

the proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

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Supplement to «le prolétaire» Nr. 459

WHAT DISTINGUISHES OUR PARTY is the political continuity which goes from Marx to Lenin, to the foundation of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Italy (Livorno, 1921); the 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 the Popular Fronts and the Resistance blocs; the difficult task of restoring the revolutionary doctrine and organization in close interrelationship with the working class, against personal and electoral politics.	- programme communiste - Theoretical review of the ICP - le prolétaire - Bimonthly - One copy €1-£1-Sfr3	- il comunista - Bimonthly - One copy €1,5-£1,5-Sfr 5 - el programa comunista - Theoretical review - One copy €3-£2-8FS	the proletarian Nr 1 February 2002
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ATTACKS AGAINST THE U.S.A. : ONLY THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS' STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM WILL END THE BOURGEOIS TERROR AND MASSACRES

The attacks which destroyed both giant skyscrapers in New York City and a wing of the Pentagon have been immediately defined as fundamentalist attacks against the defender country par excellence of «freedom», «democracy» and «civilization». These attacks, mainly directed against spectacular civil objectives with the intention of provoking thousands of deaths, had probably the aim of demonstrating that the US super-power is not invulnerable, bringing to its land the despair, horror and sufferings that US bombs have spread all over the world for decades.

Their immediate effect has been to push all the political forces, from left to

right and in practically all countries, to unite to call for the national union of all the citizens to defend the established order against some formidable «evil forces». From the very beginning, the US leaders led the anger of their population against they who, after the disappearance of the Soviet «evil empire», have been chosen as n°1 enemies of the West (Afghanistan, Iraq). In France, implicitly and explicitly, it is the Arab immigrant workers and the unruly youth of the suburbs who have been pointed out as the potential enemies, while the militarization of the country through the «vigilante» plan has the aim of creating a feeling of intimidation towards all who

would risk entering into conflict against the misdeeds of the capitalist system and of its State.

THE NUMBER ONE ENEMY OF HUMANITY IS CAPITALISM!

An unprecedented campaign of propaganda and mobilization of minds is on course in most of the big countries to unite all classes in the population around their leaders and their States in the name of the defence of freedom and of democracy: but democracy means nothing for the bourgeois but the defence of the

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- No to the imperialist action in Yugoslavia! Down with all nationalisms and all bourgeois oppressions! Leaflet published on March 1999
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To our Readers

The aim of this bulletin is to let know to english-speaking readers the political and theoretical positions of our party - the International Communist Party / Le Prolétaire - Il Comunista - which are characterized by the defence of the Communist Program, i.e. the defence of unadulterated Marxism against all kind of revisionism. What distinguished the so-called «Italian Communist Left» since its birth after the first World War, and what distinguishes our party since its reconstitution, is the integral reaffirmation of the **invariant** Marxism as the only and compulsory path to the emancipation of the working class and consequently to the communist society.

This path has its beginning in the reality of the incurable antagonism between the productive forces and the bourgeois relations of production, which is the basis of the no less incurable antagonism between the capitalist class and the working class; it passes through the revolutionary destruction of the bourgeois state to the establishment of the **proletarian dictatorship**. This dictatorship is the instrument for defending the conquered power and repressing the attempts by the defeated class to reconquer it; it also is the weapon for despotically intervening in the economy in order to initiate its transformation from capitalism to socialism.

The indispensable **organ** for preparing the working class for the revolutionary conquest of power and for the exercise of dictatorship after that conquest can only be the party. It has in its doctrine the general vision not only of communist society, the material basis of which is created by capitalism itself, but also of the

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ATTACKS AGAINST THE U.S.A. : ONLY THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM PUT AN END TO THE BOURGEOIS TERROR AND MASSACRES

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capitalist mode of production, which is based on the exploitation of workers, on social inequality, on permanent economic and military violence, on the rule of the planet by the big capitalist powers which plunge most of humanity into extreme poverty, hunger and suffering of all sorts.

These terrorist attacks, so spectacular and so perfectly organized as they are, even if they were not the fruit of interbourgeois rivalries as is the case at the present time, cannot modify this tragic reality: only the international proletarian revolution, involving in the struggle hundreds and hundreds of millions of victims of capitalism, can brave and defeat this inhuman system which plunged humanity into two World Wars and countless local wars and is preparing yet some new ones.

The USA, the biggest imperialist power in the world, which has military bases all over the globe, which has at its disposal the most powerful and the most organized means of security and information, has been struck in the depths of its own territory, as it has never been hit before: New York City's business district, centre of the US and worldwide finance, the beating heart of international capitalism, has been struck hard together with the Pentagon, symbol of the US military all-power – on the decision, it seems, of terrorist hidden in the Afghan mountains!

The US leading circles, through Bush's voice, considered these attacks as a military attack against their country and declared that it was the beginning of the «first war of the XXIth century»; within the terms of NATO's agreements, they asked the diplomatic, economic, financial and military implication of their European allies – and these latter obeyed immediately!

From this moment, things changed, and not in favour of the proletarians of the developed capitalist countries, not in favour of the underprivileged masses from Africa, Asia and Latin America, nor in favour of the poor countries.

The changes are in favour of the most stubborn defence of the most pre-

datory imperialist interests, represented by the USA, truly the planetary police constable of capitalism. The USA has shown its vulnerability; and the biggest imperialist of the world, which never suffered war on its own soil (since its Civil War, one and half centuries ago), cannot admit to a lesser rank in security terms than any other imperialist power of Europe or Asia, because it would be implicitly admitting the end of its uncontested leadership of these allies-competitors and acknowledging a terrible vulnerability with regard even to weakly States or to handfuls of determined people! The US bourgeoisie will take revenge, and those who will «pay the price» will be the workers of the weakest countries, but also the American workers who are already ear-marked for sacrifices.

Once more the workers are called upon to put their own defence interests aside, immediately, to defend the interests of the bourgeois system, of this «democratic» order which has never stopped the horrors of war, of extreme poverty and of hunger for the big majority of humanity. The democratic deception has never been any other than the veil of the most dreadful injustice, mother of all violences: exploitation of human by human, the exploitation more and more frantic of labour required by capital which means accumulation of wealth and profit in a few hands and extreme poverty for the majority.

Under the pretext of the terrorist attacks – which are themselves bourgeois in nature – the reformist parties and organizations act with a renewed energy to get the proletarians to believe that they have the same interests as their class enemies, the super-terrorists that the great imperialist countries and the bourgeois of all countries are; they endeavour to make them accept the capitalist economic demands and to make them surrender all idea of struggle, to make them accept the laws, Justice and the repressive forces which regulate their slavery, and they call them to struggle against some supposed subversives, to emphasize the divisions between national and foreigner proletarians, waiting for tomorrow to mobilize them in a war against the future «enemies of their native country».

The workers – exploited to the bitter end in peace-time, cannon-fodder in war-time – have no interest in defending the constituted bourgeois order, so «democratic» that they claim to be. On the contrary, they have got to realize the trap in which the bourgeois want to lead them and to refuse the mortal union with their exploiters in the name of the «struggle against terrorism»; conversely, they must to unite on a class basis with the workers of all countries to engage without hesitation in the resistance struggle against capitalism which will lead later to the Communist revolution.

NOTO THE SACRED UNION WITH BOURGEOISIE!

NOTO THE SURRENDER OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE!

**NOTO THE INDUSTRIAL PEACE!
YES TO THE UNION BETWEEN PROLETARIANS OF ALL RACES AND ALL COUNTRIES!**

YES TO THE INDEPENDENT PROLETARIAN ORGANISATION AND TO THE RENEWAL OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE!

YES TO THE INTRANSIGENT STRUGGLE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE ONLY PROLETARIAN INTERESTS!

16/09/2001 (Leaflet Supplement to «Le Prolétaire » n° 458)

the texts of the
international communist party

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PARTY AND CLASS

- Theses on the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution (1920)
- Party and Class (1921)
- Party and Class Action (1921)
- Proletarian Dictatorship and Class Party (1951)

communist program publications

To our readers

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historical path leading towards its realization; it embodies in its program the permanent, international interests of the class which is called upon to be the midwife of the new society; and it establishes, according to those aims and interests, its own invariant strategy, its own well-defined tactics and its own rigorously centralized organization.

These strategy and tactics - the basis foundation of which was consistently defended in the West solely by the Communist Left (the founders of the Communist Party of Italy in 1921) in their struggle against the stalinist deterioration of the International - are necessarily **anti-democratic and anti-parlementary, anti-gradualistic and anti-reformist, anti-collaborationist and anti-nationalist**.

