

Proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

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

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Despite its crises **Capitalism will only collapse under the blows of the proletarian struggle!**

The financial crisis which really began in the summer 2007 with the first bankruptcies of funds specializing in the famous American subprimes, has inexorably increased its sheer magnitude before entering its acute phase commencing at the end of this summer.

For a year the highest ranking financial and political officials

But starting from mid-September the soothing discourses gave way to the most alarmist declarations: the reason is that the crisis started to get completely out of control, not only the American but the international financial system, like a patient in the terminal phase, no longer reacting to the drastic remedies, following one another with an accelerating rapidity: “rescues” of banks in difficulties, the decision of the US government to take responsibility for the dubious derivative debts of the banks, gigantic injections of liquidities, the historic drop in interest rates decided on by the interna-

tional Central banks, etc.

In the last days of September the full force of the financial crisis lashed Europe, whose official discourses praised the solidity of the banks against all available evidence (all of the large European banks, from the Swiss UBS to the French Crédit Agricole, without speaking about British Northern Rock which fell into bankruptcy last November, had for months acknowledged having lost billions of euros!).

On September 26, the German Minister for the economy still declared haughtily that because of their crisis, the United

States was going to lose their status of “financial superpower” and that a new multipolar world balance was going to emerge in which the euro and the economies in its zone would create a level playing field with the dollar and the US economy.

A few days were enough to show the brittleness of these desires of German imperialism: the large Belgian-Dutch Fortis bank (n°1 in Belgium where half of the households have accounts, n°2 in Holland) was reinflated in extremis by a unit-

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The sole historical Perspective: World War or Communist Revolution !

The depth of the counter-revolution which ensured world capitalism a long period of the absence of the proletariat from the historical scene, is not in a position however to be able to avoid the increasing maturation of its internal contradictions which sooner or later will bring the crucial alternative to the forefront: general war between capitalist States or international communist revolution.

Why should we speak about counter-revolution, when for decades the dominant bourgeois classes have not been threatened by proletarian revolution in any country?

Because to maintain itself as dominant class and to preserve the political power which enables it to appropriate social wealth, the bourgeoisie is unceasingly forced to increase its economic

exploitation and its political and social oppression over the proletariat of all countries, ultra- or underdeveloped and the majority of the population of the world. Throughout its history, the bourgeoisie has experienced the power of the proletariat, undoubtedly in rare moments, but Oh how significant, being able to drive it out of power: look at the revolutionary wave born of October 1917, without even going back to the Commune of 1871. That led it to act, with a kind of spontaneousness, on the line of **counter-revolutionary invariance**. Its class consciousness tells it that there is or that there will be a threat towards its power, a threat represented not by the petit bourgeoisie or the peasants, but by the proletarian class.

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ed action of the governments of Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, the Dexia bank (of which the main customers in France are primarily local government agencies) by the French and Belgian governments; while the German government was constrained to organize the rescue of the real estate bank Hypo Real and initial concerns surfaced regarding the leading Italian bank, Unicredit.

The hope that the European countries were going to be able to better resist a specifically American crisis, was however definitively to take flight at the conclusion of the first week of October; not only had these first bailouts come to grief, not only had the situation worsened brutally in the United Kingdom, but moreover, in spite of the repeated assertions to the opposite, the European countries appeared unable to act in a coordinated way, each country thinking only of saving its own interests, even if this was to the detriment of its partners.

Germany and Great Britain, still convinced of their superiority, were resolutely opposed to any prospect for the creation of common European funds for the rescue of the banks proposed by the Dutch, the French and the Italians: the European Union means that each state acts according to its own standards the German Chancellor explained curtly at the time of the "mini-summit" of October 3, which therefore did not arrive at any decision. The Irish State had decided unilaterally on September 30 to guarantee the totality of the deposits in its banks; it was severely criticized at the time of the summit by English and German financiers for whom this meant unfair competition for their own banks; but during the weekend of the 4-5, the German government, confronted with the failure of the rescue of Hypo Real and with the unexpected deterioration of the health of its financial system, decided, also in a completely unilateral way, to take same measures; in the emergency the Austrian and Danish governments were also constrained to decree that very night to guarantee deposits to avoid a flight of capital towards Germany!

The British, furious at the German about-face, had no other choice than to resort to an "extreme" measure to preserve their own financial system: it was to be the proposal for a quasi-nationalization of its principal banks. The government of the United Kingdom proposed

that other European countries follow its example, which they refused as one man... for four days.

In the same way the unilateral decision of the Dutch government to nationalize its local Fortis branch to safeguard its national interests, without even informing its "associates" in Belgium and Luxembourg of this, obliged the latter two to do the same: the only truly international reaction to the crisis in the aforementioned "united Europe", has thus arrived at this miserable finish.

To complete the grim tableau, it is necessary to quote the case of little Iceland (a nonadherent to the European Union) which had undergone a record economic boom for a few years, founded on an exuberant growth of its financial activities. Lashed full force by the economic crisis, finding itself virtually in bankruptcy according to government statements, it decided on nationalization of its banks and concomitant freezing of deposits held there, several tens of thousands of which are British (in particular accounts opened by municipalities), which would be extremely difficult for the Icelandic State to refund. Great Britain reacted by using an anti-terrorist law... to freeze Icelandic funds located in British banks!

Given its degree of severity, the crisis cannot but revive all national antagonisms which exist including those within this cartel of States that Europe constitutes, making any united action beyond certain dimensions problematic. This incapacity of Europeans to decide on united action contributed more than a little to the weakening of the single currency, the euro, compared to the dollar and the yen; it shows in a glaring fashion the brittleness of the aforesaid "European construction", and the insurmountable incapacity of Europe to present itself in the form of a potential rival to the United States on the world scene.

The second week of October saw the financial crisis reaching its paroxysm following the failure of all the increasingly desperate attempts to put an end to it: neither the famous American "Paulson Plan" to inject 700 billion dollars, nor the interventions of the central banks, the British decisions, nor even the appeals of the president of the European Central Bank (ECB) for everyone "to regain their spirits" even as the crisis struck the world's second largest economy, Japan, full force, could prevent the world stock exchanges from undergoing a true Crash.

Except for the Moscow Stock Exchange and certain exchanges in Latin America, up until the present there have been no collapses in one session comparable with "Black Monday" of October 1929; however, the majority of the exchanges experienced in the beginning of October, at the conclusion of continual falls, the worst week since the crash of 1987 (as in Paris), sometimes worse than 1929 (as in New York): in one week at the beginning of October the exchange dropped 19.8% on Wall Street compared with 13.17% in 1987 and 9.12% in 1929; it was down 24% in Tokyo, 22.5% in Brazil, 21.6% in Frankfurt, 21.5% in Paris, 19.8% in Madrid, 19.3% in India... (1)

CRISIS OF FINANCE? ***CRISIS OF CAPITALISM!***

According to the most current "explanations", the present crisis would be due to the excess of credit spread by the "greed" of unscrupulous bankers and to the insufficiency of the rules and regulation of financial activities. It's the same old story resorted to at the outbreak of each crisis! Quite a while ago Marx mocked an English parliamentary commission which attributed the cause of the economic crisis of 1857-58 to "*the excess of speculation and the abuse of credit*"; and he retorted: "*Of what nature therefore are the social relations which almost regularly cause these periods of self-mystification, super-speculation and fictitious credit? Consequent to their discovery, one would arrive at a very simple alternative: either society can control the social conditions of the society, or those conditions are immanent in the present social system. In the first case, society can avoid crises, in the second it must undergo them like the natural change of the seasons, as long as the system remains*" (2).

It has been one hundred and fifty years since these lines were written and demonstration has been made and remade that the capitalist company is unable to regulate itself and is incompetent to prevent the periodic return of crises, which surprise it each time. The Marxist writings give the mechanism of these periodic crises of capitalism; for example Engels, in "Anti-Duhring":

"As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilised peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, facto-

ries are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filters off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after break-neck leaps, ends where it began - in the ditch of a crash."(3).

Compared to the nineteenth century, capitalism has developed enormously, engulfing the whole planet, but its laws of operation have not changed. As always, it is the engorgement of the markets, overproduction, which causes the crisis, even when, like today, this crisis initially manifests itself more glaringly as a financial crisis, caused by "speculation" and the disappearance of credit (particularly interbank credit which is vital for the circulation of capital).

The bourgeoisie, their experts and their politicians whether of the left or right-wing, show that they do not understand anything of the workings of their economy when they propose as a solution to the crisis only reforms to regulate and to reconfigure the banking and financial framework: they either do not wish to or cannot see that it is the fundamental mechanism of capitalistic production which inevitably causes increasingly violent crises until there is no longer any other prospect but a new world war to destroy the excess productive forces and to recommence a new cycle of accumulation - unless the proletarian revolution overthrows capitalism. It is quite possible that they will manage to juggle the financial crash, to save the banking institutions, to restore credit thanks to the implementation of all the official means, including the nationalization of the banking environment which means that the State becomes the bank (or vice versa!); if all is well, the financial crisis could then be "solved" (at the price of astronomical State debts), but the economic crisis which was the real cause, will always be there!

THE SPECTRE OF 1929

The extent of the current financial crisis, its depth and its world extension are such that all the commentators, and the whole media speak about a financial crisis comparable with that of 1929, even

if they add at once that it will not have the same consequences, because the people in charge will not make the same errors, the lessons of the crisis of the Thirties having been drawn. One could point out to them that for fifteen years successive US governments, under the pressure of the financiers, busied themselves obliterating all the institutional defenses which were set up way back then, and which everyone now swears to reinstall...

But the most important thing is to know what to think about this comparison. There is hardly doubt that the extent of the financial crisis is sufficient to conclude that the global economic recession will be much more serious than any in the last 25 years; but the reference to 1929 recalls a crisis of historic dimensions which, unlike the more or less accentuated recessions which punctuate the economic movement of capitalism, had brutal and durable consequences not only on economic growth, but also on the political and social equilibrium of the countries affected as well as on the international political equilibrium.

Our current has always affirmed that the unprecedented economic expansion undergone by capitalism since the end of the Second World War would inevitably lead to a great general crisis of overproduction - of the 1929 type to give an idea of the magnitude - and which brings back into focus the alternative **war or revolution**.

