

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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The beacon of October 1917 illuminates the way to the revolution of tomorrow

One hundred years after this gigantic upheaval which caused the whole world to tremble, the commemorations of the revolution in Russia have not been lacking, and are not diminishing, even in the bourgeois media. Of course, these commemorations are critical and the main reproach addressed at the Bolsheviks, even among those who call themselves the «far left», is that they have not respected the universal and irreproachable canons of democracy. In general, however, the Russian Revolution is treated as an event of a distant past and a past without any real bearing on the present and future situation. For true Communists, on the contrary, the October Revolution is a living, ever-present motif; it affects all the central questions of proletarian emancipation, the revolutionary struggle for socialism, the indispensable role of the class party in this struggle, and so on. We shall content ourselves here with mentioning a number of them.

No revolution takes place in a single day, contradicting the old anarchist myth of the «One big night»; it occupies a period which, depending on the conditions of the moment at the national and international level, may be more or less lengthy, and it has been prepared by a whole maturation, often imperceptible to contemporaries: it is the period when, as Marx said, twenty years do not count for more than a day for great historical developments, before a revolutionary period where every day con-

centrates twenty years within itself.

A hundred years have passed since October 17 and we are obliged because of an always unfavorable situation to recall the lessons of a revolution passed instead of preparing for the next revolution. It is also a fact that we cannot escape the mania for observation of «mathematical» dates...

The great proletarian revolution that brought down the bourgeois power in October 17 after defeating the Tsarist government in February is still today

called the October Revolution because it occurred on 26 October of the «Gregorian» calendar then in force in Russia (corresponding to 7 November of the current calendar) the proletarian insurrection took over the Winter Palace in Petrograd, which had been the seat of the Kerensky government after being the residence of the Tsars.

With this assault the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat, leading the revolutionary movement of the peasants and the poor masses, signaled the end of the power of the young Russian bourgeoisie. This in the midst of full-blown world war, where Tsarism was part of the Triple Entente alongside Great Britain and France, which clashed with the Alliance of the Central Empires (Germany and Austria-Hungary, with Turkey joining them, while Italy joined the Triple Entente (followed later by the USA).. The bourgeois Russian government formed after the February revolu-

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The nationalism which channeled the revolt of the Cuban proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the ferocious dictatorship of Batista and American colonization never opened the way for socialism, but for a national bourgeoisie who intended to keep for itself the profits which until then had ended up in the pockets of the American capitalists.

One of the myths fueled for more than fifty years by the imperialist bourgeoisies of the whole world loses one of its most tenacious propagandists with the death of Castro.

On 1 January 1959, after 3 years of guerrilla warfare against the regime of Fulgencio Batista, who had ruled the island for 25 years on behalf of the United States, the «July 26 Movement» with

Fidel Castro at its head seized The capital Havana (from which the dictator had fled) and took power.

In the general climate of liberation movements in Latin America, when anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa put the colonial powers in difficulty, the United States played the card of democ-

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tion remained faithful to the military commitments of Tsarism, demonstrating in fact that it had no intention of breaking with the previous imperialist policy, even though it claimed in its speeches that the war had changed its nature.

VICTORY OF THE INSURRECTION

In recalling the date of the insurrection we wish to emphasize a first historical lesson: one that was contained in the letters of Lenin (then in hiding), which called for neither a day nor an hour to be lost to overthrow the government of Kerensky. This great truth, that is to say that the party must know how not to miss the moment when the collective will of the party becomes the determining factor of a historical turning point (what we call the «reversal of praxis»), although the struggle will continue long after the fateful date; on the one hand because of the immense distances in Russia, but above all because after the victorious capture of power in the capital which reverberates throughout the country, it will be necessary to maintain this power against external invasions and internal enemies not only for several weeks, but for several years.

The conquest of power by the proletariat and the establishment of its dictatorship exercised by the Communist Party were the jolt which inaugurated the unavoidable tasks of the revolution, such as the liquidation of the war and the rejection of any imperialist policy of conquest, of annexation, of national oppression. There was also the task of eliminating all the obstacles of the previous state administration and democratic formalisms (including the Constituent Assembly) which corresponded to the needs of the ruling classes, of depriving the latter of all possibilities of organizing themselves to fight on all terrains (cultural, political, military) for the defense of their interests, the proletariat's task of preparing itself to fight against the insurrections they fomented and against imperialist military interventions by arming and organizing into a Red Army workers' and peasants' detachments.

Let's stop to examine the question of the bourgeois democratic revolution and its Constituent Assembly. In his «April Theses» Lenin asserted that the republic should not be parliamentary, but based

on the system of the Soviets; we are still at this time in the midst of an anti-feudal revolution, therefore a «bourgeois», «democratic» revolution, according to Marxism; but this bourgeois-democratic revolution will be able all the more quickly to realize its aims, it will be able to go all the farther in the liquidation of the feudal and semi-feudal remnants when it is led by the proletariat without using democratic methods! As for the bourgeoisie, it would prefer to renounce «its» revolution or at least to curb it to the maximum and to compromise with the forces of the old regime for fear of being carried away by the revolutionary flurry.

Indeed, the revolution was not only of a bourgeois nature, it was «double»: the proletarians who mobilized were fighting against the old regime, but they were also fighting against their bosses, against the capitalists, against the bourgeoisie. The Constituent Assembly in the hands of the bourgeoisie would have stopped the revolution, as the Provisional Government had done since February 17. It was dissolved by the revolutionary forces which had seized power through the success of the insurrection.

Three days after the drafting of the «Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People», which the Constituent Assembly had refused to approve, Lenin signed the decree of dissolution of the latter on 7 January.

As our text «Economic and Social Structure of Russia Today» explains, citing excerpts from Lenin's text, the decision was based on the fact that the Russian Revolution had created the Soviets from the beginning, had developed against the illusions of collaboration with the bourgeois parties and against the «deceitful forms of bourgeois democratic parliament» and «came to the conclusion that the liberation of the oppressed classes without breaking with these forms and with any kind of conciliation is impossible». This rupture «took place with the October Revolution, which restored all power to the Soviets» (1).

This led to the reaction of the exploiters, and in the repression of their desperate attempts, the October Revolution showed that it was **the beginning of the socialist revolution**: «The working classes,» Lenin continues, «had to persuade themselves on the basis of experience, that the old bourgeois parliamentarism had had its time (including in Russia, where it had just emerged - Editor's note), that it was incompatible

with the objective of the realization of socialism; that it is not general national institutions but only class organizations like the Soviets that can overcome the resistance of the propertied classes and lay the foundations of the socialist society».

The greatness of this text, again remarked upon in our text «Economic and Social Structure of Russia Today», is that it is not based on particular contingencies of concrete Russian development, but on the principle arguments drawn from the very history of the proletarian and world communist revolution, on the incompatibility between parliamentary democracy and the realization of socialism which will follow the violent overthrow of social obstacles, traditional forms of production, as it is written in the «Manifesto».

«Beyond ten frontiers,» writes Bordiga, «the partisans of uncorrupted Marxism have not read this text, but it was enough for them to learn of the outright news, that the minority had left the assembly and ordered that the majority be silenced, to celebrate one of the most striking encounters between doctrinal prediction and living history. The mass of exploited proletarians, whom war had led to the revolutionary struggle, understood the magnitude of the event, though in a less scientific manner. They cried with millions of voices that once again enlightenment (call to her, O philistines, who spit out your venom, messianic, in our lexicon it is not the Word that makes itself Flesh but the Theory that is made Reality) had risen resplendently on the horizon of the East» (2).

The lesson contained in these historical facts is all the more grandiose as the content of these enterprises is entirely classist; and it allows the name of Socialist and Communist to be given to the October Revolution and the State of the Soviets under the Bolshevik Party, because in all its political action it has a central **foundation**, which does not lie in a set of measures intended to govern and administer Russia, but in the relentless struggle for the communist revolution in Europe.

The fundamental value of the October Revolution lies precisely in the fact that the policy of the Bolshevik Party and the new government was directed entirely towards the European and world revolution.

DESTRUCTION OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR

From April to October the Bolsheviks had put forward the international situation, the imperialist war, to explain

their formidable historical formula for the Russian revolution: It is a bourgeois anti-feudal revolution. That it is of interest to the proletariat, we know it since 1848; at the time, in this situation of nascent capitalism (which, according to historical determinism, means socially useful and beneficial, the only one capable of increasing labor productivity and rate of growth of consumption, and propelling forward proletarian class capacities), there was open alliance, common struggle, solidarity, not only for the overthrow of feudal serfdom and absolutism, but also for the foundation of the national state and the wars that had this objective. By the time of the Russian Revolution, capitalism in the world was parasitic, it was no longer an impetus but it had become a hindrance to the productive economy, no longer generating wars geared towards the most modern forms of national, but of wars of rapine and pure brigandage.

In this case too, we must fight for an anti-despotic revolution, even if it must remain in the capitalist phase; but there can no longer be any war alliances with the bourgeoisie, there can no longer be solidarity not only in the (anti-tsarist) civil war but in the external war. In short, we will not tire of repeating it, the proletariat is in charge of making the bourgeois revolution, it is in charge of directing the peasantry in this revolution, but it does not ally itself with the bourgeois parties, it tends to take all power against the local bourgeoisie, its opportunist allies and international colleagues.

Bolshevism assumed this hard task,

however terrible the stakes were. A rapid offer of global negotiations: the allies are silent; immediately after the unilateral offer to the Germans who are hurrying to the border.

First delegation Ioffé in December 1917. Unacceptable conditions. Second delegation Trotsky in January 1918. Grim conditions, which include the annexation of Slavic peoples. Three formulas: Lenin (ferocious enemy of the annexations): accept and sign peace; Bukharin: revolutionary war against the Germans; Trotsky: neither peace nor war, not to sign. The Congress of Soviets is for this thesis. The delegation withdrew without signing treaties. The German army launched itself forward. Trotsky proposes to the Central Committee to call on the allies for military aid. On 23 February Berlin dictated an aggravated ultimatum: at the CC, 7 votes for Lenin (acceptance), 4 for Bukharin (refusal), who then resigned, 4 abstained with Trotsky. 3 March: signature of the treaty. The Party Congress approves, and condemns the «Left Communists» of Bukharin. The Communist Party breaks with the Revolutionary Socialists, its last allies.

The party is alone. War is destroyed.

This overview of such a great event is enough. Let us note only that the revolutionary left of the Italian Socialist party adopted all the positions of October: conquest of power, dictatorship, dispersion of the Constituent Assembly, rupture with the RS, terrorist strategy; it would be enough to go through a series of the «*Avanguardia*» (organ of the young Socialists), with the com-

ments, which we would say are very excited, week after week. In the «*Avanti!*» An article of the same origin, unconditionally for Lenin's thesis: «The Russian Revolution in a decisive phase», was intended to combat the uncertainties of the comrades who believed that the position was too *rightist*, too conciliatory (3).

CREATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The «April Theses» (1917) written by Lenin, returning from exile, to guide the party's action in the new situation created by the fall of Tsarism and the establishment of the provisional government, are the program of the proletarian revolution in Russia (and not the program of building socialism – impossible in economically and socially backward Russia). But they are not limited to a national framework, to the framework of Russia alone: how could this be possible when Russia is engaged in the world war? On the other hand, the Russian revolution itself is not an isolated, purely national fact. It is part of an international revolutionary wave that will affect all countries. If, in Lenin's words, the imperialist chain has broken down in its weakest link – Russia – this whole chain is rattled and threatens to break down definitively. It is therefore right that the Theses of April end with the tenth: «*Transform the International. Take the initiative to create a revolu-*

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What is occurring in CUBA after Castro's death is not a new phase of a «socialist revolution» that never existed, but the repositioning of Cuban capitalism on the world market

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racy to counter the USSR, within the framework of the so-called «Cold War». That is why, at first, they supported the change of regime in Cuba; but after the Castro government, applying the program of agrarian reform, nationalized the great landed estates and large enterprises belonging to the American capitalists, above all in sugar and tobacco, it changed its policy: it sought to strangle the country's economy by no longer importing its sugar and reducing the flow of tourists to the island as much as possible. The Cuban government, which had never before defined itself as a socialist, then turned to the USSR, which had every interest in shielding the is-

land from American influence. This forced change of course and the adoption of an anti-American social program favored internal and external «socialist» propaganda: in 1961 Cuba proclaimed itself a «Socialist Republic». Thanks to the fact that the movement of the Castro guerrillas had succeeded in defeating and standing up against the most powerful imperialism in the world, the Cuban regime became at that time a proof of the myth of «national socialism». For decades Cuba, Castro and Che Guevara were presented by Stalinist opportunism as the champions of a «socialism» that could conquer America. All the so-called far-left groups which took the nationalizations and the cooperatives for the realization of socialism

on the economic plane fell into the trap of the propaganda of Russian, Chinese and therefore Cuban false socialism; Furthermore, by claiming that the socialist revolution was possible without the decisive action of the proletariat and without the exploited masses being headed by a revolutionary communist party, they asserted that in fact socialism was only an enlarged democracy which did not have as a program the destruction of the foundations of capitalism within and, as a bastion of the international proletarian revolution, the integration of this anti-capitalist struggle into the international struggle of the proletariat of all other countries.

In reality, if the struggle against colonial oppression in Cuba tended to lift the Cuban masses of peasants and proletarians from hunger and misery, this struggle has always had the characteristic of a bourgeois struggle driving the revolutionary thrust of the oppressed

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tionary International, an International against the social-chauvinists and against the 'center'».

It will take more than a year after the seizure of power to form this International; but it is nevertheless the legitimate daughter, not only of the revolutionary thrust in Europe, but of the victory of the October Revolution.

Its fate was, moreover, closely linked to the destiny of the latter: as soon as the revolutionary power was forced, by reason of the failure of the proletarian revolution in Europe, to retreat into the properly Russian tasks of the development of capitalism wanting at first to control it, before camouflaging its development later under the false label of «construction of socialism»), the International, incapable of resisting opportunistic pressures, began to degenerate. It then went on to counter-revolution by becoming the tool of Russian state capitalism, after having expelled all those who opposed this fatal involution.

* * *

One hundred years after the illumination of the October Revolution still shines despite all those extinguishers; it always indicates the path of the future revolution: the violent seizure of power, the destruction of the bourgeois state, the dictatorship of the proletariat exercised by the single-class party and the international extension of the revolution.

Tomorrow, on a much broader scale than a hundred years ago, the proletariat will have to fight again, if only to escape the inevitable destiny imposed upon it by capitalism; it will have to oppose class war again imperialist war, it would have to launch again «the assault to sky» and exclaim like Lenin in his famous speech improvised before a delegation of workers gathered to welcome him on his arrival in Russia in April 1917: «... the dawn of the world socialist revolution has already risen (...) Long live the World Socialist Revolution!»

