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

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## Proletarian

International Communist Party («programme communiste»)

## The Tragedy of the German Proletariat after the First World War



## «Worker-Communism» ...

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and Europe, Stalin's line identified its outlook with socialism in **one country**. Hekmat has discovered this: the Russian Revolution ultimately failed because the Bolsheviks had been **too** internationalist!

We can see how unfounded was Hekmat's pretense to situate himself in the continuity of Marxism. His thesis of the immediate introduction of socialism in a national framework that may seem very radical in the eyes of an inattentive reader, is actually the echo of the «constructions» of «socialism in one country» of the Stalinist or Maoist matrix. This text and the program we have briefly reviewed show that Hekmat and its supporters, whatever their affirmations, are foreign to the true communist positions. We will proceed to find confirmation in the facts.

### WORKER COMMUNISM PUT TO THE TEST OF THE FACTS

A text which we have quoted above states that the Worker-Communist activists do not regard «Marxism and its various theoretical texts as clerics see the Torah, the Bible or the Koran» (21) In other words, for them Marxism and theoretical texts have a relative value, and it is not too serious not to take them as the exact truth. But actually the liberties taken in respect of Marxism inevitably have critical consequences for politics and activity. Marxism, the theoretical texts, is not a luxury or an activity reserved for the «high Marxists»: they are the indispensable compass for orientation in daily action, to analyze situations and define political lines and the directives for practice in action. Contempt for theory is always the characteristic of «concretists» and «practitioners» who boast their supposed ability to conduct «mass work» in contrast to the activity of «bookworms». We will not recall here the attacks of this kind that have taken swipes at Marx Lenin or Bordiga, only recalling Lenin's formula: «without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary movement».

Their Marxist or «radical» statements melting like snow in the sun, the Worker-Communists rallied without hesitation to the petty-bourgeois reformist movements emerging in recent years. We shall see this by taking a few significant examples.

### THE «REVOLUTION» IN IRAN

The W-CPI analyzed the major popular demonstrations in Iran in June 2009 against the regime as the beginning of

the revolution. A few months later, in December 2009, as protests were repressed in blood, at the conclusion of its 7th Congress it published a «Manifesto of the Iranian Revolution.» The text is overfull with the most bourgeois clichés:

*«The Iranian revolution (...) is a voice shouting Liberty, Equality, Human Identity.(...) The Iranian revolution is, first and foremost, against religious and Islamic rule. It is deeply secular and opposed to the rule of ignorance, superstition and the clergy. In this respect it is pursuing, in a radical way, the unfinished, or forgotten, tasks of the French Revolution.(...) The revolution in Iran is about freedom. The realisation of the most radical and human definition of individual, civil, cultural and political freedom is the immediate task of the 'Twitter' and 'Facebook' generation which has risen up in revolt. It does not accept any restriction on freedom of expression, assembly, strike and organisation or other political freedoms. (...) In one word, as we said from day one, this is «a human revolution for a human rule». We learn that the revolution «stands for a global, human and modern culture. In this sense, the nearest counterpart of the Iranian revolution are the 1960s' and 70s' civil rights movements in the USA and Western Europe, with the difference that this revolution along with Marx goes further than «civil society», and aims for a «human society» or «social humanity» and so on...»*

While the revolution is on the march according to the W-CPI, the manifesto does not speak of the famous immediate transition to socialism; there is nothing in it about the class struggle, nothing about the overthrow of capitalism, nothing on the precise tasks of the proletariat for the seizure of power, etc. But instead, references (hollow) to the French bourgeois revolution of 1789, and the struggles for civil rights! At a time that, according to it, would be decisive, the W-CPI abandons all its Marxist rhetoric to show an integrally petty-bourgeois visage...

### «OCCUPY» 2011

Since the «Occupy» movement in the United States and Canada in 2011, the W-CPI endorsed the ridiculous slogan «All Power to the 99%!», which replaces class divisions and class struggle by a «struggle» of almost all of the population against a handful of billionaires. But if the famous 1% were eliminated, the capitalist structure of society would not be altered and nor would the state apparatus, etc.; capitalism would still be present, as in the state capitalist countries, the working class would still be exploited, etc. It's not only the immediate transition to socialism that disap-

pears in the prose of W-CPI, but the proletariat!