As long as capitalism has growth prospects, it is indeed able to "amortize" social tensions and it is consequently vain to hope for the opening up of a revolutionary period (this is what the immediatist crowd in 1968 could not assimilate, their motto being "take your desires for reality"). But when it is threatened by asphyxiation from overproduction, it is necessary for it to relentlessly attack the proletarians in order to clear profits at any cost, while preparing the war which by massive destruction of goods, commodities, productive forces - including human productive forces, proletarians - will enable it to solve the crisis and to recommence a new cycle of accumulation.

Are we at this point?

To try to answer, let us see what the characteristics of "1929" are, taken as the classic example of a great crisis of overproduction, such as these are defined in work of the party (4). They go well beyond the traditional plunge in the market of black Monday (October 28) where the Wall Street Stock Exchange lost 13% (a record drop which will be exceeded only by the crash of October 1987); because if the brutal collapse of the markets spectacularly signified the outbreak of the

crisis, economic recession had commenced in the previous months; and it is this recession which in last analysis caused the bursting of the speculative stock exchange "bubble" which, in its turn, had devastating consequences on the economy.

Commencing in 1929, the crisis finished in 1932; 1933 was indeed a year of recovery, though still hesitant. In spite of very important measures of State interventions known as the "New Deal", a violent relapse took place in 1937-38, which experienced a rapid resolution in... the unleashing of the world war which enabled production to recommence on a gigantic scale.

After 3 years of this crisis, industrial production, which is the most significant index, fell 44%, which corresponds to an average fall of 17.5% per annum. In 1929 unemployment was only 3.2%: it reached the enormous figure of 23.5% in 1932, that is to say an annual average increase of 8%. The figures of the market indexes show an average fall of 37.5%.

In addition to these elements, a very important characteristic of the crisis of 1929 was deflation, this nightmare which the capitalists still fear today: wholesale prices (reflecting cost of production) dropped by 12% on average per annum (retail prices, costs to the consumer, also fell, but as always, to a lesser extent). Finally the fall in wages is the last important criterion of the crisis, while noting that it is partly compensated by the fall in consumer prices: it is possible that the crisis hurt sectors of the capitalists more than it hurt the sections of the working class who still had jobs (many capitalists are broken by a big crisis, precipitated out of their class and proletarianized)! From 1929 to its low-point in March 1933, average weekly wages in industry dropped by 56%, while consumer prices dropped by 28% (5).

In short, a great catastrophic crisis of overproduction in the Marxist sense of the term, is marked by a general fall in production costs, a severe reduction in production, a very large increase in unemployment, a fall in wages, a collapse of profits - and all this throughout the course of several years - , and not merely by a crash in the stock market.

The evolution of capitalism for eighty years could not but have had consequences on the eruption and the course of a great crisis of overproduction: on one side, the much greater importance of the weight of the State in the economy, even after the cure of "liberalism" pursued throughout the last decades, makes it possible for capitalism to somewhat cushion the shocks and furnishes it with weapons of "anticyclical" policy which

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cannot be usefully compared with what existed in 1929, as we can see before our eyes; on the other side, the hypertrophy of the financial sector and the generalization of the debt economy on a previously unheard of scale increase, the potential instability of the whole economic system, making enormously more problematic the government interventions (to the point of threatening the bankruptcy of the States themselves!) (6); while “globalization”, i.e. the increased internationalization of the economy and the acceleration of worldwide financial circulation, parallel the diminishing possibilities of action by national States. The productive forces have become more powerful and more important than the official bourgeois structures which seek to control them!

The current crisis presents itself at first sight above all as a financial crisis, and from this point of view it seems for the moment to be **more serious** than that of 1929; not only is the annual fall in market indices quite significantly larger than at that time, but for a year now we have had the collapse of financial institutions and a crisis of the credit which had taken place at the time and manifested itself only lately, and this in spite of the massive and repeated interventions of Central banks and States.

But as regards the other criteria, the difference with the crisis of the Thirties is striking: industrial production in the large countries still displays only a much weaker reduction: the last figures available (July or August, according to the countries) indicate a variation compared to the previous year, of -1.5% for the United States, -1.7% for the Euro-states (-2% for France, -3% for Spain, -3.2% for Italy, but +1.7% for Germany), -2% for Canada, -2.3% for the United Kingdom, the grand prize going to Japan: -6.9% (while China announced +12.8%!); unemployment began increasing only recently to reach 6.1% in the United States, 7.5% in the euro zone and 4.2% in Japan (the statistics on unemployment are not very compatible from one country to another, and in general are among the least reliable) (7); the profits of American companies dropped only by 3.8% (annual rate) in the second quarter, primarily in the financial sector, after a strong growth for 4 years until the middle of 2007; the financial authorities fought not against deflation but against a return of inflation; as for wages, if an American forecast indicates

that average wages will experience a fall unprecedented since the Thirties in this country, this announced fall would hardly exceed 10% (8) and so on.

In a word the ultramodern capitalism of the twenty-first century, thanks to the methods of official intervention in the economy inaugurated eighty years ago ago by Fascism and Rooseveltian Imperialism, have up to now succeeded in slowing down the crisis, dampering it, in order to postpone the consequences.

In the final analysis, will it succeed in preventing it from erupting in its full force?

It is impossible to dismiss this alternative; but such a capitalist victory would only be Pyrrhic: instead of undergoing a violent but relatively short crisis, it would be hobbled with a more creeping but prolonged crisis which it would be much more difficult for it to overcome, and this at the price of a future crisis made even more serious and insurmountable by the means used to fight the current one...

**CAPITALISM
WILL NOT SELF-DESTRUCT!**

At the end of September the German social democrat Minister for the economy, Peer Steinbrück, affirmed in an interview with “*der Spiegel*” that “*certain parts of the theory of Marx are not so false*” and in particular that according to which “*capitalism will not self-destruct through greed*”; on October 15, the recent presidential candidate of the French SP echoed him while proclaiming in a meeting: “*Marx said capitalism will destroy itself and well here we are!*”.

Actually Marx said that capitalism above all **created its own grave-diggers** - which is completely different. Whatever the evolution of the current crisis, even if it proved to be the beginning of the great catastrophic crisis awaited by Marxists, one thing is sure: capitalism will not self-destruct, any more than the modes of production which preceded it in the history of humanity “self-destructed”. Only a **revolution** during which the oppressed classes overthrow the domination of the old ruling class by civil war, can overthrow the old mode of production of which the ruling class is the agent, and establish a new one which corresponds to the level reached by the productive forces. “*At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins*

a period of social revolution” (9).

While discoursing on the “self-destruction” of capitalism, the lackeys of capitalism want to prevent the proletarians from understanding that they are the only ones able to be its grave-diggers; in other words that the destruction of capitalism can only be the result of their **revolutionary struggle**. As long as the proletariat is not able to find, under the blows of the attacks of the capitalists which will only constantly increase, the force to launch out in this decisive struggle, as long as it does not find the force to organize itself in preparation, both on the political level (**revolutionary Communist Party**) as on the economic (**classist trade-union association**), capitalism will succeed in extricating itself from all its crises and in preparing to impose its solution: a new world butchery, even more destructive than the two preceding ones because of its decades of expansion during which gigantic quantities of excess productive forces were created.

Such is the alternative that the course of capitalism poses historically; such is the alternative that the current crisis poses to the proletarians.

October 18, 2008

(1) It is true that the next Monday, the worldwide exchanges, enticed by the billions of dollars and euros promised by bourgeois governments, underwent historic gains; but the enthusiasm was quickly dissipated and as of Wednesday they experienced new losses, just as historic! This volatility of stock prices is typical of periods of crash: shortly after the black days of October 29, prices on Wall Street inflamed by 18%. The only difference is that today this volatility is even larger and especially more sustained.

(2) K. Marx, “*New York Tribune*”, 4/10/1858. cf Marx Engels, “*The Crisis*”, ED 10/18 1978, p. 201-202.

(3) Engels “*Anti-Duhring*”, Socialism, ch.2. (MIA)

(4) cf «*La récession américaine de 1957 annonce-t-elle un nouveau 1929?*», Programme Communiste n°4.

(5) Figures of American statistics quoted by E. Varga in his book of 1935: “*The Economic Crisis, Social, Political*”, reprint Ed. Sociales 1976.

(6) In addition to little Iceland, the financiers consider the risk of a non-payment - i.e. of a bankruptcy - higher than 80% in Pakistan, in Argentina, in the Ukraine, Hungary and Turkey also being threatened, as are Kazakhstan and Latvia. cf *Financial Times*, 14/10/08.

(7) *The Economist*, October 11-17 2008

(8) *International Herald Tribune*, October 16, 2008

(9) K. Marx, Introduction to the “*Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*”. Ed. Sociales 1977, p.3.

Capitalist economic Crisis and Class Struggle

As we write this, the reality of the recession in the principal world capitalist power, the United States, is hardly in doubt, including among the highest circles of the Americans in charge—except for President Bush and those around him. Even the director of the Federal Reserve (the American central bank) has ended up admitting that economic growth in his country was going to experience a deceleration, even a contraction.

Today these same people recognize that the recession has started: it's difficult to do anything else when the statistics indicate that employment has dropped by tens of thousands in the United States since the beginning of the year: more than 75,000 jobs lost in January and February, 80,000 in March.

However they estimate that the recession will be of weak breadth and short duration, because of the enormous quantity of credit injected into the economy by the Federal Reserve which should produce stimulating effects in a few months. Moreover the good performance of American exports thanks to the fall of the dollar compared to the currencies of its principal competitors (Europe, Japan and even China), ensures that the export sector contributes to drag the remainder of the economy forward.

In general they also advance another thesis on this subject, that of “decoupling”. This states that because of their powerful internal development, the other great economic areas of the world, Europe and Asia, have become much less dependent on the American market and consequently a recession in the United States would not involve an international recession; on the contrary the continuation of economic growth in these areas could allow the world economy to continue to grow, to some extent “compensating for” an American crisis, and finally allowing the United States to get out of their recession.

This thesis which has become a real commonplace in the publications of the IMF, of the OECD and other similar institutions, was greedily taken up again by European political leaders, anxious to maintain the “confidence” of the consumers and the businessmen, this subtle and imponderable factor without which, it appears, everything would break down (actually the “confidence” of consumers depends intimately on their paycheques as proletarians, and that of the capitalists on their sales turnover).

