

Proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

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

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THE MISSION OF THE UN BLUE HELMETS IS PURELY IMPERIALIST NO TROOPS TO LEBANON !

Proletarians!

Israel's war in Lebanon has several aspects: some concern its own territorial interests, others concern the policy of American imperialism in the Middle East of which it is the fundamental instrument, finally others are related to «the instability» of Lebanon and to the resistance of the Palestinian populations which have been unable to emancipate themselves from the national oppression to which they were subjected initially by British colonialism, then by Zionism.

Because of its oil resources, of its strategic position as well as the repercussions that in Europe the political and religious movements which exist there can have, the Middle East represents an irresistible objective for the imperialist countries, starting with the United States, and a permanent reason for conflict between the great powers which dominate the planet, as between

the local bourgeoisies.

The always extreme Palestinian question, the instability of Lebanon, the fundamental weakness of States like Jordan or the Emirates, the collapse of an Iraq torn by interior and external wars of division, the imperialist aims of Iran which fan the embers of nationalist terrorism (Hamas) or religious terrorism (Hezbollah), the turbid play of Egypt, of Syria, of Saudi Arabia on the Mid-Eastern chess-board made up of countries very often artificially constituted by the imperialist powers — without of course forgetting the actions of the Israeli State implanted the region to serve imperialist interests in general and in particular those of American imperialism, and various countries, all of which form an inextricable entanglement of local, regional and global interests whose capitalisms permanently need economic alliances and political confrontations (and vice versa) to save their rates of profit.

Comrades!

The rivers of blood which the populations of the Middle East have poured out for over a century are increasingly and in the overwhelming majority the blood of proletarians and the proletarianized masses.

In this region of martyrdom where to wage exploitation is added national and economic oppression and the devastations of war, the capitalism of all the countries accumulates its profits by sucking the sweat and blood out of the proletarians of all nationalities. In this area where peace is only one small or large interval between two wars, where the imperialist appetites of the United States, of France, of Great Britain, of Italy and other countries which take part in the alleged «missions of peace», in this area collide, the Lebanese, Palestinian, Jordanian or Syrian, Iranian, Iraqi or Israeli

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Party and Class

This article by Amadeo Bordiga was published in the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Italy. It was directed against two dialectically linked and symmetrical mistakes existing in the international communist movement: semi-legalist passivity and frantic activism. In the first case, the party's rigorous programmatic and organizational demarcation was sacrificed to the aspiration - which by itself is of course perfectly legitimate - of enlarging and extending the party's influence in the masses. The numerical increase of the political organ became to be considered in itself the criterion for judging the efficiency and the correctness of its political orientation. In the second case, the shift of the party's

action, combined with manoeuvres or rapprochement with the rotten wings of the working class movement on the parliamentary and union level, to the offensive at any cost - led to an offensive action that was unprepared and consequently disorganizing, and that was not proportional to the real balance of power.

This text denies the legend of the «Communist Italian Left» being allegedly closed into sectarianism and indifference towards the vital problem of conquering an increasing influence on that class the party is called upon to lead during the revolution and during the revolutionary preparation.

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THE MISSION OF THE UN BLUE HELMETS IS PURELY IMPERIALIST NO TROOPS TO LEBANON !

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proletarians have no guarantee of peace and existence: **capitalism, under its tawdry tinsels of democracy or dictatorship, freedom or religion, will continue to mean exploitation, misery and death.**

Proletarians!

The contingent of **thousands of French, Italian, Spanish, German** and other countries under the uniform of the blue helmets of the UN, which must take up position in the «safety» zone where the army, navy and the air force of Tel Aviv destroyed all that they could, officially has the task of guaranteeing the cease-fire, the disarmament of Hezbollah, and of helping the Lebanese government to rebuild what was destroyed. It actually acts as a **police operation in the service of imperialism.** It will be impossible to restore a genuine peace because no one has considered in any fashion how to tackle the fundamental causes of the confrontations, i.e. dealing with the bourgeois interests which are opposed and which cause misery and oppression. The countries which take part, before and above all, **defend their own capitalist interests.** French imperialism seeks to be re-implanted in an area where it still has important interests to defend or to conquer; but this is also the case for Italy (first economic partner of Lebanon), Great Britain, Germany, etc. The proletarians of the Near and Middle East are condemned to be the victims of this tangle of sordid interests and cynical capitalist confrontations.

Proletarians!

The solution does not lie in the missions of UNO, in provisional truces, nor

in «unilateral» withdrawals or «lightning wars». No bourgeoisie, no country in the area or any great power can guarantee a future of peace because **it is capitalism which is at the root of the wars.** None of the innumerable calls to peace launched by pacifists or the Church to reach the conscience of the leaders can lead to peace, because under capitalism, it is not the conscience of individuals, but the search for profits and material advantages which determines the policy of all States.

The only solution is in the struggle that the proletarians must carry out against their bourgeoisies, by breaking the paralyzing bonds of the national «union» whose bourgeoisies are always the only ones to benefit, like history has shown a hundred times.

Workers of France, of Germany, of Italy, of Spain, of Russia, of Europe and America: our bourgeoisies, all imperialist, seek to exploit us in an increasingly greater manner, but also to exploit the proletarians of the less developed countries and areas in an even more bestial way. Pushed into alliances or split into warring factions according to the evolution of their national interests, they use the conflicts in weaker countries as a safety valve to attempt to disperse contradictions which worsen in world capitalism and of inter-imperialist conflicts which mature to the increasingly more uncontrollable rhythm of economic crises. War is the solution to which the bourgeoisie always turns when economic and political difficulties become insurmountable.

To the war between States, to the war between bourgeoisies, the working class has only one prospect to oppose: **the class war,** the proletarian class struggle

against the bourgeois class whatever its flag, whatever its excuses, political, economic, national or religious.

The proletarian banner has only one color in the whole world: the **red** of the blood poured in **more than one and a half centuries of wars, exploitation and bourgeois repression.** It brings together the proletarians of all the countries and all the races in a great world struggle against **the only true enemy, the class enemy, the bourgeoisie.**

Comrades!

To protest against military incursions into Lebanon is the minimum to be done, but that is not enough! To express opposition by the ballot boxes or even in demonstrations is useless as the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan or Yugoslavia have once again demonstrated. So that it is real and effective, the opposition to the wars and bourgeois military interventions must be based on the solid basis of the **class struggle** which the proletarians in defense of their living and working conditions carry out against capitalism. If they are not able to be mobilized to defend their immediate interests, the workers will never be able to mobilize themselves for broader political objectives like the fight against the wars.

The proletarians must oppose to all military interventions of the bourgeoisie, understanding that it is only by their class struggle that they can stop the military interventions of the bourgeois State, so that tomorrow the class struggle will be able to stop the war by paralyzing the operation of the economic machine. Only the class struggle can **transform the war into revolution,** civil war for the defeat of the bourgeoisie and of its State. To take the first steps in this direction, it

TO OUR READERS

In addition to the articles on the war in Lebanon, articles and leaflets published in connection with the attacks in London and of hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, a large portion of this second issue of «Proletarian» is devoted to our interventions in the struggles in France in the autumn of 2005, (revolt of the «banlieues») and in the spring of 2006, (struggles against the First Employment Contract [CPE] aimed against young workers).

These fights show the aggravation of social tensions in the major capitalist countries and, as with the Latino movement in the United States, they announce a renewal of the class struggle. But they also demonstrate the indispensable requirement for the organization of the class, the need for the revolutionary party, so that workers in struggle are not

betrayed by reformist and class collaborationist organizations. This is why we work towards the reconstitution of the essential organ for the emancipation of the proletariat which is the class party, internationalist and international. This reconstitution is not possible other than on the basis of invariant and authentic Marxism which only our current has defended after the devastations of the stalinist counter-revolution.

It thus requires an intransigent political and programmatic struggle against all the deviations sown in the labour movement by the thousands of forms of opportunism, not only democratic, legalist, traditional pacifist reformism, but also the false extremism of the trotskyists, anarchists, councillists or others. «Proletarian» is thus an instrument for this struggle, as we look forward to being able to resume the publication of our theoretical review in English—«Communist Program».

is necessary to return to the methods and the means of the anti-capitalist struggle, to begin with the struggle for defense of its immediate interests. That implies **breaking** with the political parties and the trade-union organizations which are **the agents of collaboration between the classes**, the reformist forces which **in fact support imperialism**, yesterday by asking Chirac that France have “more of a presence”, today by supporting the al-

legedly peaceful sending soldiers to Lebanon, tomorrow in a new world war, and always by sabotaging the workers' struggle.

No to Israeli aggression in Lebanon and in Palestine!

No to bourgeois wars!

No to military interventions, even when camouflaged as «peace missions»!

For the resumption of the proletari-

an struggle starting from the defense of living and working conditions!

Down with political and trade-union collaborationism which defends the national economy and imperialist actions against the interests of the workers!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

International Communist Party
Leaflet August 16, 2006

Palestine, Lebanon: **Zionism Assassin, Imperialism Accomplice!**

Even according to the international press, the Israeli attack in Lebanon received the «green light» of the United States and the «tacit agreement» of the other big imperialist States. The meeting of the «G 8» which was held at the commencement of the hostilities excludes any even platonic judgment of the Israeli aggression, of any even symbolic call for peace, being limited to a hypocritical call for «reserve» by the «two parties» (!): the message was received loud and clear by the Hebrew State which at once intensified its bombardments in the country, aiming in particular at civil targets and essential services, with the aim of sowing terror and provoking an exodus: more than one half-million people were thus forced in a few days to flee the south of the country, while the death toll was in the hundreds. Israel also instituted an air and naval blockade of Lebanon, so much so that the Western ships which evacuate the foreigners have to ask for their authorization for safe passage! None of these great States emitted the least criticism against this true act of piracy, which they, in fact, ratify.

This demonstrates that the «big 8» which dominate the world and which claim to be the defenders of civilization, are actually the terrorists-in-chief, they are the ones responsible for the crimes of capitalism, even when in fact smaller States undertake their dirty work.

The attack of Israel in Lebanon is a continuation of its attacks against the Palestinians in Gaza and in the West Bank. The pretext of these murderous imperialist police operations was the capture of three of its soldiers, whereas thousands of Palestinian and many Lebanese prisoners have been left to rot for years in Israeli prisons.

On the one hand, their objective is to crush any inclination of resistance to the permanent oppression undergone by the Palestinians and on the other, to turn up the pressure on those States in the area (Syria, Iran) which balk at yielding to the pressures of the United States

and the Western imperialisms. During the civil war Syria sent its troops to Lebanon with the agreement of the United States, Israel and France to crush the Palestinians and the disinherited Lebanese masses, now it is subject to very strong American and French pressures to give up the positions which remain to it in this country, after having already been forced to withdraw its soldiers a few months ago. The French

imperialists hope that a more or less permanent weakening of Hezbollah (dependent on Syria and Iran) under the Israeli onslaught will enable them to regain a part of their previous «presence» in Lebanon, traditionally an important money market and commercial center of the Middle East. This is why Chirac called only for the application of the UN resolutions against Hezbollah, and not for those against Israel...

WORLD IMPERIALISM AND THE ARAB STATES ARE COMPLICIT IN ISRAELI STATE REPRESSION

The United States and Israel responded to the electoral victory of the Hamas party; a victory which is explained by its denunciation of the generalized corruption and compromises of the former leaders (of Fatah); and the formation of its government, by openly declaring that they were going to asphyxiate the new Palestinian authorities. With utter contempt for international agreements, Israel refused to pay the sums due (customs duties, etc.) to the new government, while right after this the European States stopped their assistance to the Palestinians, just as the majority of the States of the Arab League (except that, anxious to avoid an explosion, the European imperialists sought to put forward that part of the assistance which is used to maintain the Palestinian police force and the structures of the mini-State by institutions firmly tied to imperialist domination). The Israelis had formerly supported Hamas, the reactionary clerical party, in order to weaken the Palestinian nationalists. But for years Hamas, which presents itself in the form of the defender of the poor and an irreconcilable adversary of the Jewish State, unceasingly criticized the negotiations with Israel and the various agreements of «peace». The arrival in power of this party was thus likely to call into question, not these agreements which never really succeeded, but the generally submissive attitude of the Palestinian Authorities to imperialist order in the area: here for what,

from the United States to the European countries by way of Israel and the more powerful Arab States, all fell into agreement to strangle by any means the new «democratically elected» government, in spite of the fact that Hamas itself had begun to align itself on this imperialist order!

This is a new demonstration that all the international agreements, all the great principles of right and democracy are only hot air vis-a-vis imperialist interests: **only force counts**.

After the capture of a soldier from the Tsahal during a guerrilla action carried out in reprisal for the of massacre of Palestinian civilians on a beach, Israel «reacted» by accentuating its campaign of assassinations and destruction and by capturing a part of the Palestinian government with the intention of judging it for «terrorism». The Western countries did not emit a squeak of protest against these gangster actions, the imperialist leaders repeating that «Israel has the right to defend itself»! The Palestinians themselves, have only the right to die in silence, if not they become terrorists... Another demonstration that a Palestinian State will never be tolerated by Israel and its imperialist godfathers unless it remains a concentration camp for its inhabitants permanently suspended under the threat of murderous Israeli operations.