In a hysterical call for May 1, 2012: «Citizens [sic: citizens, not proletarians!] of the world! Stop work on May Day!», the W-CPI called on protesters to «get ready for the taking of political power by the 99%» (!) and advanced the slogans of «abolition of the State of the 1%» and «direct rule by people's general assemblies» (22). The statement of the 8th Congress of the W-CPI (03/22/2012), to its militants, was equally fantastically optimistic about the scope of the Occupy movement and the Arab Spring («The stormy 2011 will be recorded in human history as the start of a global wave of revolutions of the 21<sup>st</sup> century for the emancipation of humanity», «this global revolutionary wave has already overturned the old dominant perceptions of the last few decades and changed the political and ideological balance to the advantage of revolution, with far greater changes still to come», etc.). It was however a bit more precise, as it referred to the destruction of the state apparatus and the political and economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie; but it remained just as **interclassist** in essence:

*«The requirement for the victory of this global movement for human liberation is the political and economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie around the world (...).The first condition of people's victory is the total destruction of the bourgeoisie's state machinery, from its army to its bureaucracy, and the establishment of the rule of councils and other organs of people's direct power». «In the West too there is no other road to liberation than in the first step expropriating the dictatorship of capital and the rule of the banks and the 1%, which is exercised in the name of democracy and parliament, and by leaving people's lives in their own hands, to their own direct rule» (23).*

The **dictatorship of the proletariat** is obviously a concept that must be ignored if we take the petty-bourgeois theory of the union of 99% into account; and it is better to be silent on the seizure of power, not by the «people» or by «the overwhelming majority» but by the **proletariat** which necessarily involves the use of **violent insurrection**, when seeking a hearing in these fundamentally reformist and pacifist milieus...

### THE COUP IN EGYPT

We have already had occasion to closely examine their position on the overthrow of Morsi by the Egyptian military government; in its statement of July 2013, the W-CPI said that this overthrow was actually the work of millions of demonstrators who had «*directly exercised their will*» (through the mili-

tary!). Affirming that this overthrow dealt «a fatal blow to the myth of the rule of the ballot box, i.e. the rule of the bourgeoisie [!], it claimed it was an «important step forward for the people of Egypt, the Middle East and the whole world», and «a historic watershed which will bear the name of the Egyptian revolution», etc. (24). It's enough to just cast a glance at what happened in Egypt since then, to establish that it could not have been more wrong! This is not a small (!) accidental «error», that could be easily rectified, but the result of a pure and simple alignment on interclassist and reformist movements. To believe and to make-believe that the «people» (the »99%», «the overwhelming majority») could «take power» and «directly exercise» it, reflects the most stupid petty-bourgeois propaganda; but it is above all to **mislead** the proletarians while a communist organization worthy of the name must relentlessly call them for the independent classist organization and for the need to break with the interclassism which paralyzes them. The worker-communists of the W-CPI thus fall in with the falsely «left», «communist» or «workers» forces who in practice oppose the return of the proletariat onto its class terrain, the only one giving it the ability to actually fight and win.

### GREECE AND TSIPRAS

After the electoral victory of Syriza in Greece, on 02/02/15 the W-CPI sent a public letter of congratulations to Tsipras, the newly elected Prime Minister. It read «your victory is a blow against austerity and a big step forward for the people of Greece. However, its effects will go beyond one country. It is a promising return of the radical left to the mainstream political scene and the emergence of a new proactive political communism, which is going to have a decisive impact on the political situation of Europe and the world. We are already witnessing the positive effects of your victory in Spain with Podemos [a new reformist party- Ed], and this is only the beginning. (...) You are at the beginning of this road; a long and tortuous struggle that can only be won by relying on people and the «power of the street», which has already been a decisive factor in your victory. In this journey and at every step forward, the people of the world, the camp of the 99%, are with you standing by you» (25)...

A few months later, the W-CPI seemed to have lost a little of its enthusiasm; but on the eve of the June referendum on the exigencies of the Troika, it felt compelled to answer «some left critics of Syriza in Greece and outside [who] think that talks with the creditors and the referendum are useless, and say that

*the solution is revolution against capitalism.*» He conceded that there was no doubt that the solution is the revolution against capital, «or more precisely, the political and economic expropriation of the capitalist class, the ruling 1%.» However, «revolution does not happen out of the blue. The class struggles have to escalate and deepen and become polarised over capital's very existence». (26) There is the need to move from critique of austerity to the critique of capitalism. «Only a radical communist and interventionist party, engaged in society's everyday struggles, can and must be the agency for driving this agenda forward [the perspective of the expropriation of the capitalist class]. This force is not the Syriza government». Finally, one might think, clear language, calling for class struggles, that the W-CPI had unfortunately forgotten when it welcomed Tsipras!