They are therefore directly opposed not only to classic reformism, not only to the remnants of its stalinist variety, but also to «far-left» currents which, even if they pretend recognize the necessity of revolutionary violence and overthrow of the bourgeois state, fall back into the negation of the central role of the communist party in the proletarian revolution: in negating this, they destroy the basis for the proletariat's preparation of the revolutionary assault and for the establishment and exercise of the red dictatorship and of red terror.

The necessity of defending and proclaiming this monolithic construction - no part of which can be abandoned without the whole collapsing - is confirmed by the fall of the parties of the Second International into the *Union Sacrée* during the first World War and by the catastrophe of the stalinized Third International and by the world triumph of an imperialism in democratic clothing and of its pillar and policeman, the United States of America.

The international vanguard of the proletariat, the single World Communist Party, can be recreated and reorganized only around this theoretical and programmatic construction, if a way is to finally be open out of the longest and most terrible counter-revolution of contemporary history.

It is to this task that we dedicate ourselves, and to which we appeal the vanguard workers and militants of all countries.

CAPITALISM IS INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL THE ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLE MUST BE INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL

Workers!

Capitalism is an international mode of production, which by nature, in its increasing development, penetrates all the nooks, even the most isolated, of the world. Born in the national bounds, it could only develop internationally. In its first stage of development, which squared with the period called «free competition», the industrial capitalism conquered the world and served as a springboard for the development of the financial capital, which, in the present imperialist stage, dominates all the economic, industrial, agricultural and commercial realms, all the big or small firms. The imperialist stage shows all the power of capitalism, which, revolutionary in the beginning, became afterwards and from a long time ago, counter-revolutionary. This transformation is not due to the tendency of capital to internationalize - a tendency historically revolutionary - but its basic limitation; not only is capitalism not able to resolve its own contradictions but it always worsens. In a word, it is not able to surpass itself; a crisis is only over when it has created the causes of crisis more serious and more widespread.

At the present time, in the imperialist stage, the interests of the big monopolist groups and of the big States have no longer as an arena the national market but directly the global market. Some tens of thousands of big trusts, based in the most developed capitalist countries (more numerous in Europe than in the USA), which dictate their trends to their national States, hold in their hands the destiny of all the human beings! The big monopolies, the big financial holdings, represented by the big imperialist States (USA, Japan, Germany, UK, France, Italy, Canada, Russia), transformed the «free competition» between firms on the global market into a competition between gigantic global financial oligarchies, which resulted in a gigantic increase at the level of the clash of interests at international level.

We shall not wait very long before a ninth country is added to these 8 countries: China. By reason of the importance of its national market, the latter no doubt means a short-term safety-valve for the global economy tortured by over-production; but at a date not so far off,

China will be an imperialist competitor of outstanding importance, increasing in this way the factors of crisis, contradictions and confrontations on the global scene.

With regard to the last century, it is not the type of economy that has changed: it is always capitalism, becoming developed at a superior stage. The general interest and the aims of capitalism - in so far as mode of production and society organized in its own image and for its profit - are basically always the same: accumulation of capital, production and reproduction of capital, against all difficulty, that is economic, social, environmentalist, cultural or military. The «globalization» is not a new stage, unknown, to capitalism; it is the expression of the process of imperialist development of capitalism, which has not yet been stopped and overturned by the international proletarian revolution.

**CAPITALISM IS NOT
REFORMABLE!**

Workers!

Since the second imperialist global bloodbath, it is the theatre of the inter-imperialist conflicts that has changed. During 45 long years, the world was divided in two spheres of influence, the USA having acceded to the status of first global power. If this Russo-American condominium was not able to avoid the success of some big and hard anti-colonialist struggles, it was still successful in stopping the only genuine possibility of real struggle against capitalism - the revolutionary class struggle of the workers of all countries, united above the national borders built up by the different bourgeoisies to defend their specific interests. Now, more than ten years after the collapse of this condominium, with an economically weaker but more and more integrated Russia in the global market, and with China which is making giant strides forward towards the same integration, they would want us to believe that the most developed industrial countries, genuine masters of the world, have just one and only worry, to find between them a stable balance which could benefit

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CAPITALISM IS INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL THE ANTI-CAPITALIS STRUGGLE MUST BE INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL

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all countries, including the poorest and the most deprived! There is no lie more impudent!

In Goteborg, Berlusconi, the new Prime Minister of Italy, says (and his Foreign Secretary repeated it) that the preoccupations of hundreds of the consortiums which contest the rule of the big international trusts and of their States, are the same as the preoccupations of these trusts and these States. Nobody believes it! What can be the result of the «dialogue» between the interests of the international financial oligarchies and the necessities of survival and development of the 150 countries whose the populations are reduced to hunger and to extreme poverty precisely because of the rule of these imperialist States and of thousands of «multinational companies» defended by these States?

As usual, the groups which contest the multinational companies' supremacy (but which forget almost always the States which defend their interests on the diplomatic, economic or military plans) claim the right to the free determination of the peoples, to a «durable» development in a «fair» market: the illusion that it is possible to reform capitalism, to attenuate its sharpest contradictions under the pressure of a groundswell of opinion, of the mobilization of consciences, in a pacifist and interclassist bounds, is difficult to surmount.

Unfortunately, because of decades of interclassist opportunist stifling, the present-day youth cannot know the class tradition of the workers' movement which brought to the foreground the defence of proletarian interests, through an open struggle, without thinking of begging the boss or of holding a dialogue democratically between «social partners» (i.e. employers and trade-unions). It was a warning that the enemy of class was not hesitating to use all means, from the dialogue to the repression, from the provocation to the reformist deviation, to obtain its basic aim: the social and political control of the proletariat.

Why is it vital for the bourgeoisie to submit the working class to its interests - always disguised under the mask of patriotism, of solidarity between the rich and the poor, of democratic debate and of pacifist coexistence? To have the power to extort from wage labour some

bigger and bigger quantities of surplus-value, i.e. of profit, that the capitalist collects thanks to the more and more intense exploitation of the wage labour, genuine modern slavery.

And this exploitation increased enormously with the development of imperialism and of capitals «globalization», so much so that the most advanced capitalist States subjected to their interests, i.e. to those of the thousands of multinational companies, the many backward capitalist countries. The market is

as indispensable as the water for the fish: without market, the capital circulates no longer, multiplies no longer, and exists no longer. And on the market, the biggest and the most defended by the strongest States, endowed not only of complicated economic and political apparatuses but also of efficacious and vigorous armies, get the better of the weaker capital.

To believe that the market can become «fair» and «responsible», and owing to the willingness of the powerful, is like believing that the big fish can give up eating the smaller. It is not capitalism which decides the rules of capitalism: inversely, it is itself which is the product of capitalism! The different modes of production known to humanity have been the result of more or less long and complicated social transformations, not from the decision of some geniuses or leaders. It is for these historical and material reasons that the mode of capitalist production - therefore the market, the value, the profit, the money, the exploitation of the wage labour - cannot be diverted towards social aims which are not its own and that it cannot eliminate the necessary consequences of its own existence: the inequality between human beings, nations and States;

the wars; the increasing extreme poverty; the hunger and the despair for the most part of humanity; the pollution and the destruction of the environment.

And it is for some determined historical and material reasons that capitalism could be overtaken so as to give way to a really responsible and harmonious society - the society of human beings, communism - by means of the international class struggle of the workers of all countries, and at first of the workers of the developed capitalist countries which dominate the planet. The possibility of changing the world does not rest in bourgeois democracy, it does not fall within the domain of charitable

and religious institutions, it does not depend on the willingness of the parties in power; it rests especially in the open anti-capitalist struggle that only the proletariat, the class of the wage slaves, could lead through its class and independent organization, its political party.

**THE REVIVAL OF THE
INDEPENDENT AND PROLETARIAN
CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY
WAY TO FIGHT IN FAMES OF
CAPITALISM!**

Workers!

To be against the rule of the multinational companies and especially of the 8 or 9 most powerful States of the world, in defence of the thousands of oppressed peoples, in defence of the environment and the life under all the skies is a first step of the criticism of the status-quo, of the resistance to the pressure and the oppression of capitalism against human beings. But continuing in the way of the reformist and democratic illusions, all these energies are doomed to failure; we will attend unavoidably at the reflux of the movements relating to the events of May 1968 or of the anti-nuclear movements: the bourgeois democracy with its thousand expedients can easily annihilate all the movements which did not break with it.