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Palestine, Lebanon: **Zionism Assassin, Imperialism Accomplice!**

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As long as capitalism exists, the various bourgeois States will never cease competition and armed confrontation, they will never cease exploiting their own proletarians all the while calling on them for the «unity of the nation» against the proletarians of foreign countries, they will never cease oppressing the populations which fall under their domi-

nation. As long as the world imperialist order reigns, the Israeli State which is its Middle Eastern pillar and **richly remunerated henchman** (subsidies in Israel alone represent more half of the external assistance of the United States...) will not cease its exactions, it will not cease oppressing the Palestinians and encroaching on their territory.

NO TO THE MASQUERADES OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BOURGEOISIES! YES TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ALL CAPITALIST STATES!

The recent decades have provided the irrefutable proof that all the diplomatic negotiations, all the «peace» agreements signed under the aegis of the imperialists were used only to increase oppression and to lead to new massacres. There is no worse illusion than to appeal to the alleged peaceful intentions of this or that bourgeois State or the interventions of the UN, a true «den of thieves» subject to the orders of the imperialist big shots. Within the framework of capitalism, there cannot be any solution for the oppressed and all

calls for peace are lies.

The only way out lies in the **development of the proletarian struggle** because only this struggle will be able to link all the exploited across all borders, will be able to smash to bits all nationalist unities—including in Israel. And this will be done on the condition of destroying the international imperialist order, of overthrowing all bourgeois States, in the Middle East and everywhere, in order to establish on their ruins an international and unitary proletarian power, the essential condition to eradicate all oppres-

sion, all exploitation, all repression and all discrimination at the same time as capitalism.

As remote as this may appear, this prospect is the only realistic one; it can and it must prepare as of today while bringing to the masses, direct or indirect victims of «our» imperialism, the only solidarity which really counts: the weakening of imperialism by the rupture of the proletarians with the organizations and parties related in one way or another to the bourgeois order, by their frontal opposition to the capitalists and their State, in short by the **resumption of the internationalist and revolutionary class struggle**.

**Down With Zionism, Down With
Imperialism!**

**Solidarity with the Exploited and
Oppressed Masses of Palestine and
the Whole World!**

**Reconstitution of the International
Proletarian Party for the Future World
Communist Revolution!**

International Communist Party
Leaflet July 23, 2006

To the Workers of Israel, to the Workers of Palestine, to the Workers of Europe and America!

WORKERS OF ISRAEL!

Your future does not lie in collaboration with your bourgeoisie; it does not reside in approving of the massacre of men, women, the elderly and infants alike by armoured tanks adorned with the star of David, nor in impotent peace marches which have never stopped even one war! The pretext of «terrorism» should not incapacitate you because it is used by the bourgeoisie to once again force you into the **union sacrée**. The bourgeoisie has the absolute necessity of chaining you to its requirements, its objectives: without your support, without your complicity, without your silence it could not defend its class interests any longer nor make war against the Palestinians or against other countries. The terrorist attacks are utilized by the bourgeoisie to justify these military operations and all these political and social measures: if they did not exist, they would invent them.

Your future lies in the proletarian struggle, above all against your own bourgeoisie, the struggle in which you can find true allies only in your proletarian class brothers and sisters, beyond nationality; and your class brothers and sisters are above all the Palestinians towards whom you must show an active solidarity because they are oppressed and massacred by your bourgeoisie. But in order to solidarize as proletarians, it is essential to break the chains which constrain you to collaborate with your government, your bourgeoisie, your capitalists.

It is only if you succeed in breaking from this bondage, only if you succeed in freeing yourself from the suffocating pressure of Jewish nationalism and bourgeois democratism, that you will not only be in solidarity with Palestinian and other proletarians, but will be able to defend your own true class interests.

PALESTINIAN WORKERS!

You have always been told that Palestine is the fatherland to be re-conquered, to which you dedicate all your forces, all your energies, your whole being. The national oppression that Israel exerts on you as on the whole Palestinian population, has led you to identify your vital interests with the «national» interests, with the interests of your national bourgeoisie.

Any fatherland is a bourgeois objective and exclusively bourgeois. It is defined by a territory on which the bourgeoisie builds its State with all its institutions, its army, its police force and its courts, creates its market, mints its currency, produces its goods, a territory where it assumes the right to exploit its workers directly (and perhaps the workers of poorer countries) to extract the profit for which it lives. **The workers, because they have nothing to lose, do not have a fatherland!**

You are the practical demonstration of this Marxist axiom: as workers, you are exploited in Israel, in Jordan, in Lebanon, in Syria, in Egypt, in Italy, in France, in America or elsewhere. As workers, you are obliged to sell your labour power whatever the country where you have taken refuge, with whichever owner it is who intends to exploit you to extort a profit from your work.

As workers, particularly in Israel, you undergo two types of oppression: to the oppression of wage-labor which welds you together with the workers of the whole world, the brutality of national oppression is added, on behalf of a country which is praised as the only «true democracy» in all the Middle East. But

the fight against the national oppression exerted against you should not make you forget that the Palestinian bourgeoisie only seeks to use you, and does not seek to utilize your combativeness, your courage, and your blood for anything other than its own specific class interests!

Your prospect should not be the union with bourgeois classes which offer to you only the dead end of nationalism or religious reaction; but it is neither in the abandonment of the fight against national oppression and submission to the wills of the dominant classes and States. The only prospect is that of **the independent class organization**, as proletarians and not as Palestinians, for the fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression; it is a path which is classist and not a "peoples front"; proletarian, anti-bourgeois, non-nationalist and non-Islamist, politically and organizationally independent of the bourgeois classes and not mired in interclassist democracy. It is only while being carried out on the terrain of the class struggle, while being directed by the proletarian organization that the struggle against national oppression can be effective, can sensitize the proletarians of other nationalities and thrust them towards active solidarity, towards proletarian internationalism.

WORKERS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA !

The partisans of Israel and its policy of oppression of the Palestinians are the same bourgeois classes which asked you to support their war in Vietnam, in Algeria and elsewhere; it is these same bourgeoisies which demanded your support in the two last world wars – and which will again require of you the supreme sacrifice in an eventual third world war. The working class should not support any of these wars of plunder, of colonization, of pillaging that the bourgeoisies carry out on the various continents. It must fight them all, it must oppose them all by **revolutionary defeatism and social confrontation**.

Your bourgeoisies are the most powerful in the world and thanks to this power they oppress whole peoples and dominate the majority of the countries of the world. And they can all the more easily exert this oppression because of the absence of class struggle in the imperialist countries. To **rip apart** the social peace, to **rip apart** the democratic and pacifist straightjacket which shackles it and prevents the proletariat from finding its proper class orientation, to **rip apart** the thousand bonds which were woven over the decades by political and trade-union collaborationism, will not be an easy thing. It will be difficult, but it is the only solution enabling it to find the capacity to defend itself against all the injustices, against all the abuses, all the pressures and repressions at the workplace and in daily social life!

The economic force that the bourgeoisies of the imperialist countries use to secure their world domination will be able to be transformed into a gigantic force of support for the international revolutionary struggle against all the bourgeois powers, if the European and American proletariat succeeds in seizing power and in establishing its dictatorship. But that will not be possible other than, on the one hand, by re-assimilating the classist traditions produced by the preceding proletarian generations (in particular of Russia, of Germany, of Italy); and on the other by assimilating the theory and the program of revolutionary Marxism which condenses the experience of history and the future objectives of the revolutionary proletarian movement.

The work of transmission to the successive generations of the historical inheritance of the class struggle is the task of the **class party**, the organization of communist militants which takes its stand on the terrain of the anti-capitalist revolution and which makes Communist theory and program the essential pivot to direct the action of the proletarian forces towards their emancipation: overthrow of bourgeois political power, introduction of the proletarian dictatorship exerted by the unique, authentic Communist Party, revolutionary war to defend the proletarian power and to support the revolutionary movements in the

capitalist countries, economic transformation of society by demolishing the capitalist mode of production and setting up on its ashes the new communist mode of production. The new proletarian power will recognize the right of oppressed nationalities to separate from the old oppressor country. In the new proletarian state, no constraints will be employed to maintain the formerly oppressed nationalities by force:

«*One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing*», wrote Engels in connection with the colonial question (letter to Kautsky, 09/12/1882). The proletarian dictatorship will have as its objective the gathering together of the proletarians of the whole world in one great anti-capitalist movement, so that they link their forces in the struggle against all the national bourgeoisies, beginning with the struggle against their own bourgeoisie. The right to separation cannot be a fetish for the proletarian power, since the broad objective is to unify all the populations of planet in a common society, a society of all humanity, Communism. But this objective cannot be achieved by using means of constraint similar to those of the bourgeois period, resorting to forced assimilation or the annexation of territories and peoples. It will be reached by the revolutionary struggle which the proletariat of all nationalities, associated in a new Communist International, will carry out against all the bourgeoisies – those of small nations just as the large ones – and all forces related to the defense of capitalism.

This means that the victorious proletariat will show an active and concrete solidarity in support of the struggles taking place in the other countries in order to guarantee its victory.

* * *

In the current situation of long dormancy of the class struggle, the conscious workers, interested in the revolutionary cause, have a particularly important task: that of adherence to the program and the theory of revolutionary Marxism; they have to work for the formation of the class party, for this international communist party without which the proletarian movement will never be able to triumph in the confrontation with the ruling class, as demonstrated by the whole history of social struggles, the history of revolutions and counter-revolutions.

(Extract from «*Ai proletari israeliani. Ai proletari palestinesi. Ai proletari d'Europa e d'America*», «il comunista», N° 79, April 2002; issued in «le prolétaire», N° 463, August-September 2002)

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One year after the massacre of workers in London To the Terrorism of big Imperialist States Answers back the Fundamentalist Islamic Terrorism

Whichever the group organized them, the attacks in London bear without any doubts the reactionary mark of fundamentalist Islamic movements. The target of these bourgeois denominational organizations are not the imperialist states leaders which lead wars of plunder in Afghanistan, in Chechnya or in Iraq, but the civilian population, the workers who use the public means

The state terrorism exerted by war, military occupation or economic blockade, and the terrorism of Islamic-style movements, carried out by bombs or suicide bombings in places where large numbers of people congregate, converge unrelentingly to strike especially the proletarian masses. Bled day after day by an increasingly more bestial capitalist exploitation, workers are also used as cannon fodder or sacrificial bomb victims in inter-bourgeois confrontations where war finds its response in terrorism.

Wars, in general, on the military level, are a consequence of the politics of imperialist armed robbery, the means by which the imperialists seize *economic territories* (Lenin) which have become vital to preserve their capitalist profits in the midst of increasingly intense international competition. The terrorism of nationalist movements (religious or secular) is the means used by weaker bourgeois fractions to resist the crushing pressure of the major imperialists: the impotence to combat the latter in an open war is thus **compensated** by the action of small groups which are part and parcel of the general population or community. The religion-based movements precisely for this reason, mix-up the nationalism characteristic of any bourgeoisie with reactionary universalist features, and much more than traditional nationalists with more targeted objectives, tend to strike indiscriminately at the mass of the population.

The massacre of defenceless workers and civilians is characteristic of bourgeois reaction: this was the case yesterday for the New York attacks, for those in Madrid and Moscow, and it is true today for those in London. The attacks in London occur at a time when the contradictions between imperialist states which rule the world do not tend to resolve themselves, but on the contrary to worsen. The war in Iraq puts the Anglo-American policy in difficulty, not only because the occupying troops haven't managed to stabilize the situation but because the war has left the door wide open to fundamentalist Islamic terrorism. What was presented as a preventive war in the fight against so-called "international terrorism"; is in fact a war of plunder which caused and continues to cause terrorist reactions. The American, English, Italian, and Polish soldiers who died in Iraq fell in an operation of pure imperialist **armed**

of transport. In the same way the main targets of the bombings and machine-gunning by the US armies and their allies, English, Italian, Polish, Spanish, French and so on, yesterday in Yugoslavia or today in Iraq are civilians, predominantly workers, as they are in Chechnya for the Russian troops or in Palestine for the Israeli soldiers.

robbery (let us recall for example that there was no declaration of war nor any justification even on the meagre basis of international bourgeois law), in a particularly revealing expression of **state terrorism** being exerted in two directions: the first, directly, towards Iraq with its gigantic oil resources and its strategic position in the Middle East; the second, indirectly, towards the other states of the world and especially their Western allies in order to line them up behind the Washington-London alliance. To the terrorism of the big bourgeoisies of Washington-London and their supporters, corresponds the terrorism of nationalist groups which fight for the same economic and political objectives: possession of the oil resources, the control of the country and its borders which means also the availability of the labor force of million of Iraqi proletarians.