But faced with this precise political question: what attitude to take in relation to the referendum? the supposed clarity soon disappears and we realize what «struggle» it speaks of: «The referendum this Sunday, just like the election of Syriza six months ago, is a link in the chain of the deepening struggle between the two camps of labour and capital in Greece».

Denouncing the myth of the power of the ballot box is no longer an issue, the elections are now part of the struggle! And to drive the point home: «Whatever form and shape this may take, the conditions for the rise of a revolutionary left pole in society are becoming more favourable day by day. The referendum itself could provide the conditions for the development of such a force». Elections can be used to create a «revolutionary left pole»: Is this pretense different than the rest of the electioneering far left?

Opportunism when it suits us then...

### WORKER COMMUNISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RELIGION OR A CONFESSION OF UNVARNISHED INTERCLASSISM

We saved the best, or rather the worst for last: the fight against religion. As we know religious ideology takes a preponderant place in bourgeois ideology and propaganda in Iran and throughout the region, so this is an important issue for any party which wants to be revolutionary. But this is not a new problem for the Marxist workers' movement: it has always had a clear position on this: rejection of any alliance with bourgeois sectors under the pretext of fighting against «obscurantism», denouncing bourgeois anti-clericalism as a diversion from the class struggle, understanding that the decline of the reactionary influ-

ence of religion on the proletarian masses cannot be achieved chiefly by a struggle of ideas, by anti-religious propaganda, but fundamentally through the development of workers' struggles. The position of the Worker-Communists is exactly the opposite: alliance with bourgeois democracy, even with bourgeois governments!

The Worker-Communist Party of Iraq had sent a letter to Jen-Pierre Raffarin, then French reactionary Prime Minister, to congratulate him on the enactment of a law prohibiting the wearing of the Islamic veil by pupils (27)! The W-CPI has not gone that far but it has never hesitated to ally with the bourgeois, including the right, in the name of the struggle against Islam.

Through the intermediary of its leaders in France it has participated in several events and meetings with former Ministers Corinne Lepage (centrist) and Yvette Socialist Party), such as at the meeting of the «feminist and secular coordination» of 5/2/04 to support the law against the veil (28) or the rally outside the Embassy of Canada in 2005 (among the personalities who were calling, there was Elisabeth Badinter, bourgeois heiress of one of the largest fortunes of France, Fadela Amara, future minister of the rightwing President Sarkozy, etc.) (29); or, in April 2006, the meeting organized by Corinne Lepage and Catherine Fourest (radio columnist and specialist in denouncing veiled women) against Islamist fundamentalism in the very bourgeois «Cercle Républicain» (30).

In March 2006 it signed a «Manifesto of the 12»: «Together against the new totalitarianism» with rightwing author Bernard-Henri Levy, Philippe Val (journalist close to French President Sarkozy), Catherine Fourest and others (31). In 2009 he participated in the «Rencontres Laïques Internationales», a conference organized by the «Union of Lay Families» with the collaboration of the «Grand Orient de France» (main organization of the Freemasons in France) and other bourgeois secular organizations (32), etc.

This is a practice which is everything except recent or accidental. In the critique of a British Trotskyist group which reproached the W-CPI, in addition to signing the «Manifesto of the 12», its participation in London in a «March for Freedom of Expression» following the affair of the caricatures of Muhammad, notably with an extreme-right anti-worker group, its leader Maryam Namazie replied that this criticism was the «purism» of not doing anything, which «maintain this Left's irrelevance by giving it the excuse it needs to turn its back on the power struggles taking place on cru-

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*cial issues over the fate of society».*

But it's another activist of the W-CPI which put the dot on the i: «*According to the Manifesto [of the 12 - Editor's note] (...) the war is between liberty and Islamism in the Islamic world itself (...) Is it possible to unite with «class enemies» to fight for liberty, or should we fight with a working-class independent banner?*

(...) Mansoor Hekmat, founder of our party and current in Iran and Iraq, was that he removed the condition of «accepting our programme» for joining the party, and at the same time he started to promote several organisations in defense of women's liberty, refugee rights, etc. Everybody, including our «class enemies» [!], was welcome to join and to fight for specific rights! Mansoor Hekmat, the founder of our party and our current in Iran and Iraq fought for the acceptance of our program to no longer be a condition for joining our party. (...) But can't we make a coalition with people from different classes for specific campaigns? I think we can» (33) Splendid profession of opportunist faith!