The most difficult but the most efficacious way of the anti-capitalist resistance and the struggle against all the oppressions - those of the national firms and the multinational companies, of the imperialist States outward of their borders and of the national States even weak, of the bourgeoisie of the country which colonizes us and of our own bourgeoisie - is the way of the class struggle: i.e. the struggle that leads the proletariat organized in defence of its only class interests, at first immediate and after more political and general. These are the material conditions of the waged workers existing everywhere on the planet, which objectively unite all the workers of the world.

It is the reason why the war cry of the revolutionary communism has been since its beginning:

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES,
UNITE!**

(Extracts from a manifesto distributed in Genoa on July 2001)

El programa comunista Nr44 - Septiembre 2001 Summary

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NUMERO 44

Septiembre 2001

el programa comunista

ORGANO DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA INTERNACIONAL

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IL COMUNISTA

Organ of the ICP in italian -
Bimestrale - Nr 78 Feb' 2002
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-L'imperialismo mobilita il patriottismo. La classe proletaria deve rispondere con il suo internazionalismo -Sulla lotta dei metalmeccanici per il contratto -Argentina. I cacerolazos hanno rovesciato il presidente. Per rovesciare il potere borghese, e il capitalismo, occorre la lotta di classe -L'Italia va alla guerra ... -Il partito di classe, nella tradizione della Sinistra comunista italiana e nel tormentato corso storico della sua ricostituzione a livello internazionale (Resoconto sommario della riunione generale tenuta a Genova, il 5 gennaio 2002) -Argentina, terra di conquista per il capitalismo italiano -Un primo bilancio della lunga serie di lotte dei movimenti del napoletano -Buenos Aires Horror Tour -Micro-onda su onda... -A Marghera, i morti del Petrolchimico continuano a morire. I capitalisti? Assolvetele senza pietà! -Tolosa: una fabbrica esplode, 30 morte e 2500 feriti. Il capitalismo è il mandate, i padroni della AZF, i sicari -Moulinex: senza lotta la sconfitta è sicura - Ricordando Suzanne Voute - Una nuova pubblicazione del partito: «the proletarian»

The Struggle of the International Proletariat Against the Imperialist Strongholds, the Only Means to Help the Palestinian workers and Masses

The violence of the confrontations and the brutality of the Israeli repression show in the statistics of victims: in one month (from 29th September to 27th October) 138 Palestinians were killed and more than 5,000 were wounded, i.e. as many dead than in the course of the first 6 months of the Intifada in 1987 and as many wounded than in one year (at the end of November; this total was more than 200 Palestinian dead against less than 20 Israelis). It is right that if on the Palestinian side, contrary to the first Intifada, we have seen the use of firearms against the Israeli soldiers, the means of the latter has been considerably growing stronger since this period: the media related the recourse to arms with real munitions to shoot demonstrators, the systematic use of sharpshooters (marksmen), the use of armour, of tanks and helicopter gunships (at first to intimidate, later to assassinate some officials), etc...

Other typical facts of the current situation: contrary to that which happened during the first Intifada, this time the Palestinian citizens of Israel (who represent around 20% of the Israeli population) protested massively in some demonstrations, some brawls and a general strike; in answer, they"have been victims of real pogroms and of brutal repression by the police which left 13 dead people, hundreds of wounded and about 500 arrests (the exact number of these arrests which aim to terrorise the population is unknown).

UNO and the Arabic or the Western (including the USA, during the last period) countries reproached a «disproportionate use of violence» (sic!) to Israel. Many press articles show what is a deliberate will of the Israeli authorities to follow some precise military plans, to shed blood, to apply their traditional policy of collective punishment, of the law of retaliation, to break down the demonstrators' resistance, without having to crush militarily the Palestinian territories as the colonists call for, that which would be without problem from the military point of view, but would lead to the fall back into the quicksand of an occupation of these territories which were liberated by the Oslo Accords.

IT IS THE OPPRESSION WHICH SETS OFF THE REVOLT

That new Intifada followed the visit of the Israeli right wing leader, Sharon, the Sabra and Shatila's butcher (now Prime Minister), surrounded by a thousand policemen, to a Muslim religious site in Jerusalem («The Esplanade of the Mosques») for which he claims the annexation because it is on the old Jewish sacred site's location («The Temple Mount»). The brutal repression by Israeli policemen shooting against the Palestinian demonstrators without arms and killing 7 among them, sparked off a crisis.

For the Israeli propaganda, it is Arafat and the «Palestinian Authority» (diplomatic expression to describe the embryo government which governs the autonomous Palestinian territories) who decided to launch these events because they were refusing to make the concessions necessary for peace. For the Palestinian officials, the new Intifada cause is the refusal of the Barak government to respect the promises made as a part of the

«peace process». For others, it is the matter of religious war which overflowed from each side, the volunteers passionate about freedom. And all call for renewal of the process initiated by the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993 by Arafat and Rabin.

REALITY OF THE ISRAELI COLONISATION

The reality is very different. We wrote, 7 years ago, at the time of the signing of these Accords, that they would not put an end either to the oppression of the Palestinian or to their revolt against this oppression (1). In fact, it concerned fundamentally an Israeli colonisation acknowledgement by the Palestinian bourgeoisie represented by the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation – Front amalgamating all the national organisations around the main El Fatah) in exchange for the hope of entrusting the administration of a mini-State which could only

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The Struggle of the International Proletariat Against the Imperialist Strongholds, the Only Means to Help the Palestinian Proletarians and Masses

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be a bantustan – these pseudo-independent enclaves created by the racist South Africa to herd together there the Black labourers. The colonisation policy of the territories conquered by Israel in 1967 has been continuing and accelerating even with the peace process: from 110,000 to 154,000 and in the Gaza Strip from 3,000 to 5,500. The government of Rabin (who was assassinated by an extremist colonist) has organised a cutting of the West Bank into zones A, B and C in which the A zones under Palestinian control (10% of the territory) were surrounded by B zones (where the Israeli military has been reserving the right to have their own way) and C (where the Israeli occupation is total).

The coming to power of a right wing government (Netanyahu) in 1996 was translated by an increase of the colonisation with the establishment of new colonies around the Palestinian zones, an acceleration of the «judeisation» of Jerusalem, an intensifying of the anti-Palestinian repression (for instance, cynical legalisation of the torture which was practised from the very beginning). The arrival of the government of the labourite Barak in 1999 was greeted like a return to the peace process after the years of freezing of Netanyahu's government. But immediately, the labour leader showed that he was well situated in the lineage of all his predecessors, authorising the continuation of the colonisation policy and particularly around Jerusalem (2,600 new homes built in the West Bank during the first three months of his government) with the intention to isolate the Arabic area of the city from the Palestinian territories: the final annexation of Jerusalem (acknowledged by only one State in the world: Costa Rica!) is a central aim of the right and left wing Israeli governments. Afterwards Barak refused to execute some transfer of territories to the Palestinians promised by Netanyahu himself at the time of the Wye River Agreements (October 1998). In autumn 2000, even when the «peace negotiations» were supposed to continue, Barak's government was including in the next year's budget \$300 M to continue the colonies' development.

In a word, all the successive Israeli governments, even those led by so called «peace partisans», followed the same politics of territorial expansion and of expropriation of Palestinians – demon-

strating how these politics are fundamental to the ruling class. Commanding a crushing balance of military power, certain of the constant support of the US imperialism which has been financing a great part of its Government's budget (Israel is the first recipient of the American foreign assistance), while the Arabic States were raising at most, only platonic protestations, the Israeli bourgeoisie has been occupying with bigger and bigger demands to the Palestinian leaders.

The «peace process» allowed consequently the continuation of the colonisation (the number of Israeli colonists is now 200,000, having practically doubled since the beginning of the process), the legitimisation of most of the Israeli conquest, while allowing the Hebrew State to get out of the scrape of the policing in the Gaza Strip and in the main Palestinian agglomerations: it was a strengthening of the Israeli State, which is not only a colonialist State but also a very powerful police constable of the imperialism in a Middle East tormented by contradictions of all kinds, a real soft belly of the world imperialist order.