NO TO THE UNION SACRÉE

After the attacks in London, the bourgeois leaders, as they do everytime launched the call for the **union sacrée**, for the union of all *citizens* for the *common* war against terrorism, for the war of *civilization* against *barbarism*, in the war against *anti-Christian* acts, as stated by the new pope. To the proletarians that they exploit down to the marrow in the workplace, that they persecute daily, and that they imprison in increasing misery and precariousness, to the proletarians that they force into industrial accidents, and that they throw out onto the street when they can no longer exploit them, whom when they are too old they "warehouse" in retirement homes which are nothing but waiting-rooms for death, to the proletarians who have no say in governmental decision-making, the bourgeois ask that they forget their own interests and their own needs, to unite in the name of the motherland or nation with those who enrich themselves off their sweat.

The call to national solidarity that all bourgeois governments launch, from Blair to Bush, from Berlusconi to Chirac, from Schroeder to Putin and Zapatero, is the traditional trap set by the bourgeoisie against proletarians when it is in difficulty. Every time they have yielded to this call, the proletariat could readily notice that its situation of being exploited did not improve and that only the bourgeoisie benefited from its sacrifices. The

proletarians must free themselves from the ideological and material pressure exerted on them by the bourgeoisie through its thousands of channels, the most powerful being those of class collaboration, and competition between workers; the bourgeoisie systematically organize the latter by splitting up the proletarian class into a thousand categories, while instituting and feeding national, racial, religious; gender and other group divisions.

The blows suffered in terrorist attacks are no different from the blows suffered in wars in which they are obliged to take part, nor from those received within the framework of wage labor at rates and rhythms always more exhausting, and in working conditions increasingly more harmful for health, or in the misery and marginalization of unemployment under capitalist duress.

There are no common interests between proletarians and bourgeois, neither in the immediate sense, nor from a political point of view. The proletarians must reserve their solidarity only for proletarians, whatever their race or their nationality. Any solidarity demanded by the bourgeoisie, whatever the pretext is, must be rejected by proletarians because it is always only a solidarity for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, bourgeois profits, bourgeois property relations, the bourgeois State. The interests, profits, property, and laws, of the bourgeois state **never** benefit proletarians: they are always **against** proletarian interests and needs

The proletariat will never be able to fight against bourgeois terrorism in common with the bourgeoisie or under their guidance. It will be able to fight against bourgeois terrorism only within the framework of its class struggle against the bourgeoisie, against its interests, its profits, its property and the bourgeois state. Without class struggle, there is no possibility of fighting against any of the countless evils that capitalism continuously brings about. In breaking with national and democratic bourgeois ideology, In breaking with the class collaboration promoted by all the varieties of political and trade-union reformism, In returning to the defense of its exclusive class interests, the proletariat will liberate its strength and will always find the necessary energy in its class struggle to **definitively destroy this blood-drenched capitalist civilization.**

The New Orleans Catastrophe: **CAPITALISM, THE ECONOMICS OF MISERY AND DESPAIR!**

The U.S.A., the greatest imperialist power, the most important source of science and technology, the crushing war machine that no country can resist, is on its knees. Thousands of deaths, hundreds of thousands of refugees, generalized destruction, complete prostration: in the face of Hurricane Katrina: America could do nothing ...

On every side they cried out at their fate, at a nature which avenges the damage caused by human beings and which managed to make arrogant America surrender. But at the same time, the Bush administration was accused of being very quick in attacking Iraq and spending billions of dollars on that conflict, but very reluctant to invest in protection against floods, hurricanes, and damages brought about by natural forces which are foreseeable and were forecast.

The countries lining the Gulf of Mexico, from the Caribbean islands through Cuba up to the U.S. Gulf states (Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana) have always been naturally exposed to the fury of hurricanes which have taken shape in the Atlantic before running up against solid ground with all their might. But against Katrina the colossal resources of American capitalism could do nothing. In spite of the dire forecasts of meteorologists, geologists – whole branches of science, in spite of thorough civil defence plans, in spite of civil engineering projects in the marshes, dams, levees and canals, the impassive profit machine failed in a criminal way: the disaster with its thousands of deaths in and around New Orleans (1) has a **culprit: capitalism!** The vertiginous **race for immediate profits** which was the principal cause of the 300,000 deaths resulting from the tsunami of December 2004, is also the cause of Katrina's terrible toll – especially upon black proletarians. Moreover the meagre expenditures planned for the New Orleans levees in particular had been used for expenditure on the Iraq war.

Katrina highlighted a hidden reality of the United States: **the deep misery of the brutally exploited proletarian** and underprivileged classes, systematically rejected and on the margins of civil life. With the courageous *«Every man for himself»* launched by the Petro-president a few days before the hurricane, later the response was the installation of **martial law** with orders **to shoot looters on sight**, given to tens of thousands of National Guardsmen and to the 40,000 soldiers sent after a one week delay but only to defend the inviolability of private property! But for days and days hundreds of thousands of people who had not been able to escape the hurricane due to the lack of means, stranded or blocked in flooded cities, were without water and food, without electricity isolated amid debris and the dead piled up in the repug-

nant cesspool called the «Superdome». Left to their fate for day after cruel day, condemned to die of hunger, of thirst, of disease, the boldest threw themselves on the stores and supermarkets to steal water and food.

Actually, **the real plunderers** are not the victims, but **the capitalists, the financiers, the oil barons, Big Business and the industrialists**, whose thirst for profit destroyed the natural defences of the territory and constrained the Mississippi River to follow a course which was not naturally its own.

Thus without any preventative organization for the evacuation of the proletarian inhabitants of the city and with the complete negligence of the relief operations, the devastation of the hurricane was multiplied tenfold by the action of capitalism: the river reassumed its millennial course, the dams and levees which protected the Black districts were breached due to lack of maintenance, and with them went the bridges and roads. Lack of foresight? Already at the time of another hurricane in September 2004 which merely by chance avoided the city, the authorities were criticized for not having planned the evacuation of the poorer inhabitants. In reaction, the local administration produced...30,000 video cassettes aimed at proletarian districts which were informed, in case of a hurricane: *«Don't wait for Local Authorities; Don't wait for Governmental Intervention; Don't wait for the Red Cross (...); Get Out»* (2). It's difficult to demonstrate more clearly that the state and city authorities were not very concerned by the fate of proletarians. Perhaps it was for this reason that these cassettes were never even distributed...

THE ECONOMICS OF MISERY AND DESPAIR

Under the reign of capitalism, and in particular when international competition is fiercer and fiercer on all levels, there is no levee which can hold, there is no canal which can withstand the power of rising rivers, there is no possible protection against natural phenomenon of great magnitude: quite simply because all this represents **unproductive expenditure** for Capital weighs in an intolerable fashion on profits. The disaster which happened in New Orleans and its surroundings was for years officially described as the number 1 risk for disaster in the United States, even in front

An American journalist in the city to make a report on the arrival of the hurricane testifies, *«When I asked the police officer on duty in the hotel where I was staying who was still in the city, she retorted: the only people who are still in New Orleans, are mainly criminals who we've tried to get out of the city for decades. If the levees break it will be Nature who's wearing the Sheriff's badge!»* (3). A member of the State Legislature from Baton Rouge (the administrative capital of Louisiana) wasn't afraid to publicly assert: *«At last the slums of New Orleans have been cleaned out. What we did not know how to do, God took care of»*, an assertion shared by the mayor of New Orleans (a rich black businessman): *«For the first time, our city has gotten rid of drugs and violence, and we intend to keep it that way»* (4).

This Massacre was foreseen! Capitalism is Murder!

But what happened for previous disasters, also happened as far as hurricane Katrina is concerned: banks, real estate companies, construction firms, after having quickly made an accounting of the damages rush to draw up rebuilding projects where there will be billions to gain: the figure of 200 billion dollars for reconstruction was put forward. Business as usual!

Capital sheds only crocodile tears for the dead; in any event it was much too concerned with the repair of oil platforms, refineries, pipelines and port facilities in New Orleans (the leading American port in terms of tonnage) to be interested in the fate of the population (the survivors were expelled by force and replaced by reconstruction contractors, among them is Haliburton, the company of which vice president Cheney used to be a leading director, and which seems, as in Iraq, to have garnered most of the contracts already signed)...

of an earthquake in San Francisco.

Already in 1927 the area witnessed catastrophic flooding of the Mississippi. Then, to save the residential districts and «to save commerce» in the city, the civic leaders of New Orleans decided to blow up the levees with dynamite, so that low-lying areas were flooded; but these were the areas inhabited by the black population, small farmers and agricultural workers employed on the plantations. Approximately 2,000 people drowned, sacrificed to bourgeois interests, while thousands of others became homeless over-

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The New Orleans Catastrophe

(Continued from page 7)

night and were forced to migrate to find work and a place to live.

80 years later it is the same bourgeois interests, the immediate interests of capital which dictate the decisions of the authorities regardless of the needs and the interests of the underprivileged and proletarian masses.

After years and years of discussion on the means of protecting the region from serious floods which according to general consensus will occur again, sooner or later, a plan to protect all of Louisiana was finally adopted in 1998.

But nothing was achieved, because it would have cost, all in all, 14 billion dollars over 10 years: too weighty and too unproductive an expenditure for Capital, even if it would have made it possible to save thousands of proletarian lives! However this figure, significant without any doubt, should be compared with the damage caused by the hurricane which is estimated at more than one hundred billion dollars: or with the profits of the four largest oil companies operating in the area for the year of 2004 alone: nearly 73 billion dollars, that is to say **five times more**, or roughly equal to the cost of the Iraq war evaluated according to certain estimates at 5 billion dollars **per month!** Credits for maintenance of the levee infrastructure, by contrast were continually reduced in recent years, even as capitalist profits grew throughout the nation – as did the number of poor people.

Just as bourgeois intellectuals had for a long time predicted the recent occurrences, others warn that with global warming this kind of disaster is likely to happen again; and they recommend the use of so-called renewable, less polluting sources of energy, as well as international goodwill agreements between governments in order to decrease these risks. Obviously they don't say a word about the mode of production which determines the economic policies of the various states. It is the old song of Capitalism with a human face, which could reconcile the thirst for profit, and the satisfaction of human needs, exploitation of natural resources tempered by environmental respect.

But as long as the laws which rule society are the laws of Capital, the laws of the market, of money, of wage-labor, it cannot escape from the destruction, waste, plunder, exploitation, the Law of the Jungle which the whole history of bourgeois society demonstrates: the history of oppression and wars, disasters and utter degradation of nature.

There is no solution other than the **destruction of this society**, the destruction of a mode of production which exacerbates antagonisms between classes, which generates competition between

companies, institutions and states, which has built a political and military power aimed at the defence of the networks of interests of the various capitalist factions; a political power blind towards the vital needs of the majority of the world population because it is the **instrument of defence of the privileges of the dominant bourgeois class.**

The **revolution** of the oppressed, the proletarians, is the only way for humanity to escape the interminable series of disasters and wars inflicted on it by capitalism, to forever put an end to this criminal mode of production and establish a classless society, without exploiters nor exploited, and in harmony with nature: **Communism!**

(«le prolétaire», N° 478, Septembre-October 2005)

(1) The authorities of Louisiana at

one time suggested an estimate of more than ten thousand deaths. This estimate considerably diminished thereafter and at the time when this article went to press officially there were only about one thousand deaths. However we can observe that according to the press, the death toll is much higher; the mayor of a small town in the environs of New Orleans claims that the victims in his town are four times higher than the official figure.

(2) cf *A capitalism of catastrophe*, Le Monde Diplomatique October 2005

(3) Le Monde 2 n° 82, 10-16 September 2005.

(4) Le Monde Diplomatique, op. cit. The author writes: «no one is ignorant of the fact that the local economic elites and their allies at City Hall fondest wish is to expel the poorest, to which have been credited the very high criminality rate», done of course to carry out fruitful property deals.

“Communist Program”

Organ of the
International Communist party
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THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

Union Sacrée to Condemn the Revolt of the Banlieues

The riots this autumn in France were a major political event, to the point they were transformed into a true **revolt of the proletarian urban outskirts**, which in various forms struck all cities in the country, including those which have only a few thousand inhabitants – provided that there was a proletarian population. These riots started in the Parisian region of Seine Saint Denis, which is

the most proletarian «département» in France, after a fatal incident (2 deaths) caused by police harassment, something which has occurred regularly for decades. At best these **crimes** (called «police errors») caused demonstrations and confrontations located within the district where they have taken place; they never extended to other cities, or of course to the whole country.

On the one hand it has been an index of the importance of social tensions, which had accumulated, on the other hand it is the result of the continued aggravation of repressive measures for some years, at first aimed at youths, but which increasingly strike the proletariat as a whole. In Marseilles there was the example of the ferry workers of the SNCM (Société Nationale Maritime Corse Méditerranée), then a court decision declaring the strike of the Subway and Bus workers of Marseilles, which lasted for 29 days illegal, under pretext that it was ... a political strike (opposition to the change of status).

The government under the pretext of a supposed terrorist threat increased police presence and passed a whole series of measures reinforcing state control on communications, assimilating the assistance of workers without-papers, etc. to terrorist activities.