It is based on a reality, that of the gap which still exists between the various capitalist economies (for example the economy of the large European countries still continues to grow whereas the recession strikes across the Atlantic);

and on a wish, that of finding an economic engine somewhere else to jump start the gigantic gummed-up American machine. Again nothing new under the capitalist sun: the search for such an engine was regularly the objective of Yankee capitalists during recessions in previous decades, with less than spectacular success.

Indeed if it is true that the American economy during fifty last years has lost its crushing preponderance over the rest of the world (this economic weakening, relative but quite real, unrelentingly sapping away at the bases of its political domination), it remains however by far the first in the world: no other is strong enough to take its place if necessary.

But especially the 10-15 last years has seen a rapid and important development of economic ties and financial intercourse between them which connect the countries of the planet.

It is this “globalization” praised so much by the bourgeoisie as a major element of economic growth (with good reason) which makes it such that no economy can function independently from the world market (this has been true since capitalism imposed itself on a world scale); but above all that no economy can escape from the repercussions of the crises which erupt in the nerve centre of world capitalism, the United States. A “decoupling” of the economies could occur only at the end of serious catastrophic crises, generalized wars-or revolutions!- which

Moreover, the fall of the dollar which helps the American exporters, consequently penalizes their competitors: giving a breath of oxygen to the U.S. economy, it tends to strangle the European and Asian economies which are the least solid or most dependent on their exports. This is where the ceaseless complaints of French leaders originate, confronted with an increasing deficit in their foreign trade, based on the too high value of the *euro*.

On the other hand Germany, which remains the leading world exporter because of the competitive advantages of its goods, supports the increase in the *euro* which mechanically inflates the

This autumn the majority of official economic experts still swore that in spite of financial problems related to real estate speculation, a recession was not very probable in the United States, and consequently in the rest of the world: “The fundamentals are strong, the economy is healthy! The order books are full” affirmed just one of many. Marx commented 150 years ago that one always hears such remarks just before the onset of crises...

are the only sufficiently powerful events able to break these bonds.

This is the reason why the banking house which lost the most money in the crisis of the American sub-prime real estate loans is... a Swiss bank! The banking losses since November, announced at the beginning of April amounted to the following:

UBS (Union of Swiss Banks): 37.1 billion dollars; Merrill Lynch: 24.4 billion; Citygroup: 18.1 billion, Carlyle Capital: 16.6 billion; Morgan Stanley: 9.4 billion; Crédit Swiss: 5.7 billion; Bank of America: 5.3 billion; Capital One: 4.9 billion; Deutsche Bank: 4.8 billion; Société Générale: 4.3 billion. It should be noted that these losses have accumulated since the beginning of this year and especially in the last few weeks, which have been particularly difficult on the financial markets.

However the largest loss for the year 2007 was not recorded by a bank, but by General Motors, world number one car manufacturer and formerly the symbol of all the power of American industry: 38.7 billion dollars! This record loss is allotted to a severe fall in the sales of motor vehicles and to the losses of its financial branch (which provides the credit to enable consumers to purchase their vehicles). This demonstrates that the crisis is not only limited to the financial sector and the stock market: what is bad for General Motors is bad for the United States...

MONETARY WAR

surplus of its foreign trade (the largest world surplus: 263 billion dollars as of February, ahead of China: 250 billion, whereas the United States has the largest deficit: 819 billion dollars).

This is why the president of the association of the German exporters could still state at the beginning of the year that it “supported” the policy of the *euro* rigorously followed by the European central Bank (in other words, this policy expresses the interests of the dominant economic power in Europe - and all the gesticulations of a Sarkozy will change nothing), which had also the advantage

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Capitalist economic Crisis and Class Struggle

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of attenuating the raises in the price of raw materials.

The massive and repeated injections of liquidity into the economic cycles by the American Federal Reserve in order to mitigate a credit crisis and to stimulate activity, in the final analysis constitute the creation of additional masses of currency; its mechanical consequence is to cause a drop in the value of this currency, i.e. to increase the exchange value of all the goods expressed in this currency, which is called inflation.

The dollar being a world currency, by means of which the value of all raw materials is expressed, its fall thus means a corresponding rise of the price in dollars of these materials. This phenomenon is reinforced by what are known as "speculative" operations: the holders of dollars may find it very beneficial to get rid of some if they do not want to see the value of their capital dissolve, which, when this is done as is the case of billions held by various Funds, the treasury of large companies or state's reserves, tends to further reinforce the fall of this currency.

This capital is directed either to competing currencies, or, more generally to raw materials which see their price brutally inflated. The famous "insane rogue trader" who caused the 4.7 billion loss at the Société Générale while speculating on the rise in the market price of raw materials on the German Stock Exchange was not all that insane; he only obeyed the capitalist mechanism of the laws of the market which, for him is perfectly insane! Experts estimate that 20% of the increase in the price of oil is due to this speculative mechanism, which caused certain individuals to remark that the American Federal Reserve had become more important a factor than OPEC in the oil trade...

Let us note in passing that capital can be transferred to the traditional refuge of value in the event of crisis, gold, whose price has currently reached historic records. The reappearance of gold fever, this "barbarian symbol", is an additional sign of the malady of the capitalist economy...

The American authorities allowed their currency to fall completely voluntarily. But, insofar as it is profitable, i.e. insofar as, thanks to this, the American economy makes its competitors take the plunge to keep its own head above water, the fall of the dollar tends to take the shape of a monetary war; and the much

vaunted co-operation of the economic and financial institutions of the world to eliminate the risks of crisis is swept away by ferocious competition from all sides. The capitalists cannot save everyone from the crisis; this can be surmounted only by the elimination of weakest and the reinforcement of strongest. This is true of "individual" companies and capitalists, but also of capitalist States: the economic crisis which results in the destruction of capital and the liquidation of companies also brings in its wake competition, confrontations and inter-State wars.

The current recession marks the end of the cycle of expansion opened after the economic crisis of 2001-2002, the starting factor of which had been the bursting of the "data-processing ('dot/com') bubble", the frantic speculation on so-called "high tech" companies.

The recession of 2001-2002 came after an unusually long-almost 10 years-and vigorous period of growth in the United States which had opened up after the first war against Iraq. In addition to the beneficial effects of this war, the American economy had been able to thrive at the expense of its most pressing competitor, Japan, asphyxiated by the unbearably high rate of exchange of the Yen compared to the dollar which the

United States had imposed on it. *Last but not least*, don't forget that the implosion of the Soviet block had opened a large market with the "Western" economies, while the competitive pressure on German capitalism was partly attenuated by its digestion of ex-Germany of the East.

The American economic restart since 2002 rested primarily on two engines: a new war in Iraq which, like the previous ten, once again set the "military industrial" sector into high gear, so very important to global American imperialism; and the massive recourse to credit which in particular re-launched the real estate sector, another very important sector in the developed capitalist economies. However the exceptionally favorable conditions for U.S. capitalism of the previous decade were no longer present; also economic growth during this time was the weakest in decades, which created fewer jobs, and where wages increased the least. The massive and generalized recourse to credit, which one can strikingly illustrate by stating that the rate of indebtedness of American households reached 130% of their disposable income, was unquestionably used to feed the economic expansion, which could only lead sooner or later to a collapse, the first effects of which we see today.

ONLY ONE CERTAIN PROSPECT, THE RESUMPTION OF CLASS STRUGGLE

The current economic crisis will take all the more time to overcome because the traditional methods resorted to at the time of the preceding recession can no longer be easily utilized. The American and world economy is already gorged on credit; interest rates have descended to the level of inflation (which amounts in practice to bringing them close to zero). And in addition the United States is still entangled in the war in Iraq.

The "purge" will thus be severe and it is the proletarians who will pay the full price for it. The only solution for the capitalists hastening to save the rates of profit will be to increase their exploitation, while at the same time internationally the working class has, in general, seen its wages stagnate during the last years.

The president of the European Bank, the priceless Trichet, these days is full of declarations warning the European bourgeoisie against any temptation to preserve social peace by raising wages. In France, Sarkozy who pretended to want to be "the president of increased purchasing power", can only declare that "the cash-boxes are empty" while the industrialists, like Peugeot, more and more will pose to the proletarians the ultimatum: work more to gain less-or see their

jobs disappear.

In all countries, capitalism will push forward its offensive against the workers. At the moment, this has caused social explosions as in Africa and a renewal of workers' struggles, from the Russia of Putin-Medvedev to the Egypt of Mubarak, by way of Bangla Desh or Vietnam-or the America of George Bush.

In calm and opulent Europe itself, one sees the beginning of the first tremors of workers' struggles (and sometimes more than just tremors!): wildcat strikes in Germany with a general strike in Greece by way of a strike of railway workers in Switzerland (the first since 1918!), from riots in the French banlieues to those in Denmark, everywhere the leaden dome of social peace is slowly beginning to crack.

Obviously illusions should not be nurtured; the difficulties and obstacles to the resumption of the class struggle are still enormous, as we highlighted by analyzing the most significant struggles in France in the preceding numbers of our paper "le Proletaire".

But the shock which the crisis will cause in the social equilibrium will bring about an acceleration of this evolution already in progress and which, with in-

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But, does the proletariat really represent a threat for the bourgeoisie today? In which country?

Unfortunately, today the proletariat does not represent a threat to the power of the bourgeoisie in any country. But it is not as if the bourgeoisie can sleep in tranquility: it fears what can happen to it tomorrow. This is why, in accordance with the old adage according to which it is to better prevent that to cure, and on the basis of its experience of more than a century of social and political domination, the ruling class implements a strategy that we could call **preventive counter-revolution**.

More than sixty years have elapsed since the end of the last world war; and during these sixty years, on a worldwide scale there has not been an episode of proletarian struggle which seriously worried the international bourgeoisie.

The proletariat of the developed capitalist countries; after having been relegated to the defense of the national interests, in the fascistic countries as well as in the democratic ones, by means of Stalinist or other opportunist forces, was consequently practically eliminated from the political scene. The proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie was cut down to the level of daily survival, a level which always favors the forces of interclassism, opportunism, collaboration between classes. In these countries bourgeois corruption no longer touched just a thin layer of the **labor aristocracy**, as

Capitalist economic Crisis and Class Struggle

avoidable highs and lows, is itself irreversible. The workers inevitably will rediscover not only the need to fight, but how to fight, how to organize and lead their struggles independently of the class-collaborationist organizations of all stripes; they will be forced to gather their forces together not only for their immediate day-to-day defense, but for the more general political struggle; inevitably the day will come when among them the need for political organization will be felt, the need for the party, to wage these struggles and to confront capitalism.