(1) See «Economic Structure of Russia Today» a series of reports by Bordiga at meetings of our party under this title. Ed. Il Programma Comunista 1976, p. 231.

(2) Ibidem, p. 232.

(3) Here we follow the text: «The great historical questions of the revolution in Russia» (Genoa, 1955), published in *Programme Communiste* n°96. The articles of Bordiga are in the «Storia della Sinistra Comunista», volume 1.

What is occurring in Cuba after Castro's death...

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strata towards capitalist political and economic objectives carried by the petty-bourgeois elements, since the great bourgeoisie was implicated in American domination.

Cuba in 1959 was no longer what it had been a century before; in 1898 the island had become independent of Spain, but it was to become a capitalist semi-colony of the USA. Historically, the «double revolution» (anti-feudal revolution or national independence laying the foundations of capitalist development, and anti-capitalist proletarian revolution, as in Russia in 1917) was no longer on the agenda; only an anti-capitalist proletarian revolution was possible, even if its framework was that of a country with little capitalist development. The proletarian revolution, truly socialist, can have as its protagonist only the proletariat of factories and the countryside, organized into economic and social associations enabling it to rise, through its immediate struggles, to the political struggle against the bourgeoisie, and directed by its Communist revolutionary party, the sole depository organ of class consciousness, and therefore of the general objectives and aims of the proletarian struggle at the national and international levels. All this was absent in Cuba as elsewhere, because since the late 1920s, the so-called Stalinist counter-revolution had defeated the proletarian movement in Russia and the world. That is why Castroism or Guevarism were never socialism: it was no more than a bourgeois radicalism with Cuban sauce.

We wrote in 1961:

«It is only in appearance that the Cuban movements of which the *barbudos* (bearded ones) were the actors are connected with the movements which shook the traditional order in Asia and Africa from top to bottom. The common element constituted by the hard struggle against imperialism and the great capitalist monopolies conceals the essential fact that in the case of Afro-Asian countries the struggle for national independence and for the constitution of unitary states (struggle against the colonial powers and in any case against the financial game of imperialist monopolies) is one aspect of the wider struggle against traditional feudal or para-feudal structures; in Cuba, and in general in Latin America although in a variable way, capitalism has for decades been imported from the United States and other capitalist countries; the econ-

omy has for a long time presented the basic bourgeois structures, including a social structure based on a numerous and overexploited proletariat.

Here the main theme of the anticolonial «revolution» is the effort of the young indigenous bourgeoisie to liberate itself from the domination of foreign financial capital (in the shadow of which it has developed) or, as the case may be, to establish co-operative relations with it for the exploitation of local resources, using for this purpose the revolts of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, orienting them towards the nationalist objective, diverting them from any social-revolutionary orientation and making them the stepping stone for its domination in the State. The movements and regimes that arise in this area, and of which the Cuban example offers the most «pure» model, thus present themselves as violently **nationalist on the outside and reformist within**; In the first sense, they have a historical function of breaking imperialist equilibriums which can provoke and in fact do provoke in the major centers of bourgeois piracy (and especially in the United States) crises of prestige and serious economic difficulties the violent outburst of which the world proletariat and the Communist revolutionary party cannot stupidly greet with indifference; In the second sense they act as a brake on internal social contradictions; and for the international and indigenous proletariat not only is there no question of **armed support** to the nationalist parties allegedly for «advancing the wheel of history» by cutting down the residues of pre-capitalist structures and pushing the movement towards «double revolution»; but there is the problem of denouncing their bourgeois reformist aims and putting forward the question of the **independence** of the working class vis-à-vis interclassist parties and regimes, and of the open proletarian struggle for the seizure of power.

In the specific case of Cuba, the revolutionary proletariat can judge positively the blows to the American sugar and oil mastodons and their government which intervenes in the name of «freedom» and «self-determination of peoples», and the demonstration of the falsehood of this propaganda; but it must combat the claim of the Castroists to have achieved a «social revolution» and, worse still, to have constituted a «socialist republic» overnight, with the blessing of the grand world of business affairs as customized by the Kremlin.

To the creation and dissemination of this myth which, in parentheses, brings water to the mill of the bourgeois radicals who preach the possibility of a

revolution without a class party and therefore without Marxism, contribute not only, Stalino-krutchevians, traveling salesmen of popular inter-class regimes baptized «progressive» or even «socialist», but also the national communists à la Tito and those who, to the misfortune of the great revolutionary, proclaim themselves Trotskyists».(1)

Beyond the Castro-Guevarist myth of «Cuban socialism», remains the fact that Cuba has resisted the pressure of Washington with its embargo that has lasted for 55 years. It is true that until 1989 when the Soviet empire collapsed, the fact of being able to count on commercial and political relations with the USSR and its European satellites made it possible to face the American threats. But it should not be forgotten that the Cuban economy, precisely through capitalist relations with Moscow and Eastern Europe and some Latin American countries, had reintegrated into the world market through imports of petroleum, foodstuffs, chemical and industrial equipment and exports of sugar, tobacco, nickel, fishery products but also pharmaceutical products. After the collapse of the USSR trade relations extended to the countries of Western Europe to the extent that since 2002 Cuba uses the euro instead of the dollar in its international trade. The easing of the US embargo since the early 2000s has made the United States the third largest trading partner of the country. The isolation of Cuba has in fact never been a commercial and economic isolation, but a mainly political isolation, a marginalization by American capitalism to exhaust the regime until it falls, given the failure of the interventions of the style of the Bay of Pigs attack.

Will it be the euro rather than the dollar that will reposition Cuba in the world market, not only with trade but also with investments? Whether it is one or the other will not alter the foundations of capitalist economy: capital invests more easily where there are natural resources and an abundant labor force. And Cuba offers to Capital a fertile land and a capable workforce, well trained and above all accustomed to a low standard of living, that is, a low-cost labor force. The signing of agreements with European pharmaceutical companies through biotech development plans demonstrates that Cuba can represent good sources of profit for capital. There is no doubt that this is the path the regime will follow, with more enthusiasm than before; the recent visit of Obama and officials of the State Department to Havana is another sign that American capitalists are pushing towards the end of Cuba's isolation from

the United States.

If the Cuban workers in the towns and the countryside, deceived for decades by a false socialism, have nevertheless been able to enjoy important advances, notably in terms of health and education, they owe it first of all to the struggle which they led against the most brutal aspects of their exploitation by the American capitalists and their colleagues, a struggle which led to the expulsion of Batista and the American trusts; in order to establish its legitimacy, the Castro regime was obliged to ensure the basic needs of the masses. They then owed it to an international conjuncture where tensions between imperialisms finally were concentrated in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa and Asia.

We do not know how long it will take for the Cuban proletarians to realize that the nationalism which «Commandantes» Fidel Castro and Che Guevara baptized «socialism» as well as the so-called «communist» party (founded only in 1965), have been bourgeois instruments to emancipate Cuban capitalism from the American grip and directly manage, through the conquest of a «national sovereignty», their own exploitation, characteristic not of socialism but of any capitalist society.

We do not know what aggravation of the inter-imperialist contradictions and what economic crises will shake the bourgeois power in the United States,

Europe, Russia, China and Latin America; but it is certain that the growth of capitalism itself will lead to an increase and an intensification of clashes and wars, inevitably pulling the proletarians out of their long reformist, democratic and nationalist intoxication and placing before them the historical dilemma: war or revolution, a revolutionary class struggle for the defense of solely proletarian interests, immediate and historical, or the crushing of their class identity and continuation of their enslavement to the pitiless and insatiable capitalist mode of production.

As internationalist revolutionary communists, based on the historical experiences of the Paris Commune and the October Revolution and following the line that characterized the struggle of the Communist Left against the degeneration of the Communist International and of its parties, we continue the difficult task of defending orthodox Marxism against all opportunistic attacks, and working to form the international class party which will have to lead the proletarian masses towards the anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist revolution, truly socialist and communist this time.

3/12/2016

(1) « The two faces of the Cuban revolution », Il Programma Comunista n°10/1961

Trump's America shows its muscles

The world disorder that has emerged since the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1989-1991 and the ensuing series of local wars on which the various imperialist powers have sought to capitalize in order to defend their interests to the best of their ability, is now the normal state of the imperialism.

The contradictions of bourgeois society on all levels, economic, political, social, financial, cultural and naturally military, explode at closer and closer intervals, in time as in space. Imperialism, that is to say, the policy of pillage and brigandage carried out by all the most developed capitalist countries in order to capture or control market shares and «economic territories», cannot resolve these contradictions; it can only push them to the level of a global confrontation between the powers that have divided the planet into zones of influence and colonization. The two world wars have demonstrated this: they have been

used by the imperialist powers to divide the world, but at the same time this new order established by military victory bore the seeds of a future world disorder. The bourgeoisie of a country constantly struggles against the competing bourgeoisies of other countries; the more the capitalist economy develops, the more avid and insatiable the bourgeoisie which personifies its interests, and from which it derives all its social, economic and political benefits and privileges. Economic and financial competition on the world market to some degree inevitably raises the level of confrontation; the most powerful, the most organized and the most aggressive competitors tend to share this market and areas of influence. However, the development of capitalism and its contradiction means that other actors eventually become competitors, even smaller in

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terms of economic and financial strength, but strategically important because of their natural resources, their geographical position or their political and military activity in their region.

From the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, the international framework was characterized by the division of the world between the European colonial powers, dominated by Great Britain. This situation changed completely after the first and especially the Second World War. The old colonial powers in decline have given way to new imperialist powers: the United States and Russia, the great victors of the Second World War, have divided the world into great zones of influence: the Euro-American Occident of Western Europe, the African continent, Latin America, the Middle East and a large part of the Far East on the one hand, and the Euro-Russian Orient (which Eastern Europe, China and a part of Indo-China), where the place of the former colonialist countries, mainly Great Britain and France, persisted. The boundaries of certain regions of the world have been historically delimited by action of these colonial powers for the sole purpose of satisfying their interests.

From the great capitalist crisis of 1973-75, which did not lead to a third world war because of a series of economic and politico-military factors which delayed its maturation, the international situation was more demarcated by the weak points of the great imperialist powers than their strengths. On the American side: the defeat in Vietnam, the endless series of national liberation wars in Africa and the Far East, the Middle East countries (of strategic importance especially for oil) constantly shaken by local and intestine wars, and Japan becoming a formidable economic competitor while constituting vital markets for US goods; On the Russian side, a capitalist development which still needed a monopoly exploitation of its satellites and which did not in any way push for a military confrontation with them; The «balance of terror» which sanctioned the sharing of the world being also guarantor of the status quo. A demonstration that not all international crises, even serious ones (such as Korea in 1950 or Iraq in 1991) do not lead to world conflict; but any crisis, regional or global, accumulates increasingly serious and insoluble factors of confrontation even if not by overt military force.

After this so-called period of the «bal-

ance of terror, where for decades the world was in some ways a Russian-American condominium, we have entered a new era where no imperialist power can dictate the world agenda of relations between capitalist states. This is one of the reasons why the imperialist powers tend to conceal their interests behind the local interests of a given country — which does not prevent them from intervening directly, as in Libya, when this does not risk Inter-imperialist war.

And that's what has been happening for more than 5 years in Syria, a country that should have seen the fall of Bashar El Assad under the diplomatic, economic and military pressure of the United States - which has not happened.

During these five years, the Syrian population has been subjected to violence, brutality and exactions of all kinds by all the belligerent forces: the regular army, the various rebel militias including ISIS, the bombing by the Russians, the Turks, the Americans and all their allies. There is no doubt that the Assad regime used the most brutal violence against its own people, but all other military forces acting on the terrain did the same.

Syria far more than Libya is a strategic country for the imperialist powers because of its air and port bases which provide opportunities for action throughout the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern area; For the European powers and, in the first place, France, which has an old tradition of bloody imperialist domination in this country and in the region; For the United States which cannot accept seeing Russia regain control of this country; For Iran, a new regional power, which has found support in Putin's Russia, which cannot accept that Saudi Arabia and Israel will settle in the only Arab country that is its ally (including On religious affinity); For Turkey, at last, who cannot stay away from the clash.

The chemical attack on the inhabitants of Khan Sheikhoun, a village controlled by the rebels, about fifty kilometers from the town of Idlib (Homs region), was launched on 4 April by the regime's air force. Resulting in more than 80 dead it was the pretext used by Trump to fire missiles from the US aircraft carriers present in the area: 159 Tomahawk cruise missiles were launched against the Shayrat air base from which the attack was launched (Only 23 actually reached their target). The damage was minor and the next day Syrian aviation resumed its attacks from this base. The «serious American response» that was triggered, as Trump said hypocritically, was because «*Assad choked out*

the lives of helpless men, women and children (...). Even beautiful babies were cruelly murdered in this very barbaric attack. No child of God should ever suffer such horror», had only a propaganda effect since the base had been preemptively evacuated, the Americans having warned the Russians, knowing full well that they would warn the Syrians...

Faced with the countless massacres suffered by the Syrian population, what is the use of this bombardment? That same day, in meeting with him, did Trump want to make Chinese President Xi Jinping understand that America «does not joke» and warn him about North Korea? Did he want to intimidate Russia, the first support of the Syrian regime and deter it from bombing the rebels backed by the United States? Did he want to warn Turkey which it is trying to get closer to Russia, reminding it that it is a member of NATO and should not play a double game? Did he want to tell his own soldiers that the American aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean are not only there to observe but to strike? Did he want to tell his constituents that the new president is not just interested in the coal mines and Obama's health reform?

Probably all the above at the same time, even if it is evident to all the chancelleries of the world that the United States cannot get out of the impasse where they are in Syria (and not only there, but also in Iraq and Libya) and that Trump has no policy other than that followed by Obama, which is dictated to him, each time, by the various dominant lobbies.

In any case, there is no doubt that if the United States shows their muscles, it is obviously to defend their national interests!

Syria has become a place where the biggest imperialist powers and the regional capitalist powers play their own part with the aim of seizing part of the booty constituted by its territory (and, if possible, also get their hands on yet another part of Iraq — already divided according to confessional lines and where, intervening against ISIS while continuing to smack down the proletarians, yet, with different objectives, we find Western, Iranian and Turkish influences). Russians, Iranians and Turks are negotiating to reach an agreement to share «zones of influence» in Syria, and the Americans are trying to curb this initiative so as not to be left out of their fair share of a living corpse...