Only incorrigible Democrats can imagine that the real conflict is between «freedom» (Lenin would say: Freedom for whom? For what class?) and Islamism: the real conflict is taking place in the most varied fields and even if it is very often...veiled, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In all matters, critical or not, that arise in society, especially on any problems that may interest many classes, such as women's issues, political freedoms, oppression and repression, the most various social problems, the communists must always fight interclassism, tirelessly insist on the need for proletarian class independence. To participate in a coalition with its class enemies, even if it is supposedly for limited and temporary goals is for the proletariat, the exploited and crushed class, to allow it to be bound and gagged. Never, for any reason and in any circumstance, must it be allied to its class enemies, if it does not want to be their consenting victim!

Those who pretend the contrary, those who call, whatever their justification, for a union with other classes, those who see the struggle for class independence as impotent purism, those who pose the most deceitful bourgeois clichés as objectives in the struggle, those who defend and diffuse the positions most harmful to workers' struggle may well call themselves «Worker-Communists»: they are in reality nothing but fundamentally **anti-worker** petty-bour-

geois democrats.

Its «proximity» not only with reformist forces, but directly with bourgeois forces, probably explains the magnitude of the means at the disposal of the W-CPI, probably the only organization in the world calling itself revolutionary to have a satellite television channel (34)! It is especially important to tear off its pseudo-communist mask.

For the proletarian vanguard militants in Iran, Iraq or elsewhere, a return to the Marxist revolutionary program and the reconstruction of the class party, international and internationalist does not pass through so-called Worker-Communism!

(1) [www.worker-communism.info](http://www.worker-communism.info). Officially the group says it has no special relationship with any of the existing Hekmatist parties, it seems however nearest the W-CP of Iran.

(2) See Marxists.org and Hekmat. [public-archive.net/](http://public-archive.net/). On the latter site, there are also translations into Arabic, Turkish and Kurdish. However many texts are not translated, either because the site managers do not agree with them, or because they consider them of little interest to the non-Iranian reader.

This is for example the case of the text: «In opposition to abortion» that only exists in Persian. Hekmat affirms that abortion is a «despicable act and we must understand that we are talking about a heinous act against humanity» and it does not agree that free abortion with free access are women's rights, «the woman who destroys an embryo only succumb to the violence inherent in this society», etc.

Responding to the argument that a lot of people are in favor of abortion rights, he says, «many people are working overtime, but I'm not willing to put those extra hours into our program. I'm for the ban on overtime». Hekmat manifests here a quite staggering misunderstanding of what this demand means, especially for proletarian women (according to him it is rather bourgeois who are most concerned, being the situation of the working class not changed in the country where the right to abortion was recognized), and of the struggles that were carried out to get it. The 1992 program of the PC-IO, while stating that the party «is against abortion», however demands its legalization.

(3) <https://bataille.socialiste.wordpress.com/english-pages/1987-left-nationalism-and-working-class-communism-hekmat/>

(4) The thesis ended with the following slogans that well synthesize the fundamentally populist, interclassist, character of the text despite its references to the working class: *Forward towards Unity with the Working Class Movement! Forward to the establishment of the Communist Party of Iran! Victory to the Anti-Imperialist Struggle of the people of Iran! For a People's Democratic*

*Republic!*

(5) see: «The Unity...», op. cit.

(6) see: «Worker-Communism councils and parties», [www.communisme-ouvrier.info/?Communiste-ouvrier-conseils-et](http://www.communisme-ouvrier.info/?Communiste-ouvrier-conseils-et). The article referred to Hekmat's «Party and society» (1998): <http://hekmat.public-archive.net/en/1900en.html>

(7) see: «Komala» [fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Komala](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Komala) We refer to articles on Wikipedia because they are obviously written by the activists of various groups.

(8) Ibid. Komala still exists today, but according to this article, it calls itself social-democratic and aspires to join the Socialist International; it is looking for financial support from the United States.

(9) It seems that the war of the US against Saddam Hussein contributed to this split. Komala then had its bases in Iraq and the Secretary General of the CPI proposed that the party support the PUK (Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the traditional organization of the Iraqi Kurdish bourgeoisie) who sought American support in the struggle against Baghdad; but the US left the troops of Hussein crush the Kurdish rebellion. see «Komala», op. cit.