The official propaganda of the authorities, relayed by all the media, compared these young people to hooligans, to «rabble», seeking only to destroy—blinded by love of violence. The governing parties asserted that the riots were the work either of delinquents, drug dealers, or of «well organized» groups branded «Islamic», or even as the consequence of...polygamy! This propaganda spectacularly provoked the phenomenon of an ambient racism, very important in normal times, which had already been reinforced by «antiterrorist» propaganda. The immigrant proletarians instinctively sensed that they would be used as scapegoats.

In fact the Islamic religious groups, on the contrary, did all they could to calm the youth and to collaborate with the police force (a «fatwah» proscribing the riots was even launched), without much success however. As for the drug dealers who from time immemorial have been used as police informers, they need peace to make their deals. The far right appealed for the use of the army, while the left, approving the state of emergency, criti-

cized the government only by expressing doubts that they were capable of adding some social measures on to it, also affirming that the priority was the return to «the republican order».

This revolt has put the various political forces squarely «on the spot». It is very instructive to examine their reactions to the eruption of a social movement of this type in a little more detail; indeed as they were not moderated by the usual propaganda or speeches these reactions reveal, much more than erudite analyses, the political nature of these various forces.

It is from this very significant point of view that we note that the very large majority of the political organizations from the right to the left competed to condemn the riots, in unison with the brainwashing by the huge bourgeois **disinformation** industry.

HELMETED REFORMISM

It is undoubtedly not necessary to dwell too long on the Socialist Party. Led by one of its former Interior Ministers, Vaillant, the parliamentary group of the SP initially wanted to vote for the introduction of the curfew which had been decided upon; the leadership of the party at large struggled to convince them that for electoral reasons one did not wish to seem to be tailing the government. As it was unthinkable to vote down the law the deputies of the SP ended up by agreeing to abstain for a measure of which they were for the majority very favourable. It is well past the time when the SP played even the comedy of indignation and mobilization against the vote for «villainous laws»! When they were ruling the country, they did what they could to increase the capacities of the police force, to harden repression and to «armour democracy»—from the «Vigipirate» plan, to the arrests and evictions of illegal immigrants (let us remember these socialist godsend, among many other things, were behind expulsions by char-

ter and the legalization of the «clandestine prisons»).

The PCF (French Communist Party), tried to endorse a critical position about the introduction of the state of emergency, but only after having called for repression. In an official statement published in their official newspaper, «L'Humanité», on November 4th with the heading «Enough of provocations (for these unsavoury individuals anything that disturbs the sacrosanct established order can only be the result of provocations) and of irresponsibility!», the PCF declared as follows: «**Restoring order is an extreme urgency**» accusing the government of being «unable to guarantee law and order». In the nine point catalogue of measures which this official statement contained, there were traditional reformist demands for more funds for public services and employment, the request for a «true dialogue» of the authorities with the population, side by side with a properly repressive social chapter: calls «to again give meaning to the law (...) so that the concept of a sense of responsibility again takes all its meaning and its legitimacy»; «To give the means to the judicial system of creating respect for the law»; «To put the police force at the service of the whole nation, which implies: democratization, training, neighbourhood policing and suitable means».

Reformism is not satisfied to spread its soft and sickly illusions about the benefits of dialogue between classes, on the possible role of the State operating in favour of exploited provided that it is democratized; intimately tied to the institutions and the mechanisms of the capitalist system that it consequently wants to protect from any attack, reformism is inevitably helmeted. When social tensions become too strong, it will never hesitate to call for official repression or to even itself deal out this repression against the proletarians, like a hundred examples which have shown it and show it every day.

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THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

Union Sacrée to Condemn the Revolt of the Banlieues

(Continued from page 9)

If the PCF has officially condemned the institution of the curfew and went as far as taking part in the mobilization against the state of emergency (a mobilization which was a joke), the repressive attitude of its mayors, among whom André Gérin (Lyon suburb) openly congratulating Sarkozy (the Interior Minister), illustrates once again the reality of what they are up to.

If one reads the united call against the state of emergency of September the 9th signed in addition to the PCF, by the Green Party, the trotskyst LCR (Communist Revolutionary League), the FSU (the main Teachers union), the Union Syndicale Solidaire (Trade Union Solidarity) etc. The PS (Socialist Party) having not signed, nor the CFDT, FO or CGT—the major trade unions) one can discern the sentences which characterize their authors: «Even in May 1968, whereas the situation was much more dramatic (sic!) no exceptional laws were used by the authorities»; «To stop the violence and to restore solidarity (?) in the suburbs is a necessity (!). Does that imply subjecting them to an exceptional legislation inherited from the colonial period? Everyone knows where the combination between provocations and repression leads to». In other words, repression lives, provided that it is not exceptional but reasonable and moderate—as in 1968!; moreover that would be less likely to spark things off.

THE ELECTORALIST «FARLEFT» OPPOSES THE RIOTS

We have just seen that the LCR was a signatory of this call against the introduction of the state of emergency, which was an authentic **call for repression**. Undoubtedly the LCR judged it beneficial to announce its dissension with the second sentence, which we quoted, but this did not prevent it from signing. Looking at the minutes of a meeting preparatory to this call (1), we can see that the LCR was opposed to the demand formulated by the residents to withdraw the CRS (riot police) from the suburbs as well as the demand of amnesty for the youth arrested by the police and who were victims of a truly expeditious justice. Its representative claimed that the LCR agreed with these demands, but felt nec-

essary not to put them forward in order not to break its unity with the PCF and thus compromise the action. In fact there was no action or mobilization as there could be none on the basis of such a collection of adversaries of proletarian struggle. Here is all the hypocrisy of centrism, **revolutionary in words, counter-revolutionary in deeds**; as the Bolsheviks stated (except that modern centrism does not even talk about revolution any more!): its precise political function in the bourgeois system is to bring back into the bosom of the traditional organizations of class collaboration, the proletarians who tend to break with them. The LCR can well, now that calm has returned and that power remained with the law, speak of the «youth revolt»; when this revolt was under way it was opposed to it, following the example of Krivine (one of its leaders), taking part in homeowner patrols to protect their possessions (2)!

On the other hand it is necessary to recognize in the trotskyst Lutte Ouvrière (LO), a commendable frankness. From the very start it condemned the riots and accused the government of having reduced the «neighbourhood police force» (3), in terms resembling those of the PCF. Let us recall that «the neighbourhood police force» had been an invention of the leftist government to better control the proletarian districts. Only the crassest reformist filth can imagine that the function of the police is to protect «citizens»: It is actually used to protect the capitalist system based on the exploitation and repression of the greatest number. It is thus fundamentally an anti-proletarian weapon, something understood empirically by the young proletarians, who unlike L.O., arrived at this conclusion without studying Marxist theory.

In its article denouncing «sterile violence» of the young people of the popular districts, L.O. never failed to mention «hooligans», «traffickers», and «small parasites» as being partly responsible for the violence. For them, this revolt shows that youth is «disorientated»: thus they think of burning schools, of which there is a shortage, «to transmit to all these youth a minimum of education which their families do not have the means of transmitting—even if this is only to know how to read, write and speak correctly (sic!)»! «Workers do not have to be delighted by the form of this explosion and

not only because they are the first to suffer from it (!). Youth is the future. But in which future can a disorientated youth be an architect?» (4).

Narrowly focused on cars set ablaze which the media described and of which the police force held daily accounts, L.O. does not seem to have realized that the young people's violence was initially turned against the police force, then against what represented for them established authority and the privileged—the rapacious little shopkeeper, at the same school that they experienced as penal servitude, etc. Let us recall that already in 1968 the burning of cars had been used by the authorities to line up the population against the rioters. Real Communists do not have to align themselves with this propaganda, rather they need to understand the proletarian nature of these events; they do not have to groan about the threat of «Society in decay» that these events would reveal, but to **greet** the demonstration which the young people of the suburbs made of their capacity to revolt and struggle, beyond the inevitably primitive and elementary character of this revolt.

This is obviously not the conclusion of L.O. At the time of its congress in December, vis-à-vis a motion of its minority which described the riots as a «rebellion of a section of working class youth» and who sustained that it was necessary to defend these «young proletarians» when they are brought to justice, the leaders of L.O. answered that these were «social rebels»...

This single expression which bespeaks the entire «worker aristocrat» reformist disdain for the proletarians who struggle without respect for common practice and good manners (and who do not write nor speak correctly!) should be enough to show which side of the social barricades that L.O. is on.

REVOLUTIONARIES IN WORDS

If we now turn to the groups who are located to the left of Trotskyism and who wrongly or otherwise assert themselves to be of the Communist Left, we have a spectacle which is hardly fills us with enthusiasm.

«Il Programma Comunista» writes with reason that «Communists must forcefully affirm that the rebels of the suburbs are proletarians and not simply (...) immigrants or (...) members of such and such national or religious ethnic group». «Il P.C» does not of course step wrong in pointing out the need for the revolution-

THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

ary party «to gather the energy and the anger which emerge from the depths» of society and to direct it towards the political class struggle until the insurrection and dictatorship of the proletariat; but one can wonder about the significance which it gives to this revolt when it says to us that they took up again an analysis written in an article thirty years ago about a large power failure in New York which witnessed looting and street fighting burst out in the darkness. More especially as compared to this article explaining that the big New York blackout had revealed permanent social antagonisms always ready to explode under capitalism, «I.P.C.» judged it advisable to add: «abandoned to themselves, [these blazes] are destined to pass without leaving a trace (...) to ebb away in frustration or worse by being channelled into the dead ends of anarchistic rebellion (...) or of ethnic or religious fundamentalism, two negative outcomes devoid of any revolutionary prospect». As long as the proletariat does not have yet the force to form itself into its party, all its struggles run the risk of ebbing away in frustration or to being channelled into this or that dead end—as they generally are. Does this mean that these fights are useless, that they always are a failure while waiting for «the world revolutionary party» which I.P.C. «exhorts» Communists «to reinforce, to extend, to entrench» as if it already exists? By not understanding the dialectic which exists between the spontaneous struggles of the proletariat which at a certain point lead to the resumption of the class struggle, and the reconstitution of the revolutionary party, I.P.C. can only fall into a moralizing exhortationism on one side and into mistrust towards the spontaneous proletarian revolts on the other.

On the revolt of the suburbs, the «International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party» (IBRP) which includes the Italian group «Battaglia Comunista», and its British bloc-partners the «Communist Workers Organisation» (CWO) and which publishes the review «Bilan et Perspectives» in France, gave their position in an official statement published on its Internet site on November the 9th.

This standpoint was a condemnation of the revolt; «these riots hold no prospect for the working class. These youth have only a weak and in every sense, a very confused class instinct», with nothing in common with the riots in Argentina in 2001 or the forced looting of supermarkets by the proletarian victims of hurricane Katrina (?). «The rioters in France

destroy the vehicles of their proletarian neighbours, set on fire the same schools attended by their brothers and sisters, burn local supermarket etc. These riots (...) hold no political class content...» Initially it was added that «although being on a terrain of demands they showed, a certain availability toward the fight of the workers», then the next day the end of this sentence was withdrawn!

The official statement finished in a somewhat confused way by underlining «even more strongly the real need for revolutionaries to contribute to the recreation of the conditions for struggle on the level of immediate demands in order to reach a political level. In short, they point to the indispensable need for the revolutionary party (...).»

Thereafter «Battaglia Comunista» adjusted its aim while affirming in its theoretical newspaper «Prometeo» which mentions a «revolt of young proletarians» and not of «sub-proletarians» (lumpen proletarians) as they do elsewhere. But its final judgement on the events is erected on a scaffolding which attempts to reconcile their initial judgement of the revolt with the recognition of a proletarian nature «a proletarian riot, in its sociological component, which was expressed with the typical characteristics of sub-proletarian revolts» (5). This it reckons logical because since the various sectors of the proletariat are not able to identify themselves as forming part of the same class; the only solution is thus to build the party. But the least which one can say is that if this party is that of the «IBRP», which has the greatest difficulty recognizing whether those who revolted are proletarians or not, then the proletariat will always be confused...

The group «Il Partito Comunista», born of a split of the party at the beginning of the Seventies, does not help solve the problem; in the December issue of its newspaper «Il Partito Comunista», it affirms without hesitating that the rioters are «déclassés».

«(...) The excitement is without goal, it does not proclaim objectives, other than to vent an anger become hatred against all the symbols of the State and the market (...)

The revolt is not yet in Europe a revolt of the famished. It is a revolt of déclassés [who are] a burden for their families, by those cast out, from work, from school. They reject a world which rejects them and cannot not reject them. They are deprived of affection, which in our language means being and feeling useful, needed and desired, with a precise rela-

tionship to labor, class and class struggle (...). To the déclassé young people of the suburbs when even death becomes a game, they want to destroy everything, and to destroy themselves first off. They do not have anything to lose. But nothing to gain either. On the contrary the disciplined revolt of the working class which will have to burst out, illuminated by the class party, which will know where to strike and what it is necessary to destroy, has a whole world to conquer, and knows that it has.»

