

Proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

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

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**Myanmar
Military coup and
"democratic transition"
are two sides of the
same coin! For the class
independence of the
proletariat! For an open
struggle against all
bourgeois camps!**

On Monday, February 1, the newly elected officials were preparing to join the various parliamentary hemicycles to officialize the results of the November 8 legislative elections, won by Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD). The military interrupted the electoral circus they themselves had set up, imprisoning the head of state and his State Councilor and Foreign Minister Aung San Suu Kyi and various NLD personalities in the name of a State Administrative Council (SAC) created to govern the country.

The details of the coup and its chronology, the lack of charisma of the junta's leaders or its ridiculous justifications are of no interest. What is important here is that once again the democracy/authoritarianism duo is an anti-proletarian weapon.

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January 6, 2021, Washington: a dark day for the Capitol, symbol of American democracy

January 6, 2021: on that day, from the Capitol in Washington where the House and Senate were meeting in plenary session, the Vice President still in office, Mike Pence, upon certification by the Electoral College, could only proclaim John Biden 46th President of the United States of America.

But from the very first results, Biden's election victory was challenged by Trump, who spoke of fraud, especially in the decisive states; this is why he launched a series of legal actions claiming that he was in fact the winner: my victory was "stolen", was the accusation; and in support of this accusation, Trump asked his supporters to demonstrate throughout the country. After conducting the necessary investigations, the various courts did not find any fraud, certifying the regularity of the votes and, therefore, the victory of Biden.

But Trump continued to denounce a fraud and he gave his supporters a meeting on January 6 in front of the Capitol to

demonstrate their strong protest. "Stop the steal" was the slogan he launched in the White House grounds that morning; at the same time he pressured Republican senators to prevent Biden's victory from being proclaimed by declaring the vote irregular and then replacing the electors from the elections with others appointed by the vice president.

But when Mike Pence refused to do what Trump demanded, the Trumpist protesters went wild; they broke through the weak cordon of police officers guarding the entrance to the building, and forced their way into the building. It should be noted that in the face of demonstrations against police brutality towards black people, heavily armed riot units had been deployed; but this time to protect the Capitol from the predictable incursions of pro-Trump demonstrators there was only a thin cordon of police officers ... who opened the barriers to let

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On the Thread of Time To dot the I's and cross the T's

This article of Amadeo Bordiga was published anonymously (like all the texts of our party) under the title "Le gambe ai cani" (1) on Battaglia Comunista (n°11, 1952) which was the paper of the Partito Comunista Internazionalista (Internationalist Communist Party); it was part of the political and theoretical fight against an opportunist and confusionist current which prioritized activity at the expense of the programmatic principles. This fight led eventually to a split in the party and the constitution of the one we claim - the Partito Comunista Internazionalista (International Communist Party).

At the end of the Second World War, it was easily to conclude that a few weeks would suffice to dispel the noble yet futile illusion that great armed, revolutionary working class movements would emerge, similar to those at the end of the First World War.

There were two principal aspects of this complex development which we will

reiterate once again. The victorious armies, instead of resting content with the unconditional surrender of the enemy's general staff and government powers, completely suppressed the functions of both, occupying the entire territory of the conquered countries and establish-

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January 6, 2021, Washington: a dark day for the Capitol, symbol of American democracy

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the crowd through...

All the media described what happened next. At the end of the day, there were 4 dead, many injured and dozens of arrests.

Trump rose to prominence in the Republican Party in 2016 as a presidential candidate despite not having grown up politically in the party, nor having had a political or military career beforehand. As a casino magnate and real estate developer, he has always tried to facilitate his business with political support, as do all great capitalists, such as Silvio Berlusconi in Italy. He supported sometimes the Democrats, sometimes the Republicans, according to his schemes, to end up among the Republicans - much closer to his supremacist and racist positions - who, after George W. Bush, were looking for a candidate capable of facing Hillary Clinton. They found it with Trump, who, against all odds, won the 2016 election. He became the first president to be elected in the United States without ever having been a senator or governor of a state, or a senior military officer. From this point of view, he was a kind of outsider who, in the political struggle against other bourgeois factions, could resort to maneuvers and carry out mobilizations that were unpredictable for his opponents - but also for the Republicans.

His different "political" background from traditional politicians, and the exaggerated propaganda of his personal entrepreneurial successes, combined with the American myth that even the "self-made man" can become president, allowed him to attract into his field of influence even a fraction of the working class in the northern states that used to vote for the Democrats, but which suffered a deterioration of their living conditions in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis and continued thereafter. In the bourgeois regime, political parties and their representatives are nothing more than the political expression of specific economic and financial interests; from this point of view it is obvious that the tendency towards isolationist and nationalist policies summarized in the motto "America First" that Trump has constantly displayed, expresses the interests of the American capitalists who are now suffering from international competition, especially from China. These strongly nationalistic interests are generally associated with anti-immigrant and racist positions, which are still present in the United States, but which have been on the rise during Trump's four years in office.

As it happens especially in times of

crisis, when the future becomes more and more uncertain for the great masses, not only proletarian but also petty bourgeois, there are always fractions of the great bourgeoisie who tend to force the situations so that their interests prevail over those of the opposite fractions. This contrast is part of the permanent competition between the bourgeois groups at all levels, economic, financial, political; but it inevitably emerges in a violent form when the economic crisis considerably reduces the cake of profit, also because of the international competition that becomes more and more fierce.

On the other hand, Trump, who is already under investigation by the courts for tax evasion and similar offences, risks a worsening of his problems once he is no longer president: he faces severe economic and personal penalties. He therefore has a vested interest in unleashing the street against an unfavorable election result; even if - after attempts to recount the votes to reverse the result in his favor failed - he knew that he had little chance of winning, he could in any case count on the chaos caused by the mobilization of his supporters on a theme that he will continue to agitate for as long as possible: that of election rigging...

HOW WILL THE PROLETARIAT COULD FREE ITSELF FROM THIS?

By defending itself above all as an independent class, as a class fighting not for a "true", "honest", "liberal" democracy, but against exploitation, against the constant blackmail for jobs (and wages) which makes it accept the conditions imposed by the employers, against all oppression, social or racial; as a class that does not give in to the sirens of conciliation and collaboration between classes, but confronts the bourgeoisie and all its supporters - be they Democrats, Republicans, supremacists, racists or "socialists" - in an open and general struggle.

The conditions of existence of the proletarians in the bourgeois system are imposed by the capitalists and in situations of economic crisis or health crisis like the present one, they tend to get worse; only a hard, tenacious and intelligent struggle against the capitalists and their state can limit the deterioration of these conditions. If it is the bourgeois themselves, the billionaires, the rulers who trample their democracy, why should the proletarians defend it, want to repair its cracks, embellish it? Whether they are white, black, Asian, Latino or mixed race, proletarians have never obtained any real social and economic advantage from bourgeois democracy; it is only at the price of very hard struggles that they

American democracy, torn and trampled, has shown a face - that of disorder, chaos, violence usually hidden under a veil of deception and lies - that undermines its credibility: does this endanger its hold on the masses?

Despite the endless series of economic crises, social catastrophes, environmental disasters, massacres due to wars, misery and hunger, capitalism is still standing and it succeeds in maintaining the political and social domination of the bourgeois class; the democratic system that disguises this domination is still standing in spite of countless demonstrations that it is a political system for the exclusive benefit of the bourgeois capitalist minority. Even when the bourgeois are the first to show that they do not hesitate to trample on their own laws and their own political system for the sole purpose of defending their private interests, the myth of democracy does not fade away, it keeps all its strength to support a political and social system in full decay. The belief in the possibility of an honest, peaceful and egalitarian democracy is hard to get rid of because it is fed by the full force of the media and bourgeois institutions, the school, religious cults, etc.

have wrested social improvements, or obtained the recognition of civil rights. And at the first crisis these improvements and rights are called into question. The bourgeoisie, which tramples on its democracy and its laws, nevertheless demands that the great masses respect the laws and believe in democracy!

Today, in the United States as elsewhere, the proletariat is not an independent class. The unions are corrupted to the core, the parties that claim to defend the workers are in reality organizations of collaboration between the classes, thus serving bourgeois and capitalist conservation. The proletariat is a prisoner of a political and social system which, on the one hand, crushes it daily to exploit its labor power and, on the other hand, deceives it with the illusion that the democratic mechanism is the means of its emancipation. But democracy has never succeeded in avoiding economic crises, in eliminating social inequalities, in eradicating poverty and hunger, in overcoming wars and their ravages.

Democracy is nothing more than the ideological cover for the domination of the bourgeois class, which has no intention of abandoning the privileges that derive from the capitalist relations of production and property.

The proletariat is the only dominated

class in society that has demonstrated that it has a program and a historical objective totally antagonistic to bourgeois interests and objectives; it is the only class whose social and political strength the bourgeoisie, in the U.S. as everywhere, fears. It does not fear it as an immediate danger, since the proletariat has not yet expressed that strength which only its independent organization can give it and which only the political leadership of the class party can assure. But historical experience has taught the American bourgeoisie, too, in the wake of the proletarian revolutions that broke out in Europe and Asia in the last century, that revolutionary class struggle, especially in an age when international contacts are much easier than in the past, can be very contagious.

Thanks to the work of political and trade union collaborationism, bourgeois democracy has demonstrated that it is a very effective bulwark against the proletarian class struggle; these methods of social control disorient the proletariat, make it take the bourgeois objectives for its own objectives, make it consider the interests of the bourgeois enterprises as its own interests, make it take the country where it is exploited, brutalized, massacred by exhaustion, marginalized, killed, as its "homeland" that must be defended against "foreign" aggressors, whereas the first aggressor of its conditions of existence is in "its" country: "his" bourgeoisie.

It does not matter if the bourgeoisie quarrel, if they scramble the cards or tamper with the ballots, if they fight violently among themselves to obtain an agreement or an additional privilege. They are all interested in keeping the proletariat in total confusion, in bending it to the demands of the smooth running of business and the national economy. And while the proletariat feeds on ... democracy, the bourgeois feeds on its sweat and blood.

The assault on the Capitol, initiated and organized by the supporters of one bourgeois faction, that of Trump and the senators and governors who support him, was not an attack on democracy in general at all; it was a violent demonstration of a mob that was given a material target against which the disgruntled petty bourgeois could express their discontent and anger. And like any objective to be reached even with violence, an easy motive was provided: the theft, in this case the theft of an electoral victory presented as the victory of this mass elevated to the rank of *patriots*. Not surprisingly, after the assault on the Congressional building and its vandalization, Trump tweeted: "*This is what happens when victory is taken from patriots*" (1).

But it is a very different assault that the bourgeoisie will have to witness

tomorrow; the day when the proletarian masses will be back on the revolutionary ground and led by their class party, they will set the same objective as the proletarians of Petrograd in October 1917 attacking the Winter Palace: the taking of power.

Revolutionary communists are working for this historical event, with the certainty that the bourgeoisie is not as invincible as it shows. Preparing for this historical appointment is not a simple task, neither for the proletariat nor for its class party, but it is inevitable and the bourgeoisie cannot escape it. There will

be no democracy, no government, no president or general able to stop this future red tide. The class of the unqualified, the class of the proletarians, whatever the color of their skin, their gender or their nationality, will rise up in all its power. The governments of the whole world will then tremble because the proletarians will finally have become the masters of their own destiny: they will no longer be wage slaves, but fighters for a society without oppression and without slavery, for a classless society, for communism.

2021/01/08

Terrible surge in murder in the United States

In the past year, the United States has experienced an unprecedented increase in murders and serious crimes: a provisional estimate of 30% in the cities, which would make it the highest increase in over 50 years (1). In Chicago, a city already known for its violence, the increase in the number of murders was 56%, reaching the figure of 774, almost three times more than for the whole of Italy. In New York, murders have jumped by 45% (and shootings by 97%!), by 36% in the San Francisco area, by 19% in Washington, etc... (note that police crimes, which caused 1127 deaths in 2020, are of course not included in the total) (2). The same thing can be seen, albeit in a less pronounced way, in small towns (more than 20% increase in cities with less than 10,000 inhabitants) and rural districts (almost 15%). And the first months of 2021 confirm this trend.