According to the same article, within the CPI, «it is not really a split that occurs, but an amicable withdrawal, avoiding clashes». Anything except a «principled struggle» against nationalism...

(10) see: «Worker-Communist Party of Iraq», [fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parti\\_Communiste-ouvrier\\_d'Irak](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parti_Communiste-ouvrier_d'Irak)

(11) see: «Worker-Communist Party of Iran Hekmatist» [fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parti\\_communiste-ouvrier\\_Iran\\_-\\_Hekmatist](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parti_communiste-ouvrier_Iran_-_Hekmatist).

The text wanted that the W-CPI, in case of the collapse of the Islamic regime, which seemed plausible at the time, put forward «a plan for a peaceful and democratic transition to a system desired by the people and reducing the possibility of black scenario»: «a plan including a provisional government, + a constituent assembly + a referendum, may be acceptable to the party». In the event of the establishment of a provisional government, the party «should not demand the violent overthrow of the government» but «announce» that if a number of points were established «it would participate in the government or itself constitute such a government», etc. WPI briefing n°158, 9.29.2004.

(12) see: «Worker-Communist Party of Iran Hekmatist» op. cit.

(13) To the question: what is wrong with the perspectives and solutions advocated by the scissionists, that is to say «that the party could also come to power by means of negotiation and diplomacy. Has the W-CPI not considered the fact that it may have to join a coalition government it does not like?» Hamid Taghvaei, the party leader, replied: «Of course, it's possible. This is not a prohibited area for us. The party can, according to its analysis and the relationship of forces, participate in a coalition government. However it is a different thing to make this the basis of

your party line and your strategy». The W-CPI thus admitted the possibility of a governmental alliance with the bourgeois parties, depending on the situation and the balance of power: and for what other reason did the Menshevik Party, in 1917, oppose the Bolsheviks and denounce them as traitors to socialism? See: «Documents on the Split of Worker-Communist Party of Iran & Iraq», *WPI Briefing* n° 153 (special issue on the split), 06/09/2004.

One can perhaps find an allusion to this question of the provisional government in a later text by a French Hekmatist author: «Why we define ourselves as Worker-Communists?» «By so defining ourselves as Worker-Communists, we also affirm our will, not to build a circle of Marxist-specialists, but a movement and a party truly implanted in society and in the working class, and thereby able to take power and to change society and the world. We wish also to add to this last aspect: too often the far Left tends to view power as something that is 'haram'... which means leaving it to this or that faction of the bourgeoisie». See: [www.communiste-ouvrier.info/?Pourquoi-nous-nous-definissons](http://www.communiste-ouvrier.info/?Pourquoi-nous-nous-definissons)

It is unclear what is referred here, but we recall that for Marxism, it is to participate in a bourgeois government that is «unlawful» (haram)!

(14) see: Mansoor Hekmat, [https://www.marxists.org/francais/hekmat/works/1994/07/hekmat\\_19940700.htm](https://www.marxists.org/francais/hekmat/works/1994/07/hekmat_19940700.htm)

(15) Speech given on 05.01.1992. cf [www.communiste-ouvrier.info/?-The-fundamental-characteristics](http://www.communiste-ouvrier.info/?-The-fundamental-characteristics)

(16) Ibidem

(17) see: «A Better World», op. cit.

(18) see: Mansoor Hekmat, «The experience of the workers' revolution in the Soviet Union. Outline of a socialist critique» <http://hekmat.public-archive.net/en/2500en.html>

(19) see «The great historical problems of the revolution in Russia», Programme Communiste No. 96. We refer the reader to our many works on this topic.

(20) see: Struttura della Economica e Social della Russia d'Oggi, quoted in «historical and international lesson of the proletarian revolution and the bourgeois counter-revolution against» P.C. No. 96.

(21) cf. [www.communiste-ouvrier.info/?Pourquoi-nous-nous-definissons](http://www.communiste-ouvrier.info/?Pourquoi-nous-nous-definissons)

(22) see <http://worker-communistpartyofiran.blogspot.fr/2012/04/may-1st-reclaim-world-for-99.html>

(23) see [http://worker-communistpartyofiran.blogspot.fr/2012\\_03\\_01\\_archive.html](http://worker-communistpartyofiran.blogspot.fr/2012_03_01_archive.html)

(24) cf. [http://worker-communistpartyofiran.blogspot.fr/2013\\_07\\_01\\_archive.html](http://worker-communistpartyofiran.blogspot.fr/2013_07_01_archive.html)

There was also praise with regard to the «magnificent Tamarod movement» i.e. the organization that prepared the overthrow of Morsi, starting with a petition campaign. There was no need to wait for the later revelations that the secret services were in-

volved in the creation of this organization, funded also by capitalists, to understand that his activity was in the service of the bourgeois order. The W-CPI still does not seem to have understood this because it did not correct its position, nor has it published anything else that we know of about the events in Egypt.