If the Syrian masses have nothing good to expect from the bloody regime of Bashar al-Assad and his Russian and Iranian allies, they also have nothing to

hope for from the US coalition and the rebel militias supported by it, nor from the Militias of the «Islamic State». In this war they are the sacrificial victims, massacred in their country and hideously mistreated in flight. Tragically as-toundingly, they cannot rely on an organized labor movement capable of carrying out a struggle, even if it is elementary, independently and against all bel-ligerents: for years these capitalist pal-impsects of unions have been oriented, in particular by Stalinist forces, towards nationalism and confessionalism, and the result so far has been that their spon-taneous revolt could not go beyond mere democratic aspirations.

What will give the Syrian proletari-ans hope for the future will be the en-counter in the emigration with prole-tarians oriented to revolutionary class positions, firmly linked to class tradi-tions, not of antifascist national and syndical resistance, entirely interclas-sist and bourgeois, but of the strug-gles of the Russian, Serbian, German, Italian, French, Dutch and above all Russian proletarians who, during and after the First World War, fought against all imperialist brigands and for the socialist, anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois revolution.

« Il Comunista »

Nr.150 - Settembre 2017

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Standing Rock (North Dakota, USA): Ecology against class struggle

At the end of December 2016, envi-ronmentalists and a large part of the «far» left celebrated the «victory» of the Sioux of North Dakota which pre-vented the further construction of an oil pipeline – thanks to a mobilization of several months and despite a brutal repression – the Dakota Access Pipe-line (DAPL) – which demanded to cross their lands.

This «victory» was of very short duration. Donald Trump had promised to reverse Obama's decision to oppose the construction of this pipeline in the last days of his administration: some-thing done in the first days of the new president's term. Not surprisingly, Trump owns shares in Energy Transfer Partners (ETP), the company that is building the oil pipeline, and one of his nearest allies is a shale oil magnate.

In a matter of days, the federal gov-ernment and the State of Dakota mobi-lized all possible repressive arsenal – cops, military and judges – to expulse the Sioux militants and ecologists who occupied the site. On 23 February, the last ones remaining evacuated the area, setting fire to their encampment.

For American Indian populations, this struggle went beyond the perils of being exposed to the risks inherent in the project and was also a form of re-sistance to the brutal racist oppression that Native Americans have experienced for centuries. These populations are hard hit by unemployment, poverty and all the evils that accompany them. For example, in Pine Ridge, South Dakota, 80-90% of the population is unem-ployed, and life expectancy is around 50 years – or less than in most African countries!

The construction of the DAPL is a consequence of the «oil boom» that North Dakota is experiencing with the exploitation of shale oil. A decade ago, this state, with a population of only 750,000 (compared with 39 million for California and 27 million for Texas), was dominated by agricultural activity (pro-duction of durum wheat, beans, flax, sugar...). Its industry was weak with only a few developed sectors such as hydropower generation, agro-food and lignite mines.

Today, North Dakota has become the second-largest oil-producing state after Texas. The main producing region, the Bakken basin, saw its production increase fivefold between 2010 and 2016. This has led to very strong demograph-ic and economic growth. Its annual eco-

nomic growth is above 15% and unem-ployment is the lowest in the United States (1%). «Per capita income» – which measures the degree of capitalist devel-opment and not the wealth of the inhab-itants – has increased by 20%: from 39th (out of 51 states) in 2000 to 5th in 2012. Areas where the hydrocarbons are ex-ploited have seen their population grow by more than 25%.

Petroleum resources have been ex-ploited in a totally anarchic way and without concern for the health and safe-ty of proletarians and populations. Nothing surprising, this is inherent to capitalism!

70 million liters of oil, gas or other chemicals poured out in North Dakota between 2006 and 2014, following 8700 accidents. These thousands of spills have had enormous impacts by con-taminating air, soil and groundwater. In addition, there is the risk that chem-icals used for hydraulic fracturing will gradually migrate into the water net-work, but also the hazard of pollution associated with the underground «re-injection» of waste water from hydrau-lic fracturing (most often in poor areas populated by African-Americans). This kind of event shocks and rightfully dis-gusts ecologists or «ecosocialists» of all kinds.

But they are less indignant at the ordeals of the proletarians exploited by the petroleum industry. Occupational accidents in North Dakota are enor-mous: 104 per 100,000 workers in oil ex-traction (the national average is 16) and 97 per 100,000 in construction (9 nation-ally). Fatal accidents – a mild euphe-mism for capitalist murders – are also five times more numerous than the national average, and have risen sharply since 2007 (from 7 per 100,000 to 18, ie from 25 to 65 deaths per year).

They are also less revolted by the enormous risks of oil trains often over a mile long that cut through working-class neighborhoods. Large American cities, such as Buffalo or Minneapolis, are tra-versed by these real trains of death, as the «accident» at Lac-Mégantic showed in 2013, during which the explosion of multiple oil carrying tanker cars Killed 47 people. This train was manned by a crew of one (a locomotive engineer and so far the lone scapegoat for the conflagration) and had already passed through Canada's two largest cities... Transpor-tation of hazardous materials on rail or

(Continued on page 8)

Standing Rock ...

(Continuation from page 7)

road is a much greater risk source than oil and gas pipelines. The US authorities are silent on the issue but their Canadian counterparts have acknowledged that oil trains trigger a fire every three days on average in Ontario.

In addition, the roads and highways in North Dakota have become the most dangerous in the country: they are criss-crossed by trucks loaded with materials, sand or water for hydraulic fracturing.

The ecologist or «ecosocialist» groups that fought the pipeline project have a bourgeois point of view; they want to reform capitalism by making it «greener», to «inform» it, and thus make it more «human» and «sustainable». They completely deny that the problem is not the use of fossil fuels nor hydraulic fracturing nor pipeline transport, but capitalism itself and its insane race for profit.

Unlike the communists, many environmentalists – often with the support of their far left followers like Socialist Alternative or ISO (International Socialists) who campaigned for the Green Party candidate in the presidential election – have nothing to propose other than a utopian and reactionary return to a period before industrialization, with the objective of orienting capitalism, not towards the satisfaction of markets but towards the satisfaction of human needs.

All this is a complete utopia. Capitalism is founded on the exploitation of proletarians to produce profit, it cannot function differently; *«And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalist mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose acidulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery»* Writes Engels in Anti-Dühring. (MIA)

The road to the social and thus eco-

nomic transformation of bourgeois society can only pass through the revolutionary struggle against capitalism; this revolutionary struggle can only be waged by those who have no interest in the survival of capitalism: the proletarians. This struggle against the ruling class to destroy its political domination – which serves it to preserve the capitalist mode of production – must lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is essential to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to uproot capitalism

The only non-illusory alternative is the preparation of the proletarian revolution under the leadership of the world communist party.

Unlike «ecosocialists» who demand «Leave the fossil fuels buried underground! For 100% renewable fuels now!» the Communists proclaim:

Bury Capitalism! 100% for a classless society that puts an end to the yoke of wage slavery! 100% for communism, a new world that satisfies the needs of all Humanity!

Overdose of capitalism

The election of Trump gave the opportunity to «analysts» and «experts» of all kinds to inflict their «science» and above all their class contempt upon American proletarians, accused - wrongly - of having voted for the ultra-reactionary billionaire demagogue.

Of course, the press has overlooked the profound social distress that affects the American proletariat. This distress results in an explosion of drug addiction and alcoholism, rather than participation in the electoral circus.

THE HEROIN EPIDEMIC: FROM DEATHS IN THE TENS OF THOUSANDS...

According to a recent official report, *Facing Addiction in America: The Surgeon General's Report on Alcohol, Drugs, and Health*, 27 million Americans are taking drugs and one-seventh of the inhabitants of the premier capitalist power are dependent in order to function in their daily lives. According to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), in its July 7 report, the United States has more than half-a-million heroin addicts. This is one of the causes of the decline in life expectancy observed among the proletarians of this country.

In 2014, 47,055 people died from an overdose, 61% of which was due to the use of opioids. Thousands of children are experiencing health problems or retardations in intellectual development because of their mother's drug intake during pregnancy.

This «epidemic», to use the popular media expression, particularly affects the regions devastated by American capi-

talism: the *Rust Belt* (the former *Industrial Belt*-the heartland of industry, light and heavy) which runs along the Great Lakes from Chicago on to the Atlantic seaboard), victimized by delocalizations and deindustrialization, and the Appalachians, drastically affected by the closure of the coal mines.

For example, in Huntington, West Virginia, there were 520 heroin overdoses in this city of less than 50,000 inhabitants, 26 of them in less than four hours on 15 August. In Akron, Ohio, a city of 200,000 people and the former rubber capital of Ohio, 24 people died from overdoses during the second weekend of September. In Baltimore, 10% of the 620,000 inhabitants are heroin addicts according to an ABC survey (1). In Vermont, the number of people treated for opioid dependency has shot up by 770% between 2000 and 2014 (2). In an August report, the CDC estimated that approximately 24,000 babies were born in a state of dependence on drugs in 2013, the last year for which statistics are available. This represents the birth of a baby addict every 20 minutes in the United States (3).

he galloping development of drug addiction has forced governments to respond. But this reaction has been very limited: in September, the Obama administration decided to make it easier for doctors to prescribe anti-overdose drugs. 30,000 doctors (a very limited number for the whole United States) will be allowed to prescribe buprenorphine to 200 patients per doctor instead of 100 at present. Obama also wanted to develop syringe exchange programs, ensure Medicaid's treatment of drug abuse, and promote the distribution of an anti-overdose drug (4).

...TO HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN SACRIFICED

Beyond the consumers of opiates who are addicted and overdose, the epidemic also affects a considerable number of children.

The number of babies born with withdrawal syndrome has increased significantly over the past decade, disproportionately affecting rural areas. Over a dozen years, the number of cases has increased more than five times, from 1.2 per thousand births to 7.5 in rural areas and from 1.4 to 4.8 in urban areas. These newborns suffer and so they cry copiously, they can be victims of convulsions, heart problems, digestive and respiratory problems...

In many cases, maternal dependence

Overdose ...

comes from the prescription of opiates during pregnancy for back pain, joint pain ... Once becoming dependent, future mothers turn to illicit drugs, especially heroin. To avoid being victims of repressive laws against drug users, they can no longer seek care for themselves and their baby during their pregnancy.

In addition to the problems associated with withdrawal syndrome, children of opioid users experience a miserable life associated with addiction. They may be victims of violence and malnutrition by living with drug addicts. They may also be victimized by the death or imprisonment of a parent. In the states most affected by the scourge – West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio ... – social and child welfare services see large numbers of orphans or children being taken away from their families. In Virginia, the number of foster children has increased by 25% since 2012, with opioids accounting for 80% of these placements. In Ohio, the increase is nearly 20% since 2010.

Many of these children are left without care while they have seen their parents consume drugs, or even die of overdose. Many live in poverty, suffer from malnutrition, abuse and neglect. Many risk falling into delinquency or addiction, and end up in jail.

Capitalist society considers them only as a surplus population to be controlled and punished... while it is at the root of their situation.

FROM THE BUSINESS OF PAIN RELIEF TO THE BUSINESS OF OVERDOSE

In recent years, not only have the number of overdoses quadrupled but also the medical prescriptions of opiates (Vicodin, OxyContin ...) which affect more than three million people and which kill an average of 44 per day. The consumption of this type of medicine has exploded in recent decades in the United States to the utmost joy of pharmaceutical laboratories: 1.9 million Americans are now dependent on pain relievers, legally delivered by doctors and dentists, authors of 259 million prescriptions in 2012.

These medicines serve as a springboard to use of the cheaper *heroin*, easier to access and convenient to inject. Studies have shown that four out of five heroin users have become addicted after first taking painkillers: *«People become addicted to medicines, and when they can no longer buy them, they turn to other medicines»* according to by Brad Lamm, a former user and director of a detoxification center in Los Angeles, interviewed by channel *Pix 11*.

«Heroin has become the most economical way to relieve their symptoms. A great number of young people start with pills, those of their parents, or those bought on the black market. In the United States, in ten years, consumption of opiate-based drugs has increased by 430%» (5).

The addicts are victims of the avidity of the capitalist drug manufacturers. In the early 1990s, pharmaceutical agglomerates found a new source of profit after discovering that back pain afflicted 35 million Americans. They then targeted – hiding the risk of addiction – all those who suffered from pain, from toothache to migraine, to occupational diseases and accidents at work. Doctors began prescribing opioids like madmen.

Severe and inhuman when it came to repressing Black proletarian consumers of *crack*, California – followed by other states – even passed a law protecting doctors in case of prescription abuses. Insurance companies have even reimbursed for opioids (6). Pharmaceutical companies have been enriched. This is the case, for example, with Purdue Pharma, which manufactures OxyContin, placing its owners onto the Forbes list of the 20 richest families in the United States.

If some drug companies have reaped the profits while contributing to the opioid epidemic, other pharmaceutical companies want to take advantage of the health disaster by increasing the price of the drug used to treat overdoses: Naloxone.

Marketed in five different forms by competing companies, in recent years the price of this drug has exploded. One firm raised the price of ten pre-filled syringes from \$120 to \$330. Another increased the price of its two single dose injectors from \$575 to \$3,750. A third increased the price of bottles of its generic version from \$ 1.84 to \$ 31.66. The fierce competition between these capitalist bandits raises prices, imperiling the lives of the victims of overdose!

The epidemic of overdoses in the United States is a capitalist crime: thousands of proletarians (but not only proletarians) have been sacrificed on the altar of profit.

A SYMPTOM OF THE DOWNFALL OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

People of other classes are subjected to addiction, but for proletarians it constitutes an extension of their own exploitation and oppression.

The explosion of drug use reveals the deleterious character of capitalism. The decay of capitalism is pushing an ever broader fringe of proletarians to

destroy themselves. This gangrene engenders passivity, individualism and not collective revolt. It stems directly from the current bourgeois lifestyle and does not in any way challenge the Marxist prevision.

The current degradation of bourgeois society confirms the fact that it is already defeated. The proletariat is today the only class capable of putting an end to the hell of capital, of destroying all spiritual or material opiums of this society. In society as in nature, life will be born of rot. In the phenomena of dissolution which appear today, let us welcome the confirmation of the prospects of the revolution. Bourgeois society is condemned, long live Communism!

(1) «Baltimore is the U.S. Heroin Capital», March 2015.

(2) «In Annual Speech, Vermont Governor Shifts Focus to Drug Abuse», *The New York Times*, January 8, 2014.

(3) http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/65/wr/mm6531a2.htm?s_cid=mm6531a2_w

(4) «Obama announces new moves to fight opioid and heroin abuse epidemic», *The New York Times*, June 2, 2016

(5) «The shattering return of heroin use», *Les Inrocks*, February 24, 2014.