This increase is all the more striking since a decrease had been recorded for the last twenty years (50% decrease in homicides from 1993 to 2019). Criminologists are lost in conjectures to explain it. Some blame the forced idleness of young people due to the pandemic, which would have facilitated the « *escalation* » of conflicts between them; but many put the responsibility on the demonstrations of protests against police violence following the murder of George Floyd, which would have « *discouraged* [the cops] from proactive policing » and undermined confidence in the police! For these people, protesting against police abuses and crimes is already, if not a crime, at least an encouragement to crime!

In reality, the intrinsic violence of social relations in bourgeois society, which in rich countries is more or less masked in periods of prosperity by a battery of social buffers, is revealed in periods of acute crisis. In the United States, the most powerful capitalist country on the planet, the social buffers are less developed than elsewhere because

historically the bourgeois class has not been as directly confronted with the proletarian threat as in Europe: as a consequence, the violence of capitalist relations has always been more manifest there. It is not by chance that the number of people in prison there is the highest in the world, both in terms of gross figures and in proportion to the population (this prison population being mostly from the proletariat, black in particular). And when a deep crisis erupts that deprives millions of proletarians of their jobs, plunges them into poverty and puts them under the threat of being thrown out on the street, it is not surprising that this translates into an increase in crime in general.

Describing in 1844 « *The Situation of the Working Class in England* », Engels explained the increase in crime by the aggravation of social tensions; and he deduced: « *In this country, social war is under full headway, every one stands for himself, and fights for himself against all comers (...). And this war grows from year to year, as the criminal tables show, more violent, passionate, irreconcilable. The enemies are dividing gradually into two great camps – the bourgeoisie on the one hand, the workers on the other* ». This announces « *a universal outburst of that which manifests itself symptomatically from day to day in the form of crime* ».

But for this general explosion of social antagonisms to open the way to the possibility of a victorious revolution putting an end to capitalism and all its deadly consequences, it will be necessary for the proletariat to rediscover the path of its class political organization, directing its struggle on the basis of the authentic communist program.

(1) *The Economist*, 27/3/21

(2) <https://mapping-police-violence.org/>

United States: No to the legal assassination of Mumia Abu-Jamal! Life and freedom! Class solidarity!

Locked up since 1982 on Pennsylvania's death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal is one of the oldest political prisoners in the world. The crime for which the American bourgeoisie wants him dead is his lifelong struggle against racism and the oppression of the black masses by the American bourgeoisie and state.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted by the cops from an early age, first as a Black Panther Party activist, then as a radio host who denounced police violence.

It was for this fundamental reason that he was charged and convicted for the murder of a cop, following a trial where false police testimony abounded.

The mobilization of his supporters in the United States and around the world forced the "justice" to overturn his death sentence in 2011, but commuted it to a life sentence without the possibility of remission...

The bourgeoisie does not let go of its prey easily. Today, Mumia's life is in danger because he is suffering from Covid. It is estimated that in American prisons, one in five inmates suffers from this disease, and most of them are left untreated; this is the case of Mumia, whom the prison management since 2015 has repeatedly refused to give him appropriate medical care for his serious health conditions.

Mumia is not - and has never been - a revolutionary Marxist activist, but he was and remains a courageous fighter against racist oppression and the bourgeois state. He is one of the political prisoners that the US state is trying to crush, of which the Indian activist Leonard Peltier,

condemned to 2 life sentences in 1978 for the murder - which he denies - of 2 FBI agents during a shoot-out, is the other most famous example.

Faced with this determination, it is not moral indignation or petitions that will make the torturers back down, but a real proletarian mobilization.

In the early 1920s, the Communist International had set up an organization to defend on the class ground the militants persecuted by the bourgeois states, the "International Workers Aid" (MOPR in Russian): this is how it led the struggle, as early as 1921, in defense of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, falsely accused of murder in the United States (they were finally executed in 1927). This struggle did not appeal to the clemency of the bourgeois state but organized demonstrations and strikes. But after the victory of Stalinism in the workers' movement, the MOPR turned into an organization mobilizing intellectuals and other bourgeois democrats according to the interests of the foreign policy of the Russian state.

Only the proletariat, within the framework of its anti-capitalist struggle, independent of all bourgeois forces and breaking with democratic nonsense, can stop the murderous arm of bourgeois "justice".

Proletarian solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal and all victims of US state terrorism!

No confidence in bourgeois "justice"! No illusion in democracy!

Myanmar : Military coup and "democratic transition" are two sides of the same coin! For the class independence of the proletariat! For an open struggle against all bourgeois camps!

(Continuation from page 1)

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AND THE RISE OF THE PROLETARIAT

Myanmar (Burma) is a Southeast Asian country of 50 to 60 million inhabitants according to estimates, still largely agricultural (the countryside employs 70% of the country's workers), but which is in full capitalist development: it is experiencing strong economic growth, boosted by an influx of Western and Asian capital, especially Chinese. The "democratization" instituted since 2011 was essentially aimed at attracting these investments by normalizing the regime and carrying out a gradual economic opening.

This capitalist expansion gave birth to a young proletariat. Anthropologist Stephen Campbell describes this dynamic based on rural-urban migration: "*The working class population in the industrial areas of Yangon [Rangoon] consists mainly of former villagers driven out of rural areas because of unmanageable debt, the devastation of infrastructure caused by Cyclone Nargis in 2008, and the outright theft of their land by*

private military and commercial interests. Real estate speculation and elitist urban development over the past decade have pushed up the cost of housing, leading hundreds of thousands of migrants arriving in the city to run out of official housing and turn to cheaper squatter housing on the outskirts of the city. Many of these new urban residents sought employment in food and other processing plants producing for the domestic market, or in clothing factories producing for export. In 2018, more than one million workers - mostly young women, many of them squatters - were employed in clothing, textile, shoe and accessory factories in Myanmar, mainly around Yangon" (1).

This young working class is the victim of ferocious exploitation: very low wages attract foreign investors by diverting them from countries like Vietnam where poverty wages are not enough for the capitalist exploiters. Of course, this exploitation is accompanied by severe anti-worker repression (legal or extra-legal) and by the integration of workers' protest into the bourgeois institutions of negotiation and "dialogue". Campbell explains: "*The quasi-civil government of U Thein Sein, which took power*

in 2011, introduced new legislation developed with the support of the ILO [International Labour Organization], legalizing the creation of trade unions (October 2011) and formalizing collective bargaining (March 2012). The new laws are designed to curb strikes by providing workers with institutional channels to seek redress for their employment grievances.

These measures do not prevent workers' protest, but they aim to confine it within a bourgeois framework in order to prevent it from finding the path of classist struggle.

A "DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION" AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

In November 2010, the military freed the leader of the opposition, Aung San Suu Kyi, and embarked on a democratization of the regime: reduction of media censorship, reduction in the military budget, increase in the budget for education and health, release of several political prisoners, etc..

The 2012 elections allowed for the legalization of political parties and constitutional reforms on elections. However,

er, the military retained reserved seats in the assemblies. Finally, in 2015 Aung San Suu Kyi became the country's de facto prime minister ("Councilor").

This democratization was not only accompanied by repressive measures against the working class (to guarantee the investments of foreign capital) but also by a genocidal policy against the Rohingyas, one of Burma's many ethnic minorities (these minorities constitute 30% of the population and the central power has a long tradition of persecution against them). In 2017, the army launched a systematic campaign of massacres, rapes and village fires against this deeply oppressed Muslim minority, killing thousands of people and leading to a mass exodus to neighboring Bangladesh.

The criminal nature of the "democratic transition" has made the star of the Nobel Peace Prize-winning "Lady of Rangoon" paled in the imperialist media and international institutions, but it has not prevented the imperialists from going about their business: *business as usual!*

IMPERIALISM ON THE LOOK-OUT

The imperialist powers of Europe, the United States, Japan and China are very interested in Myanmar. In addition to finding cheap and monitored labor there, the bourgeois are greedy for the country's natural resources. This is particularly the case of the French multinational Total, which has been exploiting Myanmar's oil for several decades, an activity that was accompanied under the military dictatorship by barbaric violence against the civilian populations in the oil-producing areas, including their enslavement.

The European imperialists also sought to strengthen their presence by establishing military cooperation with the uniformed torturers. Police forces have been trained in "crowd management" by the European Union as part of the MYPOL program in place since 2016 (2).

On the Japanese side, the Japan-Myanmar Association (formerly the Burmese Interests Committee), the influential lobby at the source of Japanese policy towards this country, has pushed, in addition to the development of investments in various fields (Japanese investments are in first place after Chinese investments), the establishment of military relations between Rangoon and Tokyo at the beginning of this year. Japan is also the largest provider of "aid" to Myanmar (more than a billion dollars a year) obviously to defend its interests. All this explains the refusal so far to talk about sanctions against the military; Japanese capitalists also fear that critics of the military will play into the hands of the Chinese competitor.

For its part, Chinese imperialism sees Myanmar as an important partner in its "New Silk Roads". Chinese investments are by far the most important in the country. Burma is a trading partner but also a geostrategic asset that can help avoid the Strait of Malacca to move Chinese exports and imports by sea. It is therefore not surprising that the Chinese government did not voice any criticism of the coup and that it vetoed a UN resolution condemning it.

Reacting to the Chinese push, the United States had approached the Myanmar regime in the 2010's in an attempt to reduce Beijing's influence and is now the most vehement critic of the military junta.

IT IS NOT DEMOCRACY THAT WILL DEFEND THE PROLETARIAT!

The population that had testified to its rejection of the military by voting for the NLD went out into the streets in massive numbers against the junta. The army responded with a bloody – albeit relatively measured (3) – repression against the demonstrators and strikers.

In various sectors (railways, shipyards, etc.) workers went on strike against the new dictatorship and calls for a general strike have been made. Unfortunately, this contestation remains on the ground of bourgeois democracy. As the British daily *The Guardian* explains: « *Protesters' demands now go beyond reversing the coup. They also seek the abolition of a 2008 constitution drawn up under military supervision that gave the generals a veto in parliament and control of several ministries, and for a federal system in ethnically diverse Myanmar* » (4).

In the face of the inevitable capitalist offensive - military or civil, authoritarian or democratic - the working class has no other solution than to prepare itself for open struggle, in total rupture with democratic or nationalist demands (even under an "anti-imperialist" mask), independently of all bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces. Only by forging a class force, anticapitalist and antidemocratic, hardened in proletarian mobilizations against all attacks by capital, both on the economic ground and on the political and social ground, will it be able to confront the bourgeoisie and its military apparatus.

The *sine qua non* condition is the struggle with class demands, methods and means, and the presence of a genuine communist party to lead it towards an international revolutionary perspective. This will require the help of the proletarians of other countries who, as a first contribution, must distance themselves from the current democratic campaign, unmask the hypocritical condem-

nations of their own imperialism and enter into struggle against them.

Down with the military coup! Down with the "democratic transition"!

Against the army and the opposition, against all imperialist rapacious, against all ethnic divisions, one proletarian perspective: independent class struggle!

For Internationalist Proletarian Solidarity!

For the reconstitution of the World Party of Communist Revolution!

2021/02/26

(1) <https://www.revolutionpermanente.fr/Myanmar-La-classe-ouvriere-face-au-putsch-entre-la-resistance-et-le-piege-democratique-bourgeois>

(2) Salai Ming "Coup d'État in Burma: Resistance in the face of the spectre of 1988", <https://asialyst.com/fr/2021/02/19/coup-etat-birmanie-resistance-face-spectre-1988/>

(3) Since this text was written repression became bloody and hundreds of people have been killed.

(4) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/feb/10/myanmar-protesters-streets-naypyitaw-yangon-police-coup-violence>

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Pandemic, Economic Crisis and Class Struggles in India

GENERAL STRIKE

On November 26th 2020 India experienced probably the most massive general strike in its history: at the call of all the Confederations and trade union organizations (1) with the exception of the Baharatiya Mazdoor Sangh linked to the BJP, the ruling party, peasant and student organizations, etc., 250 million workers were called to a 24-hour “*Pan-Indian industrial general strike*”. This call was widely followed, although the mobilization was unequal in the 28 states that make up the country. According to the joint trade unions statement:

“The states of Kerala, Pondicherry, Odisha, Assam and Telangana have reported complete shutdown. Tamil Nadu reported complete shutdown in 13 districts, while the industrial strike continues in the rest of the districts. Punjab and Haryana have reported that the state road transport buses have not left their depots in the morning. Tamil Nadu reported a complete stoppage in 13 districts, while the strike was in industry in the remaining districts. Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh reported 100% strike, including at BALCO” [state-owned aluminum production industrial complex], etc.