THE PALESTINIAN BOURGEOIS' HYPOCRISY

For their part, the Palestinian bourgeois represented by PLO had for a long time no other prospects than to solicit from Israel and its imperialist godfathers the obtaining of a State, however small it may be. To draw near to this aim, they sacrificed cheerfully the destiny of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who have been sunk in the camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria (more than 2 millions in total); they had accepted the tasks to maintain law and order for Israel, in close collaboration with the Israeli secret services and the American CIA, in the territories under Palestinian control. They had accepted that their future State (demilitarised) extends just on 20% of the territory claimed in the past and, meanwhile, that they be granted only mini-bantustans all the existence of which depends on the goodwill of Israel: as a matter of fact it controls the money, the labour market, the water, the electricity, the imports and exports, collects customs and VAT duties for the Palestinians, exercising a continuous blackmail on the finances of the «Palestinian entity», etc...

At the Camp David summit in July

2000, the Israeli negotiators tried to extort new concessions – about Jerusalem and about the Jewish colonies – for the promise to acknowledge at last a Palestinian state. But already discredited (Arafat was called the «Palestinian Pétain», i.e. a pure and simple collaborator of Zionist colonialism, by his opponents), the Palestinian authorities could not accept a new Israeli colonial expansion without losing all legitimacy. On the contrary, their refusal to yield to the Israeli and American pressures in Camp David, then their flaunted support for the new Intifada allowed them to recover, it seems, a certain trust among the population. In the field, a «National and Islamic Forces» Committee' controlled by them gathers every day to co-ordinate demonstrations at which the Fatha's Militias (the Arafat's party) seem to play a deciding politic part (3).

But their military action is minimal and the Palestinian Authorities have been taking care not to use the only real existing forces, their 30,000 policemen, to defend the demonstrators and to fight against the Israeli soldiers. Their appeals for the continuation of the Intifada until the end of the Israeli occupation are nothing but an hypocritical masquerade because the enemy that they fear the most, the one they keep in reserve their policemen for, is not the Israeli army or colonists, but the Palestinian workers and deprived masses.

The territories under Palestinian self-government, (autonomy) and particularly the Gaza Strip where live more than 1 million people (including more than 400,000 in refugee camps) while 20 to 30% of this overpopulated territory is occupied by 5,000 colonists protected by the Israeli army, are real powder kegs by reason of the miserable living and working conditions of their inhabitants. Above all they are a cheap labour reserve: more than 120,000 workers leave the Territories every day to work in Israel - when there is not a blockade by the Israeli army. Since the Oslo Accords, the situation for the masses has not ceased to degrade in these territories; the GNP per inhabitant fell by 15%, unemployment increased to reach 20% in the West Bank and 27.3% in the Gaza Strip officially and probably far more in reality. But while the workers' situation deteriorated, a layer bound to the mini apparatus of the Palestinian State succeeded in growing richer quickly and integrating the bourgeoisie

close to landowners and traditional families of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, nourishing the accusations of corruption often articulated by the Islamic opposition against the Authorities and digging the social abyss among the Palestinian people.

The growing discontent towards the Palestinian Authorities who established a repressive regime (with the advice and with the collaboration of the Israeli and American secret services) and the disillusion facing the traditional nationalist organisations which exchanged the fighter uniform for distinguished costume, have been actually at the origin of the development of the Islamic fundamentalists' influence, exalted by their refusal to collaborate with Israel, and their suicide-attacks in the middle of the Nineties. But, as bourgeois as they are, the Islamists could not represent an alternative to the nationalist movements. If some of its extremist members are still in Arafat's prisons, that did not prevent the Hamas' fundamentalists to quickly stop their opposition to the Palestinian Authorities and to rallying to the perspective of the Lilliputian Palestinian State. They were the absentees of the beginning of the new Intifadah.

**ONLY THE INTERNATIONAL
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CAN
BREAK THE STRANGLEHOLD
THAT CRUSHES THE
PALESTINIAN PEOPLE**

None of the splinter groups of the Palestinian bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, whether they are nationalist, secular or Islamicist are concerned about the Palestinian workers and the poor masses. Only interested to obtain from Israel and its godfathers the donation of their mini-State where they could develop their small capitalism, i.e. exploit their own workers, do their business, they all demonstrated their servility before the imperialist order. If they pretend now to take again some combative slogans, to encourage the Intifada, it is not because they would become again revolutionary (we are speaking here of **bourgeois** revolution: they were always ferociously opposed to **proletarian** revolution), but because they hope to use the blood of the victims of the repression in the futur bargainings which are their only perspective.

Sooner or later, the current Intifada will make room for new negotiations, new agreements. Maybe the Palestinian bourgeoisie will succeed in obtaining that the imperialists, anxious to calm down ten-

sion in the region, will persuade the Israelis that some concessions are necessary; maybe a Palestinian State will be created on dispersed territories. But the obtaining of this «historic» aim for the bourgeoisie will not be a victory for the workers: this State will be nothing more than a capitalist prison, with the only difference that it will inflict living and working conditions much harder for the proletarian masses put under the double yoke of the Palestinian and Israeli armed forces.

Contrary to the idiotic pacifist propaganda, the Palestinian masses' salvation does not depend on a «return to reason» of the leaders of both camps, or from the Israeli camp, finally deciding to establish a really «just and equitable peace» respectful of the «rights» of everybody: the conflict of interests and the social antagonisms that capitalism breeds inevitably are not resolved by appeal to the finer feelings or to some abstract juridical or moral rules but in the field of force. All the turbulent history of the Middle East has given a demonstration especially irrefutable. As much as the method of capitalist production will dominate the planet, the exploitation, the oppression, the extreme poverty and the violence will not know any end; as much as the imperialist order will remain, wars and slaughter will not cease.

But against these tremendous opponents, there is a force capable of breaking free of oppression, of bringing down all the bourgeois States, of putting an end to the martyrdom of the exploited masses in the Middle East as elsewhere. This force is the one of the international proletariat reviving its class struggle, rallying around its reconstituted revolutionary party and holding a fraternal hand to the oppressed all over the world.

The renewal of the classist revolutionary struggle in the heart of the imperialist metropolis is the only real solution to loosen the mortal bench vice which lies heavy on the Palestinian proletarians and semi-proletarians, the only way to bring them efficacious help. It would show them that there exists an alternative other than the desperate acts, another way than the religious or nationalist impasse: the union of workers beyond frontiers in a common fight against the international capitalist system. Weakening the imperialists power the revolutionary class struggle would make more difficult the assistance that they bring to the Israeli State and which strengthens the national union in the name of the **Jewish privilege** in this country, giving it its special solidarity: it would be a decisive contribution at the rupture of the classes' bloc, i.e. at

the birth of the proletarian class struggle of the Jewish proletariat, the condition that it becomes receptive to the needs of the solidarity with the masses oppressed by its own bourgeoisie.

The solution of the problems of the humanity depends on the awakening of the proletariat of the big capitalist countries that dominate the planet. The oppressed in Palestine and of everywhere who without count shed their blood in the struggle against the oppression urgently need this awakening and this revival of class struggle. To help them, there is no more urgent task than working on here to prepare this renewal of class struggle, to reconstitute its fundamental organ, the future World Communist Party which will unify all the struggles against oppression and exploitation, to led the decisive attack against the imperialist citadels to break for ever this inhuman bourgeois society and to avenge its countless victims.

(«Le Prolétaire» n°455 Oct.-Nov.-Dec. 2000)

(1) «Le Prolétaire» no. 423 (October-November 1993).

(2) «They put our head in the noose» claimed an official of the Ministry of Planning, commenting on these events, in «Libération», 20/10/2000. But, in reality, who put his head in the noose deliberately, except the Palestinian bourgeoisie of PLO? And, especially, who agreed to put the rope on the neck of the masses?

(3) «Le Monde», 06/11/2000. The Palestinian bourgeoisie learnt well the lessons of the first Intifada which escaped all control, and they have been doing everything possible to avoid being outflanked.

(4) In 1993, when the impetus of the Intifada was developing the fundamentalist movement Hamas, we wrote: «the same causes (the exhaustion of the slight combative desires of the Palestinian bourgeois and petty-bourgeois) producing the same effects, the fundamentalist bourgeois organisation is unavoidably doomed to cover again the same trajectory who capitulate facing imperialism and Zionism) than the nationalist bourgeois organisations; the only difference being that Hamas risks covering it again yet faster.» «Le Prolétaire» no. 420 (March-April 1993).