The capitalist world plunged into crisis once again?

It will only hasten the hour of the resumption of the class struggle and the revolution!

(Le prolétaire, March-April of 2008)

at the time of Marx and Engels, but much broader sectors of the proletariat.

This corruption, the vital lymph of all the forces of opportunism, consisted in the distribution of some "guarantees" of terms of employment, wages, "social security", retirement income, and various allowances to wage-workers; this innovation, first made by the fascistic regimes, was taken up and generalized by the democratic regimes.

But as Marxism indicates, the concessions granted by the bourgeoisie are not only the result of the economic struggles carried out by proletarians grouped into trade-union organizations; they are also the fruit of the bestial exploitation of the colonial populations, of the domination of monopolies in the developed economies, of the vertiginous increase in militarism which makes it possible for the strongest countries to despoil the weaker countries; in a word - of the increasing **imperialism** of the capitalist countries.

During the beginning of the 20th century, the development of the economic, social and political conditions of capitalism produced a process of maturation of contradictions which coincided with the development of the proletarian forces on the level of immediate defensive struggles as well as on the level of the revolutionary political struggle for the conquest of power. The apogee was the Bolshevik triumph of October 1917, the foundation of the Communist International, authentic World Communist Party, the victory in the terrible civil war during which all the imperialist powers, allied in vain with tsarist reaction, tried to restore the power of the Russian bourgeoisie. The establishment of proletarian power in Russia constituted the first step of the European and world revolution.

But the revolution did not succeed in extending itself beyond its Russian bastion. The newborn Communist parties suffered from serious reformist and democratic defects inherited from the social-democratic parties from which they had separated; consequently, in spite of the proletarian revolutionary wave—of which the German working class gave the most magnificent example—the labor movement in the Occident did not succeed in linking its forces with those of the Russian proletariat to constitute a gigantic revolutionary army able to smash the obstinate resistance of bourgeois domination.

The reaffirmation of the proletariat into the revolutionary class, synthesized in the Communist International, lasted only a few years, but that was sufficient

to terrorize the bourgeoisies of the entire world, and for generations. The alternative, extremely clear for the Communist party, but quite as clear for the bourgeoisie was the dictatorship of capitalist imperialism or dictatorship of the proletariat. There was no third way.

In the course of the openly revolutionary period with the world war and the revolution of 1917, there were revolutionary attempts in Germany, in Hungary, in Poland, but in the final analysis it is the bourgeois class which was victorious.

The response of the ruling class was not only democratic-reactionary as at the time of the Paris Commune. The bourgeoisie found an even more incisive response to destroy a proletariat disoriented and weakened for years by opportunism: Fascism—i.e. a centralist method par excellence, openly dictatorial and anti-proletarian, and at the same time the prototype of a new method of government adapted to the imperialist phase, to replace the old democratic liberalism. The danger was so great for the bourgeoisie that the proletariat was to be eliminated as a class, decapitated of its party and its organizations. And this was carried out as much in the fascistic countries as in the democratic countries, and in Russia itself where the proletarian power was strangled by the forces born from the development of national capitalism.

At its imperialist stage, capitalism not only tends to concentrate and centralize the economy, giving birth to gigantic trusts—the *multinationals* as they are called today—which exceed the borders of their countries of origin to become powerful forces in the countries where they are present, with their political, cultural, religious, and military ramifications; it also tends to adapt its official superstructures to the defense of interests which increasingly extend to the whole world.

In this fashion alliances or confrontations between trusts, thus increasingly correspond to alliances or clashes between States in the service of these gigantic centers of capitalist interests.

The attacks of September 11 in the United States provided the pretext to justify the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq whose real cause is in the increasing antagonisms between American capitalist interests and those of its European and Asian competitors; in fact the American trusts grabbed the gigantic Iraqi oil reserves, while their more or less voluntary "allies" hoped for their share of the

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(Continuation from page 3)

spoils. This war of plunder and occupation which was supposed to conclude in the space of a few months, has lasted for more than four years; the show of force by the United States led to a setback from which it will not be easy for them to leave unscathed.

If it is true, as history has demonstrated, that inter-imperialist or "ultra-imperialist" alliances, take the form of an imperialist coalition against another imperialism or a general union of all imperialisms, they are only a truce between two wars, it is also true that these alliances arise from the power struggles between the various capitalist powers.

And these power struggles inevitably change during the decades, as Lenin explained in opposition to Kautsky who theorized the possibility of a peaceful union between imperialists: "Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one conditions the other, producing alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle on **one and the same** basis of imperialist connections and relations within world economics and world politics" (1).

This same basis is world competition between capitalist centers of interests, between States, which leads to the formation of alliances and their rupture following the lines of the unequal development of capitalism. The instability of the power struggles between the capitalist powers finds its counterpart in the continual oscillations of the market, not only of commodities, but more especially the financial market where masses of capital can evaporate or increase with extreme facility according to the vicissitudes of competition between companies, trusts, States. As the internal contradictions of capitalism are sharpened this increasingly keen competition leads to a veritable economic war on a worldwide market engorged with goods and capital, paralleled by a social war of each bourgeois power against its proletarians to safeguard the rates of profit essential to the smooth functioning of the economy.

The increasingly ruthless economic war inevitably tends to be transformed into war *tout court*: a **third world war** is the inexorable result of the decades of capitalist expansion-expansion which, in addition, was peaceful only in the dominant imperialist countries, since it was accompanied by quasi-permanent "local wars".

As Lenin pointed out it, the war is not the "choice" of this or that bad govern-

ment, of this or that "warmonger", but it is the inevitable consequence of the operation of the capitalist mode of production.

What will the proletariat do when the rumblings of war become louder and stronger?

It is the question to which the bourgeoisie cannot avoid responding; they answer it in advance because they know perfectly that the **union sacrée** necessary for the control of wars must be prepared a long time before by class collaboration; the spectacle of the reportage by the media of the massacres and miseries reported in remote countries functions to induce the adhesion of the proletarians to "their" country where things do not go so badly in the final analysis, and in "their" State which claims to protect them from these disorders and these "cruel horrors"; but it also functions to cause a feeling of human solidarity directed and organized in an interclassist manner through a whole series of ad hoc organizations, which tomorrow will be used to the profit of the defense of national capitalism.

But above all, after the failure of the revolutionary offensive of the first post-war period, the Western proletariat deprived of its class organizations, after having been used as obedient cannon fodder in the Second World War, marshaled by the reformist apparatuses, has experienced more than one half-century of daily class collaboration.

It will not be able to lift itself from this abyss into which the counterrevolution had (caused it to tumble) made it collapse by a simple "call to weapons" by some guerillist group or a sudden "mass awakening" to the impossibility of the current society ensuring it a future of peace and social harmony; nor by an activity of illumination of consciousnesses nor by spontaneous germination of leadership organs of the revolution in its immediate struggles.

This doesn't mean that the proletariat doesn't always possess the potentiality for the resumption of the revolutionary class struggle.

Indeed the same economic and social contradictions which push capitalism towards war also push the proletariat to revolt against the always increasing deterioration of its living and working conditions. To oppose the increasingly bestial exploitation that the capitalists are constrained to exert on the proletarians, the only way out is revolt, the struggle.

But how?

In the only way in which the working class has historically experienced of its effectiveness: while breaking with interclassist practices and orientations, by once again taking the struggles against the capitalists directly into its own hands; by becoming aware through these fights

of its **class identity** and its adamant antagonism towards the enemy **class**, by thus developing class solidarity with the proletarians of other factories, other categories, other races and other nations.

The material forces which collide in the economic substratum of capitalist society are themselves much more powerful than the attempts of the bourgeoisie to extricate itself from its historical rendezvous with the explosion of **all** the contradictions of its society which have been accumulating and becoming more exacerbated for decades. And they are much more powerful than the apparent paralysis of the existing proletarian class. The conscience of all these processes at work is possessed not by individual proletarians, but by the proletarian class party, by the Marxist party.

The historical prospect defined by Marx and Engels in the Manifesto in 1848 and subsequently defended by communist revolutionaries is not based on utopian plans for a new society, on a theory worked out by a great thinker; it is based on the material evolution of society, on the development of its productive relations: Communism is the consequence of these historical processes and not the realization of an idea.

The classes into which society is divided are not theoretical categories, but material forces. The revolution, the violent passage of one social form into a new one, is the result of the confrontation between these social classes, directed by specific political organizations which are called parties. The words of the Manifesto (2) always retain a searing actuality/reality:

The essential conditions for the existence and for the domination of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by the revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable!

(1) cf Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", Chap. IX "Critique of Imperialism".

(2) cf "Manifesto of the Communist Party", Chap. "Bourgeois and Proletarians".

Venezuela: Chronicle of a Very Bourgeois «Bolivarian Revolution»

On balance, the elections of December 2006 were an important victory by Chavez; if he did not obtain the ten million votes which his election propaganda evoked, he nevertheless obtained more than seven million, that is to say approximately 63 % of the votes against no more than 37 % for his challenger from the right. The number of registered voters increased sharply: 16 million against 11 million for the 2000 election which Chavez carried with almost 60 % of the vote; he increased his score compared to the preceding presidential election, and as com-

pared to the referendum of 2004 (59% of the votes). The rate of abstention at 25%, remains considerable, but it is not as low as in 2000 (44%) and 2004 (30%).

The victory of Chavez over the competition from the right is also and above all a victory for democracy over the proletariat. Chavist propaganda on the “Socialism of the 21st century”, on a popular and national revolution being carried out peacefully and democratically, channelled proletarians *en masse* towards the ballot boxes.

DEEPENING OF THE REVOLUTION ?

After his electoral victory, Chavez announced “the deepening of the Bolivarian revolution” by nationalizations. These tumultuous declarations were in large part responsible for the Caracas Stock Exchange fall and caused a certain agitation among local and foreign capitalists. But the way in which these nationalizations proceeded could only reassure them.