The strike affected banks, transportation, ports, post and telecommunications, the oil industry, steel mills, coal and other mines, automobiles, textiles, plantations, and many other sectors.

The platform of demands essentially included the withdrawal of recent anti-worker laws, a halt to privatizations, the abolition of pension reform, subsidies to the poor and those with incomes below the income tax threshold.

The BJP (far-right nationalist party) government led by Prime Minister Modi has since coming to power pursued a policy of increasing the average rate of profit in the economy through various liberal and anti-worker measures. This liberalization was to lead to accelerated economic growth, in line with the grandiose plan to make India, the second most populous country in the world (1.4 billion people), one of the world's great powers.

If by the value of its GDP it has climbed to 6th place in the world, just

behind Great Britain and ahead of France, this result has been contested by a government statistics agency, the NSSO (2). But above all, if we look at GDP per capita, India ranks around 130th in the world, about the same as Congo (3) – a sign of the persistent weakness of its capitalist development.

India's economic growth did not match Modi's promises, so much so that at the beginning of 2020 it was already the worst in 42 years.

Since then, the economic crisis has been unleashed, aggravated in the extreme by the government's measures against covid-19. The latest figures show a 20% drop in GDP in the second quarter and the IMF, which estimated in the spring that India would be one of the few countries to experience economic growth in 2020, is now forecasting an unprecedented decline of 10 to 11% in GDP for the year.

PROTECTING THE BOURGEOIS FROM THE VIRUS AT THE COST OF THE HEALTH OF THE MASSES

When it became clear that the pandemic had spread to slums and overcrowded neighborhoods in major cities, the government overnight decreed strict lockdown (it lasted from the end of March to July).

Nearly 20 million precarious workers immediately lost their jobs; 90% of the labor force would be employed in the “informal sector” with minimum social security coverage, without the right to unemployment benefits and retirement pensions (4). Since many of these workers were migrants, they had no choice but to return to their region of origin where they could expect at least some family support. Thousands of crowded trains and buses (5), without any of the announced health measures, repatriated millions of workers to the countryside. They took the virus with them, but for the bourgeois of the urban metropolises, what mattered was the reduction of the health threat represented by these masses of underprivileged workers.

And never mind if in the countryside the health structures, already precarious in the cities, are absolutely insufficient! In any case, there are private hospital structures available and perfectly equipped for the bourgeoisie...

The official figures of the contaminations and deaths of the pandemic are not credible: 147,000 deaths at the end of December whereas according to some

researchers the real number should be multiplied at least by 6 – if only because only a small minority of the dead are entitled to a death certificate. India would then be the country having paid the heaviest price for the pandemic.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRISIS ON THE PROLETARIANS

There are not yet any official statistics on current unemployment (the last figures published in June relate to last year), but a study in early April estimated the unemployment rate at 24% (6), a sharp increase following the lockdown. In its June report on the social consequences of the health crisis in India, the International Labor Organization wrote that 350 to 430 million workers could be affected by the lockdown in the form of job losses, reduced working hours, and loss of income.

As a matter of fact, the political authorities used the pretext of the health crisis to redouble their attacks on proletarian conditions; these attacks had long been demanded by national and international capitalist circles who, disappointed by the “too limited” measures of the Modi government, demanded a profound “deregulation” of the labor market, an agrarian and fiscal “reform”.

Anti-worker attacks have begun in various states administered by the BJP, which have decided to suspend “temporarily” (for 1000 to 1500 days), the regulations of the existing labor code in the formal sector: extension of the working day to 12 hours and the week to 72 hours (sometimes unpaid overtime as in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat), suspension of collective bargaining and various union rights, and, in Uttar Pradesh, suspension of the application of labor rights for all companies for 3 years!

This led to a trade union response in the form of a “national day of protest” on May 22 (with union leaders on hunger strike that day!), in the midst of the lockdown. There had already been a general strike on January 8 to protest the government's anti-worker measures and to denounce the fact that the “Indian Labour Conference” (class-collaboration central meeting) had not been convened since 2015.

In fact, these ritual days of general strike serve as a safety valve to dissipate the discontent of the proletarians; they have no effect on the determination of the ruling class to accentuate its attacks against the proletarians and the

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masses: the Modi government thus passed laws in September restricting the right to strike and “reforming” social security, to suppress the benefits of many informal workers, etc.

FARMERS AGITATION

At the same time it enacted 3 laws to reform agriculture in order to allow for accelerated capitalist development. The most burning issue is the end of state-guaranteed purchase prices for agricultural production, which will cause a drop in peasant incomes and the disappearance of many tiny, unprofitable farms (9/10 of the farms would have less than 0.8 hectares). These laws have provoked a wave of peasant struggles that has been centralized in the “Delhi Chalo” (Let’s Go to Delhi) movement, with thousands of peasants heading to the capital to voice their opposition to the laws. Tens of thousands of peasants are now camped on the suburbs of Delhi. The government propaganda accusing them of being “separatists”, opponents to “indianity”, manipulated by foreigners, etc., has had no hold on the movement and its support in a good part of the public opinion.

At the time of writing, discussions seem to be about to open up between the peasant organizations that bring together the wealthier landowners and that lead the movement, and the government. We do not know what the outcome will be, but there is little doubt that a possible compromise will be made on the backs of the poorest farmers, let alone the landless peasants. The agrarian issue is of great importance in a country where more than 40% of the labor force still works in the countryside. The Indian bourgeoisie is well aware that an undermining of the countryside would have unfortunate consequences for the social and political order of the country.

The deep crisis in which India is immersed inexorably pushes proletarians to struggle. In addition to these general firebreak strikes, waves of hard struggles have already taken place in some sectors in recent months: notably among teachers, cement workers, auto workers. In this respect, the struggle of Toyota workers in Bangalore against a fighting leadership supported by the Karnataka state government is emblematic of workers’ combativeness; begun at the beginning of November against the intensification of cadences, it is still going on despite the management’s lockout and the order to return to work issued by the authorities.

Indian proletarians have a long history of working-class struggles; but so

far they have not been able to have genuinely classist organizations to lead these struggles nor a class party to lead them against capitalism, apart from the inter-class “popular” deadlocks and the communal, religious and ethnic divisions that the bourgeoisie deliberately feeds to paralyze them.

It is a problem that cannot be solved overnight, yet the need for it is becoming ever more pressing at a time when social tensions and class-based clashes tend to become explosive.

2020/12/28

(1) The most important is the INTUC, linked to the Congress Party (the main bourgeois party in India) which claims to have 33 million members; then there are confederations linked to various leftist parties which are “communist” only in name, having demonstrated their devotion to the bourgeois state, such as the AITUC linked to the Communist Party of India (14 million adherents claimed), etc.

(2) The National Sample Survey Office, which is part of the Ministry of Statistics, found that almost a third of the businesses used for this calculation did not exist or no longer existed! In retaliation, the government decided to abolish the NSSO...

(3) An IMF publication according to which Bangladesh’s GDP per capita will exceed that of India next year shocked the Indian press: 5 years ago it was 25% higher than that of its neighbor generally despised for its poverty.

(4) In 2017-2018, 85% of workers were employed in the informal sector and 5% in the formal sector, but under the same pre-

carious conditions as the former. See *ILO brief*, June 2020

(5) Some even went home on foot as shown by the media and there were real riots by starving workers.

(6) See Centre for Monitoring India Economy, 7/4/2020.

POST SCRIPTUM ON THE FARMERS MOVEMENT

On January 11th, the Supreme Court decided to “suspend” the 3 laws and set up a “committee of experts” to discuss the issue. But the most combative farmers organizations challenged this committee and decided to continue the struggle until the laws are definitively withdrawn.

On January 26, during a tractor rally, clashes broke out between police and demonstrators, resulting in injuries and one death. These clashes were blamed on “anti-social elements” seeking to “torpedo the peaceful movement” of farmers by the “Samyukta Kisan Morcha”, an alliance of about 40 farmers unions that leads the movement in Delhi (see *Times of India*, 1/27/2021); the opposition parties also condemned the “violence”, not of the police but of the demonstrators...

After the clashes the Samyukta Kisan Morcha decided not to hold his march on the parliament scheduled for February 1: it is clear that the wealthier peasants fear the uncontrolled action of the poorer strata who have nothing to gain from compromises with the government.

Paraguay: Proletarian revolt against the capitalist management of the pandemic

Paraguay, like many poor countries, is ravaged by Covid. This was not the case in 2020 because the state had reacted strongly to stop the spread of the pandemic. This policy did not survive the summer because, hand in hand with business, the restrictions were lifted in July. Today, the pandemic is out of control. The number of infections, hospitalizations and deaths is rising sharply and this is accompanied by a collapse of the public health system. This collapse was predictable; it is taking place in a country where three quarters of the population have no medical insurance. The pandemic reveals the glaring inadequacy of the health care system: less than 650 intensive care beds in a country of seven million inhabitants, a structural lack of doctors and hospital staff, limited ac-

cess to medicines... Patients are obliged to buy their own medicines, and some families have to go into debt for this. This situation is accompanied by speculation by pharmaceutical companies and widespread corruption. Vaccines are in short supply: 4,000 at the beginning for 7 million, then 20,000 after deliveries from Chile. At this rate, vaccination will take a century and a half!

This dramatic situation led to a mobilization of health personnel, who were also outraged by the flagrant cases of corruption in the purchase of medicines and medical equipment; the government tried to put an end to it by making health system officials resign

(Continued on page 8)

Paraguay ...

(Continuation from page 7)

(1). But without success.

The discontent of the exploited masses is deep; it is caused by the degradation of their conditions which has seen the reappearance of hunger as a result of the crisis (even if the bourgeoisie claim that the situation - for its profits! - is less bad than in neighboring countries); this is added to the rising unemployment (officially 8% but this does not take into account that about 60% of the jobs are in the informal sector, which is the first to be affected by it) and the rapacity of the capitalists, such as those of the transport industry, who want to take advantage of the crisis in order to raise their prices.

This situation, this real social crime, provoked a healthy proletarian reaction.

On Friday, March 5, a massive demonstration took place in the capital Asunción. In response, the government unleashed its cops against the protesters with tear gas and rubber bullets. The demonstrators fought back and successfully repelled the henchmen of the bourgeoisie. One demonstrator was shot and killed.

In an attempt to quell the anger, the president offered the resignation of some of his ministers. This did not stop the mobilizations in the streets: thousands of people demonstrated again despite a new police repression.

The proletarian rage is profound but it does not yet manage to express itself on the class terrain. The demonstrators march with national flags or demand a change of government and the resignation of President Benítez (son of the private secretary of the dictator Stroessner, who ruled the country with an iron fist for 35 years before being overthrown by a coup d'état in 1989 after losing the support of the United States). The opposition and the Catholic Church are trying to channel and calm the discontent and once again the slogans about "popular unity" that yesterday led to the crushing of the Chilean proletarians, are reappearing.

The situation in Paraguay is part of that of all Latin America, which is explosive. In the fall of 2019, when the economic crisis was often just beginning, many countries experienced real social explosions. The outbreak of the pandemic, with the various social control measures taken by governments, was used to break up movements of discontentment or revolt. The pandemic has deepened the inequalities, deteriorated the proletarian conditions and it has exposed the contempt of the bourgeois authorities for the fate of the proletarian and exploited masses. Inevitably it pushes the masses back into the streets. The bourgeois commentators sententiously

declare that Paraguay cannot serve as an example, given the particular weakness of the democratic and social institutions in that country; on the contrary, by spontaneously entering into struggle, the exploited masses of Paraguay are setting an example and implicitly appealing to their class brothers of the continent. There is no doubt that sooner or later this example will be followed.

In the new season of struggles that is opening, the only way out for the exploited masses will be the independent proletarian struggle, breaking with all those bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces, and carried out with class methods and demands. Otherwise, the movements of anger that are expressed even violently will inevitably be recuperated for a simple facelift of the regimes in place.

In order to resist before being able to attack, the proletarians in Paraguay, as elsewhere, will have to build their own

organizations, from the immediate defense organizations to the international class party, which is indispensable to lead the struggles towards the revolutionary assault. The road is still long, but the proletarian masses have taken the first step!

Against all bourgeois forces, against interclassist, popular and nationalist orientations and democratic illusions!