In reading these nauseating tirades, inspired by psychological literature, which counterpose the future revolt of the working class seen in a caricatured way, with the current movements, it is impossible not to think of the words of Lenin, who knew a little about Marxism and revolution. He wrote:

«To believe that the social revolution is conceivable without revolutionary explosions of a part of the poor petit bourgeois with all its prejudices, without movements of the politically unconscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against the seigniorial, clerical, monarchical, national, yoke etc., is to **repudiate the social revolution** (...). Whoever awaits a «pure» social revolution will never live long enough to see it. He is only a revolutionary in words who does not understand anything about what revolution is.» (Underlined by Lenin) (6).

This irrevocable condemnation of the «Florentines» of Il Partito by Lenin, also applies to the International Communist Current, which we have kept for the end.

THE SOCIAL-PACIFISM OF THE ICC

According to the ICC, «the riots have nothing to do with the struggle of the working class». The ICC multiplied the articles of condemnation against the youth in revolt in terms very similar to those of Lutte Ouvrière, with this slight difference: the ICC has done its utmost to explain how the bourgeoisie utilized the riots against the workers. For the ICC it was the riots and not the police repression (not a word for the youths bludgeoned, flogged, imprisoned, and condemned by the hundreds) which created «the fear», a «climate of terror», in short, «a real danger to the working class». Nothing was missing in their articles and leaflets which regurgitated the nauseating propaganda of the bourgeois media: wounds inflicted on firemen, «little broth-

(Continued on page 12)

THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

Union Sacrée ...

(Continued from page 11)

ers and sisters who will not be able to go to their school any more», «the neighbourhood store which went up in smoke», etc. According to the ICC, this «completely absurd» violence had as its first victims proletarians themselves «in the flesh» (sic!). Criticizing our leaflet, the ICC affirms «these riots are the result of individual resentments and have no perspective other than destruction and self destruction». There is no question for them «of linking the fight of these young people with the working class» because the «destructive behaviour» of these «stray young people» «weighs against the working class» (7).

In its journal, the ICC had written that in fact the bourgeoisie had not created the riots, but that it used them against the proletariat. Taking a step further in its review, it now implies that the bourgeoisie tries and succeeds in «involving» certain young people in the path of the riots (how long will be necessary to wait before they declare that all this was actually a machiavellian bourgeois manoeuvre?)

«The bourgeoisie, the most intelligent representatives of which are quite conscious of the subjacent threat that the proletariat constitutes, is thus particularly anxious to make publicity with the social revolts and to minimize or ignore when it can, movements and authentic actions of the proletariat.

By identifying the violent chaos of the social revolts with all the other expressions of social decay, the bourgeoisie hopes to discredit any resistance to its domination, including and in particular the proletariat class struggle.

By representing the social revolts as the principal expression of the opposition to capitalist society, the bourgeoisie hopes to persuade the members of the working class, the youth in particular, that these actions which are condemned to failure are the only possible form of struggle. And by showing in detail the obvious limits and the unquestionable failure of these revolts, the bourgeoisie seeks to demoralize, extinguish and disperse the threat which proletarian unity represents, a unity which requires in particular solidarity between the younger generation of the class with the older generations.

This tactic with respect to the working class has had a certain amount of success, in particular among the young

people and the long-term unemployed as with the ethnic minorities within the proletariat. Many elements of these sectors were involved in the riots in France» (8).

Ten years ago, after the riots of Los Angeles, in reply to a similar polemic from the ICC, we wrote:

«Obviously it would be completely stupid to take the riots for what they are not and cannot be: the expression of the proletarian revolutionary movement, quite simply because this movement does not exist yet at the present time. To claim that the spontaneous angry outbursts which is what these riots were is likely to divert the working class from its true anti-capitalist class struggle is at best a bitter joke today where it is still entirely entrenched in class collaboration, enslaved by reformism to the fate of the capitalist economy and under the influence of nationalist, democratic, pacifist and legalist illusions. All the importance of the riots from the Communist viewpoint, as symptoms and indications of the future, is that they represent a **breakdown** of this class collaboration, a **gash ripped** in these illusions which paralyse the proletariat, a **breach** in bourgeois domination and reformist influence. Of course, it is still a very long way from the riots to the revolution, from the spontaneous angry outburst to the class struggle directed by the revolutionary Marxist party; but it is not possible to arrive at this revolutionary fight without strangling the social peace, not to be shaken by these outbursts of anger, without which the oppressed and exploited, the workmen and the unemployed, will not be able to undertake the necessary violent clash with the established order.

(...) Paraphrasing Lenin, we could say that to believe the resumption of the class struggle (because it is that which is on the order of today, and not yet the revolution) is conceivable without social explosions putting the proletarian, semi-proletarian, and even the petit bourgeois masses into motion against the capitalist order, is to repudiate this resumption of the class struggle; but for the «revolutionaries in words», which, just like the bourgeois media, want to see in the riots only «blind and barbarian violence», the «lumpen proletariat», the gangs, the racism, in short the «inevitably reactionary prejudices and fantasies» in the very profound movement of masses, the most important thing is to divert the working class from participating in these riots: «it is obvious that fractions of the working class take part in these riots, and it is exactly there that the danger resides, that

increasingly numerous workers are abandoning the class terrain (?) for looting and blind violence (!), or for racial or nationalist explosions (?), by thinking that those are the response to the misery of their situation» («RI» n°214).

If indeed the workers standing on «the class terrain» were already «numerous», to leave this terrain in order to loot would be a regression and a **step backward** in the anti-capitalist struggle. But the small problem consists precisely, with due respect to «the revolutionaries in words» in that the workers and more generally the proletarians, are only on the class terrain in an infinitesimal number, but are on the contrary very «numerous» on the terrain of **class collaboration**, or, to once again use Lenin's terms, that the «backward workers», i.e. backward from the point of view of political and class consciousness, constitute in our time the crushing majority of the working class. The fact that a part of this majority starts «to desert» this terrain, moving away from class collaboration, even if only temporarily, without being aware of their actions, «without prospect and project», is for Communists a sign of great importance: the sign that a step ahead towards the «class terrain», towards the resumption of the class struggle is being achieved. This step is in itself still insufficient (we never said or wrote that the riots constituted this class terrain); other steps will be necessary to arrive at the class struggle, to arrive at the «constitution of the proletariat into a class and consequently in a party» (Marx, «the Manifesto...»).

And our article ended in a conclusion, which we can completely take up again today:

«As with the example of Marx and Lenin, we do not whine about barbarism in connection with the riots, we do not see in «the process of decomposition of the dominant class, of the old society in its entirety» («the Manifesto...») a «danger of contamination» for the working class, being likely «to exert a pressure towards a dissolution and the decomposition of the proletariat and, therefore, to weaken or to even call into question its capacity to carry out its historical task of inversion of capitalism» («RI» n°213)—this is already a capitulation before all those which affirm that the working class is not a revolutionary class any more. We endeavour to analyze and evaluate the significance of these events in order to evaluate the methods and the rates of the resumption of the proletarian struggle, and we do not find there a cause of

THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

concern nor grounds for despair.

On the contrary, we see there the weakening of the bonds which have paralyzed the working class for far too long a time; we note that this creates the material conditions of its **decontamination** from the ideology, the praxis and traditions of the bourgeoisie as the capitalist class encounters increasing difficulties in making its order rule (...)

Any revolutionary worthy of the name must unconditionally side with the rioters against the bourgeois State, as it must at the time of each proletarian struggle. That absolutely does not imply falling into the tailing of the movement, whether it is in the case of a riot or the case of a class struggle, but requires on the contrary to be there to defend the revolutionary class positions, if necessary struggling against the current while waiting for the opportunity to direct the movement, as Lenin said.»

(«le prolétaire», N° 479; November-December 2005 / January-February 2006)

(1) Appeared on the trotskyst site www.wsws.org

(2) of the weekly magazine «Marianne» n°477 of November 12: «*For 10 days (...) every night the cars flamed in front of the frontage [of joint ownership which is «a focal point for grievances» for the young rioters, according to the mayor] and the owners lock arms to protect their goods. «I am not targeted», defends Krivine: «it is an explosion of exclusion». And he takes again the account of his insane nights where, in groups of up to 60, they make their rounds up until 2 am to ensure that the «distress» does not attack their walls. «This creates bonds», says Krivine; «the networks of solidarity were reinforced». Trotsky advanced the watchword of the workers' militia; do his degenerated disciples advance that of an owners' militia?*

(3) cf LO n°1944 (4/11/2005)

(4) cf LO n°1945 (7/11/2005)

(5) cf «Prometeo n° 12 (December 2005)

(6) cf Lenin, Works, Volume 22, p. 383 (french edition).

(7) the quotations come from n° 363 and 364 of «International Revolution»

(8) cf «Revue International» n°124 (first quarter 2006)

Proletarian Anger and Violence in the Banlieues Promise Future Social Tempests!

The death of two youths from Clichy, Ziad and Bouna, electrocuted after having taken refuge in a power transformer – the umpteenth death for which the police force is directly responsible – started an angry outburst much like that which occurs every time; but in a few days the rage of the young people without work, wages, or future extended to all the country, to all the large or small cities and towns where proletarian dormitory cities exist – true ghettos.

Young proletarians of the suburbs reacted spontaneously by expressing a violence accumulated for years and which they would no longer contain. After having undergone daily violence from every side – social, economic, administrative, police, political and racial, today they avenge and repay a part of this violence by destroying all that falls into their hands. All the right-thinking bourgeois, all the democrats, all the petty bourgeois pacifists and admirers of order strike out against the hooligans. The police force

mobilized on a large scale by the government subjects the hot districts more and more to a true occupation while the government reactivates a law on the State of Emergency legislated in 1955 against the Algerian insurrectionists and repression goes on full tilt; more than 2000 people arrested, hundreds of convictions after hasty trials, and Sarkozy announces that the foreigners (i.e. young people who do not have French nationality) taken in the raids will be expelled (a rightist congressman even proposes, as at the time of Pétain, to strip French nationality from those who were naturalized).

It is a blind anger, a demonstration of dissatisfaction and despair when faced with the misery and the precariousness which the young proletarians experienced. It is an anger that terrifies the society which calls itself civil because it is uncontrollable, because it comes from the depth and profundity of humiliations

«el programa comunista»

N° 46, December 2005

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- Europa: lupanar burgués, galera roletaria
- Crítica del C.C.I. : Introducción / La Corriente Comunista Internacional: A contracorriente del marxismo y de la lucha de clase / La C.C.I. o la oposición al poder revolucionario proletario / A propósito de cronstadt. Violencia, terror, dictadura, armas indispensables del poder proletario / A prueba de luchas de clases: el carácter anti-proletario de las posiciones de la C.C.I. : (1) La C.C.I. contra la organización de la clase obrera (2) La C.C.I. contra las huelgas (3) A propósito de Adelshtoffen, Cellatex... La C.C.I.: un ejemplo a no seguir / El purismo como máscara de adaptación al social-chauvinismo / Una polémica reveladora de la C.C.I. / La tara insuperable de los prejuicios libertarios / La C.C.I. o la fobia a la autoridad / «Revolución Internacional» y sus amigos : (1) La leyenda de una «Izquierda europea» (2) La insondable profundidad del «marxismo occidental»
- ¡ El muro israelí, un negocio en oro para los burgueses palestinos !
- ¡Proletarios de Israel! ¡Proletarios palestineses!
- La matanza de proletarios continúa. Luego de Kabul, Mazar i Sharif, Bagdad, Falluja, Tikrit, Mosul, Estambul, Jerusalén, Jenin, Gaza, Grozny, Moscú, New York, Madrid, ahora le toca a Londres este 7 de Julio de 2005. ¡El terrorismo de los grandes Estados imperialistas nutre al terrorismo de los movimientos confesionales del fundamentalismo islámico!
- ¡La cólera y la violencia proletarias de los suburbios franceses anuncian las futuras tempestades sociales!

NÚMERO 46

Diciembre de 2005

el programa comunista

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LO QUE DISTINGUE A NUESTRO PARTIDO. Lo que nos «distingue» frente a la fundación de la Internacional Comunista y del Partido Comunista de Italia la lucha de clase de la corriente comunista contra la degeneración de la Internacional, contra el temor del «socialismo en un solo país» y la conversión revolucionaria al poder de los países imperialistas y al subdesarrollo político y teórico, como resultado de la «crisis» y «reconstrucción» de los países de avanzada de la derecha marxista del siglo revolucionario por el «partido de clase» - el resultado es la clase obrera - su lucha cotidiana de resistencia al capitalismo y la oposición burguesa. Para del poderío personal y discrecional, controlando desde los niveles revolucionarios, como resultado de un «socialismo» «totalitario» el poderío social proletario que rompe con la «pasividad» y el dogmatismo del colaboracionismo imperialista, el apoyo a todos los sectores de resistencia de la clase obrera sobre el terreno del socialismo revolucionario en la perspectiva de la revolución y que ensaya de la lucha de clases, del internacionalismo proletario y de la lucha revolucionaria anti-imperialista.