(6) «Overdoses on prescription», *Les Echos*, October 27, 2015.

le prolétaire

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Venezuela: Faced with the petty-bourgeoisie thrust into street actions by the capitalist crisis, the proletariat needs its independent class organization and its revolutionary party!

During the past 3 weeks the reactionary petty-bourgeois opposition has mounted numerous demonstrations, most of which ended in violent clashes. The list of victims continues to increase: by the time this article was written, there have been 29 deaths, more than 600 wounded, and more than 1200 arrests.

The demonstrations began after a «parliamentary coup» (or «auto-coup» aimed at dismissing opposition parliamentarians) against the National Assembly, which was annulled after 2 days. Further weighing on the political climate was the judgment of ineligibility against the leader of the bourgeois opposition, Henrique Capriles, and repression against other opposition leaders, victims of aggression and intimidation by Chavist bands (The so-called «collectives») and state security organs. It is certain that this was throwing oil on the fire.

To understand a little of this furious activity of the middle classes, we must go back to the year 2002 when they were used as mass to maneuver to try to topple Chavez. Subsequently things calmed down for a long time, thanks, no doubt, to the dizzying rise in oil prices which determined an economic upturn. But things began to deteriorate after the global economic crisis of 2008 (which resulted in a recession in Venezuela in 2009 and 2010), but especially since 2015 when, after Chavez's death, Maduro came to power.

THE PRICE OF «PARAYA» CHEESE INCREASED BY 21,563%!

It is obvious that Venezuela is experiencing an economic situation that is becoming more difficult every day: the economy contracted by 18% last year, the third successive year of recession. Unemployment is over 25%. There is also the problem of the shortage of common products – which is the premier factor in the inflation – causing them to disappear from official channels only to reappear on the black market where they can experience a price increase of up to 21,563 % of the official price. The minimum wage plus the *Ces-taticket* (2) is 148,638 Bolivars, while the cost of living for an average family is estimated at 772,000 Bs (3). Inflation is responsible for this difference, totaling an increase of 440%. The FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N.) has judged official figures to be not credible, and the opposition has called for humanitarian aid for the population...

Indeed, in parallel with the great demonstrations of the Democrático-Putschist opposition, some popular sectors have begun to mobilize against the *Clap* (ration card system set up to combat the lack of basic products), wherein they see only alms which fall far short of covering the food needs of the vast majority of those who receive this «benefit» (4).

THE ROOTS OF THE CRISIS

The economic crisis in Venezuela is a direct consequence of the international capitalist crisis; the global economic downturn has reduced the need for oil, resulting in a fall in its price: the price of

a barrel which reached a high of 140 dollars in 2015 is now around 50 dollars. But oil is the preponderant resource of the country which holds the largest proven reserves on the planet: it accounts for 95% of exports and provides two-thirds of the State's revenue. The efforts of OPEC (the cartel of oil producers, of which Venezuela is a founding member) have undoubtedly made it possible to raise the price significantly from 30 dollars, but this is completely insufficient to restore the country's finances. According to an analysis by Deutsche Bank last year (5), the price of the barrel has to reach 200 dollars to balance Venezuela's finances!

This situation is not the result of fate, but rather the consequence of the vampirism of petroleum capitalism. Without any serious and real diversification towards other sectors (industry and agriculture), since Chavez's time, it takes all resources and plunges the masses, including the petty bourgeoisie, into destitution, in order not to interrupt the flow of capital needed by the multinational oil company PDVSA: the supposedly staunch anti-imperialist Chavista leaders (6), give absolute priority to the payment of the debt to the international financial community in order to continue to obtain credits to maintain and develop the oil industry: the populace must be starved to feed the capitalist monster!

CLEAR AS MUD?

Apart from the motives and goals already mentioned of this movement which has vowed to occupy the streets «until the fall of the tyranny» (sic!), the program of the MUD («Democratic Unity Table» – an alliance of opposition groups and parties), is practically unknown. The President of Parliament Al-

lup and the economist Guerra, who are both members of the MUD, have simply said that there will be a major transition to a process of measures and policies that are totally opposed to those of the current government. This does not bode well for the great mass of workers and even for the middle classes who support the MUD but who will inevitably be gobbled up by it! In a word, it will be necessary to ever keep tightening the belt and the first thing they will do is to liquidate the already timid social measures implemented in the Chavist period and which were financed solely by the high price of oil. Another opposition economist says: «we must give more freedom to the entrepreneur and the employer to adjust the length of the working day» ... this is a bare-faced «neo-liberal» program, using the measures necessary to capitalism in times of crisis, without attempting to modify its laws as the «brains» of Chavism claimed to do.

THE MIDDLE CLASSES THRUST INTO THE PROCRUSTEAN BED

Although it is a class or a half-class with certain means of living and production, at the present moment the petty-bourgeoisie is caught like a specimen in pincers, squeezed between the two fundamental classes of the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In this period of crisis, it is afraid of being precipitated, even more than the proletariat itself, downward to the lowest levels of the social pyramid, eventually tumbling into the lumpen-proletariat. It is prepared to lend itself to any fascist-type adventure when faced with the threat of proletarianization. It revolts against the blows that capitalism inflicts on it, but there is no doubt that at any moment it may turn against the proletariat, which is also under attack. Marx said in *The Manifesto* that the middle classes are reactionary and that it is only by abandoning their actual class interests that they can become revolutionary.

In the French revolution the petty-bourgeois were revolutionaries when aligned with the proletariat against the monarchy, but then they immediately betrayed and countenanced the massacre of the proletarians. In the Russian Revolution they were revolutionaries against Tsarist absolutism, to which the Kerensky government remained faithful, but after October they became reactionaries. In a bourgeois (or semi-bourgeois) revolution as in Russia, they can play a decisive revolutionary role in spite

of their congenital instability. But under the capitalist regime their conservative tendencies are much more pronounced. Trotsky writes that «the petty bourgeoisie is economically dependent and politically atomized. That is why it cannot have its own policy. It needs a 'Chief' who inspires confidence. This individual or collective leader (that is to say, an individual or a party) can be provided by one or other of the two fundamental classes, either by the great bourgeoisie or by the proletariat» (7). It's well known that the heads of the MUD belong to the most notable and wealthy families of Venezuela...

If the proletariat has the strength to struggle against capitalism, if it succeeds in organizing itself firmly on independent class bases, it can attract at least certain fractions of the petty bourgeoisie against the bourgeois order. But if the proletariat does not have this strength and if, on the contrary, it merges into an interclassist movement, the petty-bourgeois classes will inevitably turn to the big bourgeoisie who will also inevitably use them against the proletariat.

The present great manifestations must not provoke illusions. It would be disastrous for the proletarians to tail the movement of the middle classes of the country. The proletariat has no alternative but to organize itself independently of the *escualidos* (the «dirty» as the partisans of the bourgeois right are called) and the Chavists. Its organization must be a class organization for the exclusive defense of its class interests: it is the only possibility for extracting cer-

tain petty-bourgeois strata away from capitalism and neutralizing others. Otherwise it is the old or new bourgeoisie of Venezuela which will impose its interests as the exploiting class even at a time of crisis, the burden of the solution of which only the proletarians will bear, meaning – today under Chavism and tomorrow, perhaps under an «escualido» regime: hunger, misery, exploitation!

It follows then:

No alliance tailing behind the petty-bourgeois in the name of the defense of the country or of democracy, which is only a way of disguising the interests of the dominant bourgeoisie, an alliance that would be nothing but the pathway to an assured massacre, but rather reconstitution of the international and internationalist proletarian class party to lead the struggle against national and international capitalism!

April, 29th 2017

(1) The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) estimates that the country's economy will fall by 7.2%, an estimate close to that published last week by the IMF: -7.4%.

(2) The cestaticket (food voucher), is a salary supplement intended solely for food; currently the Cestaticket has a value far higher than the value of the minimum wage. The vast majority of those who qualify are either unemployed or small traders (kiosk operators, street vendors, shopkeepers, etc.). But behind this function there is another: to reduce the percentage of benefits and remuneration to be taken into account for the calculation of pensions, etc.

(3) According to the Centro de Documentación y Analisis of the Venezuelan Federation of Teachers (Cendas-FVM), this cost had 1,068,643 Bs in March, an increase of 15% compared to the previous month!

(4) The Clap (Local Distribution and Production Committee) is a system organized in the popular districts for the distribution, by apartment, of baskets containing basic necessities: a small help received every 15, 20 or 30 days to compensate for shortages. Its impact is more a matter of propaganda than of effective and sustainable action. However, right now, it has a fairly large impact, affecting 3 million inhabitants (the government doubles this figure) of lower-income neighborhoods.

(5) <http://www.businessinsider.fr/uk/deutsche-bank-report-on-commodities-says-venezuela-needs-200-oil-to-balance-its-budget-2016-2/>

(6) An official document from the recently published Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) indicates that the Citgo donated \$ 500,000 to Donald Trump's Inaugural Presidential Committee. See <http://docquery.fec.gov/pdf/286/201704180300150286/201704180300150286.pdf>.

An organization linked to the Democratic Party (USA) considered this gift from a foreign country illegal and filed a complaint. «The Citgo is a subsidiary of PDVSA, the Venezuelan state oil company; It has more than 6000 petrol stations (...) 3 refineries and more than 48 terminals of deposit and distribution» in the United States. See <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citgo>

If proof were needed of the demagogic character of the anti-imperialist propaganda of the Chavist leaders, this is one of the clearest (among many others)!

(7) See Trotsky «*Whither France?*», October 1934.

Venezuela: The New Constituent Assembly is just so much smoke and mirrors in the eyes of proletariat

In the midst of the clashes which seem to increase continually and which have lasted for more than 120 days, there appeared the formula of a Constituent Assembly which would give «plenipotentary» powers to the people. This proposal, launched by the Chavista government is not a thunderclap in a serene sky. It arose out of economic problems which have inevitably carried onto the political terrain. Thanks to the democratic vote, the people, expressing their sovereign will, would thus be able to modify the present constitution. But is it really this constitution (which is also Chavista!) which is the cause of the socioeconomic difficulties of the country and the growing difficulties of the proletariat and the masses? Is it this constitution that that in some way prevents solutions to these problems? When, everyone can see that this is not the case!

These problems are caused by capitalism and cannot be solved by a reform

of the bourgeois state which would thus become a «popular state» through the parliamentary action of the National Constituent Assembly, where the vital needs of the proletariat will be mingled with the multifarious «needs» of the new Venezuelan entrepreneurs in a false «popular» and «national» unity; when objectively these problems can be confronted and solved only by the open and independent struggle of the exploited proletarians against the bourgeois exploiters – class against class!

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IS THEREFORE NOTHING BUT A NEW BUBBLE OF ILLUSIONS...

The Constituent Assembly convened by the Chavist leaders is «Red on the outside, White on the inside» – as the Russian workers, sailors and soldiers correctly referred to Kerensky's Constituent Assembly in 1917. In Rus-

sia, the Constituent Assembly, long-promised by his government finally opened after the victory of the October insurrection. Reflecting the state of mind of the peasant masses hardly touched by the revolutionary fire, it had given a majority to the Revolutionary Socialist Party (the so-called «SR») and the Menshevik Social-Democratic Party, both hostile to the October revolution. Before the opening of the Constituent Assembly, the revolutionary power had already asserted itself with the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers won over to the revolution. Since the «Constituent» rejected the victory of the revolution, the revolution swept it away: in revolutionary periods the social confrontation is so acute that society become polarized around the two fundamental classes, blowing up the formal frameworks of the democracy which claims to reconcile the inter-

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Venezuela: The New Constituent Assembly ...

(Continuation from page 11)

ests of various social groups. To believe that the struggle between classes depends on the democratic mechanism and the constitutional system is to fall into the «parliamentary cretinism» denounced by Marx, even though it was at a time when communists could still participate in bourgeois elections and parliaments!

Against all attempts to repair or reform the existing state, the Bolsheviks had launched the slogan «all power to the Soviets.» The Soviets were the form of political organization that the proletariat had spontaneously given itself already in the revolution of 1905 and which had reappeared in 1917. Besides the state structures they tended to organize the life and the struggle of the proletarians and the poor masses against the capitalists, landlords, the military hierarchy, etc., and they were to form the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat after the destruction of the Czarist State. The Bolshevik «ecologists» had to tear up all the weeds so that the revolutionary harvest could grow and mature!

Nothing to do with the present Constituent Assembly that they have established in Venezuela. In the Germany of 1850 or in Czarist Russia, i.e. in countries where the bourgeois revolution had not yet taken place, democratic demands and principles – including the Constituent Assembly – could theoretically have a revolutionary or «progressive» character. In the case of Venezuela, a bourgeois country which has long won its national independence, the Constituent Assembly can no longer have any revolutionary character; and it cannot even alter the current recessionary and gangrenous economic situation. With its express electoral process, this is a pure political maneuver which expresses first of all the deadlock in which the Chavist government finds itself faced with the problems encountered by the proletarians and the exploited masses, and also by the petty bourgeoisie; it once again also demonstrates the notorious fact that the two political factions, the bourgeois MUD on the right and the Chavists on the left, agree to defend capitalism. And the policy followed by the Chavists is currently the most suitable for this! Indeed, to propose to the proletarians and the masses a parliamentary alternative, while denouncing supposed threats against national sovereignty, is nothing else but to reinforce electoralist illusions and nationalist intoxication in order to prevent a reaction on the class terrain, the only effective one.

... AND ITS REAL OBJECTIVE IS TO CONCEAL THE GROWING PROLETARIAN ANTAGONISM IN VENEZUELA

The vanguard proletarian forces which exist in Venezuela, even if they are few in number, must not allow themselves to be caught up in the false Chavism-Antichavism alternative, because it has the precise aim of diverting from the real antagonism: the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

For the revolutionary communists, to struggle against the current by defending the true Marxist positions against the winds and tides is important and necessary, especially since the plan on which the current political alternatives are moving will tend to collapse as the economic crisis sharpen and the social legislation promised by the Chavist Constituent Assembly will demonstrate its inefficiency in front of capitalist reality.

TO DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1999 AGAINST THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY?

Some left opponents to Chavist President Maduro, or crypto-chavists, stand in the name of the defense of the constitution which was instituted in 1999 by Chavez. This is the case with «Marea Socialista» (1). It denounces accurately the character of political maneuver of the new National Constituent Assembly, which does not respond in any way to the elementary necessities of the masses. But Marea Socialista criticizes Maduro and his supporters from a democratic, that is to say interclassist, point of view, and not from a class point of view. MS defends the full implementation of the current Constitution as the only way to «defend the tormented democracy» (2) and proposes the organization of consultative referenda: exactly like the bourgeois opposition of the MUD – which organized its own consultation! MS proposes to disappointed Chavists to «reconstruct a national project», «a democratic, pluralistic left movement», etc. In a word, a new reformist and interclassist movement, hence anti-proletarian.