Salvation lies in the international revival of the anti-capitalist class struggle!

2021/03/15

(1) The President of the Institute of Social Protection resigned on 10/3 for having "*been part of a criminal network that sold essential medicines that were to be distributed free to the population*".

Beirut: Capitalism is the murderer! It is capitalism that must be fought and overthrown!

As we write these lines, a week after the explosions that, on August 4, have devastated Beirut's port and a big part of the Lebanese capital city, the official Seth toll is almost 170, with 30 people unaccounted for and 15,000 wounded, as well as thousands homeless, for more than 300,000 people's homes have been more or less seriously damaged. Beirut's port, through which goes 80% of Lebanon's maritime traffic, will be a wreck for an unknown period, while it is said that the silos' destruction has blown away 85% of the country's stock of wheat, making fear food shortages in the short term. On August 7, officials estimated that the damage could amount to \$15Md — a third of the GDP!

Although some Lebanese leaders

have mentioned the possibility of an air attack (Israeli jets have flown several times into Lebanon's air space during the last few days), or of an weapons dump's explosion, it seems that the catastrophe has been provoked by construction works which, after a first explosion in a warehouse full of fireworks, lead to the detonation of the neighbouring warehouse full of fertiliser — the same chemical that had exploded in Toulouse, France in 2001, killing 31 and wounding hundreds. However, in Beirut, there was 9 times as much fertiliser as in Toulouse: 2,700 tons instead of 300 to 400 tons.

The authorities have acknowledged that this fertiliser, dumped there 7 years ago after being unloaded from a ship whose owner refused to pay for maintenance,



Demonstration in Beirut, August 2020

nance, had not been stored according to the proper security requirements. Apparently, customs administration had warned several times about the risk, and even tried to get a judge to compel the port administration to remove the fertiliser. However, it seems that they didn't go as far as to warn the public and the port's workers.

Therefore, it is indeed a premeditated **crime**: the catastrophe was bound to happen sooner or later! Beirut inhabitants, all too conscious of the authorities responsibility in this crime, erupted with anger: thousands protested for several days against political leaders, whose effigies were hanged, while government buildings were occupied despite the massive presence of police firing rubber bullets. Several hundreds were wounded in the fights.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS DEVASTATING EFFECTS

What makes the protesters all the more angry is the fact that the port's catastrophe comes on top of an economic catastrophe that has been hitting Lebanon for months: proletarians and poor masses are the first victims of this unprecedented economic crisis, which has been even worsened by the measures taken against covid. The galloping inflation reached an annual rate of 90% (but for basic commodities, has been 169% since September!), while 46% of the population is below the poverty line (they could be 60% by the end of the year). Unemployment reaches 35% in the formal sector, and 45% in the informal sector. One out of five Lebanese has to skip a meal daily to save money, and one out of three Syrian refugees has to do the same (there are 1.5 million refugees in a Lebanese population of about 6 millions). At the end of July, the NGO "Save the Children" estimated that about 1 million inhabitants of the Beirut area, half of them children, didn't have enough resources to cover their fundamental needs (including food); 50% of Lebanese, 63% of Palestinians (the Palestinian community, amounting for hundreds of thousands of people — the exact number isn't known — is mostly confined to badly remunerated jobs in the informal sector), and 73% of Syrians, feared that they wouldn't be able to eat sufficiently in the coming period (1).

THE GOVERNMENT RESIGNS TO PROTECT THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Following the protests and the widespread distrust, the government had opted for resignation on Monday, August 10, but not before trying to quell the anger by talking about anticipated elections; in his resignation speech, the prime

minister has had the nerves to denounce "endemic corruption within the State"! Some protesters have replied that the government's resignation isn't enough, and that the whole political class must go.

However, the true issue isn't crooked politicians or weak institutions. The true issue is the capitalist system itself: it is the capitalist mode of production and the law of value that neglect protection measures they deem too costly, thus condemning people to die, in Beirut or in Toulouse. It is the capitalist mode of production that generates corruption; and if corruption all the more obvious and unbearable when a country experiences huge economic difficulties, it is nevertheless always present.

It is the capitalist mode of production that throws proletarians and the masses into hunger and misery to save its profits, and strangles the weaker States for the sake of the stronger ones.

Through its president Emmanuel Macron, the French imperialism has tried to protect itself as a quasi saviour of Lebanon and Lebanese people; but it insists for the authorities to give in to the IMF's austerity measures before it releases all the "help" the country is in dire need of in order to avoid bankruptcy (2).

Moreover, Lebanese proletarians cannot have forgotten the criminal endeavour of French imperialism during colonisation (the "Mandate" period) and the gruesome part it played in the confessionalization of political life that still burdens Lebanon today.

The economic crisis doesn't hit proletarians only; middle classes are hit too, and threatened of proletarianization. They are part of the revolt, and necessarily carry with them, into the revolt, their illusions about democracy and reform of the State. Yet all the prospects of a reform of the institutions, even the most radical, even the most "revolutionary", are nothing but dead ends; they

cannot lead to any improvement for proletarians and poor masses. The resignation of the government and members of parliament can only serve as a shield for the capitalist system: capitalism is the true culprit, it is capitalism that must be "thrown out" by the **proletarian** revolution; the bourgeois State is its protector, it is the bourgeois State that must be smashed, and on its ashes the dictatorial proletarian power must necessarily appropriate the bourgeoisie both politically and economically, and start removing capitalism.

All the calls for "vengeance" for the victims, all the prospects of a "revolution" that shies away from revolutionary class struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois State, never amount to nothing — as the so-called "October revolution", which had already led to a government's resignation, has already shown last year.

Vanguard proletarians must learn from this and work, in collaboration with proletarians of all countries, on rebuilding the vital organs necessary to lead this proletarian struggle, starting with the class party, internationalist and international; this is a long term task, a task that list be started without delay in order to get rid once and for all of this criminal mode of production.

2020/08/12

(1) "Save the Children", press release on July 30, 2020.

(2) The Lebanese government had requested a \$10M loan from the IMF. The French foreign affairs minister, the former "socialist" Jean-Yves Le Drian, visited Beirut on July 8 to explain how no money would be released unless the "reforms" are enacted. When bourgeois talk about "reforms", what they mean is anti-proletarian attacks!

Electoral farce, repression and strikes in Belarus

The official announcement of the victory of President Lukashenko in the 9th of August presidential election with more than 80 % of the votes — against less than 10 % to his main opponent, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya — triggered several protest demonstrations all over the country, since this unbelievable result can only be the result of massive frauds. Contrary to what happened in 2011 where they were limited to the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of the capital Minsk, the demonstrations have affected almost the whole country. The authorities replied to these demonstrations with a brutal and massive repression (nearly 7,000 arrests, two

deaths, mistreatments, even torture of prisoners, use of rubber bullets, etc.), interruption of the internet, without being able to calm down the demonstrators. On the contrary, the anger of the opponents redoubled, anti-government demonstrations became widespread within a few days, reaching many factories and companies where strikes broke out, notably against repression (as for example among bus drivers in Minsk who demand the release of one of their colleagues); the employees of the state television stopped working etc. Calls for a general

(Continued on page 10)

Electoral farce, repression and strikes in Belarus

(Continuation from page 9)

strike began to circulate last week, although initially the walkouts were apparently limited. Lukashenko's contemptuous statements comparing strikers to sheep and claiming that their number did not exceed 200 in a large company had the opposite effect to the one he was looking for!

On Sunday 16th August a demonstration of 100 to 200 000 people took place in Minsk (as well as many others elsewhere) asking for Lukashenko's resignation; at the same time the demonstration in support of the latter probably gathered less than 10,000 people (60,000 people according to the enormously exaggerated official figures), being rowed from all over the country. On the 17th of August, while he came to give a speech in the city's largest factory, MTZ (tractor construction), in front of an audience of workers supposedly chosen by the direction, Lukashenko got booed by them; the strikers went on a demonstration in the city. On Tuesday 18th August independent trade unions, which claim to be behind strike committees in mines and in various enterprises, called for a generalization of these committees and the rapid formation of a « national strike committee ».

But after having allowed the demonstrations of the last few days to take place peacefully, Lukashenko, reinvigorated by a declaration of support from Putin, called on the police on Wednesday 19/8 to prevent « troubles » in Minsk, while there are reports that the strike movement is crumbling; for example, there would only be 2000 strikers out of 16000 workers at MTZ, where rallies in support of the strike were dispersed by the security forces. However since the 18th of August potash production in the mines of Belaruskali in Soligorsk (the world's largest production site for this ore) is completely blocked by the striking miners and the continuation of strikes is reported in many companies despite intimidation and arrests.

THE ROOTS OF ANGER

Small country of just over 9 million inhabitants, Belarus first knew, during the 26 years of Lukashenko's presidency, a period of significant economic growth, facilitated by the low-price petroleum supplied by Russia (partly re-exported at world market prices) which is its main economic partner (accounting for 44% of Belarusian exports and 60% of imports). This prosperity, very relative but real when we compare it to the explosion of inequalities in a country like

Ukraine, explain the popularity long enjoyed by the regime.

But things have started to change in the last few years; economic growth is broken down, Belarus is having more and more problems paying for its imports of raw materials, especially after Russia raised the price of the oil it sells to it, while its exports of goods produced by an unprofitable industrial sector suffer from ever-increasing competition. Growing economic difficulties have led the authorities to multiply anti-social and anti-worker measures: collective employment contracts have been replaced by individual short-term contracts, retirement pensions have decreased, and a tax has even been introduced on unemployment benefits. Unemployment has risen (it is estimated to be close to 10%) and real wages would have fallen by more than 30% due to inflation (1), all this in a situation where workers' freedom to organize and struggle is limited.

BELARUS AND IMPERIALISM

The importance of economic ties with Russia inevitably translates into narrow political ties between these two countries. In the last period, however, these links have become more strained. Belarus has rejected the political and economic integration project proposed by Moscow and has made various gestures towards Europe; it even turned to the United States to buy oil from them after the end of the preferential tariffs granted to it by Russia! At the end of July the Belarusian police arrested around 30 Russian mercenaries, accusing them of trying to destabilize the regime during the elections. A « democrat » opponent, in jail, Barbaryko, had already been accused of being a puppet of Moscow (2). These anti-Russian statements actually served to fuel nationalism, which is the regime's main political card. Indeed, as soon as the demonstrations broke out, Lukashenko did a volte-face: now it is no longer Russia, but NATO and Poland that he accuses of wanting to destabilize him by being the protest organizers! Putin has therefore made declarations – albeit measured ones – of support for his reluctant ally: for the Russian leaders, faced with major demonstrations in the far-eastern part of the country (3), everything possible must be done to prevent the example of a government ceding to the street pressure.

Western imperialisms, for their part, refused to recognize the result of the elections, affirmed verbal support to the « people » of Belarus and announced economic sanctions against some of the country's officials. In fact, they are count-

ing on Russia to prevent Belarus from becoming a new source of instability in this region of Europe. None of these imperialisms actually cares about the fate of the proletarians and of the people in general: only the defense of their interests, whether economic or geostrategic, is important to them.

FOR THE PROLETARIAT, THE SOLUTION IS NOT THE INTERCLASSIST DEMOCRATIC UNION BUT THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE FOR THE DEFENSE OF ITS CLASS INTERESTS

The democratic opponents advocate « the union of all classes » to reach democracy; this cannot be an objective for the proletariat, which has a pressing need to fight in order to defend its own interests against the capitalists, the first one of which is the Belarusian state (the statist sector is still dominant in the country): state democratization would change nothing to its fate. Its entry into the struggle of the last few days has demonstrated the power it possesses; however, until now it has only been mobilized as a force led by the petty bourgeois democratic opponents. It was inevitable given the absence of any classist organization and tradition of struggle. There are certainly independent, so-called « democratic », trade unions (BKDP); if they are not inferred to the system like the main trade unions which mainly serve to discipline the labor force, they are nevertheless collaborationist organizations, foreign to class positions, and besides, recognized by the institutions. They once again demonstrated it in the current events. On the 12th of August, they published a statement asking for the end of the repression and the release of prisoners, but without calling for strikes as it could lead to « massive dismissals ». Overwhelmed by the movement, a few days later (on the 17th of August), they were calling, as we have seen, for the formation of a Strike National Committee. But it is as **social firemen** that they consider the formation and the role of the latter. The objective they set for themselves is indeed to bring the country out of the political crisis by putting an end to the « *situation of double power* » (between Lukashenko and his rival) thanks to this committee which would be the only one capable of « *engaging a direct dialogue with the authorities on a transition of power* » (4).