Precio del ejemplar: Europa: 3 € 2 £ 8 FS. 25 Krs - América latina: US\$ 1.5 - Canadá y USA: US\$ 3

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THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

Proletarian Anger and Violence in the Banlieues Promise Future Social Tempests!

accumulated during decades of discrimination, of promises never kept, of the constant degradation of living conditions. It is the anger of those who are French because they were born here and even have the papers to prove so, but who in reality do not enjoy the same rights as whites because they are of immigrant origin or from the old French colonies: a very real discrimination, a true situation of exclusion – even before the current introduction of the legislation of exclusion – organized voluntarily by French capitalism against a part of the proletariat which, in an economic and social crisis explodes without warning and pushes thousands of young people onto the streets.

This revolt is not directed towards precise political objectives, it does not present clear social objectives common to all proletarians. It is elemental, self-sustaining and while being directed towards destruction and conflagration, it takes aim at the immediate adversary: the police forces. It is inevitable that, in the immediate future or mid-term, it may be open to all recuperations, from the demagogic political groups to the religious forces or the organized delinquency.

The arrests and repression will do nothing but increase a little more the social fractures which exist in all capitalist society – **between proletarians and bourgeois, between proletarians and petty-bourgeois** – the profound depth and the irremediable violent outbursts which are concealed during normal times by all the artifices and all the ideologists of social peace. The iron fist of Sarkozy is the iron **fist of the bourgeoisie**, of a class which intends to maintain its domination on all society and its systematic exploitation of the proletariat. The outburst of repression and the recourse to the state of emergency **demonstrates in fact** the incapacity of the bourgeoisie to prevent the eruption of social contradictions by peaceful means. Initially, they all cry out for the **restoration of order!** But purses and pockets remain empty, daily life becomes more and more difficult and future prospects are completely blocked off!

The bourgeoisie cannot allow itself to lose control of the social situation. This enduring revolt which lasts and which extended through all the country

took a surprising direction, in a certain sense. It will be necessary for them to find those responsible, leaders, terrorist or other networks to charge with the responsibility for the riots. But faced with this explosion of elemental violence, the bourgeoisie calls on all the decent people, all responsible organizations, for a great peaceful union of democracy and all citizens to insulate and neutralize the bad elements, the rabble and other hooligans. The parties known as left respond to this newly-crowned union of the defenders of the established order, openly supporting the curfew (Socialist Party) or criticizing to the maximum only the insufficiency of the social measures ('smoke and mirrors') which accompany repression. All, like the trotskyist «Lutte Ouvrière», deplore the reduction in manpower of neighbourhood policing which perhaps could have prevented the social explosion!

THE REVOLT OF THE BANLIEUES ANNOUNCES THE RESUMPTION OF REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE

Today these children of proletarians, these children of immigrant workers, cannot count on a labor movement which could employ their energy in the struggles of the class to which they belong, whether they are conscious of it or not. There is not yet revolutionary class struggle to give a real prospect to their combat. But the internal contradictions of a society which accumulates enormous wealth in the fists of a relative handful of exploiters at the same time as it plunges the great masses into an endlessly increasing misery and precariousness, work objectively and inexorably towards the resumption of the authentic class struggle.

The proletariat will inevitably be led to launch open, violent and decisive confrontations with the bourgeoisie: not only against daily exploitation in the workplace, against the unbearable increase in the rhythms and the intensity of work, against the continuous exhaustion of the energy of the workers before throwing them onto the street, but also against intimidations and repressions of all types (without speaking about the gigantic swindle of electoral democracy), which become more and more intolerable when

the economic and social situation degrades in an accelerated way. All this contributes unceasingly to sharpen the fundamental antagonism between exploiters and exploited, between proletariat and bourgeoisie, the two fundamental classes of society.

The proletarians will have to understand that any reformist orientations, prospects for a national union between the classes, the democratic acceptance of the interests of capitalism (camouflaged behind an alleged general unity of interests), can only mean the sacrifice of their own interests, the weakening of their capacity to defend themselves against the increase in competition between workers. Any step towards interclassism, towards class collaboration, defense of bourgeois order and legality, towards respect for **the values and the principles of the Republic** is an additional blow against all proletarians!

There is strength in unity, as the proverb reminds us. But the union of all the citizens, the union of the people, this confused jumble of classes **serves only the bourgeoisie**, in times of peace as in times of war. The force to resist exploitation and social oppression can only be in the **union of proletarians for the fight against the bourgeoisie**, its system and its State. Then, the violence and angry outbursts produced by unbearable living conditions could be used to effectively defend the immediate interests of proletarians in reinforcing the revolutionary struggle in contributing to change the relationship of forces between exploiters and exploited.

The future prospect lies in the classist reorganization of the great proletarian masses, the resumption of the revolutionary class struggle, the reconstitution of the **revolutionary party**, essential body to direct the combat of all oppressed to put this lamentable society out of its misery.

Long Live the Revolt of the Young Proletarians of the Suburbs against Misery, Racism and Oppression! Long Live the Prospect for the Proletariat to Fight for Its Own Class Interests! Long Live the Resumption of the Generalized Class Struggle, Replying with the Same Violence which the Bourgeoisie Permanently Uses Against Proletarians!

(Leaflet October 11, 2005)

THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

No to the CPE !

For a Class Fightback against the Capitalist Attacks !

With the lying pretext of struggling against unemployment, the government, with its First Employment Contract (CPE or Contrat Première Embauche), is openly attacking young workers: they will be legally handed over to employers' arbitration, even while the bosses, who could fire them at any time without warning, will be free from national insurance contributions, i.e. of the "fringe benefits", that portion of the wage which is not paid to the worker but which is reallocated by the social institutions.

The CPE is as a matter of fact a derivative of the New Employment Contract (CNE or Contrat Nouvelle Embauche), established last summer, which concerns the engaging of workers irrespective of age by small firms. An official report has just confirmed, as if this was necessary, that the CNE did not help reduce unemployment (the rates continue to rise despite all tampering with the indices) but that it actually led to an increase in the precariousness of those who were engaged under this contract! The bosses, through the voice of the chairwoman of the Employers' Union, make it no secret that their aim is to increase the exploitation of the proletarians by generalizing precariousness and insecurity. After the attacks against Social Security, pensions, and unemployed workers, it is the former provisions of the Labor Code, limiting some of its excesses in order to preserve industrial peace, which now seem to be intolerable concessions to the workers.

In the same way, the government reinforces once again the pressure against **immigrant workers and their families** not only by iniquitous laws, but by pointing them out implicitly as troublemakers, or even potentially terrorists, in short subjecting them to escalating police harassments. This is not only a question of diminishing the whole working class by attacking one of its more vulnerable sections, but also of paralyzing it by stirring up by any means the racism which divides it.

The CPE and all these attacks are in keeping with the general tendency of capitalism to bend the workforce to its least requirements, including in the big and rich capitalist countries which dominate the world, to break them and make them mere labor power ready to do their master's bidding. The present economic

difficulties of capitalism which show themselves in increased competition in the worldwide market and which result in increasing clashes between States (including inside Europe: see the rivalries on the question of takeover bids between France and Italy, Spain and Germany...), and provoke in all countries the attacks of the capitalists against their workers in order to maintain or to augment their profits; in Germany, for instance, the different governments (from the left or from a union between the right and the left), after attacking pension plans, now want to impose the lengthening of the working week without any increase in wages!

FOR A CLASS FIGHTBACK AGAINST THE CAPITALIST ATTACKS !

Facing this capitalist offensive which, piece by piece, but inexorably, attacks the living and working conditions of proletarians, there is no other way to resist and to overcome than by real struggle. It is not by parliamentary activities, by stuffing paper rags into ballot-boxes (what was the use of the "no" vote at the referendum?), but only by the mobilization, the open struggle and the strike that it is possible to make the government and the bosses retreat. In order for this to happen, we must not count on the parliamentary left who, when they formed the government also multiplied anti-worker measures, generalized low paying jobs and opened the doors wide to precarity. But neither should this force us to count any more on the union leaderships which allowed the struggles over pensions to fail or which aborted last year's mobilization of the workers, diverting it into the deadlock of the referendum. Entirely acquiescent to **class collaboration** and to the **defence of the national capitalism**, they keep on producing the only thing that they know and can produce: the sabotage of the mobilization and the struggle. To fixate on the bureaucracy, as most of far left political groups do, in order to push them into struggle, at best amounts to allowing them to **strangle the movement**.

The one and only solution is the **return to the methods and the means of the class struggle**, in breaking with all the conciliating orientations with capitalist interests; it is the union between the

workers of all categories, between the young and the old, marginalized workers and employees with a stable job, men and women, French and immigrant workers; it is the organization for the struggle on a class basis, independent from the apparatuses of the professionals of industrial peace and collaboration between social classes. The proletarians, who produce all the wealth of society, have in their hands the strength to repulse all the bourgeois attacks, since they will join in the struggle on their own class basis and with their **class organizations**.

And then, they will also have the strength, guided by their reconstituted genuine **class party**, to overthrow this infamous capitalist society in which an impudent minority of bourgeois grow fat whereas the enormous masses of humanity know only unemployment, exploitation, misery and wars.

« le prolétaire »

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- Encore et toujours, soutien aux travailleurs sans papiers !
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- A bas l'intervention militaire française au Tchad !

THE STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

Against the CPE and all Bourgeois Attacks, one Solution: The Anti-capitalist Class Struggle!

WORKERS, COMRADES!

Facing mobilizations, strikes, blockades and demonstrations against the CPE (First Employment Contract), the authorities answered with brutal police repression, with the most shameful lies and the most total scorn against the youth in struggle: nothing astonishing because the CEP and all the so-called "Equality of opportunities" laws consider them only as fodder for exploitation who have just one right: to suffer. If until now the government has been demonstrating so much determination to not accept the abolition, amendment or distortion of the CPE, it is because beyond even this partial measure, its general political orientation is to reinforce and to widen the attacks against all the workers. Villepin has not concealed that, as the MEDEF (Bosses's Union) wishes, the ensuing attacks will turn against the CDI (indefinite duration contracts) and against the different regulations of the Labor Code – timid limits to the employers' arbitrary practices, previously conceded to maintain industrial peace – that today the employers' organization finds intolerably "rigid". This is the reason why the fat cats that he reunited in Matignon, encouraged him to not yield so as not to risk compromising these future "reforms": this "flexibility", i.e. the most entire submission of the workers to the requirements of capitalist exploitation which must become the rule!

The current attack against the youth comes immediately after the repression against the riots in the suburbs being a continuation of police crimes, and which goes hand-in-hand with a new toughening of measures against immigrant workers and immigrant people without papers. It is in keeping with an offensive of the bourgeoisie which has continued for years under different forms, whoever the government may be: they are the left governments which have instituted the low-paying jobs and annualize the work time (with the law on the 35 hours/week), etc. This offensive is taking place in all the countries – and more and more it provokes combative reactions by the proletariat. In Germany, the workers of regional Public Offices have been striking for weeks against the increasing of their work time without a rise in wages,

whereas the Christian social-democrat government is preparing some measures similar to the CPE (after that the labor and green government has even passed a series of anti-proletarian measures). It is not a question of a wrong policy which is due to the rightist government's spitefulness; it is the needs of capitalism which dictate their orientation to the left or right politicians – all are equally defenders of a system based on exploitation and oppression. It is against capitalism and against all its servants that we must fight!

WORKERS, COMRADES!

The university and high school students who, in their hundreds of thousands are struggling all over the country against the CPE, have been demonstrating that it is possible to overcome powerlessness and resignation, that it is possible to fight back against the capitalists and their State: only the struggle pays! But on one condition: that it is not a question of mere semblance of struggle and that it is not controlled by the professional saboteurs that the union leaderships or the left parties are, these fanatic defenders of the bourgeois order who destroyed all the movements that they could lead. They are doing everything that is possible to wreck the present struggle – and above all to avoid its generalization – with their safety-valve ritual "inter-professional action days": absolutely contrary to a real mobilization, they are useful only in exhausting the movement to make it more likely to abort.

In order to resist, there is no other choice than to take its struggles in hand, than to organize for the struggle independently from all reformist and collaborationist organizations, adopting genuine methods of struggle: the unity of all workers, old or young, with a job, precarious or jobless, French or foreigner, regardless of corporation, of firm, of sex or of race; strikes potentially unlimited in extension and duration led by elected and revocable strike committees, with occupation, blockades, strike pickets, etc., seeking out and organizing active solidarity with other workers and extension of the struggle. This return to the proletarian class struggle is a vital necessity to put a check on the bourgeois attacks. It

is also the condition to go tomorrow from the defence to the attack, i.e. to the struggle for the international communist revolution by which the workers of all countries, led by the worldwide communist party, will overthrow forever the bloody capitalist mode of production responsible for innumerable slaughters.

No to the CPE, to the CNE (New Employment Contract) and to the «Equal Chance» law! Against precariousness, definitive employment for casual workers; abolition of the CDD (definite time contracts), full wages for the unemployed! Revaluation of all social minimums! Regularization for immigrant people without papers! Abrogation of all the anti-worker laws! Amnesty for all the demonstrators and all the youth convicted after the riots in the banlieues!