There are two companies which had been privatized at the beginning of the nineties by the Government of Carlos Andres Perez: the *Electricidad de Caracas* (EDC) Company and the Telephone Company *CANTV* which the Venezuelan owners had resold to American companies. Their re-nationalization is completely opposite to an expropriation or even of a takeover but a government repurchase “at market prices”.

Thus the PDVSA (the State oil company) repurchased the EDC from the American company AES Corporation for 740 million dollars, which corresponds to its value on the stock exchange. After signing the contract, Paul Hanrahan, chairman of the AES, declared: “I think that this transaction is in order. It didn’t form part of our plans to sell EDC. We understand that this is a strategic decision of the Venezuelan government and we respect it”(1). He didn’t have too many reasons to complain about Chavez, but in the year 2000, and already president, Chavez had given his green light to the purchase of EDC which proved to be juicy business; moreover Chavez had even encouraged AES to repurchase CANTV! However, it was finally the VERIZON Company which became its principal shareholder.

Last year VERIZON announced that it wanted to sell this company along with its other subsidiaries in Latin America. Long negotiations took place during the year between the Mexican, Carlos Slim (who had dethroned American Bill Gates

as the richest man of the world) and owner of the telephone company TELMEX, VERIZON and the Venezuelan authorities (including a Chavez interview with the former Spanish Prime Minister, the Socialist Felipe Gonzales, who works for Slim!). Finally, the government itself decided to repurchase the concerns. According to VERIZON statements; “the operation was satisfactory for the two parties” (2).

The Chavez government also decided “to nationalize” the oil interests, i.e. the state was to assume the major share in the exploitation of the huge oil deposits in the Orinoco (the largest deposits of this type of oil in the world) at 60 %. Certain companies then withdrew, but others like the French *Total* accepted the new conditions. According to “*le Monde*”, not very suspect of sympathy to Chavez: “This ‘re-nationalization’ of the oil sector, in the form of majority takeover surprises no one. The contracts signed in the years 1990, wherein oil was sold for 10 dollars a barrel, had granted the multinationals extremely favorable conditions. ‘The current oil boom would have sorely tempted any government’ commented an ex-Total engineer” (3). In almost all the oil-producing countries, from Chad to Russia, one attends the same will of the governments to try to appropriate a larger slice of the pie.

These Venezuelan nationalizations thus do not represent anything extraordinary, and even less anything **anti-capitalist**. “One is still far from the wave of nationalizations of 1981 in France” (4). It is unnecessary to explain to the readers that the wave of 1981 left French capitalism intact! In fact, it consolidated it, by recapitalizing certain sectors where the private capitalists did not have sufficient means to invest. Moreover it was the right-wing government of Giscard-Barre which had, without employing the word, nationalized the French iron and steel industry then in complete insolvency, the government of the left then accomplished the “dirty work” of liqui-

dating sufficient supernumerary work sites and laying-off a sufficient number of redundant workers so that it again became profitable. And it is then another left government which will again privatize it, the private capitalists then reselling it to Mittal... Marxism has always combated the reformist lie according to which the nationalizations carried out by bourgeois States are socialism. Engels already explained in its work “*Anti-Duhring*” that the bourgeois State is a collective capitalist in idea; the more it seizes productive forces, the more it becomes a collective capitalist in fact: the capitalist relation is not removed, it is pushed to the extreme”.

The alleged revolutionists, who swallow or diffuse Chavist propaganda on the socialist and anti-imperialist nature of the current re-nationalizations, are thus not only completely ignorant of Marxism; they are also completely ignorant of the recent history of the world and of...Venezuela: was there socialism in this country, before the privatizations of Carlos Andres Perez? Or before Chavez bolstered the American AES? It is obviously not from ignorance, but from duplicity...



THE "LOVE-HATE RELATIONSHIP" OF THE BOURGEOISIE TOWARDS CHAVEZ

"*Business Week*", the economic review most influential in the business milieu in the United States, gives the point of view of the American capitalists on the situation in Venezuela: "There is no doubt that these days Venezuela is a rather nerve-wracking place to invest. But on certain sides, things are better there than ever (...) One could call that a love-hate relation with Chavez. Local and foreign companies garner profits as never before. Commercial intercourse between Venezuela and the United States has also never been so large (...). But since Chavez declared that President George Bush was the public enemy n°1, the Americans prefer to keep a low profile, even if the 11,000 companies which are members of the American Chamber of Commerce in Venezuela employ more than 650,000 people (...) Even the international oil companies - preferred targets of Chavez up to now - according to all probabilities will not move. Although they were obliged to yield control of their projects to the State Company, PDVSA, Chavez cannot allow himself to get mixed up with them. The enterprises in which foreign oil companies take part account for 40% of the oil production of Venezuela (...). Other companies not only do not resist Chavez, but profit from his programs. This is the case with INTEL, etc." (5).

Thanks to the uninterrupted rise of the price of oil, Venezuela which is one of the largest producers, increased its revenue from oil exports fivefold since 1999. This made it possible for the government to buy social peace by redistributing a part of this "manna" to the poor population (in particular in the form of "missions" which provide education and medical care, and of the subsidizing of the prices of certain necessities, etc). According to official figures, poverty in consequence has decreased recently from 62.1% of the population in 2003, to 33.9% in 2006. One can discuss the reality of these figures, but there is no doubt that the success of Chavist reformism among the proletarians rests on the basis of this material redistribution.

But there is no doubt either that these are only the crumbs of the trickling down of the oil revenue. Social inequality increased during the same period according to a report by the central Bank (6): the very richest grew even richer under the "Bolivarian revolution" "The governmental economic policy especially prof-

ited the banking environment and the various intermediaries, without wishing to or being able to modify the structure of Venezuelan capitalism, whose economy depends more than ever on oil.

The proletarians remained proletarian, the 20% inflation caused by the swelling of the incomes of the parasitic middle layers, increasingly eating away real wages.

The well-off good bourgeoisie of Caracas hates the socializing propaganda of a Chavez and scorns his partisans. But it is above all guided by its interests and it has noted the increase in its profits. Emblematic on this subject is the attitude of Cisneros, the media tycoon, the largest fortune in Latin America and the most powerful bourgeois family in Venezuela. Cisneros had formerly financed the coming to power of the popular colonel Chavez, as a remedy for the deep crisis of legitimacy of the political structures of the country. Then, opposed to his reformist policy, however limited, he had been one of the principal supports of the opposition and the coup against Chavez. Confronted with the imminent risk of social explosion which they had not calculated for, after a few hours the same putschists reinstalled Chavez to power, demonstrating his role as a fire-wall for the bourgeoisie. The opposition of the right, always virulent, then had to express itself on a less explosive terrain (lockouts, etc.) (7).

In 2004, before an anti-government referendum launched by the opposition, a meeting was held between Chavez, Cisneros and his friend, former American president Carter who had come to oversee the regularity of these elections. According to Chavez, at the end of this meeting, Cisneros "understood that he could coexist with the transformation of the society in a socialist direction to which [Chavez] aspired" (8). That the leading private capitalist group in Venezuela can coexist with a socialist transformation, speaks volumes on the reality of this pseudo transformation!

What Cisneros in any case has well understood, is that Chavez did not wish to find fault with the capitalists. And at the time of the last presidential election campaign, the Cisneros television chain took a clear role: it devoted 84% of its political programming to the positions of Chavez against only 16% for his rival...

Supported by the big capitalists, ensuring record profits to the banks, the pseudo "Bolivarian revolution" is especially well tolerated by the bourgeoisie in that it continues to succeed in anaesthetizing the great proletarian masses. But the illusionist number of a Chavez can only last for a certain time, the limited

time of world economic growth and high prices of oil.

The rumblings of the stock exchange are the harbinger of the economic crisis which, under capitalism, is the inevitable result of prosperity. The consequences of the crises being always been made felt with more violence in the peripheral countries, the Venezuelan proletarians will then see "their" State, "their" army, align themselves brutally against them to save the national capitalism. From now on Chavism prepares for this possibility while trying to equip itself with a single, popular and patriotic party, having the trade unions under control, and with an embryo of a militia.

The avant-garde proletarians of must also prepare themselves, while working against the current, to provide the foundations of the **single party** of a **mono-classist** and **international** revolution: the **communist revolution**.

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND DEMOCRACY

On the spring of 2007 the Chavez government decided not to renew the licence of an opposition television channel, RCTV; owned by a major bourgeois Venezuelan family; RCTV, unlike the network belonging to the tycoon Cisneros (9) had not ceased its opposition to the government and its broadcasting of the anti-Chavist positions of the American administration.

This decision had consequences that the Venezuelan authorities had not envisaged.

On the international level, its condemnation by the American government in the name of "freedom of opinion" was relayed not only by organizations such as "Reporters without Borders" (which receives funding from U.S. imperialism through its notorious dispensary the "National Endowment for Democracy") or Amnesty International, not only by many media (including so-called "leftist" organs such as "Libération" in France), but also by European and Brazilian parliamentary deputies (the latter accused by Chavez of being "lackeys of Yankee imperialism" which provoked a diplomatic mini-crisis with Brazil).

Within the country, the decision against RCTV on May 27, 2007 immediately provoked student protest demonstrations, which spread throughout the country. Initially launched by students of private (Catholic) universities and by the most prestigious independent universities with the support of their teachers and leaders, the movement continued until the summer. Besides defending the autonomy of the universities, they fo-

cused on demands for democracy typical of this kind of petit-bourgeois movement: against “polarization”, for freedom of expression, national reconciliation, the good of the homeland, democracy, and peace (one of the symbols of the movement was prayerful white hands). Situated as it is between the two opposite classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the conflict threatens to crush it; - the petit-bourgeoisie aspires to social peace, the reconciliation of antagonistic class interests in the name of the “general interest”, to the supreme interest of the nation taken to be common to all.

“Only one must not get the narrow-minded notion that the petty bourgeoisie, on principle, wishes to enforce an egoistic class interest.” Marx writes in “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte” *“Rather, it believes that the special conditions of its emancipation are the general conditions within whose frame alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided.”*

In mobilizing themselves for the defence of RCTV and democracy, the students affirmed that they wanted “to save Venezuela” while specifying they did not play at politics: “We are not Socialists, we are social beings; we are not neo-liberals, we are free beings; we do not make opposition, we make proposals!” etc, etc.