But it is not from the dialogue with the authorities that something positive can come out for the

proletarians! Only the struggle against these authorities, while waiting to have the strength to overthrow them may enable substantial concessions to be extracted from them.

The proletarians of Belarus will therefore have to emancipate themselves from

interclassist union and democratic illusions to take the path of organization and class struggle. They have already taken a first step by mobilizing massively against Lukashenko; the next steps, against capitalism, whatever the form of government and the politicians in power, will be neither automatic nor easy; but, even beyond the immediate results of the current movement, the proletarians of Belarus have already given a sign that the long period of passivity and powerless resignation of the European proletarians is coming to an end.

2020/08/21

(1) <https://lvsl.fr/la-bielorussie-se-dirige-t-elle-vers-un-nouveau-maidan/>

(2) Banker, Barbaric has been arrested under the accusation of money laundering for benefit of the Russian society Gasport.

(3) For weeks, large anti-government demonstrations have been taking place in Khabarovsk to protest the arrest of the governor, an opponent of Putin.

(4) See the BKDP statement and the interview of its president, on August 8th. The latter is a member of the administration council of the ILO (UN organization responsible for promoting collaboration between classes) and is a vice-president of the ITUC (confederation of major world collaborationist unions). <https://belaruspartisan.by/politic/509539/>

le prolétaire

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Moroccan troops, out of the Western Sahara!

On November 15th, Moroccan troops took by force the border crossing of Guerguerat, an enclave that unites Mauritania with the Western Sahara and that Sahrawi activists have been blockading since October 21st in order to denounce the fact that, despite the UN prohibition, the Moroccan state used a road that transitioned through Guerguerat in order to export raw material (phosphates, copper, iron, uranium, etc.), fish, etc.

After the intervention of the Alaouite army, the forces of the Polisario Front returned fire. A few hours later, the Polisario Front declares a *state of war* in the region and, just as much, a break with the ceasefire agreed upon in 1991.

The terms of this ceasefire implied, as well as the end of the hostilities that began in 1976 with the retreat of Spain from the Sahrawi territories, the beginning of a United Nations-backed project to hold a referendum on self-determinations in the years following its signing. Since the peace treaty was approved by Morocco and the Polisario Front, the Moroccan authorities, sovereign over the majority of the land in the Western Sahara now that POLISARIO only occupies a negligible and furthermore almost uninhabited part of the desert, maintain an iron control over the population and the natural resources of the zone. Cities like Laayoune are subject to an iron fist that rigorously controls the life of every Sahrawi, imposing not only open political repression, prohibiting reunions, banning associations and persecuting the most renowned militants but also controlling the entirety of the daily life of the population.

The declaration of war by the Polisario Front, more specifically the *Ejército de Liberación Popular Saharaui* [Popular Sahrawi Army of Liberation], which is its military branch, puts an end to almost twenty years of undisputed rule by the Kingdom of Morocco over the region of the Western Sahara, as of the prevailing international law that obligated the Polisario Front to reduce its activity to the control of Sahrawi refugee camps in Tindouf, Algeria, where more than 200,000 people that have emigrated after Morocco and Mauritania assumed control of the Western Sahara live.

Throughout this period, only the terms of the peace accord have governed the Sahrawi side: while the Polisario Front has renounced all activity behind Moroccan borders, the compromises gained by Morocco, especially the holding of a referendum on self-determination for the Western Sahara, have been postponed one way or another,

until the point where now absolutely nobody can think that they are going to be fulfilled. Of course, the repression against the Sahrawi population, now disarmed and at the mercy of the Rabat's authorities, has not ceased for any moment; and the kingdom implemented a campaign for the replacement of the original population by Moroccan emigrants it uses by as the spearhead of its imperialist politics in the region, forcing the Sahrawis to abandon Hassaniya (a dialect of Arabic spoken by them) in favour of the dialects of Arabic spoken in the north of the country.

The UN itself, which maintains a military force in the Western Sahara (MINURSO, or the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara), considers this region to be one of the last existing colonies in the world which implies the recognition that the ruling power, Morocco, oppresses the Sahrawi population in every sense.

Of course, the recognition by the UN of this situation stops there: its military forces have not lifted a finger to prevent the army and Moroccan police, aided by bands of armed civilians, imposing periodic terror in the streets of the zone's cities and towns. The interest of the imperialist powers in the region is evident: on one hand, every country that has in one way or another participated in the colonisation of North Africa (primarily France and Spain, but also Great Britain) have commercial interests in the region and Morocco is their primarily ally. Moreover, the Kingdom of Morocco acts a stopgap controlling immigration passing through the Gibraltar Strait or Canary Islands en route to Europe, using all of its police and military forced to repress migrants fleeing the poverty of their home countries.

Finally, other great imperialist powers, like above all the United States, maintain considerable investments in the region, most notably the petroleum sector, and they need a powerful state like Morocco to defend their economic, political and military interests in the North of Africa, a zone that in recent decades has become very complicated. In this context, the UN has simply permitted a situation that nobody is interested in changing, with the exception of the Sahrawis on behalf of international law: allowing Moroccan excesses while periodically crying out for a solution to a conflict that it allows on a daily basis.

Currently a large part of the Sahrawi people live in refugee camps: between

(Continued on page 12)

Moroccan troops ...

(Continuation from page 11)

125,000 and 160,000 people have been living in *wilayas* in East Algeria since 1975. The situation in these camps is terrible, the population depending on NGOs for absolutely everything, lacking direct access to basic necessities, with high rates of mortality, even for Africa, and so on. It is not surprising that, as some sources affirm, a significant part of the population of these camps have joined the ELPS in the last few days. In fact, it is more probable that one of the main motives for the reopening of hostilities by the Polisario Front has been the greater and greater pressure that the youth of the camps, faced with a situation that has become unsustainable, exert in the direction of returning to war.

The dispossessed Sahrawi masses are not only confronting the Moroccan army. They have in front of them a whole network of interests in which the principal world imperialist powers participate to maintain the existing status quo in the region. But, nevertheless, they have very few allies. Their traditional "friends" out of Moroccan borders have been Algeria and the political organisations of the Spanish left.

There is little to say with regard to the former: Algeria use Sahrawis as a means of pressure against the Moroccan government, allowing them in exchange to scrape by in subhuman camps for 40 years. For it the situation of the Sahrawi people is, just like for France or Spain, an interchangeable piece in an international diplomatic game.

About the latter, the political forces of the Spanish left, for decades they have organised "solidarity" with the Sahrawi people, giving out economic aid, claiming its cause as their own, etc. In truth this aid has always been poisoned. Political and economic support for the Polisario Front as representative of the Sahrawi Democratic Arab Republic always implies open support for the situation created by the peace accords in 1991. The Polisario Front has been the principal defender of a policy of pacification that has only led to poverty and death for the Sahrawi people. Support given to this party meant the reinforcement of this policy, the strengthening of the pressure exerted by the United Nations, Spain and France for the Sahrawi to abandon its struggle in favour of an international mediation that, as seen today, led nowhere. The folklore, the slogans of "Free Sahara", etc. that have been so beloved by the PSOE, PCE and others, brought behind it the defense of a situation that was inevitably harmful for the Sahrawi; but it was preferred to keep them in this situation instead re-

newing the spark of a struggle that really did not interest anyone.

On the other hand, today we see how the Spanish government, led by the PSOE and PODEMOS, the first allies of the Polisario in the Socialist Internationalist, the second steadfast defenders of the struggle of the Sahrawi people up to the day of their entrance into government, looks to the other side allowing Morocco to return to battering the Sahrawis with all of the harshness it deems convenient.

From November 15th, when confrontations began, the PSOE-PODEMOS government has only referred to the situation happening live in the Sahara... to condemn a demonstration that put up the flag of the Polisario Front in front of the Moroccan consulate in Valencia! For his part, Pablo Iglesias, now accustomed to the ways of diplomacy, has been limited to asking on social media for the resolutions of the United Nations to be respected, these same resolutions permitting the existence of "black" (secret) prisons in which Sahrawi militants have been tortured for many decades. The interests of the Spanish bourgeoisie in Spain and Morocco are, without a doubt, well represented by the "*most progressive government in history*."

The only ally on which the oppressed Sahrawi people could really count on is the proletariat of the big metropolises involved in the oppression of the Sahara. Because only the proletarian class has a direct interest in the liquidation of the situation of colonial dependence that the Sahrawi masses put up with, to the extent to which its own bourgeoisies, French, Spanish or North American, would suffer a hard blow with the rupture of the imperialist "equilibrium" in the region. Spain has a large dependence on Morocco for the import of raw materials (fish, phosphates, land for construction, etc.) and for maintaining control of immigration. As for France, still the first "economic partner" of Morocco and the first foreign investor, it has important economic interests to defend there.

Can the Sahrawi people liberate themselves from Moroccan colonial oppression thanks to the war that the Polisario Front seeks to restart against Morocco? It is very unlikely.

The Polisario Front has amply demonstrated that it is not a national-revolutionary force; aiming, now as in the past, to force Morocco to negotiate in order to obtain an economic territory in which it can develop its own bourgeois power and finally possess a "nation" with respected borders and with a proletariat to exploit directly. But these possibilities of success already disappeared in 1976, when Morocco occupied the territory of the recently declared Democratic Republic of the Western Sahara, which in this manner could not exercise any inde-

pendent power since Spain abandoned its former colony, although the UN recognised its legality.

The small Sahrawi people has been forced to survive in conditions of continuing oppression, first under the power of Spain and afterwards under that of Morocco with the consent of the imperialist powers interested in the mineral resources of the area (above all the phosphates, of which Morocco are one of the premier producers of worldwide thanks to the occupation of the Western Sahara) and also interested in a general order whose defence demands a friendly state, which is precisely Morocco. It is against this repression that Sahrawis have rebelled many times aiming for their self-determination, but historical vicissitudes have not been favourable to them, like they haven't been for peoples much more numerous, like the Palestinians or the Kurds.

The Sahrawi people are obligated, for the umpteenth time, to deal with forces much more powerful and determined to keep them under oppression, but beyond the hypocritical claims to the "right of self-determination", and of an armed organisation, POLISARIO, that seeks their emancipation from foreign oppression only to substitute it with the oppression of the national bourgeoisie.

The only perspective in which it is possible for the oppression of the Sahrawi people to end is much more vast than simply "national": it is the perspective in which the class struggle of the proletariat inserts itself, not only that of

El Proletario

ÓRGANO DEL PARTIDO
COMUNISTA INTERNACIONAL

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• • • Sáhara occidental • • • Tras las elecciones en Cataluña la clase proletaria debe sacar sus lecciones: en el circo electoral, gane quien gane siempre vence la burguesía. • • • Vivan los *violentos* de linajes • • • Fuera las tropas marroquíes del Sáhara occidental • • • Francia : ¡La brutalidad de la policía es sólo la otra cara de la democracia burguesa! • • • Arzano, ciudad metropolitana de Nápoles: la protesta de los comerciantes • • • Nápoles. Meb Meridbulloni, como Whirlpool • • • La violencia contra las mujeres es parte integrante de la violencia de clase • • • Grupo Barbaria, el bordiguismo a la carta • • • El Partido comunista internacional en el surco de las batallas de clase de la Izquierda Comunista • • • Aviso a los lectores, simpatizantes y camaradas

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the Sahrawi proletariat, but also the Moroccan, Mauritanian and Algerian proletarians, that confine it, and of the Spanish proletarians that hold equally the class duty to struggle against the oppression of the Sahrawi people and for its “self-determination” because, for a long time, its bourgeoisie, from the palaces of Madrid, has exercised its oppression using it to buy off the highest strata of the Spanish proletariat and turning it into its accomplices, while for decades it has utilised it indirectly through the oppression exercised by Rabat.

A perspective like this is difficult to concretize due to the work carried out for decades by the collaborationism of the forces that proclaim themselves “social-

ist” or “communist” - like the PSOE and the PCE - but that are in reality completely bourgeois; but it is the only one which proletarians should aim for, if they seek to no longer carry on as tragic handmaidens to the bourgeois class and witness repeated massacres.