**For the proletarian class struggle!
For the international communist revolution!**

(Leaflet, March 23, 2006)

THE TEXTS OF THE ICP #2 «PARTY AND CLASS»

Summary

- **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)**

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the texts of the
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PARTY AND CLASS

- **Theses on the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution (1920)**
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communist program publications

Party and Class

(Continued from page 1)

The «Theses on the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution» approved by the Second Congress of the Communist International are genuinely and deeply rooted in the Marxist doctrine. These theses take the definition of the relations between party and class as a starting point and establish that the class party can include in its ranks only a part of the class itself, never the whole nor even perhaps the majority of it. This obvious truth would have been better emphasized if it had been pointed out that one cannot even speak of a class unless a minority of this class tending to organize itself into a political party has come into existence. What in fact is a social class according to our critical method ? Can we possibly recognize it by the means of a purely objective external acknowledgment of the common economic and social conditions of a great number of individuals, and of their analogous positions in relationship to the productive process ? That would not be enough. Our method does not amount to a mere description of the social structure as it exists at a given moment, nor does it merely draw an abstract line dividing all the individuals composing society into two groups, as is done in the scholastic classifications of the naturalists. The Marxist critique sees human society in its movement, in its development in time; it utilizes a fundamentally historical and dialectical criterion, that is to say, it studies the connection of events in their reciprocal interaction. Instead of taking a snapshot of society at a given moment (like the old metaphysical method) and then studying it in order to distinguish the different categories into which the individuals composing it must be classified, the dialectical method sees history as a film unrolling its successive scenes; the class must be looked for and distinguished in the striking features of this movement. In using the first method we would be the target of a thousand objections from pure statisticians and demographers (shortsighted people if there ever were) who would reexamine our divisions and remark that there are not two classes, nor even three or four, but that there can be ten, a hundred or even a thousand classes separated by successive gradations and indefinable transition zones. With the second method, though, we make use of quite different criteria in order to distinguish that protagonist of historical tragedy, the class, and in order to define its characteristics,

its actions and its objectives, which become concretized into obviously uniform features among a multitude of changing facts; meanwhile the poor photographer of statistics only records these as a cold series of lifeless data. Therefore, in order to state that a class exists and acts at a given moment in history, it will not be enough to know, for instance, how many merchants there were in Paris under Louis XIV, or the number of English landlords in the Eighteenth Century, or the number of workers in the Belgian manufacturing industry at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. Instead, we will have to submit an entire historical period to our logical investigations; we will have to make out a social, and therefore political, movement which searches for its way through the ups and downs, the errors and successes, all the while obviously adhering to the set of interests of a strata of people who have been placed in a particular situation by the mode of production and by its developments. It is this method of analysis that Frederick Engels used in one of his first classical essays, where he drew the explanation of a series of political movements from the history of the English working class, and thus demonstrated the existence of a class struggle. This dialectical concept of the class allows us to overcome the statistician's pale objections. He does not have the right any longer to view the opposed classes as being clearly divided on the scene of history as are the different choral groups on a theatre scene. He cannot refute our conclusions by arguing that in the contact zone there are undefinable strata through which an osmosis of individuals takes place, because this fact does not alter the historical physiognomy of the classes facing one another.

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Therefore the concept of class must not suggest to us a static image, but instead a dynamic one. When we detect a social tendency, or a movement oriented towards a given end, then we can recognize the existence of a class in the true sense of the word. But then the class party exists in a material if not yet in a formal way. A party lives when there is the existence of a doctrine and a method of action. A party is a school of political thought and consequently an organization of struggle. The first characteristic is a fact of consciousness, the second is a fact of will, or more precisely of a striving towards a final end. Without those two characteristics, we do not yet

have the definition of a class. As we have already said, he who coldly records facts may find affinities in the living conditions of more or less large strata, but no mark is engraved in history's development. It is only within the class party that we can find these two characteristics condensed and concretized. The class forms itself as certain conditions and relationships brought about by the consolidation of new systems of production are developed - for instance the establishment of big factories hiring and training a large labor force; in the same way, the interests of such a collectivity gradually begin to materialize into a more precise consciousness, which begins to take shape in small groups of this collectivity. When the mass is thrust into action, only these first groups can foresee a final end, and it is they who support and lead the rest. When referring to the modern proletarian class, we must conceive of this process not in relationship to a trade category but to the class as a whole. It can then be realized how a more precise consciousness of the identity of interests gradually makes its appearance; this consciousness, however, results from such a complexity of experiences and ideas, that it can be found only in limited groups composed of elements selected from every category. Indeed only an advanced minority can have the clear vision of a collective action which is directed towards general ends that concern the whole class and which has at its core the project of changing the whole social regime. Those groups, those minorities, are nothing other than the party. When its formation (which of course never proceeds without arrests, crises and internal conflicts) has reached a certain stage, then we may say that we have a class in action. Although the party includes only a **part** of the class, only it can give the class its unity of action and movement, for it amalgamates those elements, beyond the limits of categories and localities, which are **sensitive** to the class and **represent** it. This casts a light on the meaning of this basic fact : the party is only a part of the class. He who considers a static and abstract image of society, and sees the class as a zone with a small nucleus, the party, within it, might easily be led to the following conclusion: since the whole section of the class remaining outside the party is almost always the majority, it might have a greater weight and a greater right. However if it is only

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Party and Class

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remembered that the individuals in that great remaining mass have neither class consciousness nor class will yet and live for their own selfish ends, or for their trade, their village, their nation, then it will be realized that in order to secure the action of the class as a whole in the historical movement, it is necessary to have an organ which inspires, unites and heads it—in short which officers it; it will then be realized that the party actually is the nucleus without which there would be no reason to consider the whole remaining mass as a mobilization of forces. The class presupposes the party, because to exist and to act in history it must possess a critical doctrine of history and an aim to attain in it.

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In the only true revolutionary conception, the direction of class action is delegated to the party. Doctrinal analysis, together with a Dumber of historical experiences, allow us to easily reduce to petty bourgeois and antirevolutionary ideologies, any tendency to deny the necessity and the predominance of the party's function.

If this denial is based on a democratic point of view, it must be subjected to the same criticism that Marxism uses to disprove the favorite theorems of bourgeois liberalism. It is sufficient to recall that, if the consciousness of human beings is the result, not the cause of the characteristics of the surroundings in which they are compelled to live and act, then never as a rule will the exploited, the starved and the underfed be able to convince themselves of the necessity of overthrowing the well-fed satiated exploiter laden with every resource and capacity. This can only be the exception. Bourgeois electoral democracy seeks the consultation of the masses, for it knows that the response of the majority will always be favorable to the privileged class and will readily delegate to that class the right to govern and to perpetuate exploitation. It is not the addition or subtraction of the small minority of bourgeois voters that will alter the relationship. The bourgeoisie governs with the majority, not only of all the citizens, but also of the workers taken alone. Therefore if the party called on the whole proletarian mass to judge the actions and initiatives of which the party alone has the responsibility, it would tie itself to a verdict that would almost certainly be favorable to the bourgeoisie. That

verdict would always be less enlightened, less advanced, less revolutionary, and above all less dictated by a consciousness of the really collective interest of the workers and of the final result of the revolutionary struggle, than the advice coming from the ranks of the organized party alone. The concept of the proletariat's **right** to command its own class action is only on abstraction devoid of any Marxist sense. It conceals a desire to lead the revolutionary party to enlarge itself by including less mature strata, since as this progressively occurs, the resulting decisions get nearer and nearer to the bourgeois and conservative conceptions. If we looked for evidence not only through theoretical enquiry, but also in the experiences history has given us, our harvest would be abundant. Let us remember that it is a typical bourgeois cliché to oppose the good «common sense» of the masses to the «evil» of a «minority of agitators», and to pretend to be most favorably disposed towards the exploiters interests. The right-wing currents of the workers movement, the social-democratic school, whose reactionary tenets have been clearly shown by history, constantly oppose the masses to the party and pretend to be able to find the will of the class by consulting on a scale wider than the limited bounds of the party. When they cannot extend the party beyond all limits of doctrine and discipline in action, they try to establish that its main organs must not be those appointed by a limited number of militant members, but must be those which have been appointed for parliamentary duties by a larger body—actually, parliamentary groups always belong to the extreme right wing of the parties from which they come.

The degeneration of the social-democratic parties of the Second International and the fact that they apparently became less revolutionary than the unorganized masses, are due to the fact that they gradually lost their specific party character precisely through workerist and «laborist» practices. That is, they no longer acted as the vanguard preceding the class but as its mechanical expression in an electoral and corporative system, where equal importance and influence is given to the strata that are the least conscious and the most dependent on egotistical claims of the proletarian class itself. As a reaction to this epidemic, even before the war, there developed a tendency, particularly in Italy, advocating internal party discipline, rejecting new recruits who were not yet welded to our revolutionary doctrine, opposing the autonomy of parliamentary groups and local organs, and recommending that the

party should be purged of its false elements. This method has proved to be the real antidote for reformism, and forms the basis of the doctrine and practice of the Third International, which puts primary importance on the role of the party—that is a centralized, disciplined party with a clear orientation on the problems of principles and tactics. The same Third International judged that the «collapse of the social democratic parties of the Second International was by no means the collapse of proletarian parties in general» but, if we may say so, the failure of organisms that had forgotten they were parties because they had stopped being parties.

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There is also a different category of objection to the communist concept of the party's role. These objections are linked to another form of critical and tactical reaction to the reformist degeneracy: they belong to the syndicalist school, which sees the class in the economic trade unions and pretends that these are the organs capable of leading the class in revolution. Following the classical period of the French, Italian and American syndicalism, these apparently left-wing objections found new formulations in tendencies which are on the margins of the Third International. These too can be easily reduced to semi-bourgeois ideologies by a critique of their principles as well as by acknowledging the historical results they led to.

These tendencies would like to recognize the class within an organization of its own—certainly a characteristic and a most important one—that is, the craft or trade unions which arise before the political party, gather much larger masses and therefore better correspond to the whole of the working class. From an abstract point of view, however, the choice of such a criterion reveals an unconscious respect for that selfsame democratic lie which the bourgeoisie relies on to secure its power by the means of inviting the majority of the people to choose their government. In other theoretical viewpoints, such a method meets with bourgeois conceptions when it entrusts the trade unions with the organization of the new society and demands the autonomy and decentralization of the productive functions, just as reactionary economists do. But our present purpose is not to draw out a complete critical analysis of the syndicalist doctrines. It is sufficient to remark, considering the result of historical experience, that the extreme right wing members of the proletarian movement have always advocated the same point of view, that is, the representation

of the working class by trade unions; indeed they know that by doing so, they soften and diminish the movement's character, for the simple reasons that we have already mentioned. Today the bourgeoisie itself shows a sympathy and an inclination, which are by no means illogical, towards the unionization of the working class; indeed the more intelligent sections of the bourgeoisie would readily accept a reform of the state and representative apparatus in order to give a larger place to the «apolitical» unions and even to their claims to exercise control over the system of production. The bourgeoisie feels that, as long as the proletariat's action can be limited to the immediate economic demands that are raised trade by trade, it helps to safeguard the status-quo and to avoid the formation of the perilous «political» consciousness – that is, the only consciousness which is revolutionary for it aims at the enemy's vulnerable point, the possession of power.

Past and present syndicalists, however, have always been conscious of the fact that most trade unions are controlled by right wing elements and that the dictatorship of the petty bourgeois leaders over the masses is based on the union bureaucracy even more than on the electoral mechanism of the social-democratic pseudo-parties. Therefore the syndicalists, along with very numerous elements who were merely acting by reaction to the reformist practice, devoted themselves to the study of new forms of union organization and created new unions independent from the traditional

ones. Such an expedient was theoretically wrong for it did not go beyond the fundamental criterion of the economic organization: that is, the automatic admission of all those who are placed in given conditions by the part they play in production, without demanding special political convictions or special pledges of actions which may require even the sacrifice of their lives. Moreover, in looking for the «producer» it could not go beyond the limits of the «trade», whereas the class party, by considering the «proletarian» in the vast range of his conditions and activities, is alone able to awaken the revolutionary spirit of the class. Therefore, that remedy which was wrong theoretically also proved inefficient in actuality. In spite of everything, such recipes are constantly being sought for even today. A totally wrong interpretation of Marxist determinism and a limited conception of the part played by facts of **consciousness** and **will** in the formation, under the original influence of economic factors, of the revolutionary forces, lead a great number of people to look for a «mechanical» system of organization that would almost automatically organize the masses according to each individual's part in production; according to these illusions, such a device by itself would be enough to make the mass ready to move towards revolution with the maximum revolutionary efficiency.