SUPPORT FOR THE MOVEMENT BY THE ICC

With the holidays onset the movement died out on its own while the government reacted by denouncing it as an operation organized by “American imperialism” and calling for the support of its partisans and the proletarians. Since the masses were not significantly mobilized, the various currents of extreme left rushed in to support Chavez. From a proletarian point of view there was no reason to support the government - and even less the right-wing opposition: it was necessary to defend independent class positions. That was not the position of the International Communist Current which didn’t hesitate “to greet and support” the student movement, with arguments that would make the hair stand up straight on one’s head.

According to this organization: “The movement goes further than opposition to a government, it contains the seeds of a challenge to the capitalist system of exploitation, thus indisputably situating itself in the struggle of the wage-workers, of the working class. Owing to the means and methods which it gave itself for the struggle (assemblies, elections of delegates accountable to them, appeal

for debate outside the universities, etc.), characteristic of the proletariat when it fights on the terrain of the defense of its interests, there exists in this movement, though of course in a minoritarian and unconscious way, tendencies which express the interests of the wage-workers, who push it forward” (10).

The reader will note that for the ICC it is only the methods - and obviously democratic methods! - which make this movement a movement of the working class! Here is a theoretical projection which without any doubt opens new horizons: for example, shouldn’t assemblies of shareholders be enlisted, in an unconscious way of course, in the working class struggle? The ICC tries to explain why, according to them, this movement is situated in the working class struggle. Initially it affirms peremptorily that “the majority [of the students] belong to proletarian families or are reduced to poverty by the crisis”: actually in Venezuela as elsewhere, and particularly in the private establishments, the children of proletarians are only an insignificant minority. But the essential thing is that:

“A large proportion of these young people who protest today in the street were the witnesses of the devastations in their families and society by political polarization caused by the Chavist leaders and the opposition in their struggle for power. They were victims of the division of society [!] and a weakening of the bonds of solidarity [?]; many of them and their parents were caught in the traps of political polarization to become fanatics of one faction or another, losing all perspective”.

Undoubtedly the ICC is obliged to speak about the “dangers” to the student movement represented in democratic illusions (as if democratic orientations did not constitute the very substance of the movement) and by its “proximity” to the right-wing opposition (as if this movement did not represent an un-hoped-for support for the latter); but these are only mental reservations which don’t prevent the ICC from being filled with enthusiasm:

“The movement of the students which we greet and which we support had the great merit of trying to break from the vicious and harmful circle of polarization, by proposing dialogue through assemblies where one decides what one discusses and under which conditions [Ah, to vote to decide why and on what to vote!]. It is a gain for the students themselves, for wage-workers and for society as a whole [!], since this reinforces the true bonds of social solidarity [?]. (...) This movement will have genuine

fruits if the proletarian factors which exist in its centre succeed in bringing it not only closer to the local neighbourhoods, but especially to employees of factories and companies, private and public. This rapprochement should not be sought by means of the trade unions and political parties, but by the assemblies where the workers of all sectors and the unemployed would be invited. In this way the workers could perceive the proletarian vein which exists in the movement, which would impel in its turn the reflection, and, why not, the struggle of the workers (...).”

It is not a question here of a simple alignment without principle towards a petit-bourgeois democratic movement, but a petit-bourgeois profession of faith: who other than the petit-bourgeois indeed groans on about “fanaticism”, “political polarization” and especially the “division of society”? Capitalist society is a society divided into classes and with all due respect to the petit bourgeois who fear being its victim, this division cannot be denied or overcome by democratic chattering. On the contrary it needs to be recognized and proclaimed so that the proletarians can draw all the consequences, i.e. so that an effective political polarization, of class, based on the fundamental social polarization can take place.

Pretending that “today Venezuela is everyone”, Chavist reformism endeavours to present obstacles to this polarization by making the proletarians believe that their enemies are only a small privileged minority supported by American imperialism. Without any doubt the proletarians must get out of the fatal dead end which this Chavist reformism represents, but certainly not to initiate “dialogue and debate on the principal social problems afflicting society” (11) (to dialogue with whom, moreover?)!

What they need is not to go (and what is more, to go not in an organized way, but individually) into the student assemblies to discuss the problems of the petit-bourgeoisie, nor inversely, to rush to lend active support to the government; but to organize themselves for struggle, the defence of their own class interests against the capitalists and their State, which repainted in red, Chavism projects.. To the false alternative Chavism/anti-Chavism as with the misty dreams of social dialogue and reinforcement of “society as a whole” (therefore: all classes confounded together), the proletariat will inevitably be forced to respond by taking the path of real confrontation: class against class. And they will see that, on this day, the petit-bourgeois democrats, the pacifists and their political represent-

atives will also inevitably be on other side of the barricade.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE

Another organization, this time Trotskyist, the "International Workers League", also took a comparable position: Declaring, with reason, that Chavez never tackled capitalism in 8 years of being able to and that it got along with the bourgeois milieu at the time of the failed coup, the IWL affirms that it is necessary to defend democracy and the freedom of expression against the measures taken by his government (12). This is based on an article by Trotsky (although actually the fact that survey institutes estimated that 60 to 85% of the population were hostile to this measure, has without any doubt weighed much heavier in its standpoint!). In this article from 1938, Trotsky criticizes a campaign of the Mexican Stalinists to get the ("progressive") government to take measures against the reactionary press. He writes: "a leader of the working class who provides the bourgeois State with exceptional weapons of control on public opinion in general and on the press in particular is very precisely a traitor. In the final analysis, with the aggravation of the class struggle the bourgeoisie of all stripes will end up in accord and will then direct all the laws of exception, all the restrictive rules, all species of 'democratic censure' against the working class"(13).

All this is incontestable; just as Trotsky's remark that one cannot make an analogy between the repressive measurements taken by the dictatorship of the proletariat and those taken by a bourgeois State is incontestable.

But on the other hand what is very contestable, is that when, in order to criticize the Stalinist bureaucracy, it goes on from there to justify freedom of the press under the dictatorship of the proletariat: "(...) even from the point of view of the interests of dictatorship of the proletariat, the prohibition of bourgeois newspapers or their censure do not constitute in the least a program or a principle nor an ideal regime. Such measurements can only be an inevitable and temporary evil". According to Trotsky if these exceptional measurements employed against the bourgeoisie become lasting, they entrain the risk of seeing the appearance of a bureaucracy which can become a source of degeneration! "the real tasks of the proletarian State consist, not to muzzle public opinion by police measures, but to release it from the yoke of the capital (...) once this funda-

mental socialist measure is carried out, all the currents of public opinion which do not fight with weapons in hand against the dictatorship of the proletariat must have the possibility freedom of expression. The Workers' State has the duty to place at their disposal the necessary technical means (...)".

One rubs one's eyes: *the Workers' State having the duty to provide to the bourgeoisie the means of free expression*, this is no longer Trotsky, but Kautsky, the name of that renegade from socialism who fought the proletarian power pen-in hand, while at the same time, according to the law of the division of labor, the soldiers of the bourgeoisie fought it with weapons in hand! To answer, let us leave the final word with... Trotsky.

In his "Terrorism and Communism" which he wrote in 1920 against Kautsky, he indeed devoted a whole chapter to refute the liberal petit-bourgeois jeremiads of the latter on the non-respect of the freedom of the press by the Bolsheviks: Trotsky writes: "Our task, does not consist in punishing "the liars" and encouraging "the truthful" press of all tendencies, but only in stifling the class lies of the bourgeoisie and ensuring the triumph of the class truth of the proletariat (...). The press is not the arm of an abstract society, but of two irreconcilable camps, which fight with weapons. We suppress the press of the counter-revolution just like we destroy its fortified positions, its communications, its espionage services" (14), also knowing that the allegedly socialist and "workers" political currents like the revolutionary Mensheviks or Social-Revolutionaries had lined up in this enemy camp and were to undergo, on behalf of the proletarian dictatorship, the same fate as the avowedly bourgeois parties.

The historical task of the proletariat is to destroy capitalism so that a classless society can finally be established, Communism. This task cannot be achieved without a violent revolution which overthrows the political power of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, and which destroys its apparatus for domination and the protection of capitalism, the bourgeois State, to establish proletarian power in its place. But even while politically overthrown by the victory of the revolution, the bourgeoisie still has an economic and social power which cannot disappear tomorrow or the next day, quite simply because capitalism cannot be removed tomorrow or the next day. It takes a whole period, more or less lengthy according to the countries involved and the more or less rapid victory of the international revolution, so that

the economy can be gradually reorganized on a socialist basis and so that social classes begin to disappear. As long as this does not take place, as long as the capitalistic mode of production is not extirpated, the bourgeois class which corresponds to it (and which moreover receives assistance from the international bourgeoisie) carries out a fierce struggle to defend its social position and to destroy the proletarian power.

In order to overcome this one cannot respond by democratically granting freedom of expression, but while intervening despotically in the economy, and also despotically on the political plane by depriving it and its allies, of all their means of struggle and expression. In a word, the proletarian power can only be the dictatorship of the proletariat - a dictatorship overtly affirmed.

In contrast, bourgeois States are actually nothing other than the dictatorship - dissimulated - of the bourgeoisie. Even in the most democratic bourgeois States, freedom of expression, and freedom of the press actually exists only for those who have sufficient means to possess newspapers, radio and television stations, i.e. for the capitalists, who make use of this to fashion "public opinion" according to their own particular interests and those of their class.

In attacking RCTV the government undoubtedly delivered a blow to that fraction of the capitalists who augment the right-wing opposition - and the latter protest because they are seen as being denied their freedom of expression. But whether the RCTV broadcasts or not, will change nothing either with the real domination of capitalism in Venezuelan society, or with the rights of expression of the proletarians. But the reactionary RCTV never gave the proletarians a voice and Chavez, no more than the reformists in any country, does not plan to deliver into the hands of the workers what would be only one of the State television channels. As revolutionary as he pretends to be, Chavez will not hesitate to cooperate tomorrow with the capitalists of the opposition just as he has already gotten along with the most influential capitalists, Cisneros and other bankers or owners, yesterday's putschists, and today's supporters of the government.

On the other hand with respect to the proletarians who start to obstruct the capitalists, it uses and will use of all means: traditional forces of repression (police, army) meaning nothing has changed, to the para-legal bands, like the Tupamaros, this group of Maoist origin which has lately devoted itself to various exactions and even murders on behalf of the regime.