This prediction is proved with satisfaction by a bourgeois analyst: «More quickly than the nationalist opposition,

Hamas became conscious that the Oslo Accords created a new reality of which it is no use to be unaware (sic!). On the impulse of its moderate wing, the organisation entered into negotiations with the Palestinian Authorities and seems to have achieved a *modus vivendi* which

allowed during the year between 1996 and 1997 the stopping of all the attacks», even if «its margin for manoeuvre depends on the frame of mind which predominates in the Palestinian population» (demagogy obliges that), «Manière de voir» no. 54 p. 17 (Nov. 2000). This con-

formist evolution of Hamas is accompanied by the same evolution of its mentors, the Lebanese Hezbollah and Iran which both accepted tacitly the limits of the Oslo Accords, signing in this way the final reconciliation of the fundamentalist movement with the imperialist order.

Against the Imperialist War in Chechnya

The Russian Workers Must Break with Their Bourgeoisie and fight against the War by reviving the Daily Class Struggle in the Factories, the Cities and the Country!

The very seriously ill and crippled Russian bear showed its claws: since August '99, it has been leading an endless war against the Islamic fundamentalists' guerrilla war in Daghestan, then in Chechnya.

Surrounded on all sides by the rival imperialist powers and more especially by the USA which opened wide breaches in the Russian defences with NATO's help (who extends «protection» up to Ukraine, Azerbaïdjan, Georgia and Moldavia, so up to the Southern Caucasus), Russia risks losing all control on oil-producing territories which surround the Caspian Sea. Oil is always the most important raw material for the capitalist economy, in peacetime as in wartime, and it is not surprising that, at the four cardinal points of the world, the capitalist powers launch all kinds of economic or military schemes not to mention the distant expectation of the Third World War to seize it.

The war started by Russia in Chechnya answers first of all the vital necessity for the Russian imperialist «tooth and nail», (there is no mistake about it, owing to the desperate resistance of the Chechens) its loss of domination in some economic spheres of outstanding importance would bring about a new weakening of the country and would render more powerful the opponents who could seize it. In the competition where imperialism is practised constantly, nobody concedes easily and peacefully their own defeat.

Moreover, the Russia of Yeltsin, or Putin or of anyone else will take the place of the latest, will never abandon the common aim of all the bourgeois countries: to develop where possible their national capitalism in order to ensure that production of the masses is always in consideration of profits and to defend its

region by any means. It does not matter much whether the national capitalism is managed by an openly dictatorial or an openly democratic government, it does not matter much if it is a monarchical, a republican or a military government: the government method is determined not only by the history of the country but also by the requirements of development and defence in the international market of the national capitalism.

Finally, as the general economic situation is especially critical for the majority of masses, not only proletarian and peasant but also petty-bourgeois, the ruling class needed and needs to concentrate the masses' discontent and anger towards easily identifiable aims: the war against the «Islamic terrorism» and its organisers is the result of these politics, all the more efficacious because it is accompanied by massive doses of Grand-Russian chauvinism. The nationalism gets reinforced, even if the war in Chechnya, instead of lasting a few weeks, may last several years.

These are underlying economic reasons which are at the root of the war in Chechnya: «If the war in Chechnya did not exist, it would have to be invented» – affirms a Russian economist (1) – «The conflict is a good thing because it is stabilising the payments balance in the most modern industrial sectors».

Internal political reasons in relation to the proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses crushed by an economic crisis which has lasted for ten years and potentially outraged by a generalised corruption and delinquency, or in relation to the political competition of the different parties: the war allowed the president's party (obscenely called «Unity») to win an electoral success at the Duma (the Parliament), and gently install Yeltsin's substitute to create the conditions of his

victory in the presidential elections behind the National Union flag.

And finally some imperialist political reasons: Moscow cannot give way facing the pressures and the desires of the opponents of Washington, Berlin, London, Rome or Paris, without losing any possibility of continuing to be respected by the G7 imperialists (group of the seven richest – most rapacious – countries in the world) as a power with whom it is necessary to count for the sharing and the new sharing of the areas of influence. It is for the same reasons that Moscow must intimidate the Republics which form part of the Russian Federation (just like the independent States born from the ashes of the USSR) by proof of its military force to dissuade them of all idea of escaping from the Kremlin's domination. Moreover it is not a simple threat but already a reality: at the same time that it was launching the war in Chechnya, Moscow was sending troops in Abkhazia (secessionist province of Georgia which has been searching for Russian protection), in Chechkesia, in Ossetia and in Dagestan (2).

So concerning a bloody war, the pictures and reports which appear in the Western press are there to demonstrate it. It is not the question of the «clean» war that the propaganda described during the bombing of Kosovo (before the statements increased on the random precision bombing or the radioactive pollution of the bombarded areas); it concerns the modern bourgeois war according to its classical methods; before occupying a territory a clean sweep is made and so there is no problem in taking prisoners seeing that among so many slaughtered civilians, there will certainly be some enemy combatants!

In Russia it does not seem that there are demonstrations against the war and

we do not know if in Chechnya there were any movements with a proletarian character against the fundamentalist guerrilla troops and against the Russian invasion. In a situation of exacerbated nationalism, with lack of class struggle and proletarian class organisations in Russia and in the Republics which belong to it, it is difficult to imagine that some proletarian sectors could not be born over night under the action of a well-chosen agitation watchword. It just could be born by the resumption of the immediate class struggle, i.e. emanating from the terrain of the defence of working and living conditions and of the class organisation of this defence.

The proletarian solidarity between Russian workers and Caucasian workers can base their argument on the rupture of the Russian working class with its bourgeoisie: rupture of the industrial peace, rupture with the classes' collaboration, rupture with the ties that bind the proletarians to their capitalist exploiters, that these ties are political, institutional, associative, ideological (racist, nationalist, religious). It is only by the clearest rupture of the Russian proletarians with their bourgeoisie and its aims that the proletarians of the Caucasian countries could believe in their solidarity and follow their example, breaking off also the nationalist ties which join them to their respective bourgeoisie.

SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLES?

With respect to this war, some people have been putting forward the self-determination of the peoples as the revolutionary answer to the Russian military oppression in Chechnya. The question is actually more complex. The problem is not to find, here in Europe, at a desk or before a computer, the right watchword that the Russian and the Chechen proletarians must find on their own. On the contrary, it is a question of linking up to an historic analysis and to the fundamental positions of Marxism which never can confine themselves to a simple claim, especially immediate.

Eighty years after the Bolshevik revolution, 70 years after the capitalist development of the ex-USSR's Republics, it is beyond doubt that the realisation of the democratic bourgeois revolution is no longer the order of the day in Chechnya, in Georgia, in Azerbaidjan or anywhere else. This revolution, owing to the victory of the proletarian revolution in 1917 which assumed the economic tasks (development, controlled during the first years, of the capitalist economy

in industry and in agriculture) and the political tasks (self-determination, republic, etc...) was established. Unfortunately for the European working class like the Russian and the Caucasian working classes, etc..., it was not followed by the Communist Revolution in Europe; and, isolated, the proletarian forces which had conquered power in Russia, succumbed and allowed a new Russian, Caucasian, etc... bourgeoisie to regain the control of the society. And in this way, instead of going toward the voluntary and free fusion of nations as the programme of the proletarian dictatorship dictates it, the working class fell again under the thumb of bourgeois nationalism of the dominant nations and the dominated nations.

The main question is not therefore the self-determination of Chechnya, but the existence or not of revolutionary forces in Russia and in Chechnya on Marxist positions, which defend and represent the proletarian internationalism; it is from this point of view that Lenin led his long battle, including among the revolutionaries, on the question of self-determination (3).

The aim of communists is to surmount the obstacle that bourgeois nationalism constitutes to the union of the workers of different nations. Struggling against all forms of oppression, the communists struggle also against the oppression of a people by another people.

But the struggle against the national oppression can be a bourgeois struggle or a proletarian struggle. It is a bourgeois struggle when it subdues the working class to its own bourgeoisie's nationalism, when it combats all the nationalisms. Lenin was asserting that the communists' policy in the national question includes two ways to apply to the involved workers: one towards the dominant nation's workers and the other towards the dominated nation's workers, with both joining in proletarian internationalism. The proletarian answer is not therefore one only and it is limited still less to a democratic bourgeois claim.

With regard to the concrete example of Poland, then oppressed by Russia and Germany, Lenin explains: «And what follows, obviously, is that internationalist propaganda cannot be the same for the Russians and the Poles if it is to educate both for «united action». The Great-Russian (and German) worker is duty bound unconditionally to insist on Poland's freedom to secede: otherwise he will, in fact, now, be the lackey of Nicholas II or Hindenburg. The Polish worker could insist on secession only conditionally, because to speculate (...)

on the victory of one or the other imperialist bourgeoisie is tantamount to becoming its lackey.» (4). It means that the condition is not to follow any imperialism, but to wage an anti-capitalist struggle against its own national bourgeoisie, however oppressed by another dominant bourgeoisie.