NO ! THE PROLETARIANS DO NOT NEED THIS!

What the proletarians and the exploited masses need is not to «build a new or old national project» but to rebuild their class organizations to defend themselves, first and foremost against national capitalism; not to defend «democracy in torment», but to defend their class independence by breaking with reformism and democratic co-operation between classes; to give life to the pro-

letarian struggle against the national and international bourgeoisie; to work for the establishment of the internationalist and international class party to direct this struggle until the revolutionary takeover of power in all countries.

Such a perspective cannot be immediate, but it is the only truly realistic one. Against demagogic propaganda on every side, every step that will be taken in this direction will truly open the way for future revolution and proletarian emancipation.

Back to the terrain of the class struggle, to the real proletarian and communist anti-imperialist struggle, issuing from the immediate defensive struggles!

Instead of calls for solidarity between the «peoples» of the world and the Venezuelan «people», call for the general proletarian struggle in all countries against capitalism, which constitutes the real anti-imperialist solidarity with the other proletarians of all races, believers and atheists, against the enemy they all face: the bourgeoisie!

Down with the bourgeois state and all its Constitutions!

April, 29th 2017

(1) Another group from Marea Socialista-Aporrea with practically the same positions, headed by political scientist Niemer Evans and Attorney General Ortega Diaz is claiming the defense of the constitution of 1999. Today Ortega Diaz finds herself at the center of the political situation because her opposition to the Maduro government has broken out. A direct result of this clash is that the entrails of the Procurator-General's office of the Republic, which is the executive arm of bourgeois justice, are revealed in all their splendor; we discover that which we have always assumed and which they would have preferred remain hidden, the existence of a real Pandora's box of crime and impunity. Bourgeois justice in Venezuela, as in many other countries, is the heart of various industries, which are raking in huge profits and enormous gains, in addition to their political influence: drug trafficking, kidnapping, fabrication or disappearance of evidences, allocation of juicy position, such as prison directors and so on. Given the unchecked impunity it engendered, it bears direct responsibility for the many victims of social violence in the streets, thousands of cases of corruption, fraud, embezzlement, etc., of crimes that have remained unpunished like the killing of Prosecutor Anderson, etc. The Chavist leaders rightly denounce the Attorney General, but they seem to have «forgotten» that for a very long time they were with her – so complicit in what happened at the Procurator-General's office!

(2) Aporrea, 8/2/2017

Mexico: Gasolinazo, proletarian anger and reformist impasse

At the beginning of January, tens of thousands of Mexican men and women took to the streets, went on strike, set up roadblocks, blocked railways and highways (including those connecting the country to the United States), occupied fuel depots, sabotaged pipelines, looted stores and confronted the forces of repression...

In all parts of the country, from north and south, demonstrators demanded the cancellation of President Enrique Peña Nieto's decision to cut subsidies on gasoline, gas and electricity, a measure – dubbed the *Gasolinazo* – which will raise consumer prices by 14 to 20% this year. Since 1 January, increases have been 14% of the price of SP98, 20% for SP95 (regular unloaded petrol) and 16% of gas oil, compared to the maximum price of December 2016.

This mobilization is the made up of very different categories: proletarians but also part of the petty bourgeoisie (teachers, taxi drivers, doctors ...) and peasants. The mobilization is very strong in the working class regions of the North – usually more «calm» than the South, marked by Zapatista peasant agitation. The demonstrations were particularly important in Mexico City, megapolis of twenty-five million inhabitants, in the oil state of Veracruz and in the industrial center of Puebla. Of course, the Mexican bourgeoisie tried to crush the movement by force, which resulted in deaths and thousands of arrests, but limited its use for fear of amplifying the revolt.

MISERY AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

The increase in the price of energy has been the straw that broke the camel's back leading to an outburst of rage, largely related to the impoverishment of proletarians, other wage-earning groups and the poor peasantry. For five years, the purchasing power of the average Mexican had decreased by more than 10%. The price index of the basic food basket needed to feed a family of four has increased to 220 pesos per day, nearly three times the daily minimum wage of approx \$4US (even this which is not earned by a large part of the workers).

The decision not to subsidize energy will increase the cost of living. All sectors are likely to see an increase in their prices, whether it is public transport or the transport of goods, which of course would lead to an increase in the price of the goods themselves.

Added to this are the effects of the

economic crisis in the emerging countries: forecasts of economic growth have been reduced to 1% for this year. The outlook is even more gloomy with Trump's envisaged protectionist measures, especially in the automotive sector, which accounts for 30% of Mexican exports and 875 000 direct jobs.

The revolt of the proletarianized masses is therefore not a reflection of a national situation but the effect of the current course of world capitalism which is less and less able to ensure its stability and which increasingly uses expedients of all kinds.

REFORMIST AND SOCIAL-PATRIOT IMPASSES

Faced with this explosive situation, the «far» left took a stand against rising energy prices and in support of mobilizations ... but on reformist bases. This is particularly the case with the many Trotskyist forces which are all marked by nationalist tendencies and offer only a change of government within the framework of the bourgeois democratic system.

Most organizations put forward a defense of national capitalism and its state-owned enterprises, in particular PEMEX (Mexican Oil).

The Revolutionary Workers' Party, (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores PRT), a section of the Fourth International (Usec), accuses the government of «*putting the last nail in the coffin of Mexican oil and national sovereignty*». **The Revolutionary Socialist Coordination** (Coordinación Socialista Revolucionaria CSR) – a federation of groups sympathetic to the Fourth International – calls for «*defeating the oligarchy*» and «*renationalizing the energy sector*». The Workers' Dialogue Committee, led by the Lambertists of the **Socialist Workers' Organization** (Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores, OST), denounces a «*social war against the nation and against the workers*» and defends «*the rights of the working people and the national interest*». The Mexican section of the International Workers' League (LIT), the **Workers' Socialist Group** (Grupo socialista Obrero), presents the capitalist enterprise PEMEX as a «*conquest of the workers and the Mexican people*» and demands «*all refining in Mexico and no imports*». The **Revolutionary Left** (Izquierda Revolucionaria IR) (which is in close contact with the Committee for a Workers' International) calls for the renationalization of energy «*under the democratic control of workers*

and the population», the «*nationalization of banks and strategic sectors of the economy*» and a «*public investment plan to create millions of jobs with dignified wages*». For its part, the **Socialist Workers' Party** (Partido Obrero Socialista POS) accuses the Mexican bourgeoisie of being a «*class enemy of the country and the 99%*».

Logically, to achieve their bourgeois goal of defending the national economy, the Trotskyist groups propose bourgeois democratic methods. The PRT limits its slogans to «*Down with gasolinazo! Oust Peña!*». The **Socialist Left** (IS), a member of the misnamed International Marxist Current, calls for a united front «*of all workers', peasant, popular and student organizations including Morena* [dissident bourgeois democratic candidate of the Democratic Revolutionary Party] and EZLN [Zapatista Army], against this measure and to obtain the departure of Peña Nieto and build a program for the working class

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El Proletario

Órgano del partido comunista internacional
No 14 - Junio-Julio-Agosto de 2017

- El populismo, ideología pequeño burguesa y reaccionaria, es tan antiproletaria como es la democracia burguesa
- ¿Paz en Euskadi?
- La Corriente Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores: un aporte a la confusión entre la clase proletaria
- Naturaleza y objetivos de la revolución cubana
- ¡En Portugal, los muertos y heridos por los gigantescos incendios en los bosques son debidos al negocio del fuego! Como siempre, los negocios, los beneficios capitalistas son la causa de todos los dramas!
- Manchester Arena: una masacre usada cínicamente para remachar la «unión sagrada» entre proletariado y burguesía
- Huelga general en el Rif: El proletariado y las masas súper explotadas rifeñas dan una lección que debe superar todas las fronteras
- ¡Para que renazca la lucha de clase del proletariado! ¡Contra toda desviación de los intereses de clase proletarios, contra toda política interclasista y cualquier salida chovinista, racista, oportunista entre los explotados de cualquier edad, género, raza, nacionalidad y país!

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

Mexico...

(Continuation from page 13)

and the popular sectors «. The **Movement for Socialism** (Movimiento al Socialismo MAS) wants to «impose extraordinary elections», the **Movement of Workers for Socialism** (Movimiento de los Trabajadores por el Socialismo: MTS member of the Trotskyist Fraction) wants a «free and sovereign national assembly».

The Mexican «far» left — in its Trotskyist component but not only there — offers a true festival of reformist «solutions»! This constitutes an obstacle to the struggle of proletarians. Whether private or state, enterprises remain capitalist enterprises, whose aim, according to the laws of capitalism, is to extort profit by the exploitation of proletarians. This is true for PEMEX, which needs capital to fight the decline in its output: capital will only be invested in

the company if it has the prospect of profit, which is to say only if it is sufficiently profitable. For that, there is no alternative but to let the prices of petroleum products (gasoline and others) rise, or to extort sufficient additional profits on the backs of workers to subsidize it: in both cases it is from the proletarians and the poor masses that the capitalists will recover the costs of the economic recovery of the PEMEX.

The president decided on February 1 to postpone a new expected increase in gasoline prices (8% increase); But this is only a temporary measure, taken in fear of explosions of anger of the poor masses. The need to attack the proletarians remains for Mexican capitalism.

Against this prospect, the working masses and the impoverished must not suspend their mobilization; they must continue to struggle to impose their immediate economic, social and political demands (wages, rights to organize, to

strike, to expression, anti-repression, gender equality, etc.).

They will be able to do so only if they are able to avoid the trap of putting their force at the service of a bourgeois reformist goal which is not theirs, and if they can find the way of the independent organization of class, of the constitution of the **Marxist, internationalist and international revolutionary party**.

Then their aim will be not to impose a Keynesian reformist policy and / or (illusory) national independence on a frightened bourgeoisie, but to fight and defeat this bourgeoisie in the struggle for the **proletarian revolution**. This revolution will lead to the installation, over the ruins of the bourgeois state, of their own power, which can only be the **dictatorship of the proletariat**, the necessary step to uproot capitalism and move towards communist society, in close coordination with proletarians of other countries.

20/1/20107

Spain: «National strike» in Catalonia Collaboration with the bosses and the bourgeoisie will lead the proletariat to an assured defeat

(Leaflet distributed by our comrades in Spain on the eve of a «national strike» called in Catalonia by nationalist, opportunist and bourgeois parties and unions).

The referendum of the first of October showed clearly what democracy, equality and the rule of law mean: thousands of policemen and Civilian Guards landing in Barcelona as occupying troops, more than 800 wounded, some in need of emergency care after being injured by rubber bullets, old men, women and children being beaten and dragged to the ground, in other cities bands of Spanish nationalists proclaiming the indivisibility of the country and threatening any who cross their path... In brief, a lesson in the real meaning of the so-called «constitutional freedoms».

But it was not only on the «Spanish» side that the terrible reality of veneration for the laws and the «Rule of Law» was revealed: if the *Guardia Civil* and the National Police pummeled the unarmed demonstrators, let's remember that it was the parliamentarians, democrats and supporters of the legality of the *Generalitat* (Catalan autonomous government) who called upon the demonstrators to remain disarmed and defenseless, who said that it was enough for them to present themselves at the polling places for the repressive apparatus of the state to col-

lapse. While the leaders Puigdemont, Junqueras, Rufian or Gabriel were quietly voting in safe areas without any problems, the people they called upon to vote in the referendum were subjected to repression in large numbers. The so-called «smile revolution» was reflected in the blood of the protesters, while its leaders smiled at the prospect of using the images of repression transmitted throughout the world.

PROLETARIANS!

The first of October showed the terrible result of class collaboration at its highest level. In the name of the Catalan nation and its independence, all social classes were presented as a single force, with identical aspirations and interests, united in a common struggle for a future of peace and harmony in a Catalan republic described as practically Paradise on Earth.

The reality is very different. The fraction of the Catalan bourgeoisie which led the struggle for the referendum, the petty bourgeoisie who unanimously followed their instructions and who played the role of maneuvering in the streets in order to allow the vote, and finally the proletariat which has remained practically indifferent to the so-called independentist «process» until the police invaded the streets, had opposing interests;

and what emerges in this exacerbation of the chauvinistic localism and particularism that is called «independence» is completely different for each and everyone.

The Catalan bourgeoisie, whether it be the faction that led the struggle for the referendum, or the one that was initially hostile to it, then remained on the sidelines before finally joining it, struggles to increase its share of the cake in the distribution of profits to the detriment of other bourgeois factions in Spain. Historically, it has always struggled to obtain a reduction in the share of the fiscal resources it has to cede to the central government, and an increase in its share of taxes, that is, an increase of investments of the central state in Catalonia. What does that mean? That the Catalan bourgeoisie, traditionally the backbone of the Spanish bourgeois regime, suffered particularly from the consequences of the economic crisis, that is, from the fall in the rate of profit of capital. And to remedy it, it must increase the investment of capital in its sphere of influence and increase the exploitation of the proletariat from which it derives the surplus value necessary for the valorization of capital. This means that it wants to reduce the share of profits in the form of taxes for the rest of the country in order to increase the share to be invested in the region. This

is what its aspirations boil down to; but it's not insignificant because it implies a change in the tax structure of the Spanish State and the political and legal edifice on which it is based. A change which, given the important economic weight of Catalonia in the country, would necessitate changes in the Spanish Constitution and legal system.

For its part, the petty-bourgeoisie is doubly struck by the low level of capitalist profits insofar as it depends on the profits of the capital invested in Catalonia; and at the same time it is in competition with bourgeois from the rest of Spain or the world who want to do business in the region and tend to oust it from the market. It is fighting for a policy which defends its interests, which protects the local market, which prevents the large masses of capital invested in Catalonia from displacing it. In short, it is struggling against the consequences of an economic crisis that has led to an increased concentration of capital and a worsening of competition between the bourgeoisies in order to capture a bigger part of the profits involved. In this sense, its interests coincide immediately with those of the Catalan bourgeoisie, who can make promises in response to the petty-bourgeoisie's demands, even if the hard laws of capitalism will once again impose sooner or later measures that are contrary to his interests.