(25) see [http://worker-communistpartyofiran.blogspot.fr/2015\\_02\\_01\\_archive.html](http://worker-communistpartyofiran.blogspot.fr/2015_02_01_archive.html) In early March, the W-CPI has also, as usual, launched a petition campaign «in solidarity with the people of Greece»: «We, the people of Greece, Europe and the world, say to the ECB, the IMF and other international and national lenders: People of Greece don't owe you! Drop the debt!». The petition is the typical practice of those who believe in the power of «public opinion» or just want to feel good without having to enter the struggle. In this case there is a perfect correspondence between an impotent practice and a hollow theme... see <http://www.communiste-ouvrier.info/?In-solidarity-with-the-people-in>

(26) Ibidem

(27) see: <http://solidariteirak.org/spip.php?article5>. We recall that the W-CP of Iraq had split from the W-CPI (W-CP of Iran).

The W-CP of Iraq has a deeply ingrained interclassist political line. A few years ago it constituted the Iraqi Freedom Congress, an association «above classes and parties» (ie **interclassist**) whose aim is the establishment of a democratic (ie **bourgeois**) regime in Iraq; it heads a union to which the pro-imperialist US trade union AFL-CIO has granted sympathizer organizational status. Its leader Yanar Mohammed won in 2008 the recognition of the US imperialists with the Eleanor Roosevelt prize (the name of the wife of a former president of the United States) for the Rights of Women of the World, awarded by an institution linked to the US Democratic Party, and the Gruber prize for Women's Rights, awarded by a foundation created in the Cayman Islands by this Wall Street billionaire financier (such a prize being richly endowed, according to the wikipedia page on behalf of Yanar Mohammed), etc.

Recently it called for the formation of an «armed force to confront both the Islamic State, US policy and that of the countries of the region». This «communist armed force» will not aim for the seizure of power by the proletariat, but for the creation of «an atmosphere [...] conducive to the seizure of power and the restoration of humanity» and «to find hope for the working class and the toiling masses». It is therefore not intended to defend by force a proletarian class policy, but to «defend every inch of the human spirit, to center the will of the masses to self-determination» for «human politics, against the dark forces». See: [solidariteirak.org/spip.php?article866](http://solidariteirak.org/spip.php?article866) (08.28.2014)

No comments...

(28) see: <http://bu-fonds-spe.univ-angers.fr/images/meeting-de-la-coordination->

[f%C3%A9vrier-2004](http://www.ministere-et-la-que-le-5-f%C3%A9vrier-2004)

(29) see: [http://libertefemmepalestine.cher-alice.fr/Charria\\_Canada.html](http://libertefemmepalestine.cher-alice.fr/Charria_Canada.html)

(30) see: <http://www.prochoix.org/cgi/blog/index.php/2006/04/04/460-conference-le-6-avril-sur-la-liberte-dexpression-face-a-lintimidation-integriste>

(31) see: <http://www.prochoix.org/cgi/blog/index.php/2006/03/01/412-manifeste-des-douze-ensemble-contre-le-nouveau-totalitarisme>

(32) see: <http://www.laicite-republique.org/2nd-rencontres-secular>, 964. Html. Also present were Brard, French Communist Party mayor of Montreuil and other organizations well known for their hostility towards immigrant proletarians. In its early years, the Communist International fought against Freemasonry as being, like the League of Human Rights, a particularly dangerous bourgeois organization of class collaboration because it sought to attract the workers' leaders. But that was before the onset of Worker-Communism!

(33) see: <http://www.mondialisme.org/spip.php?article850>

(34) According to the Wikipedia page, from 1999 the W-CPI had a radio station (*Radio International*) which broadcasted «from Russia and Norway, and finally the United States of America». It is hard to imagine that you can emit from these countries without an agreement with their governments... Today's it has a satellite TV channel, *New Channel TV*, which broadcasts 24 hours a day.

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## 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.