As communists we are for the right of self-determination to all peoples, large or small, but at the same time we know that this right, as has happened up to now, will continue being systematically betrayed by any bourgeoisie more powerful and by any collaborationist force. It is only on the terrain of the class struggle, of the revolutionary proletarian struggle, that history will open up a real possibility of self-determination as

the first step towards the overcoming of all conflicts and all competition between nations and states, towards a real union between people beyond any bourgeois wall, beyond any sort of oppression.

For the self-determination of the Western Sahara!

Long live the struggle of the Saharan masses against the military and social oppression of Morocco!

For the internationalist solidarity of the Spanish proletariat!

For the internationalist solidarity of the proletariat of the Magreb, of Europe and of America!

For the resumption of the class struggle!

France : After the murder of Samuel Paty No the National Union! No the Defence of the “values of the Republic”!

The sordid murder of Samuel Paty, a professor killed and decapitated by a fanatic because he had showed a caricature of Muhammad in a course on “Moral and Civic Education”, has aroused general horror and indignation. This reaction has been relayed and amplified by all of the media. In a few hours, a veritable media and political campaign of great extent has seen daylight, orientating the tensions and frustrations born of the present situation, not against an *invisible enemy* but against an enemy very visible in the flesh and bones: the Islamist terrorist.

This murder is just in time to relay governmental propaganda against the “separatism” which, in the well established tradition of *state racism*, makes Arab proletarians, usually Muslim, and more generally immigrants, scapegoats for the crisis, presenting them as dangers to the peace and security of good citizens. At the moment where the social crisis is going to express itself and already expresses itself through a frontal attack against the living and working conditions of proletarians, it is of crucial importance for the bourgeoisie to diminish the possibility of proletarians fighting back by accentuating religious and national divisions.

On the topic of paralyzing the proletariat, the ongoing campaign looks to cement the national union between classes. “*They will not divide us,*” Macron declared, calling for *unity*. This theme is repeated without hesitation by the left – for example by Melenchon who went even further on national unity, saying on October 10th: “*It is evident that the goal of Islamist terrorists is to succeed in dividing the French. (...) Therefore, I*

call first and foremost for this unity” – as well as that of the defence of the “values of the Republic.”

But the French – and the non French – are in this society divided into opposed social classes, between exploiters and exploited. *Unity* between the exploiters and the exploited happens always to the detriment of the latter.

And the Republic (the bourgeois Republic!) has as its fundamental values, behind the embellishments destined to abuse the exploited, the law of profit and the defence of the capitalist mode of production. It built itself against proletarians whose revolts have been crushed in blood and who have been sent to the slaughterhouse where it wages wars again and again, and against populations reduced to slavery or colonised in the countries it has invaded.

This hideous and bloody Republic must not be supported but battled against by proletarians, with the prospect of erecting on its ruins their own dictatorial power, indispensable for the destruction of capitalism.

Regarding the so vaunted secularism, which is to say neutrality with regard to religions (1), it has become more and more a tool for stigmatising those of Islamic faith, as the religion of the part of the French proletariat of Arab origin. The struggle against the reactionary grip of religious cannot succeed through education or anti-clerical propaganda, and even less through state coercion; it can only be accomplished, as the history of the workers’ movement has demonstrated, by the union of proletarians of all faiths in the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

If it is the role of the police to arrest

murders, it would be a grave error for proletarians to have confidence in the government and the bourgeois state in order to protect themselves from the murderous fanaticism of the extreme right, Islamist or not.

Not only because the forces of the extreme right are born and prosper on the terrain of capitalism in crisis, but above all because it is this government and this state who led the recent attacks against workers and who will lead those to come. The authorities speak trembling in a voice of intangible respect for freedom of expression and assure everyone of their love for teachers; but they are the very same people who repress teachers on strike, while having violently repressed the *gilets jaunes*, workers in struggle and the most diverse sorts of protests.

There is no other way to defend themselves against the horrors of capitalism, against the forces of *official* repression as well as against the forces of far-right Islamist fanaticism, against the “democratic” and “civilised” bourgeoisie as against their fascistic colleagues, against the bourgeois state under every regime, than that of the return to the orientations, to the positions and to the perspectives of the international class struggle.

All collaboration with the ruling class and their many political organizations can only lead to disaster.

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains! They have a world to win!

2020/10/19

(1) For the republicans of old, secularism was a weapon for wresting control over the education of youth from the Catholic Church and transferring it to the bourgeois state, but not a weapon against religion. As Jules Ferry expressly stated, the schoolteacher should take care not to be opposed to the religious beliefs of students’ parents.

France: Police brutality is only the other face of bourgeois democracy

The November 21st police beating of the music producer Michel Zecler, due to not wearing a mask and being black as well as the brutalities against the teenagers present in the studio, coming after the brutal police dispersals two days earlier against the asylum seekers gathered in the Place de la République, has aroused legitimate indignation. The police officers having accused the producer of rebelling and attempting to take their arms, had placed him in *police custody* with the police office of Paris; without the surveillance video which established the officers' lie, he would have been harshly condemned, as happens regularly in similar cases: the judges always have faith in the word of the police officers. It is the same as when the death of Cédric Chouviat, the delivery driver strangled by police during a questioning in Paris on January 3rd, happened - a video allows the police's recounting of events to be destroyed.

It is precisely in order to guarantee the maximum impunity to the police that the planned law called "global security" desires, among other things, to prohibit the distribution of images that put the police under question and to control the work of journalists who cover demonstrations.

The latest outbursts of police violence as a matter of fact add themselves to a long series that would be too tiresome to count up; it is enough to recall the Adama Traoré affair, the 24 year-old young man killed by police after a questioning in July 2016, that the continued rallies of his relatives has demanded justice not to be buried, to pass by the unchained repression against the "gilets jaunes" (11 deaths and hundreds of injuries), against many different protesters, against the youth in proletarian neighbourhoods, etc.

The current batterings are therefore not the exception, the work of "black sheep" or of "stupidly recruited violent elements" (as the "leftist" politician Mélenchon says); they are the inevitable consequence of the defense of the capitalist system; because the bourgeois order is based on the exploitation of the greatest number, it requires a constant repression of all of those who threaten or challenge this exploitation, of all of those who represent even the least potential threat against the established order and the organisations which assure its continuity.

In the periods of economic prosperity and social calm, this repression, although always violent and present, only appears sporadically. Democracy,

which is the political system most adequate for bourgeois order because it obstructs class struggle by pretending to bypass social antagonisms through the ballot, thus presents a peaceful and relatively "benevolent" face.

But in periods of crisis, democracy reveals its true face in exclusive service of capitalist domination: repression manifests itself overtly, taking on a systematic character, evermore violent and "arbitrary". This is the situation which we are in; the government has used the pretext of a health crisis in order to maximise, with the implicit or explicit accord of every political and trade union force, bourgeois totalitarian domination over society in general and over proletarians in particular. The ruling class knows that the ravages of an economic crisis without precedent cannot avoid arousing sooner or later the reaction of proletarians who are its first victims (according to the November 25th issue of the Macron-aligned weekly *Challenges*, "The executive is paralysed by the risk of a social explosion"). It is this which fundamentally explains the latest "repressive turn" of the government noted by the media, and not terrorist threats. This "turn" manifests itself most notably through the aggravation of measures against immigrants and asylum seekers, pointing them out as scapegoats for the rest of the population, that through the new security law, coming after so many others: the government, which in reality has never hesitated to use repression to date, thus prepares itself for future confrontations.

But there is another wing to this anti-proletarian preparation, and it is the work of those who claim to oppose it, the trade unions and so-called parties "of the left."

The rage of tens and tens of thousands of people (2) who manifested on November 28th against police violence has been in fact deflected by the organisers of "Liberty Marches" (from trade union confederations like the CGT, FSU and SUD, to left parties, like the PS, PCF, Insoumis, Greens, NPA, etc.) to a mobilisation against an "attack on democracy" (per the joint declaration by the trotskyist NPA, France Insoumise, and others) and for the defense of the "rule of law". Of course all of these people do not want to say that the state is the pillar of bourgeois order, charged in this respect with repressing proletarian struggles, and that democracy only serves to mask the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They do everything possible to consolidate

the shaking illusions with regard to the State and democracy, therefore providing irreplaceable assistance to the ruling class. Moreover, when some of them were in government, they have not only served capitalism the best that they could, but they have also actually led for years a repressive escalation against militant workers, youth in struggle and protesters in general (3). Proletarians have already been able to observe innumerable occasions where they have played the part of their adversaries.

The response to aggression, brutality and police crimes can only be effective if it is led in a manner independent of the orientations of the partisans of social peace and agents of collaboration between classes. Only a struggle conducted on class orientations, clearly anti-capitalist, can make the government and the bourgeoisie to back off by mobilising proletarians. This applies as much for defense against police violence as the defense of wage levels, the struggle against dismissals, against the repression of asylum seekers or undocumented workers.

Down with bourgeois democracy, long live the united class struggle of proletarians against capitalism and the bourgeois state!

2020/11/29

(1) In the video you can distinctly hear Cédric cry to the police officers who are applying a stranglehold against him: "I'm choking!" It is this which the Minister of the Interior (Minister of the Police) Darmanin will speak of later: "I choke on myself when I hear talk about police violence"...

(2) 135,000 according to the police, 300k to 500k according to organisers.

(3) The former president François Hollande has had the nerve to add his voice to the critiques of the security law in discussion, he who covered up all of the police excesses committed under his mandate, and whose "socialist" Minister of the Interior, Cazeneuve, said in November 2016 with regard to the murder of Adama Traoré: "What I can no longer accept is to permanently put under question [...] the work done by the forces of order, theorising the constabulary of police violence."

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On the Thread of Time

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ing within them an indefinite state of emergency. From this flowed the uselessness in practice of the favorable power relations that existed between proletarian class and state defeated in war, and the impossibility of a rapid transition from support or acceptance of the war to defeatism. The other aspect was the decomposition of the revolutionary movement of the Third International, which, following on from a series of tactical deviations to the right in 1922, around the time of the formation of the Italian party, bit by bit deserted revolutionary positions until finally it ended up resituating itself on the terrain of the traitor movements of the second International and the First World War; indeed becoming even worse than them.

On the other hand these two factors in post Second World War power relations were apparent not only at the beginning of the war, but from the time when totalitarian bourgeois governing parties were being formed in various European countries. Using this historical fact to establish the inviolable prospect of a new type of "ideological war" at the European level, and "interclassist blocs" within the various nations, the deserters from communism who took their lead from Moscow would wallow in this political perspective in the most crass and disgusting way. The fact that having ceased to be classist and communist they remained totalitarian, and that through their politico-military maneuverings abroad they had had a brief love affair with the bourgeois totalitarian Nazis just compounded their betrayal.

The conclusion to be drawn from these premises was that the time the proletarian movement would take to recover, and rid itself of the old opportunist scabies and the new and even more paralyzing syphilitic sores, was measurable in decades not years, and that the task of those groups that had stuck to, and defended, the position which 99% of the communists of 1919 vintage had deserted, would turn out to be a long and difficult one, beginning with the laborious job of drawing up a balance-sheet of the counterrevolutionary catastrophe; which needed to be examined, understood and utilized to effect a complete reorganization.

It is towards this end that the limited forces available have been working in Italy for the past seven years (forces which are maybe even weaker outside Italy) recovering historical and informational data and carrying out analytical work which has taken a resolute stand

against glib pessimism of the type which maintains that since things have gone so wrong then first principles must - if not entirely, at least for the most part - be abandoned and replaced. The review, *Prometeo*, and the newspaper, *Battaglia Comunista*, have worked hard to maintain this essential cornerstone: the continuity of the theory and the method of action of the communists.

Given the nature of the task and the means needed to accomplish it, clearly any noisy impact on "Italian politics", as those in radio, the newspapers and election candidates booming out through their megaphones understand it, would be distinctly lacking. In fact, it was decidedly for the best as crude impatience has only ever made a difficult path even longer. After all, Marxism has toiled for a century to boot out those inclined to such emotions; and when it succeeds, and against the prevailing wind too, then that's a good result.

This work is founded on an appeal to the movement's fundamental texts and theses, on its experience and on its history from the time it arose, and on the evaluation of recent historical facts in the light of the original Marxist vision: what has been elaborated can be found distributed in various passages and studies, with constant, untiring reference to the essential quotations.