Finally, the proletariat suffered more than any other class from the consequences of the crisis: unemployment, impoverished redundancy plans, wage cuts, increasing work rates, queues in front of soup kitchens, police raids against immigrant workers, etc., are dictated by the imperious need of capital to increase its rate of profit by seizing the increase of surplus-value, i.e. the share of unpaid labor extracted by the capitalist from the proletarian. It has suffered because it is from its exploitation that the other classes live, and it is from its laboring that the benefits are derived which both the large and petty bourgeois need to maintain their social status. And it is not only the bourgeois from Madrid who have increased the pressure on the proletarians: for these bourgeois of Madrid are also Catalan as the *Caixabank* is Catalan, as *Gaz Natural* is Catalan or as the *Raventos* family is Catalan. But the proletariat is not only exploited by the big financial holdings, it is also exploited by the small boss of a metallurgical enterprise in the suburbs of Barcelona, by the peasant who hires 2 or 3 agricultural workers for the harvest, it is by the hotelier who lives from the tourism of the *Ramblas*.

And on the first of October, all these peasants, grocers, hoteliers, but also

the owners of large enterprises and means of communication, called on the proletarians to take to the streets to defend democracy!

PROLETARIANS!

In the October 1 referendum, what was in the offing was not the independence of Catalonia, but a formidable maneuver designed to unite social cohesion around a project to defend democracy and bourgeois institutions, in the form of an interclassist front to defend bourgeois demands. This front was **illegally** constituted against the Spanish State. Because the Catalan bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie have played the card of imposing their own **legality**, a legality that will subjugate the proletariat, in the same way as the *Generalitat* did, with Catalan nationalism at its head, when it has imposed antisocial measures on the proletariat over the past five years. The difference is that today they pretend to harness the proletariat to the carriage of the defense of the Catalan nation and all its internal and external demands through the democratic «process». Democracy, whatever its name and its national colors, is the mechanism by which the bourgeoisie tries to interest the proletariat in the government of the nation by making it accept being dominated and therefore exploited. This is why democratic discourse is being waged in Barcelona as in Madrid, and why the leaders of the two capitals present themselves as the true defenders of the rule of law, citizen participation and so on.

How could the struggle for Catalan independence be won? By ballots in a referendum? Everyone, from the central government to the autonomous-government and the media, knows that this is not the case. The independence of Catalonia, a struggle which would be on the agenda if there were sufficiently strong social forces interested in obtaining it, could be conquered only by open confrontation on the grounds of armed force, as was the case whenever a colony wished to free itself from the metropolis or a region wished to break with a country. But the aims of the Catalan bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie are very different from an independence which could only be achieved by civil warfare; this is the reason why they reduce the whole thing to a democratic manifestation: their first and only fundamental interest is linking the proletariat and with it the whole society, to the defense of the region, the local economy—in other words, to bourgeois interests presented as the general interest. That is why their slogan is: **Vote!** Which means: go to the defense of the state, and what this state is, we

will tell you later, when you will all be behind it.

And that is also why the unions and the bosses alike called on the proletarians to participate in the so-called «national strike» on 3 October.

PROLETARIANS!

This «national strike» is a farce with which the Catalan bourgeois, through their trade union and political agents, want to enlist the proletarians in defense of the Catalan «nation», the bourgeois state, the regional economy and local businesses; in a word, in defense of the social relations that constitute capitalism.

And they try to do so on the basis of the situation of real deprivation that the Catalan proletarians are experiencing. They want to make believe that the solution to these shortages passes through independence and that, having become the sole national bosses through the rupture with Spain, they would guarantee prosperity to the workers; the proletariat should therefore swear loyalty to them with this strike, which unites labor and capital, exploited workers and exploiters, bludgeoners and those being bludgeoned, victims of anti-social measures and the authors of these measures.

This national strike is not a day of class struggle; it is a further step to attach the proletarians more closely to the capitalists with the patriotic project of defending bourgeois and petty bourgeois interests. The national strike unites the proletarians to the bosses as the rope unites the hanged man to the executioner. A simple glance at the call to this strike is sufficient to show that it cannot bring anything to the proletarians. The authors of the appeal are the representatives of the small and medium-sized enterprises, as well as the trade union organizations united in the *Taula per la Democràcia* (Table for Democracy), which has nothing to do with the struggle for defense of wages, the standard of living, against dismissals, etc.

In their appeal, the major trade union organizations presented the strike as a symbolic act of national unity, without any reference to any action of struggle, without the slightest call for any solidarity on the part of the proletarians of the rest of Spain, without denouncing the Spanish chauvinism which stretches unchecked on the other side of the Catalan frontier, without advancing any claims other than the defense of the legality of the Catalan Parliament.

For their part, the organizations of the trade union left which called for a

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Catalonia ...

(Continuation from page 15)

strike(COS, CGT, CNT, IAC, etc.) initially planned to call for a week-long strike. But on October 1, after the appeal of the employers' organizations and the majority unions (which they had always denounced as Spanish and in the pay of the employers), they yielded all along the line and joined the «national strike».

PROLETARIANS!

The bourgeoisie never ceases to struggle. At first it struggles against the feudal classes which it must overthrow. Then it struggles against the other bourgeoisies to obtain economic advantages, higher rates of profit, greater market shares, sometimes through open conflicts, sometimes through latent ones. But it always struggles against the proletarian class which it exploits daily and which it continually represses to prevent it from entering a struggle in defense of its class interests.

Today the Catalan bourgeoisie and the Spanish bourgeoisie struggle between themselves. But at the same time they both struggle against the proletariat of the whole country. And the struggle between them will cease long before their common struggle against the workers: against the proletarians they have the same interests, because they will

always agree on the exploitation of labor power, as centuries of common history have demonstrated.

Today the proletarians are subjected to the domination of the bourgeoisie; they live under its iron heel, obliged to consecrate their lives to produce profits for the capitalists, and without perceiving any way out of their condition. But proletarian tension emerges every time there is a social divide. That is why it is possible that they could hope that a situation like today could be a way out, a break from the stifling established order... It is also why, since the proletariat to-day is not an organized force, fighting for its own class demands, struggling against its class enemies, all the petty-bourgeois demagogues are trying to bring it into this impasse by agitating around the idea that *at least something is happening*, and that *there may be something to gain* (before tomorrow asking him to serve as cannon fodder in inter-bourgeois confrontations).

But historically the proletariat has a power much stronger than that of all the charlatans who claim that the fatherland, social reforms or municipalities can bring a remedy to its situation. It has a potential force conferred upon it by the fact that it is the class which produces all social wealth and that the very evolution of the capitalist system leads it towards the destruction of this system. It does not need to listen to the separatists or the Spanish propagandists who can only

lead him into wars that are not his own.

The harsh lessons of the last years and the harder ones of the years to come, will lead the proletarians to perceive their real strength, who their real enemies are, where the alliance with other social classes and subordination to their programs and control objectives leads. These lessons will enable them to understand the necessity of the independent class struggle, the organization on the economic field to combat the effects of the capitalist system, and on the general political field in order to bring down the bourgeois regime.

In a word, they will enable the proletarian class to feel the need for the revolutionary class struggle, and consequently for the class party, for the Marxist party, in which is condensed the accumulated experience of the historical arc of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and which includes in its program the rupture with all nationalist illusions, with all chauvinistic defense of national particularism.

Against all nationalism!

Against any form of particularism!

Against the defense of national unity!

Against class collaboration!

For the return to the independent class struggle!

October, 2nd 2017

Attacks in Barcelona Jihadist terrorism and democracy, two flags of the bourgeoisie

On Monday, August 17, a pickup truck entered the *Ramblas*, the historic quarter of Barcelona, and mowed over all the pedestrians it encountered. The toll as of Aug 18 was 13 dead and more than 80 injured. Shortly after the Islamic State (ISIS) claimed responsibility for the attack by means of a communication on the Internet. A few hours later in Cambrils, a seaside resort in the province of Tarragona that is a popular summer tourist destination, a sports car after having knocked down several pedestrians struck a police car while trying to access the promenade. According to police sources, this was an attempted attack similar to that of Barcelona.

Barcelona and Cambrils are added to the long list of cities where terrorism on a jihadist matrix has struck in recent months: Nice, London, Paris, Brussels... and added to this series where it has acted with extremely rudimentary means,

unlike those in New York in 2001 or in Madrid in 2004. The media revealed that some of the initiators of the recent attacks were themselves killed by an explosion that destroyed the building where they were handling butane cylinders that should have been used in the attack van.

From the very first minutes of the attack, absolutely all means of communication, all political representatives, all members of the «world of culture» or sport, etc., began to proclaim to the four winds that the reply of the population should be «firmness and resistance to terror», «support for the security forces» and the «defense of democracy and freedom» of the West that «terrorist barbarism» wants to destroy. As in London, Paris, Manchester, etc., the answer which is immediately demanded of the population is the national union behind the flags of law and democracy, the de-

fense of the country, its institutions, its organs of repression, political and economic interests inside and outside its borders, its army sent to Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Ethiopia to defend the commercial interests of the Spanish bourgeoisie. The demand that is launched is therefore class collaboration, solidarity between proletarians and bourgeois to defend the interests of the latter identified without hesitation as those of the whole nation that has just been attacked by terrorism.

What kind of overview of these events should the proletarians take up?

On the one hand, attacks by ISIS or other organizations of petty-bourgeois origin or orientation strike the so-called «western population» indiscriminately, causing anguish and disorientation at the supposed irrationality of these acts. On the other hand, the propaganda which the bourgeois state launches after every

attack, with all its means, contributes to exasperate this feeling of terror and disarray, in order to impose more easily the abandonment of any perspective which is not absolute obedience to the «struggle against terrorism», a euphemism behind the widening of the police force against the civilian population, particularly against African immigrants, the restriction of elementary freedoms, and so on. Attacks and anti-terrorist discourse appear to complement each other perfectly: they push the proletariat, the social class which constitutes the majority of the population of the cities hit by the attacks, and which directly suffers their effects, in a way that seems to leave only one perspective: to support «their» State, the actions of reprisals it foresees and more generally to join the national union and the interclassist solidarity which means accepting all that they are asked in the name of democracy and freedom.

But jihadist terrorism does not aim to attack democracy, to suppress freedom or to destroy the «western way of life». This terrorism, undeniably reactionary in nature, does not originate from the hatred of democratic and constitutional societies in Europe or America, or from blind anger against everything that is «western». First, because it appears in a context of inter-bourgeois clashes throughout the Near and Middle East where armed groups claiming action in Europe play a role as an instrument of the great powers (USA, Russia, Europe but also regional states that have a growing role in the imperialist order of the zone) who use or attack them as a result of changes in their tactical orientations. To understand this tactical function in the context of a more general confrontation, it is sufficient to note that the attacks of various types of ISIS have redoubled at the same time that it was losing a great part of its conquered territories; as the alliance of the Russian, Iranian and Syrian troops gained ground in Syria and as the coalition forces (USA, France, Great Britain, the Iraqi protectorate and so on) was recapturing the land lost to ISIS, the attacks in large European cities increased. It means that the terrorist attacks have a military purpose.

But to say that jihadist terrorism is an act of war in a wider conflict is not enough. The imperialist nature of this conflict must be affirmed; the wars carried out by the principal capitalist powers are only predatory wars; the watchwords of the defense of the democracy of peace and freedom are only arguments cynically used to justify them and prepare the proletarians for the sacrifices that are and will be demanded.

ISIS members who attack the civilian

population in Europe do not have in their DNA the «fanatic hatred» of the West; it is not their ideologies or religious beliefs that push them to commit the attacks: these ideologies or faith in Islam are used to motivate the terrorists, but they are nothing but the ideological cover that serves to justify the various real economic and political interests that are at the work and for which the attacks are organized. In the same way that American and European soldiers in Syria, Iraq or Afghanistan will fight in the name of a pseudo-humanitarian, pacifist and democratic ideology, in the same way as the military actions of the United States, France, Britain or Spain are carried out under the banner of the «struggle for freedom», members of ISIS recruited from Baghdad, Ceuta or European cities justify their armed actions on the «territory of the infidels» in the name of a religious doctrine which offers the same illusions of peace, freedom and fraternity. Added to this is the fact that these young members of the various Islamic-type armed organizations see their compatriots, their families, their friends daily fall victim to the bombs or misery the capitalist powers which dispute their territories are responsible for; this is a decisive encouragement to enlist in the ranks of local armies who promise to reverse the situation and bring victory.

For their part, the European proletarians find that the cities where they live are part of the objectives of the terrorist attacks—a situation that the proletarians of Baghdad, Damascus or Kabul have known and still know. And immediately afterwards they see a flood of patriotic and warlike propaganda fall on them to justify the military efforts of their respective bourgeoisies, evidently in the name of «democracy.» No doubt this propaganda does not today have the openly militaristic color of the past; it is full of formulas on tolerance, integration, solidarity ... But in the end it arrives at the same point. The population of Barcelona or that of Manchester is irremediably called upon to «choose» between the Ramblas van or the bombs in a concert, and support for all the measures taken by the bourgeoisie and its state.

The result is the same everywhere in the world. Behind the flag of Islam and Justice for its peoples or behind the flag of democracy and freedom, brutally on one side and much more slowly on the other, the proletarians get conditioned to assume definitively the defense of the nation, the interests of the bourgeoisie presented as those of the entire population. And all the political forces, from the government to the opposition of the left through the monarchy, contribute to this framework. Because to the extent that

the inter-imperialist contrasts deepen, insofar as the Middle East is always more a zone of open confrontation between the great powers, insofar as the rest of the world is drawn into the firing line of various imperialist powers, the control of the proletariat of each country will become more and more indispensable. The national ideology, the defense of the motherland, of the national economy, of «freedom», or of the values of social justice of Islam, will be adopted as a pretext to mobilize the proletarian masses for war. Once again, the proletariat will be required to become cannon fodder. As it has already happened in the two world wars for the proletarians of Europe and North America and for the proletarians of the rest of the world in the series of local wars that have taken place since then, it's the workers of all the countries which will have to pour their blood so that «their» bourgeoisie reaches its political, economic and military objectives.

The attacks in Barcelona, Brussels, London, Manchester and elsewhere teach proletarians the horror and barbarism that is commonly experienced on the streets of Middle Eastern countries where the exactions of groups such as ISIS or Al Qaida are added to those of local governments local and imperialist powers. But they are also taught by the very strong pressure exerted on them to direct the hatred and anger provoked by the attacks towards objectives linked to the war between the different bourgeoisies.

In order to put an end to this situation, the proletariat cannot hope for class collaboration with the bourgeoisie; it cannot accept a war in the name of «democracy» and «freedom». To eliminate the horror and barbarism that are increasingly approaching European cities, the proletariat must break with slogans of national unity, rejecting the policy of class collaboration to which it has been subjected for decades.

Only the class struggle, first and foremost conducted against its own bourgeoisie, can break the vicious circle in which all the proletarians of the world are forced to live, only the class struggle can finish with the logic of confrontation between nations, races and religions. Only the struggle led resolutely toward the destruction of capitalist society can make disappear any exploitation of ethnic or religious hatred of the misery of the proletariat and the oppressed masses of the world.