Thus the illusory solution reappears, which consists of thinking that the everyday satisfaction of economical needs can be reconciled with the final result of

the overthrow of the social system by relying on an organizational form to solve the old antithesis between limited and gradual conquests and the maximum revolutionary program. But – as was rightly said in one of the resolutions of the majority of the German Communist Party at a time when these questions (which later provoked the secession of the KAPD) were particularly acute in Germany – **revolution is not a question of the form of organization.**

Revolution requires an organization of active and positive forces united by a doctrine and a final aim. Important strata and innumerable individuals will remain outside this organization even though they materially belong to the class in whose interest the revolution will triumph. But the class lives, struggles, progresses and wins thanks to the action of the forces it has engendered from its womb in the pains of history. The class originates from an immediate homogeneity of economic conditions which appear to us as the primary motive force of the tendency to destroy and go beyond the present mode of production. But in order to assume this great task, the class must have its own thought, its own critical method, its own will bent on the precise ends defined by research and criticism, and its own organization of struggle channelling and utilizing with the utmost efficiency its collective efforts and sacrifices. All this constitutes the Party.

(«Rassegna Comunista» no 2, April 15, 1921. Issued in english in «Communist Program» N° 2, March 1976)

The Abolition of Wage Labor Means the Abolition of Production for the Sake of Production

The Marxist critique of bourgeois society is essentially the critique of wage labor. The Marxist condemnation of capitalism is essentially the condemnation of production for the sake of production. Bourgeois prejudice and Stalinist lies have corroded minds so severely that these points are generally not understood. Consequently it is constantly necessary for Marxists to bring attention to them and explain what they mean.

Capital does not consist in accumulated labor serving living labor as a means for new production. It consists in living labor serving accumulated labor as a means for maintaining and multiplying the exchange value of the

latter ... Thus capital presupposes wage labor; wage labor presupposes capital. They reciprocally condition the existence of each other; they reciprocally bring forth each other (Wage Labor and Capital).

In the historical as well as the logical perspective, wage labor, in its generalized form, and production for the sake of production are inseparably connected. Wage labor can only be generalized if the majority of the population has no means of production and, in general, no property at its disposal. In these circumstances the vast majority of mankind is obliged to sell its life – more precisely, its labor power – to an alien

force in exchange for money. This alien force as everyone knows, is the social class that owns the means of production. Like all previous ruling classes in history, this class endeavours to appropriate the means to enjoy its existence without itself taking part in social production, without submitting to the obligation to work.

This would lead one to believe that the object of capitalist production lies in the satisfaction of the ruling class' needs and that the lives of the vast majority of mankind are subordinated to this object. In reality things are not quite

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The Abolition of Wage Labor Means the Abolition of Production for the Sake of Production

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so simple. If it were exclusively a question of supporting a handful of capitalists, then even if they had colossal appetites it would not be necessary for millions upon millions of humans to work themselves to death daily in the mad frenzy of production. The consumption needs of the financial and industrial and financial oligarchy as well as the state bureaucracy are totally out of proportion to the billions of hours of work contributed annually by the wage earning population in all the advanced industrial countries. Everyone knows that a business which paid its wage laborers too much would run a greater risk than if it only paid out an insufficient dividend in the eyes of its shareholders. Such a business would be shipwrecked, bankrupt. And any state that did business in the same way would go bankrupt, too. Only in the absence of the prejudices of bourgeois political economy, and only in the light of the facts of tangible reality, is it possible to understand that capitalist economy, far from corresponding to the personal needs of the members of the bourgeoisie (much less the needs of the wage laborers), obeys **the impersonal laws of capital** which force themselves even upon the ruling class!

As we have been told **ad nauseam**, these laws require the **reduction of production costs**. This command rings out from the factories, where the productive workers are employed, to all other firms and all private and public administrations, and consequently to the entire wage earning population. The **dictatorship of the market** provides the explanation for the following paradoxical fact: the more wealth mankind produces or can produce, the more feverishly it must work, the more strictly must it hold its needs in check, the worse it lives in the final analysis – if, contrary to the capitalists, we do not take live well to mean buy more.

Then it has to be admitted that the object of production is not social consumption, but production itself! In present day decadent capitalism even the most insipid intellect is shocked by this absurdity, and innumerable people can be found who ask with real or feigned **naivety**: Why economic growth? This is gratifying to know because the most commonplace reality forces millions of humans who have never read a learned book called *Capital* by Karl Marx to recognize a truth that has been

proclaimed for over a century: **the standpoint of capitalism is production for the sake of production and not for the satisfaction of the needs of society**. This is the case because capitalism produces **commodities**, and not **use values**.

Under these circumstances, what is the character of a **social revolution** that transforms the whole basis of production? It is this: the class which possesses no means of production or means of existence and which is consequently condemned to wage labor appropriates everything it needs for the assurance of its collective existence. The collective appropriation of social products for the satisfaction of collectively determined needs means the abolition of values as an objective quality possessed by these products.

The standpoint of the class of wage laborers cannot be the «reduction of production costs», for in the last analysis what capitalism refers to as production costs is **human life itself**, which it has reduced to a fairly wretched thing! Simply formulated, the proletarian standpoint lies in **increasing production costs!** Therefore the class of wage laborers should be preoccupied not with working more intensively as the productivity of labor increases, but just the opposite, with utilizing increased productivity to free itself from the ancient yoke of labor. Anyone who isn't a hypocritical born-again holy-roller, a blood sucking bourgeois, or an opportunist pimp can comprehend this easily.

As long as there existed alongside capitalism a wide range of small commodity production whose effective social yield was exceedingly scanty and which condemned the producers to a purely private, isolated, and hence more barbarous existence than the life of the proletarians, this standpoint of the class of wage laborers could not yet appear as the **interest of society as a whole**. For the same reason it could not yet become a reality. But ever since capitalism prevailed over more backward modes of production the interest of society as a whole has been **identical** with the interest of the class of wage laborers. All particular interests must be mercilessly subordinated to this interest; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the victory of this interest. The capitalist norm of **free enterprise** will be suppressed completely, both in the «democratic» West and in the allegedly «socialist» East. In Russia and China its operation has only been restricted rather than eliminated (more-

over it is being extended again today under the pressure of the market) as is the case with a single factory of a large enterprise **vis-à-vis** the head office or with a state industry in the West (e.g., the post office) **vis-à-vis** the state. «*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*» (**Socialism, Utopian and Scientific**: our emphasis).

Whether the **entrepreneur** appears as a private individual or the State, «free enterprise» represents nothing other than a **particular interest**. It acts as if it were the centre of the universe. It lays hold of as much means of production and raw materials and employs as many workers as its capital and its sales prospects enable it to, without asking itself if these means of production and this labor power might not be more useful in another field of activity. It produces as many of its particular commodity as it can dispose of on the market without asking itself if other goods might not be more useful for society. And it is even prepared to go as far as to wage a «psychological war» against the whole population in order to convince it that it has a **need** for this particular commodity.

Both private management and state management lead to the same result, and the enterprise as the navel of the world leads to such absurdities that it becomes increasingly intolerable. The principle that will be introduced with the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be the direct determination of production **by the whole of society**.

PARTY'S PRESS

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This presupposes that the previous individual enterprises have been fused together into a harmonious, cohesive whole, which is only possible if the distribution of workers among different branches of production and spheres of activity in general, today transpiring as a result of economic speculation and competition, is **centrally administered and proceeds from the needs of society**. Only in this way will society avoid having too much steel (and weapons!) and too little food; too much transportation and too little living space; or too many films, recordings, and books, and too few educational and health services. In place of the **anarchy** of capitalist production, communists *«demand the strictest control, by society and the state, of the quantity of labor and the quantity of consumption; only this control must start with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the control of the workers over the capitalists, and must be carried out, not by a state of bureaucrats, but by a state of armed workers»* (*State and Revolution*: our emphasis).

It is peculiar that, on the one hand, to the extent the capitalist yoke becomes increasingly suffocating, the whole world understands better and better the necessity of a centrally planned economy. But on the other hand – and the action of opportunism is responsible for this – very few people understand that a harmonious, cohesive form of social economy can only replace free enterprise when goods are no longer produced as commodities, that is, as values that fetch a price in money, as exchange values! Nevertheless, within a present-day factory the different departments do not «exchange» their products. The assembly department, for example, receives its parts from another department without having to buy them. Within the factory the labor time expended on every step is accurately calculated in order to avoid small-scale waste, whereas on the level of the whole society large-scale waste is the rule! These quantities of labor do not assume the form of values. Only when the product is finished and about to leave the factory does it acquire a price in money.

Each product must compulsorily «leave» the factory because the factory boundaries are too narrow and because on the broader frontier of social production, considered on the scale of a country, a continent, or even the whole world, innumerable individual factories move around like confused molecules. When the narrow boundaries of the factory have been extended to embrace the

social production of a country, of a continent, and finally of the whole world – in other words, when within the total economy the factory occupies the place of the present-day department within a factory (this is the precise meaning of socialization of the means of production) – then it will no longer be necessary for products to acquire a price. Furthermore, this will be completely impossible because value and price can only arise **on the boundary of the system**. They will disappear completely as soon as this system includes the whole world. Capitalist commodity production will **yield** to the extent that the socialist revolution gains ground. This does not mean that capitalism will survive **as long as** the revolution has not taken hold of the whole world, but that it will disappear **only** where the proletariat has already seized power. Still, in the words of the *Manifesto*: *«United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat»*.

Now the abolition of commodity production necessarily means the **abolition of wage labor itself**. Wages are never anything other than the price of a particular commodity: labor power. Besides the market in general, wage labor **presupposes** the labor market, that is, **anarchy in the allocation of labor power**. If products no longer represent values, and if the allocation of labor power is no longer subject to the accidental laws of the market, then it is also impossible to consider labor power itself as an exchange value and to give it a market price. The members of society, henceforth undertaking collectively social labor, which meanwhile has been simplified enormously, will no longer be «paid» for their real or alleged «services». The part of the social product destined for consumption is available to each individual as his share.

This is what is meant by **the abolition of wage labor**, which has always been a synonym for communism, to Marx and three or four generations of revolutionaries. One need not be a great theoretician to understand that there is nothing «utopian» or «impracticable» about it. And finally, it expresses something that all wage laborers who have not been turned completely into vegetables by opportunism already know in their hearts: *Men should work in order to live, instead of living in order to work!*

Our party is devoted to the cause that will make this historical necessity a reality, the **COMMUNIST REVOLUTION!**

(*Communist Program*, N° 6 - September 1980)

« IL COMUNISTA »

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PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

The International Communist Party is constituted on the basis of the following principles established at Leghorn in 1921 on the foundation of the Communist Party of Italy (Section of the Communist International):

1. In the present capitalist social regime there develops an increasing contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, giving rise to the antithesis of interests and to the class struggle between the proletariat and the ruling bourgeoisie.

2. The present day production relations are protected by the power of the bourgeois State, that, whatever the form of representative system and the use of 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 his exploitation derives, without the violent destruction of the bourgeois power.

4. The indispensable organ of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is the class party. The Communist Party consists of the most advanced and resolute part of the proletariat, unites the efforts of the working masses transforming their struggles for group interests and contingent issues into the general struggle for the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat. It is up to the Party to propagate revolutionary theory among the masses, to organize the material means of action, to lead the working class during its struggle, securing the historical continuity and the international unity of the movement.

5. After it has smashed the power of the capitalist State, the proletariat must completely destroy the old State apparatus in order to organize itself as the 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 program that the Communist Party sets itself and of which it is characteristic. It is this party therefore which exclusively represents, organizes and directs the proletarian dictatorship.

6. Only the force of the proletarian State will be able to systematically put into effect the necessary measures for intervening in the relations of the social economy, by means of which the collective administration of production and distribution will take the place of the capitalist system.

7. This transformation of the economy and consequently of the whole social life will lead to the gradual elimination of the necessity for the political State, which will progressively give way to the rational administration of human activities.

* * *

Faced with the situation in the capitalist world and the workers' movement following the Second World War the position of the Party is the following :

8. In the course of the first half of the twentieth century the capitalist social system has been developing, in the economic field, creating monopolistic trusts among the employers, and trying to control and manage production and exchange according to central plans with State management of whole sectors of production. In the political field, there has been an increase of the police and 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 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 disintegration of capitalism is inevitable because it has entered the phase when its expansion, instead of signifying a continual increment of the productive forces, is conditioned by repeated and ever-growing destruction. These wars have caused repeated deep crises in the workers' world organizations because the dominant classes could impose on them military and national solidarity with one or the other of the belligerents. The opposing historical solution for which we fight, is the awakening of the class struggle, leading to civil war, the destruction of all international coalitions by the reconstitution of the International Communist Party as an autonomous force independent of any existing political or military power.

10. It is from its revolutionary nature and not its conformity to any existing constitutional model that the proletarian State draws its power for social reorganization.

The most complete historical example of such a State up to the present is that of the Soviets (workers' councils) which were created during the October 1917 revolution, when the working class armed itself under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The Constituent Assembly having been dissolved, they became the exclusive organs of power repelling the attacks by foreign bourgeois governments and stamping out inside the country the rebellion of the vanquished classes and of the middle class and opportunist sections which are inevitable allies of the counter-revolution at the decisive moment.

11. The integral realization of socialism within the limits of one country is inconceivable and the socialist transformation cannot be carried out without failures and momentary set-backs. 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 seized power.