The proletarians should not await their freedom of expression and especially their freedom of action, from any bourgeois law; they can obtain it neither from an alliance with the petit-bourgeois layers nor with support for the Chavist government and the bourgeois State. It is not a right which can be guaranteed to them by a law or a constitution, but a conquest, always threatened, which they can tear off and maintain only by their struggle and their class organization.

That imposes on the avant-garde proletarians a very precise immediate task: to work to provide the foundations of this class organization, starting with organizations for economic struggle and of immediate defence and then to the political organization, the revolutionary class party, anti-democratic and anti-legalist, anti-pacifist and anti-patriot, internationalist and international, charged with centralizing and leading the proletarian struggle against capitalism.

A CONSTITUTIONAL ROAD TO SOCIALISM ?

On the heels of the electoral victory in the presidential elections, the Venezuelan government decided to reform the Constitution. According to the words of Chavez himself, the purpose of this reform was to “deepen the Bolivarian revolution”; in his opinion it was essential to demolish the nodes (entanglements) which “prevent us from reversing the obstacles formed in the Constitution” - which he had had adopted in 1999! - “and in reality, to equip us with new tools to be able to advance and deepen the changes” (15).

The Venezuelan right mobilized against this modification of the Constitution, denouncing it as some sort of “coup d’etat”, with the international support of the pro-American imperialist milieus. For example the pro-imperialist rag “Latin Reporters” wrote: “Non-existent in the current supreme Charter, the words ‘socialist’ or ‘socialism’ are introduced sixteen times into the reform of the Constitution of Venezuela which president Chavez subjects to the referendum of December 2. They apply to the State, to its political, social, economic and territorial system. A popular power becomes evident which is born from neither the vote nor any election”. Chavez regards it as ‘the fundamental core’ of his socialism of the 21st century. It is thus a change of regime and not a simple reform, as it is called officially, which has materialized from a yes vote in the referendum with the recasting of 69 of the 350 articles of the Constitution” (16).

On their side, the extreme left cur-

rents rushed to greet the march to socialism which this constitutional reform was supposed to represent. Orlando Chirino, head of the principal left trade-union current, C-CURA, with “classist” pretensions, declared in the UNT trade union: “the reform which the president proposes demonstrates that we are in a process of changes, a revolutionary situation more profound with each step, in which Chavez takes again in his own manner what the people and the workers develop through fights and mobilizations to put an end to exploitation and imperialism” (17). The Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Marxist Current (Corriente Marxista Revolucionaria: CMR) were even more enthusiastic:

“On December 2 Venezuelans are once again called to the polling stations to democratically decide on a new step forward in the revolution (...). Against this reform we find international imperialism, our own bourgeoisie, the Catholic Church, that is, all the forces that have been holding back the development of our country and that for decades have benefited from the sacrifices and misery of the workers, peasants and poor, that is, the overwhelming majority of Venezuelans. On the side of the “Yes” is President Chávez and the great majority of workers, communities, peasants and youth who for decades - but especially since Chávez came to power - have been struggling to overthrow capitalism, to expel imperialism from the fatherland of Bolivar once and for all and to create a new socialist society in Venezuela as a first step towards a socialist revolution in the whole of Latin America.

(...) The victory on December 2 will be a new step forward for the revolution a new, decisive stage, which should mean a change in the social relations of production and the end of the bourgeois state apparatus. (...) The struggle of the Venezuelan people is the guiding light for all the oppressed of the world; that is the reason for the hatred embedded in the hearts of the oppressors, slave-owners and imperialists of all nations, from G.W. Bush to the King of pain. On our side is the love and solidarity of millions of workers and poor all over the world. Along with them we will build in Venezuela and on the whole planet a socialist society, free from oppression and misery.

The Fatherland, Socialism or Death! We will overcome!” (18)

To justify their assertions of its revolutionary character, the partisans of the reform put forward the social promises that it contained: 36 hour working week, extension of voting rights to 16 year-olds, broadening of social security to

include self-employed workers (small shopkeepers, salesmen, artisans, etc), as well as the creation of new forms of property (alongside private property which will remain intact) and of the introduction of an ill-defined “popular power” at the local level.

But would the adoption of these measurements have meant a change of the mode of production - the end of capitalism - or the end of the bourgeois State apparatus in Venezuela? Can you escape from capitalism by the simple vote on a reform of the constitution?

To clarify the ideas and to put things back into a proper perspective, let us take the example of the draft presented by the Bolsheviks at the Constituent Assembly which opened in Russia in January 1918; presented at the time under the title “Declaration of the rights of the toilers and exploited people”, it will then become the first part of the Soviet constitution:

*“The Constituent Assembly Decrees:
PART I:*

CHAPTER ONE

1. Russia is proclaimed a Republic of Soviets of Workers’, Soldiers’, and Peasants’ Deputies. All central and local authority is vested in these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union of free nations, a federation of National Soviet Republics.

CHAPTER TWO

The Constituent Assembly sets for itself as a fundamental task the suppression of all forms of exploitation of man by man and the complete abolition of class distinctions in society. It aims to crush unmercifully the exploiter, to reorganize society on a socialistic basis, and to bring about the triumph of Socialism throughout the world. It further resolves:

1. In order to bring about the socialization of land, private ownership of land is abolished. The entire land fund is declared the property of the nation and turned over free of cost to the toilers on the basis of equal right to its use. All forests, subsoil resources, and waters of national importance as well as all live stock and machinery, model farms, and agricultural enterprises are declared to be national property.

2. As a first step to the complete transfer of the factories, shops, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation to the Soviet Republic of Workers and Peasants, and in order to ensure the supremacy of the toiling masses over the exploiters, the Constituent Assembly ratifies the Soviet law on workers’ control and that on

the Supreme Council of National Economy.

3. *The Constituent Assembly ratifies the transfer of all banks to the ownership of the workers' and peasants' government as one of the conditions for the emancipation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capitalism.*

4. *In order to do away with the parasitic classes of society and organize the economic life of the country, universal labor duty is introduced.*

5. *In order to give all the power to the toiling masses and to make impossible the restoration of the power of the exploiters, it is decreed to arm the toilers, to establish a Socialist Red Army, and to disarm completely the propertied classes.*

The third and the fourth part of this declaration are devoted to foreign policy, while defining that the Soviet power must continue to fight against international banking and financial capital "until the complete victory of the international workers' insurrection against the yoke of capital"; and decreeing the primacy of the power of the Soviets, the (Constituent) Assembly having to restrict itself "to establish the fundamental bases of the socialist transformation of society" (19).

Socialism can indeed be established neither by decree nor within the framework of a single country, even more emphatically in a socially and economically backward Russia. The Russian revolution was hybrid, "double", insofar as it was the result of the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry - representing the very great majority of the population - against the vestiges of feudalism and national oppressions; and that of the working class against capitalism.

This is why this declaration speaks about "toilers", "Workers and Peasants" State, etc. But the fact that the working class was the element leading the revolution (without this proletarian leadership which was incarnated by the Bolshevik party, the revolution was destined to failure) allowed it to fix its objective of **moving towards socialism**, within the framework of the **international** revolutionary proletarian struggle: not one patriotic note in this declaration entirely distinguished by its internationalism!

The various points of this declaration define the **conditions** for victory in a real revolutionary situation: **arming of the workers** and **disarmament of the bourgeoisie**, **suppression of landed private property**, **workers control over all production** (before having the force to be able to expropriate all the capitalists and reorganizing production from top to

bottom), **expropriation of the banks**, **obligatory labor service**, handing over of **all power to the Soviets**.

The Bolsheviks were not democrats respectful of the constitutional forms of universal suffrage, but revolutionary Marxists. They knew that the revolution is a relentless struggle between social classes; they had just proven this during the seizure of power.

"Any attempt, direct or indirect, to consider the Constituent Assembly from a legal, purely formal point of view, within the framework of customary bourgeois democracy, without taking account of the class struggle and the civil war, is equivalent to betraying the cause of the proletariat and of adopting the point of view of the bourgeoisie" Lenin wrote at the time (20).

When the constituent Assembly, elected before the revolution, refused to recognize the power of the Soviets (and to discuss the declaration of the Bolsheviks), it was dispersed without problem by the revolutionary sailors. Four days later the pan-Russian Third Congress of the Soviets opened; its first act was to approve the dispersion of Constituent Assembly, its second to approve the above declaration.

The adoption of a new revolutionary constitution was not possible other than by the victory of the revolution smashing the power of the bourgeoisie and its allies (in fact the new constitution was only completely drafted and adopted a few months later: most pressing was the need to triumph in the civil war).

* * *

The Chavist reform bill employed the word socialism or socialist 16 times in vain, not even once did he make the least allusion to the points which we have just read, which define the essential conditions of a real social revolution. Not once did the bill speak about attacking private property, of expropriating the banks, of exercising the power of the workers over the exploiters, of giving all power to the proletariat, of arming the workers.

On the contrary! In July Chavez reaffirmed that he always wanted to maintain private property: "It is not a question of nationalizing the whole economy (...), No our socialism accepts private property. But this private property must lie within the scope of a constitution, certain laws and in the social interest", an assertion which would garner him the congratulations of the president of the employers' organization, Fedecamaras (21).

Instead of weakening the power of the bourgeois State, the bill reinforced the powers of the Executive, the Presi-

dency in the first place; in short it obviously did not mention the question of the arming of the workers, while at the same time dozens of worker, trade unionist, and peasant militants fell victim to the employers' armed gangs which operate with impunity!

This constitutional reform went no further than a simple cosmetic retouching in red tones of the bourgeois constitution of a bourgeois state. Politically, its immediate goal was to reinforce the government in the face of its internal right wing and vis-à-vis external imperialism; but in the last analysis it was a question of maintaining control on the proletarian and petit-bourgeois masses by the allure of reformist demagogy, and not at all to oppose or give flight to the bourgeoisie. A former Chavez chief of staff, General Alberto Muller Rojas, explained last summer to a London financial paper:

"Some of Chávez's speeches are for the gallery," says Alberto Muller Rojas, a retired army general who was until recently the president's chief of staff. "And I'll give you an example: the attack on the bourgeoisie." As evidence, General Muller singles out the banks: "the most extreme expression of the bourgeoisie" but "the most favoured sector" of the economy since Mr Chávez came to power in 1999. (22).