As long as the proletarian class does not regain the strength to become an actor of its own future, bourgeois society will not cease producing misery and barbarism.

August, 18th 2017

Manchester Arena: a massacre used cynically to strengthen the so-called «sacred union» between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie

Over the past two years, terrorist attacks by militants linked to Islamist extremism have multiplied. Defining themselves in a number of ways, but organized mainly by Isis or Al Qaeda, they have generally been classified into the category of *jihadism* (jihad = holy war), with religious roots in the fundamentalist interpretation of Islam.

Why religious roots?

It is now evident that this is a seemingly «noble» justification, not a «down to earth» one for violent acts presented as a reaction to the much greater violence of the imperialist powers; as a species of «right of retaliation» for the «victims» of these attacks. The Capitalist, Christian and Imperialist West, for its part, has every interest in cataloging «International Terrorism» as terrorism on an Islamic matrix; It allows Imperialism to oppose to this «evil» the «good» of a «civilization» which claims to spread economic and social progress, democracy and peace in the world ...

Except that this economic and social progress is based on the exploitation of the human labor force whose slavery, which in the major industrialized countries is mitigated by the crumbs granted to the masses and masked by the democratic system, is much more violent and bestial in the less developed countries, where there is an overabundant labor force to exploit at its mercy or to throw away as unpurchased commodities.

Why do attacks with the Islamist imprimatur, and years after those of September 11, 2001 in the United States, now strike in Europe, the cradle of civilization (the cradle of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism)? Why do they strike at the place where the factors of economic, technical and financial progress have been formed and developed, which were then spread to the whole world – together with all the factors of competition, of struggle for the conquest of markets, of wars of rape and pillage that have characterized the world since the anti-feudal revolution put an end to the domination of absolutism and the old aristocratic classes?

The European countries, which for centuries have plundered and colonized entire continents, to the detriment of their populations, having accrued the gigantic advantages by which they were able to construct their economic expansion, could only be a coveted destination (facilitated by the knowledge of the language and habits of the former boss-

es) by the masses of migrants fleeing the misery, repression and devastation left to their countries by colonization and bourgeois decolonization. Jealous of their national «identity» and attached to the privileges that their world domination guaranteed to a certain extent to the former colonizers – mainly Great Britain, France and Belgium – the European bourgeoisies have always played a double game. On the one hand **receptivity**, insofar as this low-cost labor power was and still is necessary for their industrial and commercial companies; on the other hand, **repression** against unwanted immigration deemed unnecessary and treated as «clandestine». Somewhat similarly to the enduring situation of the black population in the United States, African, Middle Eastern and Eastern immigrants have never really been «integrated» into the countries where by force or by chance they have established themselves. Not because they would not abandon the culture, habits and customs of their countries of origin to adopt those of the country where they live, but because capitalism, the dominant mode of production, with all its contradictions and its social antagonisms is based on division and not on union, on domination and not on equality, on war and not on peace. The division into antagonistic classes is not an invention of Marxism, nor a temporary historical situation that could be overcome by measures of economic, social and diplomatic policy. It is a historical material condition resulting from capitalism, which can only be overthrown by a revolution much deeper than that which suppressed feudalism, a revolution that will be made by the only class in this society which has nothing to lose but everything to gain: the proletarian class, the class without reserves, of those who can live only by being exploited under the conditions imposed by capitalism.

But the fact is that this class, especially in the most wealthy countries, has been so intoxicated, crushed, and subjugated in a hundred years of imperialist domination, that it has not yet regained the strength to recognize itself for what it is, materially and historically: the class antagonistic *par excellence* to capitalism, the only one which possesses a historical task, condensed in the program of revolutionary communism. This proletariat demonstrated its strength in the nineteenth century in

the revolutionary episodes throughout Europe in 1848 and in the Paris Commune, in the twentieth century in the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary movements which in the 1920s attacked the established order not only in Europe but in Asia. But at the end of a long class war it was crushed by the counterrevolution, by democratic, pacifist and opportunistic petty bourgeois influences causing it to lose the genuinely communist program and transforming its organizations into agents of the bourgeoisie.

Once beaten, the European proletariat was subjected to the policy and demands of the imperialism of the various countries; the bourgeoisies put in place the «social shock absorbers» to meet basic needs and, following the example of fascism, they adopted a policy of class collaboration enshrined in the law.

The Tragedy of the German Proletariat after the First World War

(Brochure A5, 60 pages, January 2010, Price: 2 €, 4 FS)

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

Proletarian

International Communist Party («programme communiste»)

The Tragedy of the german Proletariat after the First World War



Their aim was not to improve the plight of their proletarians by applying the rights that are democratically inscribed in all the Constitutions, but to make them support capitalism and accept all the consequences of its economy, including the most disastrous in periods of crisis and war. The European and American proletarians, and those of other developed capitalist countries, have been accustomed to defend their interests, to use the bourgeois political and economic instruments (elections, parliament, freedom of enterprise, etc.); but also to use them in the framework of a class collaboration, which goes even beyond the limits that the old reformism offered to interclassism.

Why did we recall these explanations when writing about the tragedy in Manchester?

When the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie disappears from the scene (although the bourgeoisie never stops its war against the proletariat), bourgeois and petit-bourgeois antagonisms appear even more violent and chaotic. The bourgeoisies are constantly engaged in competition and struggle; the struggle between competing bourgeois factions within the same country is also a permanent factor. The action of terrorist groups and networks occurs within the framework of this constant confrontation within the competing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata, sometimes speaking peacefully, politically, sometimes violently, including recourse to criminality; it is the expression of interests opposed to those of the great States which, by their military interventions, have destroyed the existing equilibriums; the chaos provoked by the wars sets in motion many local groups seeking to secure seats of power and to take advantage of the exploitation of potentially present natural resources, proletarians to exploit, communication channels to be controlled, etc.; and these groups seek to affiliate themselves with certain capitalist or imperialist powers that hold the purse strings.

It is obvious that the militants of Isis or Al Qaeda need strong ideological and material motivations – just as do the proletarians mobilized for the defense of the homeland, of national interests, in peacetime or in war. The soldiers who went to their massacre during the first or Second World War received the blessing of the priests to save their souls while they were going to massacre and to be cannon fodder. So the terrorists we are talking about receive the blessing of their Imam before going to blow themselves up to spread terror among their designated enemies.

The difference is that armies in general clash with each other as these terrorist fighters massacre crowds who are being entertained or trying to live peacefully in a normal daily life. But these terrorists have an additional motivation: they respond to the bombing and military interventions that destroy thousands of lives, men, women and children, sowing in the heart of the sparkling European metropolises the terror experienced for years in Fallujah, Tikrit, Mosul, Baghdad, Tripoli, Homs or in the villages of Afghanistan. The fact that the perpetrators of these attacks are almost always European citizens of Libyan, Syrian, Iraqi origin, etc., second or third generation, demonstrates on the one hand that the famous «integration» did not take place because in this society equality does not exist (either between the living or between the dead); and on the other hand that the persistence of wars and massacres in the former colonies continues to provoke not only fear and terror, but also the rage and determination to react by unleashing violence where it will do most damage – and all the better if they symbolize a lifestyle of insouciance towards the dramas that are constantly repeating themselves on the margins of opulent Europe.

We have already said that this type of terrorism has a social and ideological matrix of the petty-bourgeois type. There remains the fact that the ruling class finds an additional reason for calling the proletarians to *l'union sacrée*, the sacred union, defending **Occidental** democracy, culture, traditions and customs, in other words defending the Western States and a system responsible for all injustices, for all oppressions, for all wars.

That is why the proletarians must refuse solidarity towards a homeland which has always used the same terrorist methods as those of the «Islamic terrorism» groups, but at an unprecedented level and efficiency. In solidarizing with their capitalists, the proletarians would be only be supporting the fomenters of the clashes between bourgeois, while turning their backs on the only way to put an end to oppression and exploitation: the path of the resumption of the class struggle, independent proletarian organization for the exclusive defense of their immediate and future class interests.

The proletarian response is undoubtedly the condemnation of these terrorist acts, but from a **class** point of view, that is to say, from the point of view of organizational, political and ideological independence *vis-à-vis* all the organizations, policies and ideologies

of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, which are its enemies.

On the other hand, the resumption of the class struggle will also have, as history has shown, the power to attract the outbursts of anger provoked by social despair among the petty-bourgeois layers and to frame them in the revolutionary classist perspective, giving them a perspective not ideological nor moral but concrete and material: it will not be a question of saving souls or of attaining some *beyond* of peace and serenity while in the lower world a bloody system of misery and injustice persists; but to participate in the struggle to change the world and pave the way for a rational social organization oriented towards satisfaction, not of market demands, but of the needs of the entire human species.

May, 25th 2017

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

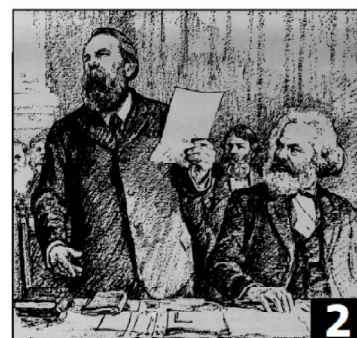
(Brochure A5, 56 pages, October 2010, Price: 2 €, 2,5 US\$; 4 FS)

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

Proletarian

International Communist Party («programme communistes»)

The Fundamentals of Revolutionary Communism



London: the Grenfell Tower was completely reduced to ashes. Thanks to real estate speculation!

On the night of June 14, shortly before one o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in this 24-storey high-rise apartment; in a few minutes, animated to a prodigious speed, the conflagration engulfed the whole Grenfell Tower. After a few days it was determined that there were scores of casualties, 79 dead and – missing – and it is likely that the final number of mortalities will reach one hundred.

At more than 67 meters, with 120 apartments where more than 600 people lived, this was a low-rent skyscraper, one of the human hives typical of cities under capitalism. It was located in the North Kensington neighborhood, but in the midst of much more modern, wealthier and aesthetically more elegant buildings. It was regarded as an anomaly in this upscale neighborhood, not only because of its «raw concrete, rough-cut» style (1), but mainly because it was inhabited by low-income families.

It did not take long to understand that the fire and above all the rapidity of its vertical propagation was due to the recent renovation work to make the building more aesthetically pleasing and for which **highly combustible** materials were used! The Grenfell Tower had to be put up to date with an «improvement to its exterior appearance»; behind the choice of increasing the number of rental units, reducing emergency exits, using poor quality and unsafe materials, writes the Huffington Post (1), lies the dominant ideology («neo-liberalism») which has shaped the spatial and demographic development of the city of London since the late 1970s. Champions of this neo-liberalism were Reagan in the USA and Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain.

The aim of this political «strategy» was to diminish the economic role of the public sector and thus of the State (synthesized in the famous formula «Rolling back the frontiers of the State»). Thus the State was to promote as much as possible the privatization of the economic sectors where, after the war, enormous quantities of capital had been invested to restart the industrial and economic activity of the country; These sectors had become important potential sources of profit for private capital, especially after the great economic crisis of 1974-75, when public administrations turned to the private

sector to reduce public deficits, giving substantial advantages to investors; and the real estate sector with all its speculators was one of the most privileged. One of the most gigantic examples of real estate speculation has been the development of the London *Docklands*; under the Thatcher government, this vast harbor area was razed to build skyscrapers of glass and steel of *the City*; The old harbor facilities were replaced by glittering edifices of international finance, true symbols of the characteristic change of imperialism, passing from material to financial economics.

Under this policy, a whole series of material concessions were granted to private companies; in particular the management of public real estate, with the minimum cost and maximum profit!

The Grenfell Tower is not a lone example. In London there are scores, many of which have been «renovated» in the same way, with the same combustible materials: a short-circuit in a refrigerator in one apartment is enough, as was the case with the Ethiopian taxi driver who lived on the fourth floor of the Grenfell Tower, to set off an infernal pyre. Capital thus obtained two results: the inhabitants of the tower who were not burnt alive, were forcibly relocated elsewhere, probably condemned for the rest of their lives to precariousness, and in place of this low-rent firetrap they will construct another edifice for real estate and financial speculation!

After such a terrible catastrophe, on the part of the «authorities» there were the usual promises of investigation and opening of prosecution against those «responsible» for the tragedy. But it is these same authorities who have worked for decades to maximize capitalist profits, they are the ones who gave all the authorizations for the renovation work that was the basis of the fire! It is they who bend to the enormous interests of the big financial groups who determine the choices including neighborhoods and buildings to «renovate» because they no longer satisfy the voracious cannibalism of capitalism.

In bourgeois society, based on the exploitation of wage labor by which the ruling class extorts surplus value, which is then transformed into profit and rent, economic and social organization according to «human measure»

is impossible: the only measure is capitalist profit. It is the unbridled search for profit that leads capitalism to be necessarily «vertical» on land, on sea as well as in the air (one thinks of the gigantic cruise ships and container carriers, or the flying mastodons with wingspans of nearly a hundred meters), necessarily resorting to speed and gigantism.

The incessant development of cities, linked together by road and expressway networks, is the demonstration of the irrational and damaging consumption of land, removing agriculture from ever more land in favor of disastrous urbanization which forces individuals to crowd together in environments that are unwelcoming, unhealthy and unnatural. *Everything that reduces the space of man [the space of life in every sense] is capitalism!* (3).

Capitalism is the economy of waste from the point of view of the needs of human beings: productive disproportion and fierce competition lead to the gigantism of waste; it is enough to think of the enormous production of commodities which are useless or even harmful for life or health. But capitalism also has its conception of waste: to allow proletarians to work in healthy, hygienic, pleasant environments, without danger and for a limited time (for example one or two hours a day) would be an enormous waste for the capitalists. On the contrary, they must «save» by increasing labor productivity to the maximum, and not by investing in making conditions of life and work humane. Investments must be used to increase profits, to fight against competition, to save market shares, and also to defend the capitalist system as a whole through its political, social, religious and armed forces. In the same way that the factories still are prisons of wage-slavery where the proletarians are subjected to dehumanizing conditions, housing – especially «social» housing – generally has very deficient conditions of safety and health, and which are the causes of announced tragedies.

How many times have the inhabitants of these buildings denounced the dangers they present, as they did at the Grenfell Tower? Each time the «officials», the «authorities» provided no follow-up to these denunciations ... other than when a new possibility for profit materialized, or when the tragedy finally took place! And besides it was the renovation work itself that brought about the catastrophe!