Put bluntly, this is our position: new facts do not lead us to correct the old positions, nor to supplement or rectify them. Today we interpret the original Marxist texts in the same way as we did in 1921 and even before that; and we interpret later facts in the same way; the old proposals regarding methods of organization and action remain valid.

This work is neither entrusted to individuals nor committees, much less so to bureaus. In timing and quality, it is part of a unitary operation that has been unfolding for over a century, going well beyond the birth and death of generations. It is not inscribed in anyone's *curriculum vitae*, not even of those who have spent an extremely long time coherently elaborating and mulling over the results. In this work of elaboration of key texts, and also of studies interpreting the historical process that surrounds us, the movement prohibits, and has to prohibit, personal, extemporary and contingent initiatives being taken.

The idea that some obliging bloke, with pen and inkwell and an hour or so to spare, starts writing texts from scratch, or else, the Cyrenic, long-suffering "base" is urged to do so by some circular letter or by some ephemeral academic meeting, whether noisily public or in

secret, well, it is just childish. The results of such efforts should be disqualified from the outset; especially when such an array of dictates is the work of those who are obsessed with the effect of human *intervention* in history. Is it men in general, particular men, or a given Man with a capital M who intervenes? It's an old question. Men make history, it's just that they have very little idea how and why they make it. As a rule, all the 'fans' of human action, and those who mock what they allege to be fatalist automatism, are generally the very people who privately nurture the idea that their own wee bodies contain that predestined *Man*. And they are the very ones who do not and cannot understand anything at all: they fail to see that whether they sleep like logs, or realize their noble dream of rushing around like men possessed, history will not be affected one iota.

Coldly cynical, and totally lacking in sympathy for any of these super-activist specimens so convinced of their own importance, to them, and to every synderion of innovators and would-be helmsmen, we repeat: *Go back to sleep!* You can't even set an alarm clock.

The task of setting the Theses in order and straightening out all the dogs' legs veering off on all sides - a task which always arises when least expected - needs considerably more than a short speech or an hour or so at some little congress.

It isn't easy to compile an index of all the places where it was necessary to plug the holes, a work evidently seen as inglorious by those born to "pass into history", whose style, rather than patching up, is to totally destroy. Still, we think a small index might be useful, even though it obviously won't be perfect and will contain repetitions and inversions. We will compare correct with erroneous theses: we won't however call the latter anti-theses since such a term is easily confused with antithesis, which suggests two different theses side by side in opposition. We prefer to use the term *counter-theses*.

Also, purely for clarity's sake, we will divide the points we wish to make into three obviously interconnected sections, namely: History, Economy and (in inverted commas) Philosophy. We completely disregard those theses which are blatantly bourgeois and opposed to our own, and whose refutations are well-known, and sometimes we consider as counter-theses notions which are, more than anything, just incorrect formulations, but ones which have neverthe-

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less prevailed as bad habits and given rise to much misunderstanding.

* * *

HISTORICAL COUNTER- THESES AND THESES

Counter-thesis 1

Toward the beginning of the 19th century, society became divided into two opposed classes: the bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) and the proletariat (wage earning workers).

Thesis 1

According to Marx, there are three classes in fully-industrialized countries: capitalists (manufacture, trade, banking), landowners (at least where the land can still be bought and sold freely) and wage earning workers.

In all countries, and above all in countries where industry is not highly developed and during the period before the bourgeoisie has seized political power, other classes continue to exist in varying degrees, e.g., the feudal aristocracy, craftsmen, peasant landowners. First the bourgeoisie, and then the wage-earning proletariat, begin to have an historical weight in different periods in different countries: Italy (15th century), Netherlands (16th century), England (17th century), France (18th century), Central Europe, America, Australia, etc. (19th century), Russia (20th century) and Asia (today). As a result, it is necessary to distinguish various areas in the world, characterized by different configurations of class forces in struggle.

Counter-thesis 2

The proletarians are indifferent toward the bourgeoisie's revolutionary struggles against feudal power.

Thesis 2

The proletarian masses fight everywhere in insurrections to overthrow feudal privilege and absolutist power. In different countries and historical periods the greater part of the working class naively believed that the victory of bourgeois democratic movements would be a conquest, even for the poor citizens. Another fraction, however, did see that the bourgeois fighting for power were exploiters, but, influenced by reactionary socialism, they sought to ally themselves to the feudal counter-revolution out of hatred for the bosses. The most advanced fraction adopted the correct position: There are no civic and ideological de-

mands in general that are shared by exploiters and exploited; but the bourgeois revolution is necessary, either to open the way to large-scale production based on the association of masses of workers, which would lead to a higher standard of living and higher consumption among the impoverished strata of society, or to make possible a future social – at first proletarian – administration of the new productive forces. The workers therefore fight alongside the big bourgeoisie against the nobility and clergy, and even (see *the Manifesto* of 1848) against the reactionary petty-bourgeoisie.

Counter-thesis 3

Where the bourgeois victory was followed by a counter-revolution (feudal or dynastic restoration), the workers did not become involved in this struggle between two of its enemies.

Thesis 3

In every armed struggle for and against a restoration (e.g., the coalitions against the French revolution and the republican revolutions of 1830 and 1848), the proletariat necessarily fought in the trenches and on the barricades alongside the bourgeois radicals. The dialectic of class struggle and civil war has shown that this assistance was necessary for the victory of the landowning and industrial bourgeoisie. But immediately after the victory the bourgeoisie opened a fierce attack against the proletariat which sought social reforms and political power. Such is the unique scheme of the inevitable succession of revolutions and counter-revolutions. The proletariat's insurrectional support to the bourgeoisie is the historical condition enabling it to one day overthrow it after a series of attempts.

Counter-thesis 4

The working class is indifferent toward every war between feudal and bourgeois states and every insurrection for national liberation from foreign domination.

Thesis 4

The formation of national states based on the most uniform racial and linguistic characteristics is the optimal condition for the replacement of feudal production by bourgeois production, and every bourgeoisie fights for this goal, even before the reactionary nobility has been overthrown. For the workers, organization into nation-states (as especially in Europe) is a necessary stage since it is impossible to arrive at internationalism (proclaimed by the very first

workers' movements) without going beyond the narrow local production, consumption and demands characteristic of the feudal era.

As a result, until the completion of organization into nation-states in 1870, the proletariat had a class interest in fighting for freedom in France, Germany, Italy and the Balkan states. During the alliance in armed actions, class ideologies became differentiated and the workers began to break out of nationalism and patriotism. The victories against the Holy Alliance, against Austria in 1859 and 1866, and finally against Napoleon III in 1870, were of primary importance for the future of the proletarian movement, as were the victories against Turkey and Russia in 1854-55 and 1877. On the other hand, in all their works, Marx and Engels regarded defeats suffered by the adversaries of these countries as negative, as Lenin recalled in his thesis on the war in 1914. All these criteria apply to the modern Orient.

Counter-thesis 5

As soon as the bourgeois had seized power on all the continents populated by white races, all wars are wars of imperialist conquest. Therefore no workers movement has any interest in common with warring governments; the class struggle must be extended to defeatism. The victory of one or the other of the belligerents has no influence on the further development of the class struggle and the proletarian revolution.

Thesis 5

According to Lenin, as of 1871, and after the period of "peaceful" capitalism, all wars are imperialist: their ideological acceptance is treason. In 1914 every workers' party in the Entente countries and the Central powers had to fight against the war to transform it into a civil war, especially by exploiting a military defeat. Though any alliance with the bourgeoisie in regular or irregular armed action was excluded, the problem of the possible effects of different military solutions nonetheless had to be taken into consideration. It cannot be imagined that when such immense forces come into conflict the victory of one would have the same effect as the victory of another. In general, we can say that the military victory of the older, wealthier and most politically and socially stable bourgeois states is the least favorable outcome for the proletariat and its revolution.

There is a direct link between the unfavorable course of the proletariat's struggle over the past 50 years (which has multiplied the time predicted by

Marxism for the victory of communism at least by three) and repeated victories by Britain in the wars against Napoleon, and later, Germany. English bourgeois power has been stable for three centuries, and while Marx counted heavily on the American civil war to topple it, this war did not engender a force able to defeat Europe, but instead one that would be the sustain of British power and gradually became the center thanks to the wars it fought on its side and not after a direct conflict.

In 1914, Lenin indicated clearly that the defeat of the Czar's armies would be the most favorable solution because it would hasten the outbreak of class struggle in Russia. He fought with all his strength against those who stated that the victory of Germany over the Anglo-French alliance would be the most favorable result, while inveighing just as fiercely against German social-patriots.

Counter-thesis 6

The Russian revolution was only the outbreak of the proletarian revolution in a country where the bourgeoisie was weakest and from which the struggle could spread to other countries.

Thesis 6

Obviously the proletarian revolution can only be victorious on an international scale. It can and must begin where the relationship of forces is most favorable. The thesis that the revolution must begin in the country where capitalism is most developed and then spread to other countries is pure defeatism. But in its refutation of the opportunist position, Marxism poses the historical problem quite differently.

Despite the violent struggles of Chartism in 1848 Marx did not believe that the class revolution would originate in industrial England. He counted on the French proletariat to fight on after the February republican victory. Moreover he thought the process would be accelerated by the **double** revolution in Germany where feudal institutions still held power, and he translated the strategy of the German proletariat into two precise tactics: first with the liberals and the bourgeois, then immediately afterwards, against them.

For at least twenty years, particularly after 1905 when the Russian proletariat came to life as a class, the Bolsheviks fought to apply the same tactic in Russia. This depended on two things: first the decrepitude of feudal institutions which, despite the cowardice of the bourgeoisie, were condemned to collapse, and secondly, the inevitability of defeat in the war of 1914, which, after the war of 1905 with Japan, gave the revolution its second chance.

Being directly linked by doctrine and organization to the parties of countries in which bourgeois regimes had long been

established, the Russian proletarian party committed itself to waging the struggle for a liberal revolution against Czarism and for peasant emancipation from the boyars, and then to leading the Russian working class into power.

In history many revolutions have been lost: some because they did not succeed in seizing power; others because they were ravaged by armed repression (the Paris Commune); still others – without military repression – after a collapse of the social structure (Italian Communes). The double revolution of 1848 in Germany was won militarily and socially at first, but was lost in the second stage. Russia's double revolution triumphed in two phases of civil war (1917 and 1919-21) and in the first stage of the socio-economic struggle, but was beaten in the second – the transition from capitalism to socialism – not as a result of foreign invasion, but because of proletarian defeats outside of Russia (1918-1923). The efforts of the Russian power today are directed not towards socialism, but towards capitalism which is in revolutionary march on Asia.

The proletarian revolution, which could have had its centre in Germany in 1848, and Russia in 1917, probably will not arise again from an event in one country. It is not likely that China, for example, will have such a broad influence, especially since it is already in the process of passing from feudalism to bourgeois regime.

The weak link for a new international revolutionary wave to commence in any particular location, since then could only be constituted by a capitalist country that loses a war.

Counter-Thesis 7

It is clear that the institution of totalitarian regimes in capitalist countries has nothing to do with the counter-revolutions dealt with in theses 2 and 3, or the regimes that they established. On the contrary this was an expected consequence of economic and social concentration of the productive forces. It is therefore treasonous to envision the necessity of a proletarian bloc with the bourgeoisie to restore political and economic liberalism by adopting the method of the Resistance. When conflicts arise between bourgeois states, it is also erroneous to support the side opposing the one that attacks Russia in order to defend a regime that, "after all", was created by a victory of the proletariat. In any case, the outcome of the second imperialist world war could have no possible influence on the prospects of the class struggle and the resurgence of the revolution.

Thesis 7

It is correct, but insufficient, to say that the justifications of World War II as a "crusade", a conflict of "ideologies", a

defense of democracy against fascism, were as mystifying as those of 1914 that glorified liberty, civilization and nationality. These propaganda formulas concealed the same aim in both wars; the conquest of new markets, political and economic supremacy. However, capitalism will not fall without a series of explosions in the **unitary systems** which are the territorial class states. It is this process that must be analyzed and, if possible, hastened.