Lenin affirms besides that the point is to recognize the right to the separation and not to advocate the separation in itself: «If we claim the freedom of separation for the Mongols, the Persian, the Egyptians and for all the oppressed nations and wronged in their rights without exception, it is because we are for the bringing together and fusion, by free will, and not under pressure. Only for that!» (5)

It is the unity and fusion of the workers of all nationalities and the victory of the proletarian revolution which will lead the nations to their voluntary unity and fusion. On the way of unity between the workers of the world stand the barriers raised by nationalism and economic competition provoked by the bourgeois system which divides the workers against themselves. Therefore the task of the communists is to combat these barriers, to educate the workers to the class solidarity, to the internationalism, and first of all the workers of the most powerful countries which dominate the world.

If they don't want to be the lackeys of the great Russian capitalists in their war of rape, the Russian workers have must remember and satnd by their tremendous classist tradition: they must break with their bourgeoisie and with Russian nationalism, they must break with the interclassist collaborationism and the industrial peace. It is during the bourgeois peace that the dominant class prepares its wars; in both situations the stakes in the game are exclusively bourgeois. The Russian workers have behind them a history of struggles and revolutions that is second to none. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were turning towards the sources of Marxism in Europe, as the imperialist West's workers turned towards the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia. But the deadly virus of democracy and nationalism overthrew the Western working class and consequently it overthrew too the valorous Russian working class.

The struggle against bourgeois democracy - the most pernicious form of bourgeois domination because it is based on class collaboration - against nationalism - finished expression of this class collaboration - is a common struggle

(Continued on page 8)

Chechnya

(Continuation from page 7)

of the workers of all countries. But who knows if one more time the spark of the world-wide revolution will not arise in the East, if the proletariat of Russia, the weak link in the world-wide imperialist front, could not set the tone of the general renewal of the revolutionary class struggle?

«Le Prolétaire» n° 452 January-February-March 2000

(1) «L'Unità», 13/12/99.

(2) «Libération», cited by «L'Internationale» no. 314 17-27/12/99.

(3) See for instance «The question of the self-determination in the Balkans», in «Le Prolétaire» no. 449.

(4) Lenin: «On a caricature of the Marxism and with regard to imperialist economism» (Aug.-Oct. 1918) Works, Vol.

(5) Ibid.

What is the International Communist Party ?

That publication in russian language, a 108-pages brochure, contains the following articles:

- What is the International Communist Party?
- Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Russia
- Critique of the Theory of the degenerated Workers' State
- International Communist Party's Program

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PARTI COMMUNISTE INTERNACIONAL

Le Prolétaire Programme Communiste
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ЧТО ТАКОЕ
ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛЬНАЯ
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКАЯ
ПАРТИЯ

NO TO THE IMPERIALIST ACTION IN YUGOSLAVIA! DOWN WITH ALL NATIONALISMS AND ALL BOURGEOIS OPPRESSIONS!

Workers, comrades!

The military action perpetrated against Yugoslavia by the member countries of the Atlantic Alliance and led by the United States is nothing but a typical bourgeois war for a new **imperialist share-out of the world**.

With their war against Yugoslavia, the United States, Germany, UK, France, Italy, etc. - economically the most powerful countries of the world and politically the most «democratic», the most respectful of «Human Rights» and the «International Law» - demonstrate that they are actually **the most aggressive** when somewhere in the world a state or a local power refuses to submit to their «higher interests»

As a matter of fact, American Democrats, French, English, German and Italian Social-democrats (and their leftist and green junior partners) did not care much about the fate of the Kosovars, as they did not care for the fate of the Kurds, Palestinians, Bosnians or Tutsis. Their governments only act out of fear that the disturbances - continually created everywhere by the capitalist system - may hurt national (capitalist) interests or have harmful consequences concerning the rearrangement of political, economic, military influences that for years the greatest imperialisms are nurturing.

Neither pressures nor warnings to Turkey, nor the war against Irak stopped the repression and slaughter of Kurds; neither pressures nor warnings to Israel stopped repression and slaughter of Palestinians. Yesterday, UNO's missions, «Task Forces» and embargoes were unable to prevent the wars between the States born out of the break up of the old Yugoslavia. Today the military actions of the western bourgeoisies against the rump Yugoslavia, the bombing of Belgrade and Pristina, will not prevent the «ethnic cleansing» of the Kosovars.

UNO's, NGO's (Non Governmental Organizations), pacifist or humanitarian aid missions, in spite of all their declarations and announcements, never stopped the repression of the ruling class anywhere against workers, impoverished masses or ethnic minorities; sometimes they even paved the way to more dreadful repressions and slaughters. There are plenty of facts which demonstrate the illusory nature of humanitarian aid and

pacifism.

It's not good intentions, but the **relation of forces** which prevail under capitalism, especially when material interests are competing. When the interests of capitalist States are at stake, at a certain point the commercial, financial and political conflicts are bound to turn into war. In the same way, when class interests are clashing and when the proletarian fight-back is growing ever stronger, the class struggle must become revolutionary struggle.

The military action of the great western powers against Yugoslavia is the continuation of the imperialist politics, which yesterday were made by the means of diplomacy, «dialogue» and «negotiation» - i.e. by a combination of pressure, blackmail, threats and all kinds of rewards (territorial gains, commercial prospects, bribery, etc.).

The American brigands forced the hand of their European accomplices in international robbery («allies» for now, but how long will it last?) in order to demonstrate that the chief is in Washington. Consequently Berlin, London, Paris, Rome and with them Madrid, Ottawa and Amsterdam rushed into the war... to make peace! All of them are rushing to bomb again and again «military targets» in Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo - causing unavoidable civilian casualties with their so-called «surgical strikes» - ... to stop the killings in Kosovo and to «force Milosevic» to agree with a «peace plan» concocted by the great powers!

China and Russia indeed have protested, but it's only because they are left out or because Serbia is their protégé: Chechens and Tibetans know very well how they use to deal with recalcitrant countries or disobedient ethnic minorities...

The truth is that **the «New World Order» is nothing but a continuous succession of violent actions and wars**, inspired or carried out by rival capitalist States which have very definite political, economical and military interests to defend or impose, and which need also to keep themselves prepared for future military actions. Today, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet military and economic might, only the United States are able to intervene all over the world. But it's of paramount importance for them to get their allies involved in the

military actions against Irak or Yugoslavia, not only to portray these aggressions as democratic campaigns against «totalitarianism» and «barbarity», but also to reassert their military and political domination over their economic competitors.

50 years ago NATO was officially created by the United States to protect the Western Europe - but in fact to maintain their domination over these countries - and the USSR did the same thing in Eastern Europe: it was the time of the **American and Russian condominium** over Europe and the world. The «Soviet threat» disappeared years ago, but the USA doesn't think about dissolving the Alliance. On the contrary, not only do they enlarge it with the entry of countries of the ex-Soviet bloc, but NATO is now promoted as the super-cop of Europe! The aim is to prevent the formation of an independent military power of European capitalists, and to repress all those who don't submit to the imperialist order.

Workers, Comrades!

Class-conscious workers must not stay inert and indifferent in the face of the oppression that the ruling classes inflict on the impoverished masses or the national minorities. They must fight against all forms of oppression, they must raise their voice against the bourgeoisie without awaiting for the thundering of the bombs and the rattle of the machine-guns.

The only realistic and efficient way to stop the oppression, the repression, the slaughters and the wars perpetrated by the bourgeois powers inside or outside the national borders to sustain and strengthen their domination, is **the proletarian anti-capitalist class struggle**.

The class struggle waged in a completely independent way, i.e. outside the politics, the methods and organizations of collaboration between the classes, is the politics of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and first of all against «their own» bourgeoisie. To fight against wars and police actions of «their own» bourgeois State does not mean to express any solidarity with other bourgeois States or other bourgeois factions, with «anti-imperialist» or «democratic» States, with «humanitarian» bourgeoisies against «barbaric» and «totalitarian» ones, etc. On the contrary it means breaking all links with all bourgeois factions, it means the rejection of the belief in Democracy - which is nothing other than the political form of the collaboration between the classes - and its national and international institutions (Parliament, UNO, etc.). That means for the workers organizing and using their strength **exclusively for the defence of their economic, social and political class interests**, inside and out-

side the factories, inside the national borders and on the international scale.