In capitalist society, every productive activity is mercantile; it is subject to the law of the market, which is not reduced to the banal law of supply and

demand, but to the most ferocious law of competition according to which labor is not a harmonious part of human life, but its opposite to which it is opposed to both the individual and the society. Capitalism cannot provide a solution to reverse this relationship: the solution lies in the overthrow of capitalism, the destruction of this mode of production and its social organization which continually produces the contradictions and social antagonisms of a society divided into classes.

It is particularly disgusting that the authorities and government that have launched, supported, defended and applied the «neo-liberal» policy now call on the people of London to unite around the survivors and the government ... so

that these tragedies would never happen again!!! But there will be others in Great Britain or in other European countries, in the United States or in Asia, because the laws of capitalism are the same everywhere; as far as tragedies are concerned, especially to those who are proletarians, there are no boundaries!

It is not by changing the exterior cladding of buildings that insecurity will disappear for the proletarian masses. Capitalist economies on structure, construction on materials, composition of cement, etc., demanded by real estate speculators and banks lending capital to maximize profits, will inevitably cause the deaths of tens or hundreds of lives!

Certainly, after the disaster the authorities suddenly began to take into

account other buildings and to evacuate the inhabitants of those «discovered» as dangerous. But after a month, a season, or a year, everything will be forgotten: capital does not look back, it hides and forgets its misdeeds and continues its crazy race to maintain its power and mode of production. But the life of Her Majesty, *Capital*, is not «at zero cost»: it is costly in dead, injured, terminated, marginalized people, rampaging over the environment, invisible poisonings, disasters that are called «natural» or due to «fate», whereas they are due to capitalism itself.

From such a putrefied and degenerate society can there be born a different

(Continued on page 22)

USA: proletarians immolated on the altar of profit

Nearly 2,300 people died from fires in their homes in 2016. In December alone 230 deaths – 59 of them children – were recorded by the US Fire Administration. These figures are only partial because they are based on information published in the press, which cannot be exhaustive because not all were reported in the media. They also do not take into account the wounded and traumatized people who have been victims or witnesses of a disaster. In addition, the USFA records only deaths related to dwelling places, which excludes certain inhabited warehouses. It was in a building of this type that 36 people died, burned or suffocated, last December 2 in Oakland, on the San Francisco Bay. According to some sources, there are more than 200 inhabited warehouses in Oakland that do not respect even minimum safety standards.

Lacking the ability to pay their increasingly higher rents (as in California) or victims of the economic crisis (as in the Northwest), thousands of proletarians find themselves obliged to rent poor quality houses or apartments, many downright unhealthy. In these lodgings, the owners do not take the care to install smoke alarms or emergency stairs. In addition to this, there are ever-increasing difficulties in heating, which require using various means such as portable electric radiators, wood stoves, even hot-plates... According to the report of the Century Foundation of 2015, 14 million Americans reside in neighborhoods marked by «extreme poverty» (compared with 7 million in 2000).

Other proletarians are condemned to become homeless. In Los Angeles, there are more than 26,000 homeless people in the city (44,000 across the county and 120,000 across the state of California). They are forced to live in tents, in makeshift shelters, or in their cars, and are

exposed to infectious diseases that have become endemic (such as tuberculosis). In New York, 60,000 people, including 25,000 children, do not have fixed housing. In 2010, the National Coalition for the Homeless estimated the number of people freezing to death on the streets of the United States to be 700 per year. In total, according to the US Department of Housing and Urban Development, the country has more than half a million homeless, one quarter of whom are children.

Many proletarians live in inhuman and despicable conditions throughout the territory of the world's leading economic power. Their miserable living conditions and their deaths are a direct consequence of the brutal reign of capital!

So our conclusion can only be the same as that of Engels: **«As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the fate of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labor by the working class itself»** (1). The diagnosis has not changed, the cure either!

This remedy does not negate the immediate struggles against expulsions, against increases in rents and additional charges, or for the occupation of empty dwellings. But, on this terrain as on others, the limits inherent in any partial struggle must be remembered. The only way of defending the living conditions of the proletarians today is to fight resolutely against capital; these defensive struggles must be placed within the final perspective of the overthrow of capitalism and not in its reform, otherwise they are sterilized from the start by seeking solutions that are acceptable in the cap-

italist framework. Only the struggles based on the exclusive defense of the interests of the proletarians and the impoverished layers can lead to significant mass movements and thus acquire sufficient strength to wrest concessions from the ruling class and its state.

It is also in defensive struggles that the conditions favorable for the future offensive struggle, the general attack on capitalism, that is to say, the proletarian revolution, the midwife of a society, communist society, can be prepared. Only the latter can really improve the quality of housing at the same time as all the conditions of life and work of the broad masses now producing all the social wealth that weighs on their shoulders and crushes them down instead of releasing them.

The new economy will for the first time be entirely devoted to the satisfaction of the needs of the life and development of the human species.

(1) cf Engels, «The housing question», second section, ch. III

Our Internet Site:
www.pcint.org
Our e-mail address :
proletarian@pcint.org
To find our publications:
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CORRESPONDENCE

France: Programme, B.P. 57428, 69347 Lyon Cedex 07 **Italy:** Il Comunista, C.P. 10835, 20110 Milan **Spain:** Apdo. Correos 27023, 28080 Madrid **Switzerland:** The address will soon be modified. Please write to the address of Lyon.

Grenfell Tower ...

(Continuation from page 21)

society in which the harmony between social and productive activity prevails, where space prevails over cement, where social antagonism is thrown along with Capitalism into the dustbin of history? Can there be born from this society, entirely oriented towards satisfying the demands of Capital and its speculations, a society which puts at the center the satisfaction of the needs of the human being as a social individual, a society organized not only rationally without wasting earth, water, air, and products of man, but capable of establishing a relation with nature such that it can have control, if not complete, at least sufficient to maintain in the long term a relation harmonious with human needs?

After having constituted a great historical advance in relation to preceding societies, Capitalism, a society divided into classes and especially into a dominant class and a dominated class, entered into a phase of conservatism and reaction. Like all human societies, Capitalist society follows a historical trajectory determined by the peculiarities of its economic development, a trajectory which remains indecipherable to bourgeois theories, which are full of prejudices of all kinds, but which is very clear for Marxism. The struggle between the two main classes of society, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, is decisive because to achieve the qualitative leap from the transition from bourgeois society to classless society to communist society, it is necessary to destroy an essential obstacle: bourgeois political power, its State. It is only after overthrowing this obstacle and in more than one country, that the new proletarian power will be able to start the economic transformation of society; a transformation that can take place at the international level on the basis that the proletariat is an international class with the same interests all over the world.

No doubt there is no direct link between the tragedy of the Grenfell Tower and the proletarian revolution that will have to bring down the bourgeois power. But the question must be considered in a manner that is not contingent, in separate episodes, in the way the bourgeois think; The Marxist perspective is international and historical and considers all aspects as the consequences of a single mode of production, without, of course, neglecting the different degrees of economic, social and political development of the different countries. It is indisputable that the mechanism that guides the choices of

capitalists is the same in all countries, and it must be confronted and fought with theoretical, political and practical weapons that cannot be misled by national, cultural, religious or localist peculiarities.

It is only when the proletarians begin to look beyond the paltry individual and petty bourgeois horizon in which they are confined; it is only when they begin to recognize themselves as class brothers and sisters, as members of a class with a historical task to accomplish, when they begin to struggle not only to withstand the continuing deterioration of their conditions, but also for their amelioration; it is only when they recognize themselves as a social force capable of reaching the same political and practical level as the ruling class and when they will have understood that class solidarity is the true unifying force to overcome competition between them and to check the attacks of the bourgeoisie; it is only then that they will succeed in reacting to the conditions imposed on them and to see that in each tragedy that strikes them that the responsibility lies with the bourgeois domination in times of peace as well as in times of war.

The permanent terrorism with which the bourgeois economic and political power intimidates and mutilates the proletariat in all countries is manifested in the daily exploitation of the labor force through the harassment and repression of state institutions, through

the racism of the rich bourgeois towards the proletarians and the poor populations more and more composed of proletarians from all parts of the world. In addition to accidents on the factory floor, there are accidents in transport, automobiles, railways, sea and air, due to the frenzy for capitalist profit, and catastrophes such as those in residential buildings; not to mention the wars that the imperialist powers continually unleash on the planet, causing the exodus of disinherited masses from country to country in search of a place to survive.

It is only in the class struggle that the proletariat will find the response to its status as a wage slave, whether it be a slave in a war-stricken country or in a rich dominant imperialist country.

June, 23rd 2017

(1) This is a style which Swiss architect Le Corbusier was representative and which used raw concrete for popular dwellings.

(2) See: www.huffingtonpost.it/michele-grimaldi/lincemdio-della-grenfelle-tower-e-gli-effeti-collaterali-dell-ne_a_22488458/

(3) See the article «Space against Cement» (1952) which criticizes the famous Swiss architect Le Corbusier, in Amadeo Bordiga, «The Human Species and the Earth's Crust», Ed. Payot p. 150.

The Spartacists, from the defense of Soviet imperialism to the defense of doping

The Trotskyists of the International Communist League (ICL), better known as «Spartacists», published an article in their journal *Workers Vanguard* (1) protesting against the suspension of Russian professional tennis player Maria Sharapova, who tested positive for *meldonium*.

Developed in 1975 in the USSR, meldonium is authorized in Russia and the Baltic countries (its manufacturer is in Latvia), while it has not received authorization for marketing in Europe and the United States, where it can only be purchased on the black market. It has been declared a doping substance since the beginning of 2016: it is apparently widely used by professional athletes because it increases their performances and makes it easier to recover after major physical efforts, with some teams

administering it systematically to athletes, some as young as 14 !

The Spartacists merely regurgitate Sharapova's arguments that meldonium had been prescribed to her by her family doctor for about ten years to treat various minor medical problems. But, and we find here the reason for the article, this product, they claim, «was used by Red Army soldiers in the 1980s to operate in mountainous areas during the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against the Mujahideen, those assassins funded and armed by the United States (and who were the precursors of the Taliban, Al Qaeda and ISIS). Much more than a medicine to treat magnesium deficiencies or the risk of diabetes!

We know that the Spartacists were heated partisans of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and are the resolute

defenders of the so-called «workers' states» of the so-called «socialist camp». According to them, «the hysteria around doping products» of the international sports authorities was precisely a «reaction to the international victories of the athletes who defended the colors of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratic deformed workers states of the East in the 1970s and 1980s». Does this mean that doping, then, would be some kind of workers' measure (though bureaucratically deformed and/or degenerated)?

At any rate, the article ends with the following slogans: «Let Maria Sharapova play! Down with the prohibition of doping products! Down with the ban on PEDs! Whether an individual uses drugs—for fun or perceived enhancement of athletic ability—is a personal choice. Down with the war on drugs!»

It is comprehensible that proletarians or marginalized elements seek and find in «artificial paradises» even a temporary escape from the capitalist hell where they live without hope of improving their lot (or help in bearing a heavy workload). For capitalism the use of drugs, illicit or licit, is a powerful means of calming tensions and of pacifying social relations, as long as this use remains within certain limits. After the great «racial» riots of the 1970s in the United States, drugs spread into the deprived areas where they had occurred: it was better for the bourgeois state to have to deal with drug addicts than with rioters. The police-led «war on drugs» is certainly a means of covert and overt cop-penetration and terrorization of proletarian neighborhoods (see the extreme example of the Philippines), but capitalism cannot and does not want to eliminate drug use. We will only recall that Britain, the «mother of democracies» and the pioneer country of capitalism, led «opium wars» in China to spread the drug among the Chinese population. And a recent and no less noxious vintage comes to mind; the CIA's infliction of crack cocaine on the Ghettoes of America to finance the Nicaraguan «Contras».

Today, legal chemical drugs in the form of anxiolytics, antidepressants and others are an increasingly important part of the pharmacopoeia, especially in the most developed capitalist countries, while traditional drugs such as alcohol, along with all the new ones continue or are increasing their ravages everywhere. But alongside these material drugs which cause a state of well-being in those who utilize them, there is also the vast domain of «immaterial», «ideological» drugs, which are even more pernicious because they induce resignation and passivity among the exploited strata

of the population, since they seek to divert proletarians in particular from the only way to put an end to their condition: the class struggle.

These ideological drugs are the various forms of bourgeois propaganda, from religious ideologies to the democratic ideology according to which all individuals are free and equal, through the various forms of nationalism, racism and so on. But they are also part of it, along with all the «distraction» operations that are constantly organized to stultify populations, «sporting events» for which the media with all their power mobilize crowds: football, rugby, cycling, national and international sporting competitions of all kinds, etc.

The rejection of the use of drugs of any type is fundamental to the proletarian struggle; but the struggle against drugs cannot be carried on in the manner of those ladies from the upper classes who used to come to preach temperance to the workers – and still less in collaboration with the bourgeois repressive forces.

Only the collective struggle against oppression and exploitation can dissuade proletarians from the temptation to resort to drugs; only a society without oppression, without misery or exploitation, the classless communist society in which relations between individuals reach a richness and harmony unknown to class societies, can radically suppress the need for drugs. Working as far as possible for the revival of the class struggle within the perspective of the communist revolution is the best way to combat the mirages of artificial paradises.

This is not the position of the Spartacists. Their French journal *Le Bolchevik* published this article accompanied by a photo of Marie-George Buffet; when she was Minister of Sports (1997-2012), this former French Communist Leader leader had waged a campaign against doping to combat the discredit that was likely to sink major cycling events after repeated doping scandals. The legend of the photo: «Buffet, hands off the Tour de France!» (2).

The Tour de France is perhaps the most important and popular sporting event in France. In addition to being a very profitable business, the Tour is an effective diversion from the political and social problems of the country; traditionally any government facing difficulties looks forward to the beginning of the Tour to divert the attention of proletarians and the general population. We saw this once more during the struggles of last spring against the government's anti-labor measures: the main collaborationist unions decided to halt the movement with the pretext of not

disrupting the Tour de France! Apparently the Spartacists did not even notice this...

By defending «sport» and fighting for the «right» to doping, our «Trotskyists» simply demonstrate that they are just as incapable of comprehending the role of social conservation of this eminently capitalist activity which is «sport» in contemporary society, as they were and still are incapable of realizing that the supposed «workers' states» were in fact capitalist or that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had been decided upon to defend imperialist interests and not to bring social progress to the local populations and freedom for women.

Not knowing (or not willing to know) what capitalism is, they cannot fight against it; their support for capitalism in the State form which it had assumed in the East is the demonstration that they are in fact opponents of proletarian emancipation; so, it is not surprising that they come to kneel before the intoxicant of sport and to defend the right of the proletarians to take drugs...

(1) *Workers Vanguard* No. 1086 (25 March 2016).

(2) *Le Bolchevik* No. 126 (June 2016)

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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.