It cannot be hastened by a political or military solidarity between the proletariat and its bourgeoisie in the phase of imperialist wars. It is nonetheless important to decipher the process and adapt the strategy of the revolutionary International to it. The Russian policy has replaced this principled orientation with cynical alliances by the "Soviet" state, which clearly shows that the USSR is part of the constellation of world capitalism. This is the proletarian movement's point of departure; it is an arduous, difficult road, and the first step is to understand.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Moscow concluded a treaty with Berlin. The importance of this historic event cannot be stressed enough, especially as it was accompanied by "Marxist" arguments regarding the imperialist and aggressive nature of the war conducted by London and Paris, with a call to communist parties in both blocs not to support the war effort.

Two years later, Moscow allied itself with London, Paris and Washington, and devoted all its propaganda to showing that the Allied campaign against the Axis powers was **not imperialist**, but an ideological crusade for freedom and democracy.

It is of the greatest importance for the proletarian movement not only to establish that revolutionary tactics were abandoned in both cases, but also to understand that the Russian state, while acquiring the forces and resources with which to advance in a capitalist direction, also helped to bring about the most conservative outcome to the war. In fact, through a gigantic military effort, it helped England to escape ruin, thereby enabling it to weather the storm once again unscathed. The defeat **at least** of England would have been a very favorable condition for the fall of the other bourgeois states, beginning with Germany, and for the spread of the revolutionary conflagration through Europe.

Counter-Thesis 8

The current antagonism between the United States and Russia (followed by their respective satellites) should not be viewed as anything but two imperialist countries to be combated with equal force. By no means would a victory of one rather than the other – or a lasting com-

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promise – create very different conditions for the revival of the communist movement and for the world revolution.

Thesis 8

The equivalence can only be accepted insofar as it signifies condemnation of any support to capitalist states in a possible third world war, any participation in a partisan war in either camp, and any directive that might lead the proletariat to renounce autonomous defeatist actions wherever it has enough strength. On the other hand, to go beyond this would be not only a false position, but an insane one as well. There can be no Marxist party without a clear vision of the path that leads to the world revolution, even if history withholds favorable conditions for a time. We can never achieve such a vision unless we ask ourselves why there have never been revolutionary struggles between capitalists and proletariat in the United States and Great Britain, vital centers of capitalism. It is not possible to answer this question unless we relate this to the observation of the success of all the imperialist enterprises of exploitation of the rest of the world.

Two blocks appeared; in the first, the systems of power in America and England have no other objective than the preservation of world capitalism; they are prepared for it by a long historical *living force* of movement in the same direction and they go with a sure step towards social and political totalitarianism (inevitable premise of the final antagonist clash); in the satellites of this bloc we have an advanced bourgeois regime.

In the second, the conditions are the opposite: we find the European and extra-European territories where the more recent bourgeoisie still struggles socially and politically against the feudal remnants; the state formations there are young and of less solid structure; this bloc is further reduced to using the democratic and collaborationist illusion of the outside classes only; it has already burned all the resources of a single party and totalitarian government, thus shortening the cycle. It will obviously enter into crisis as soon as crumbles the formidable capitalist system whose center is in Washington, and which controls five-sixths of the area in which the economy is ripe for socialism and the class of pure proletarians is numerically large.

The success of the revolution will depend upon a civil war in the United States, which an American victory in a new world war would delayed by a period

that can be measured in half centuries.

Since the authentic Marxist movement today possesses insignificant forces, it is not able to send large proletarian forces destroy from within any of these blocks even though, in principle, this is one of its tasks. Its primary function is to organize (necessarily small) groups of proletarians who have understood the key role played by Moscow and the parties in its orbit over the past thirty years in consolidating capitalist power in the largest states – which it did first by applying tactics of betrayal, then by sacrificing tens of millions of proletarians in the second imperialist war. They bear the greatest responsibility for tying the masses to an illusory perspective of well-being and freedom under the capitalist regime and “western Christian civilization”.

The way in which the proletariat under Moscow's influence “fights” this cursed civilization in the western countries, is, in fact, the best guarantee of its survival, even if it is the East bloc countries that initiate a third imperialist war.

ECONOMIC COUNTER-THESES AND THESES

Counter-Thesis 1

The cycle of the capitalist economy gradually reduces the workers' standard of living, finally leaving them no more than they require to stay alive.

Thesis 1

In Marxist theory, wealth is increasingly concentrated in an ever diminishing number of large units under capitalism, thereby producing a growing impoverishment of the masses. However this theory does not deny that the capitalist system of production has considerably expanded production of consumer goods by liquidating small scale production and local consumption and, accordingly, satisfied the needs of all classes on a gradually expanding scale. But Marxist theory states that in so doing, the anarchy of bourgeois production wastes nine-tenths of these colossal energies, mercilessly expropriates all small holders of reserves of consumer goods, and thus vastly increases the number of people without reserves who must spend their earnings from one day to the next, such that the greater part of mankind is defenseless against the phenomena inherent in the capitalist system – such as economic and social crises and the horrible destruction caused by war – defenseless against the bourgeois policy of

intensified class dictatorship, predicted more than a century ago.

Counter-Thesis 2

Capitalism no longer exists when the worker receives that part of the surplus value which has been extorted from him (the entire product of labor).

Thesis 2

Capitalism no longer exists when the collective of workers receives not the ten percent of the profit that is consumed by the capitalist class, but the ninety percent that is wasted by the economic anarchy of capitalism. This is not achieved by a different method of accounting for exchange values exchanged but by depriving consumer goods of their character as commodities, by abolishing money wages and organizing general productive activity on a centralized, planned basis.

Counter-Thesis 3

Capitalism no longer exists when groups of producers controls over and manage all the single enterprises, which trade freely between them.

Thesis 3

The system advocated by cooperativists, syndicalists and libertarians, i.e., exchange of commodities between free and autonomous enterprises, is neither historically possible nor theoretically socialist. In the capitalist era this would even be retrograde in a number of sectors already organized on a large scale in response to technological advance and the complexity of social life. Socialism or communism exists only when the entire society forms a single association of producers and consumers. Any economic system based on autonomous productive units perpetuates both factory despotism and the anarchic adaptation of expended labor to the consumption needs of the members of society. The labor expended today is at least ten times greater than is necessary.

Counter-Thesis 4

State management of the economy and state-run enterprises do not constitute socialism, but they modify the character of capitalism that was studied by Marx. They therefore also modify the perspective for its demise by pointing to a third, unexpected form of **post-capitalism**.

Thesis 4

The demand for economic neutrality of the state was put forward by the bourgeoisie against the feudal state. Marxism

has demonstrated that the modern state does not represent all of society; it represents only the ruling class, i.e., the capitalist class. From the very beginning, it showed that the capitalist state is an **economic force** in the hands of capital and the capitalist class. State intervention and state capitalism represent the submission of the political state to private capital. The only prospect that they hold out is the predicted aggravation of class antagonisms and the final explosion, which is a confrontation not between a mere majority and a minority, but between physical forces, between the proletariat organized into a revolutionary party and the existing state.

Counter-Thesis 5

Given the unforeseen character of the modern form of economy, Marxism must, if it wishes to remain valid, seek a third class which comes to power after the bourgeoisie – the individual owner of capital – has all but disappeared, and which is not the proletariat. This class, which rules in Russia and enjoys privileged status, is the **bureaucracy**. In America it is the class of **managers**, i.e., the technical and administrative corporate executives.

Thesis 5

Every class regime has had its administrative, judicial, religious and military bureaucracy. As a whole, this bureaucra-

cy is an instrument of the class in power, but it is not a class, because a class is a group of individuals that have an analogous relationship to the means of production and consumption. No longer able to feed its own servants (*the Manifesto*), the class of slave owners had already begun to break apart, even though the imperial bureaucracy still ruled, combated and cruelly repressed the anti-slave revolution. Many of the aristocracy had already had a taste of the guillotine even though the military and clerical structures of the state were still fighting to preserve the **ancient regime**. It is impossible to speak of a bureaucracy in Russia without introducing an arbitrary distinction between the big-wigs and the rest of the population. In state capitalism, **everyone** is a bureaucrat. The enigmatic Russian bureaucracy and the American “managerial class” are only instruments without an independent existence or history, which world capital uses against the working class. The class antagonism tends to assume a form that confirms the Marxist prognosis and interpretation of economic, social and political phenomena and disproves all pre-Marxist theories. In no way does it confirm any of the new schemas, which are nothing more than products of the reigning confusion.

PHILOSOPHICAL COUNTER-THESES AND THESES

Counter-Thesis 1

Since opinions are determined by economic interest, in modern society the bourgeois party represents capitalist interests, and the party made up of workers represents socialism. All problems can therefore be resolved by means of consultation, not of all citizens – the bourgeois lie of democracy – but of all workers, whose interests are identical and whose majority has a clear vision of its general future.

Thesis 1

In every epoch, the dominant opinions, culture, art, religion and philosophy are determined by the position of human beings in the system of production, and by the resulting social relations. Consequently, in every epoch, especially at the apogee of any given historical cycle, all individuals tend to hold opinions that not only are not eternal truths and do not originate from an enlightenment of the mind, but are, in reality, alien to the interests of the individual, category or class, because they are, to a great extent, modeled on the interests of the ruling class and the institutions it has created.

Only after a long, painful conflict between interests and needs, after long physical battles caused by class antago-

nisms, does a new point of view characteristic of the oppressed class form. This new doctrine attacks the ideological defense of the established order and strives to destroy it by means of violence. The physical victory is only a prelude to a long period in which traditional influences and lies are dismantled. For a long time to come, only a minority of the liberated class is able to take a resolute position on the path of the new course of history.

Counter-Thesis 2

Class interest determines class consciousness, and consciousness determines revolutionary action. The expression “inversion of praxis” signifies the opposition between bourgeois doctrines, which hold that each citizen forms his own political opinion for ideal or cultural reasons, and acts according to this opinion, even against his group interests, and the Marxist doctrine, which states that each individual’s personal opinion is dictated by group and class interests.

Thesis 2

In the correct conception of Marxist determinism, the inversion of praxis signifies that each individual acts according to contingent determinations (which are not only physiological needs, but include many influences from traditional forms of production). He only tends to have a more or less imperfect “consciousness” of his own action and its motives after having acted. This also holds for collective action, which occurs first as a spontaneous form under the influence of material conditions before being formulated in the form of an ideology. On the other hand, the class **party** is made up of the vanguard elements of the class and society who possess a theory enabling them to predict the course of history. The party, which does not act on the basis of whim or momentary enthusiasm, but acts in a rational way, is alone able to intervene in the struggle “consciously” or with “will”, as the philosophers say. The conquest of class power and the dictatorship are functions of the party.

Counter-Thesis 3

The class party constructs the theory of the revolution. When faced with new situations and events, it transforms the theory in response to the needs of the moment and the requirements and tendencies of the class.

Thesis 3

The theory is nothing other than a prediction of the course that will be followed by events that have not yet unfolded, the conditions and premises for which it is possible to recognize in the preceding phase. A revolutionary class struggle and the party that represents it

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are real facts (and not a theoretical illusion) to the extent that the new theory forms in Toto when the class appears in history alongside the new system of forms of social production. The continuity, in time and space, of the class theory and party, is the proof of the correctness of the revolutionary prediction.

Every physical defeat of the forces of the revolution is followed by a period of disarray that manifests itself as a revision of specific aspects of the doctrine, which the revisionists attempt to justify by claiming that new facts or events have appeared in the meantime.

The correctness of the revolutionary theory will be revealed if and only if, once the historical course is completed, there is confirmation that after each physical defeat the revolutionary forces are re-constituted on the same basis and program defined when class war was "declared" (1848).

For Marxists, to attempt to renew or modify the theory is to admit one has deserted it. The theory is not a philosophical or scientific fantasy that demonstrates a "truth", but a sum of historical lessons derived from the century-old struggle of the modern proletariat.

* * *

These few brief notions have been developed and explained in a number of party texts and reports to congresses and meetings. The fact that we have had to cut off dangerous improvisations does not mean that this work can be considered a monopoly or exclusive privilege of any individual. These questions can certainly be re-ordered more carefully and explained in more detail. With patience and work – seven hours a week for seven years – we could do better. If then stage burners come, and in bunches, we will repeat what the notoriously emotionless Zinoviev said : such people come only once every five hundred years– and he spoke of Lenin.

We will wait for their embalming; we are not living up to them.

(1) "The legs of the dogs". This refers to the Italian expression "raddrizzare le gambe ai cani" (to straighten the legs of the dogs) which means to do something impossible. Bordiga thought that it was impossible to get the confusionists back on the right track.

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.