Class-conscious workers never sustain any military action of imperialist countries, even with the pretext of humanitarian (!) and pacifist (!) aims. It's for the same reason that they opposed all the recent military actions - in Lebanon, Irak, Africa, Yugoslavia - and, yesterday, the colonial and imperialist world wars: because all these actions and wars were only waged for bourgeois interests. Our position is clear: **yes to revolutionary defeatism, no to class-collaborationist politics, no to national union, struggle against all the alliances of bourgeois powers, against all military and police actions of the ruling class**, even those democratically voted in the Parliament.

Therefore we invite workers to denounce and to fight without any hesitation the current NATO military operations in Yugoslavia. But that does not signify at all supporting Yugoslavia, its State and its regime which, although undoubtedly weak and underdeveloped, is nevertheless as bourgeois and reactionary as the aggressors of NATO. European and American workers must be by the side of the workers of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Vojvodine, Macedonia. They must be by the side of the workers of all countries whatever their nationality, or their ethnic origin, because it is only by overcoming the national and ethnic divisions that the proletariat will be able to exist and assert themselves as **one international class**, able to break the infernal circle of oppression, repression, ethnic cleansing and war. By overcoming all the barriers of nationality, race and religion the workers will have the possibility of fighting against the capitalist system of wage labour, profits, markets, of private property, against the system of the war of all against all. But to remain suppressed by the nationalist and democratic poison, to stay the prisoner of interclassist politics, means on the contrary to have their hands tied to the bourgeoisie and to its State, to be condemned to become mere cannon fodder.

- **Against the military action of Western imperialism in Yugoslavia**, because we oppose all the bourgeois wars and all the warring bourgeoisies.

- **Against the participation of our country in military actions in Yugoslavia or elsewhere**, because the working class cannot accept any complicity with the ruling class and its State

- **Against the anti-Albanian repression in Kosovo**, because we fight against all forms of racism and nationalist repression

- **Against all forms of nationalism, whether Yugoslav, Serbian, Kosovar,**

Montenegrin, etc. or American, British, French, etc., because nationalism divides the working class and benefits only the bourgeoisie and capitalism

- **Against all forms of collaborationism and interclassist union between the working class and the bourgeoisie** because it prevents the revival of the class struggle

- **Against all democratic, parliamentarist, pacifist, humanitarian illusions**, because they paralyse the working class and they keep it tied to the bourgeois order.

- **For the classist reorganization of the working class, over national divisions**, because it is only with the unification in one international class that the workers of the whole world will be able to crush the capitalism.

- **For the internationalist class struggle revival** against bourgeois war, against all economic, national, racial, political and military oppressions.

- **For the formation of the World Communist Party**, the leading organ of the struggles of the working class in all countries, in the everyday defence against exploitation and oppression as in the revolutionary fight, in the overthrow of capitalist States and the establishment of the international dictatorship of the proletariat!

(Leaflet distributed on march 1999)

«PROGRAMME COMMUNISTE» Theoretical review

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**Summary of Nr. 97
(september 2000)**

- *Le rôle contre-révolutionnaire de l'opportunisme*
- *Propriété et capital (1)*
- *Éléments de l'histoire de la Fraction de Gauche à l'étranger (de 1928 à 1935) (1)*
- *Histoire de la Gauche Communiste: La naissance du parti communiste d'Italie (3). Articles de «Il Comunista» en annexe: Les abstentionnistes et la valeur de la discipline - L'opportunisme international - Les unitaires ne sont pas communistes.*
- *Notes de lecture: - Aufheben - Marc Laverne et le Courant Communiste International - (Dis)continuité.*

Rover: Need of the Class Struggle

The saga of the sale of the car firm Rover – the last flagship of the British car industry – bought by BMW a few years ago, ended temporarily, by the sale at the token price of £10. A few days later, it was the turn of Ford, confronted with an important sales slump in Europe, to announce its decision to stop producing cars in Britain (axing 1,900 jobs in Dagenham). And in addition, the press affirmed that Nissan, as part of the restructuring of its European activities following its alliance with Renault, was envisaging closing its factory in Sunderland, which appeared recently as the most productive in Europe (from 25 to 40% more productive, according to the sources, than Renault in its biggest factory in France)! Demonstrating the nonsense of the bourgeois argument, according to which the closing of factories is due to the laziness of the British worker. Previously Renault did not hesitate to shut its Belgian factory in Vilvoorde though it has been among the most productive of

On 9th May 2000, many Rover workers probably heaved a sign of relief on learning that their enterprise was finally repurchased, not by Alchemy (investor's society in the quest of fast profits who had announced their intention to liquidate most of the enterprise's activities), but by Phoenix after the announced surrender of the last major British car manufacturer by BMW on 16th March. John Towers, a former chairman of Rover and boss of Phoenix (a group that is mainly constituted of Rover dealers or Rover agents) has actually promised to save the 9,000 jobs at the factory in Longbridge, near Birmingham, and to revive the trademark from its ashes. But the workers would be entirely wrong to believe that they are at the end of their difficulty because, having known lots of owners' changes, they are in a position to know what these «exchanges» mean: closing down of production units and redundancies in large numbers and, for those who have got the chance to keep their job, wages and working conditions more and more rotten and greater precariousness.

The Rover workers could see for themselves, besides, once again that the trade union leaders were not there to defend them but to defend the British economic interests as faithful servants of the bourgeoisie. Actually, we had to wait for 15 days and the (Saturday!) 1st of April to see finally a «mobilisation». But it is not the union leaders who were the origin of this demonstration of 80,000 people in Birmingham.

But they were present... to call for help from Tony Blair's government and, more particularly, from the extremely rich Secretary of Industry, Byers, and to spread reformist slogans which were falling in the worst manner of nationalism, playing sometimes with anti-German feelings very implanted in many British

heads and sometimes in those of proletarians proclaiming themselves Marxist. Their presence had just one aim: to contain the working class (1). But the union leaders were not the only ones to recruit the proletariat to keep the industrial peace. In fact, the Trotskyists have done the same thing claiming the «nationalisation under worker control» for Rover, well-known leitmotiv of all the sects which, in Britain and everywhere else in the world, unfortunately call themselves political descendants of the great military chief of the Russian Revolution. Workers Power as well as the Socialist Workers Party as the bunch of militants united in a tendency around the paper «Action for Solidarity» (2), launched the watchword «Save our jobs – Nationalisation of Rover under workers' control», a concept far from Marxism which has always been fighting it: the claim for nationalisation is not actually socialist at all but entirely bourgeois, anti-proletarian.

PROLETARIAN SOCIALISATION AND BOURGEOIS NATIONALISATION

To demonstrate the fundamentals of this critique, we must, of course, return to Engels (often forgotten by the Trotskyists) who, in his colossal work «Anti-Dühring», denounced those who refused the violent and anti-democratic proletarian revolution, trying to find some pseudo-solutions through, in particular, nationalisations which are in fact the transfer of the individualistic property into collective property. That is what Marx's loyal friend wrote: «...but the transformation, either into joint-stock companies [and trusts], or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the

group. The European car overproduction, estimated usually at 30%, is the cause of these factory closures. And of these enterprises' sales the most spectacular is the FIAT repurchase (for the moment a simple «shareholding engagement» of 20%, but nobody is fooled) which fills an important place in the Italian industrial fabric, by the US giant General Motor. This commotion in the car industry sector proves the most general commotion in worldwide capitalism, in other words the acceleration of the race for concentration which is inseparable from capitalism and which, under the name of «globalization», arouses the screams of fear of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The workers, who are the first victims of the capitalist concentration should not regret the supposed good old days of «their» State: the only solution for them is open class struggle against their national or foreigner bosses and against the bourgeois state which supports them.

joint-stock companies [and trusts] this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the general external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of the productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers – proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head.» (3)

The term «nationalisation» is just an empty word which has neither achievements nor a conquest to defend. On the contrary, if the bourgeois State seizes any enterprises, then it can only put them at the service of the dominant class.

The taking of enterprises in hand by the State has just got a revolutionary sense when we take up its position in the proletarian class dictatorship's process, even when the proletariat has taken power. It is not moreover a question of nationalisations but of the established proletarian State control, the first action toward the socialisation of production.

Lenin wrote against Kautsky: «The term «socialisation» merely expresses a tendency, a desire, the preparation, for the transition to socialism» (4). It is only in this transition that we have got to consider the expropriation of the capitalists – including the nationalised capitalists. Moreover, Marx and Engels said it before in «The Manifesto of the Communist Party»: «...The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie,

to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e. of the proletariat organised as the ruling class (...). Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production, by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production». (5)

The expropriation defended by the Marxists is inseparable from the revolutionary taking of power.

In opposition to that the Trotskyists claim such an expropriation is impossible by the drawing up of statutes or laws emanating from a bourgeois parliament. It does not mean the passage from one property's form to another one of Capital. As for workers' control in a full capitalist regime, it is just a craze of gradualists who would want to avoid the difficult question of the taking of power by seizing it factory by factory from the bourgeoisie.

In the reformist idea, in other words in the bourgeois conception, the nationalisation is a part of these measures that would be possible to impose on the capitalist States and which would be ipso facto favourable to the working class without solving the question of power, i.e. without the overthrow of the bourgeois order. This conception that the Trotskyists present like a panacea every time that private enterprises are in trouble, constitutes a great obstacle to the revival and especially to the right orientation of the class struggle: in fact, it reinforces the democratic conviction, spread permanently by the bourgeoisie's propaganda, according to which the State is not only a neutral institution, above the social classes, capable of leaning to one side or another according to the public opinion's pressure or to the ballots, but also the ultimate protector of the weak, the oppressed, the workers against the bosses. As long as the workers believe this fable, they do not enter the real and open struggle to defend themselves.

No, the bourgeois State cannot be an ally of workers against the bosses! No, it cannot submit to a «democratic» or «workers» control! The bourgeois State is nothing else than the committee of defence for the capitalist interests, the implacable enemy of the workers!

If a proof is necessary, one does not need to go searching far. It is enough to recall a «small» fact that the Trotskyists'

press in Britain «forgot» to remind its readers. In 1975, the biggest part of the British car industry was centralised under the name of British Leyland (now the firm is known by the name of... Rover) and went over to the State's property. Then, the State launched a big restructuring that the bosses of the previous multiple enterprises had not had the strength to realise: 19,000 workers were condemned to unemployment and the productivity (i.e. the capitalist exploitation) for the remaining workers made a breakthrough.

Needless to ask why the alleged revolutionary groups hide that with so much application of the class collaboration's open supporters. They have got to hide the real function of the bourgeois State, to hide the fact that when the bourgeois State is nationalising (again) an enterprise or a vital economic sector, it does it to correct for the private bosses' deficiency, going in support of an enterprise or a sector of capitalism, not going in support of the workers; it «restructures», in other words makes redundant and increases the exploitation to reduce the expenses during that time to the main tax payer, the proletarians, thanks to the different taxes and rates until there is profit. Then, it could resell the concerned enterprise or the sector to some private interests which, afterwards, will restructure (6).

Maybe the nationalisation «can ensure the future» as continue to pretend these petty-bourgeois of «Action for Solidarity» after the Rover's repurchase by Phoenix which is negotiating also with Japanese Honda. But it is the future of a capitalist enterprise, the future of bourgeois profits, never the future of the working class because nationalisation has never stopped the redundancies the wage cuts, the work intensification and the growth of precariousness.

Now, Rover would be saved and the jobs kept, according to the media (but on 4th October 2000, the last «Mini» was made at Longbridge. A new «Mini» will be built in Oxford by the firm BMW which kept this new design). Perhaps not! Nothing is really sure, the workers who are directly or indirectly exploited in it, especially by the subcontractors like Good Year who has been starting to sack few days from the 16th of March, must stay vigilant. No news filters out on what will happen after the change of owner, but we can bet that the new bosses, who do not have capitalist power like BMW, will do all to obtain from the workers some sacrifices «to save the firm», in other words to restore the pro-

fits, and if this succeeds, to resell it. The proletarians must get out of the trap of the enterprise's defence and for that, they can depend just on themselves; they must also be ready to counter the inevitable attacks that the bourgeois media announce (7).

For that, Rover's proletariat must, like all the British and world-wide proletariat, break with the bourgeois agents implanted in the working class – union leaders and pseudo-revolutionary organisations – who chain it up at the ship of the bourgeois State through their action or their reformist and chauvinist propaganda. They have to make common cause also with their comrades who work for the competition like those in Ford who could have more than 7,000 redundancies in the famous factory at Dagenham. To really ensure the future, there is no solution except the revival of the class struggle.

Solidarity with the workers of Rover, of Ford and of the car equipment industry who, too, will automatically suffer losses in their rank!

(«Le Prolétaire» Nr. 453, April-May-June 2000)

(1) Some leaders did not hesitate to say that: «The young workers [editor's note: in Rover] are Thatcher's children. That's not to say they're Tories but they have not thought about political issues' See «Workers Power» n°242 (April 2000). All the alibis are good to take provided that they are used to divide the working class and to prevent any possible radical movement.

(2) Their aim, which remains for the moment unsuccessful, is the creation of a big gathering in Britain whose programme would be built on the elections and the support of the rotten social-democrats or petty-bourgeois (like Ken Livingstone), the keeping of habeas corpus, the creation of an open and democratic Party aping that of the bourgeois society, the present society.

(3) F. Engels, «Anti-Dühring», Foreign Languages Publishing House (Moscow) – Vol. 3, p.149)

(4) V.I. Lenin, «The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky».

(5) K. Marx and F. Engels, «The Manifesto of the C.P.»

(6) This could be the case of the Underground in London. In fact, the state could let it to some private interest

(Continued on page 14)

Rover

(Continuation from page 13)

(like Railtrack, an enterprise which attends to the maintenance network and which has been condemned in the railways disaster of Paddington) but, to carry out this well nigh certain future transaction, they first need to manage

some works of expansion, development and maintenance which are, in fact, paid for by the working class through the taxes, incomes and the very expensive tickets.

(7) A study by the Institute of Economy & Social Research affirms that «the Capital product per hour in Germany is 70% superior to the one product in Britain, 50% superior in France and 30% in

the USA (took up in part by «The Morning Star» of 31/3/2000). This kind of bourgeois study has got only one aim: to say that if BMW left Rover, it is because the British proletariat is not productive enough, too lazy and consequently too expensive and it must therefore «start to work again» according to the expression used by Tony Blair during his electoral campaign.

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THE PROGRAMME OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

The International Communist Party is constructed 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 contrast between the productive forces and the relations of production, giving place 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 will be the form of representative system and the use of the elective democracy, constitutes the organ for the defence of the interests of the capitalist class.

3. The proletariat can neither crush or modify the mechanism of capitalist production relations from which derives his exploitation, without the violent knock-down 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, unites the efforts of the working masses transforming their struggles for group interests and contingent issues to the general struggle for the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat. It is up to the Party to propagate the revolutionary theory among the masses, to organise the material means of action, to lead the working class all along its struggle, securing the historical continuity and the international unity of the movement.

5. After it has knocked down the power of the capitalist State, the proletariat must completely destroy the old State apparatus in order to organise itself as dominant class and set up its own dictatorship. It will deny all functions and political rights to any individual of the bourgeois class as long as they socially survive, founding the organs of the new regime exclusively on the productive class. Such is the programme that the Communist Party sets itself and which is characteristic of it. It is this party therefore which exclusively represents, organises and directs the proletarian dictatorship.

6. Only the force of the proletarian State will be able to put systematically into effect the necessary measures for intervening in the relations of the social economy, by means of which the collective gestion 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.

* * *

In the face of 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 exchanges 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 army potential of the State, governments adopting a more totalitarian form. All these are neither new sorts of social organisations as a 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 prevision of the concentration and the antagonistic array of the class forces. So that the proletariat may confront its enemies' growing potential with strengthened revolutionary energy, it must repel 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 middle class as well as the pseudo-proletarian and reformist parties.

9. The imperialistic wars show that the crisis of desaggregation 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 destructions. These wars have caused repeated deep crises.. in the workers' world organisations 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. It is from its revolutionary nature and not its conformity to any existing constitutional model that the proletarian State draws its power of social reorganisation. The most complete historical example of such a State is up to the present 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 stamping out inside the country the rebellion of the vanquished classes and of the middle class and opportunist sections inevitable allies of the counter-revolution at the decisive moment.

11. The integral realization of socialism within the limits of one country is unconceivable and the socialist transformation cannot be carried out without failures and momentary setbacks. The defence of the proletarian regime against the ever present dangers of degeneration is possible only if the proletarian State is always co-ordinated with the international struggle of the working class of each country against its own bourgeoisie, its State and its army ; this struggle permits of no respite even in wartime. This co-ordination can only be secured if the world communist party controls the politics and programme of the States where the working class has vanquished.

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