Make no mistake here: as always, and everywhere, reformism can only serve the bourgeoisie; one cannot resort to ruses with capitalism, the mode of production which has shaped the whole of society and its institutions to serve it: either combat it and its official economic and political organizations by opposing them with the force of the proletariat, or submit to it. The avant-garde proletarians can in no way, shape or form place confidence in reformist demagoguery, inevitably anti-proletarian and pro-capitalist despite all its speechifying; they must fight it in the clearest way, to unmask it in the eyes of their class brothers and to support the necessity for organization and class independence against it.

Yet in a situation of the growing menace of Fascism, the Communist Party of Italy previously underlined the need "to mercilessly criticize the program of the bourgeois left and any program that would make use of democratic and bourgeois parliamentary institutions for the resolution of social problems.

(...)The aim of the left is not a step forward to an interim stage somewhere between the economic and political capitalist system and a proletarian system. In general, its political demands tend to lead to improved functioning conditions and the defense of modern capitalism, be it as

a result of the content proper of these demands as well as the illusion they give the masses of being able to use current institutions for their emancipation as a class. This applies to demands for widening of the suffrage and other guarantees for the improvement of liberalism (...) It applies as well in the case of economic or social reforms: either they will not be realized, or they will be only on condition and with the aim of blocking the revolutionary thrust of the masses. (...)

It is the Communist Party's duty to proclaim what it knows not only because of Marxist criticism, but from bloody experience: such governments will allow the proletariat freedom of movement only as long as it considers and supports these governments as its own representatives. But at the first assault of the masses against the democratic institutions of the bourgeois State, they will respond with the fiercest reaction." (23).

The so-called "revolutionary" extreme left affirms that support for Chavism is necessary in order to create a favorable relationship of forces in favor of the working class, the refusal to support it playing into the hands of the right wing, the "worst enemy" of the workers. This is an old tale which under each and every circumstance is used to camouflage opportunism and to justify the refusal to take classist positions! The proletariat does not have to choose between two alternatives both of which are actually bourgeois; it does not have to choose between its enemies and its false friends.

To be able to resist capitalism victoriously, it will be necessary for the proletariat to break with these two alternatives and to find its independent class positions: not the constitutional reform of the bourgeois State, but the open struggle to overthrow it! It is not the paper rag of the ballot which can make improvements of the living and working conditions obtain, but only proletarian struggle! No confidence in supreme saviours, confidence only in class organization, in the authentic reconstituted Communist Party, internationalist and international! It is not possible to get to socialism peacefully, constitutionally and legally, but only by insurrection, the violent seizure of power and the establishment of the **international dictatorship of the proletariat** to be able expropriate the exploiters and to extirpate capitalism!

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DEFEAT OF CHAVISM IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM

The referendum campaign witnessed a strong mobilization of the opposition, reinforced by the defection among the

Chavists of the Podemos party and General Baduel, but above all dynamized by the student movement. However the Chavist leaders especially feared abstention; they did everything possible to mobilize their voters, dramatizing the stakes and playing the old card of the American threat, supported in this for the most part by the majority of the currents of the extreme left.

A rare exception was the Trotskyist group, Juventud de Izquierda Revolucionaria (JIR), which calls for class independence vis-à-vis Chavism. The JIR defines the current regime as a "Bonapartist regime which seeks support in the mass movement to better negotiate conditions with imperialism and the local large-scale employers, while resorting constantly to plebiscitary elections to legitimate its policy (...) the constitutional reform bill sought to reinforce these political forms of the government and the regime towards a larger Bonapartization" (24).

The fuzzy and classically Trotskyist formula of "Bonapartism" is used to avoid saying that we are in the presence here of a bourgeois reformist government. And if the JIR does not have political courage to say things black on white, it can even less have the force to break with the phony terrain of the electoral contest; it invited the proletarians not to desert the ballot boxes, but to go to vote to deposit spoiled ballots! The misery of democratic cretinism...

The Venezuelan proletarians gave a good lesson to all these pseudo-revolutionary vanguardists. The referendum failed (50.7% for No, 49.29% for Yes), not because the right gained supporters (its score remained appreciably the same one: 4,500,000 votes as against 4,300,000 at the time of the presidential elections), but because of the very high number of abstentions: 44.39% abstentions (against a little less than 25% previously). Compared to the presidential elections, Chavism lost **more than 40%** of its votes, that is to say 3 million voters. And those disappointed by Chavism are concentrated primarily in the most proletarian zones (in certain proletarian districts there were up to 80% abstentions), whereas the more petit-bourgeois districts gave their support to the governmental proposition.

This massive progression of abstention in the proletarian milieu was not caused, as the Chavists claim, by a lack of information or comprehension of the reform: "the contents [of the reform] were not assimilated, we did not know how to sell the socialist model (!), wrote a Chavist journalist. The people only saw the negative in the

proposition. That showed that this society is not ripe for socialism" (25)...

In reality, millions of proletarians understood perfectly well that this reform did not concern them in the least, that it could in no way serve their interests - but that it was undoubtedly going to serve the interests of the "Boligar-chy", starting with the tycoon Cisneros and the bankers, this "national bourgeoisie" of which Chavez praises the merits. They noted that their condition did not change in this pretend revolution, whereas a whole swarm of profiteers quickly grew rich from the oil *manna*.

This electoral collapse of Chavism is nothing other than the deformed translation of the sharpening of social tensions, of the deepening of the chasm between classes which cannot be bridged by any "socializing" rhetoric. It is the sign that the time of social confrontation approaches.

CHAVEZ AND THE KANGAROO

The Chavist leaders are completely conscious of the need for reinforcing their political base and their influence on the broad masses which cannot be automatically

granted by the speeches of the president.

The existence of a powerful political party able to support and extend their governmental action thus seemed a need made all the more pressing by the persistence weaknesses and divisions of the pro-Chavist parties (26). This party is called the PSUV: Unified Socialist Party of Venezuela; it held its congress of foundation at the beginning of March 2008.

In its "Statement of principles", the PSUV admits to "being conceived by the government" and to act as its "transmission belt". That explains a curious characteristic: its absence of a program. A political party worthy of this name defines itself by its program; the PSUV defines itself by its support for the government. One can read thus in the pre-project of program, at item II: "Holding fast as the starting point the demand for and the defense of the government of the Bolivarian Revolution lead by Hugo Chavez and the will of the Venezuelan people to build XXIst century socialism, etc.". As for the Declaration of Principles, it develops the defense of the "sovereignty" of Venezuela against the United States as the central point.

Somebody may tell us that the texts of the PSUV never cease speaking about revolution and "socialism".

Without any doubt, but this socialism is never defined. When the Statement of Principles quotes a passage of Marx on

the unfortunate aspects of the conditions of the workers, it is after having claimed to identify itself with the teachings of Christ on justice, equality and fraternity between men. And it takes great care to state that its socialism will be "original" and "creative". It quotes the "Amerindian cosmic vision", "primitive Christianity", the "attempts which gave birth to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba", the thought and action of Bolivar, etc., as elements which have inspired the PSUV, while stressing that the *socialism of twenty-first century* "corresponds with the creative praxis, with the exercise of the free will and the aspirations of the Venezuelan people", etc. One would seek in vain the least allusion to Marxism, i.e. to the precise, unambiguous and imperative historical program of the struggle for emancipation of the international proletariat! One would also seek in vain for the least reference to the class struggle in the texts of the PSUV as in the inflamed speeches of Chavez on socialism and the Bolivarian revolution: it is here and everywhere a question only of the "people", of "social and political unity of the vast majority", of the "union of the people and the Armed Forces", in short of **interclassism**.

In 1913, in an article on "the historical destiny of the doctrines of Karl Marx" after having stressed that the revolutions of Asia showed "the pronounced demarcation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" as in Europe, Lenin wrote: "After the experience both of Europe and Asia, anyone who speaks of **non-class politics and non-class socialism**, ought simply to be put in a cage and exhibited alongside the Australian kangaroo or something like that." (27). Ultra-modern Chavist socialism was already an old-fashioned reactionary archaism, contradicted by history a century ago!

"Not at all!" - perhaps some partisan of the Bolivarian Revolution will answer us with indignation. Didn't Chavez declare at the beginning of this year that it was necessary to prevent the infiltration of the bourgeoisie into the PSUV (28)?

Admittedly Chavez himself had already previously affirmed that there existed in Venezuela, beside an antinational bourgeoisie, a group of nationalist owners, interested in investing work and capital in the country and whose efforts he greeted (29). But the demonstration of the real significance of this declaration was given on February 27: a Chavist deputy who had dared ask the day before for the opening of an investigation on the corruption of a person high up in the regime was expelled from the PSUV on the request of Chavez. 'Comandante' also

condemned the brief occupation by some of his partisans of the buildings of the reactionary Episcopal Conference and the demonstrations in front of the Globovision television station, saying he suspecting them of being infiltrated into the PSUV; he added that "it would be wise to make an investigation into the difficulties caused to Salvador Allende by the far left, on how a far left infiltrated by the CIA, without realizing it caused events which gave the justification to the right-wing to act as it did" (30)

Actually it is not the attitude of the extreme left, completely tailist with respect to Allende and of the reformist parties, but the **struggles of the proletarians** which extremely disturbed the Chilean bourgeoisie and which convinced it to pass over to bloody repression, along the way ridding itself of the reformist lackeys which it utilized before the noose. The Chavist government fears above all else a revival of proletarian struggles; like yesterday in Chile the Allende Government, it is a defender of capitalism; this is the reason why it accorded amnesty to the putschists of 2001, why it sends the cops against the workers: for example, in March the National Guard intervened against the workers of the Sidor iron and steel company who had been in struggle for months. The Minister for Labor, who calls himself a "Trotskyist", had described the manifestation of February 24 of the workers of this giant company (nearly 5000 "externalized" workers and 9000 full-time) as "counter-revolutionary"; proclaiming itself as "mediator" between the company's directors and the trade-union representatives, it is in fact aligned with the former.

When on March 14, the day following the failure of negotiations, the workers started going on strike and blocking entry to the complex (before the trade-union even issued the call), the authorities sent the National Guard at once to extricate the company by force; several dozen workmen were arrested, one of them was wounded by bullets and 11 by buckshot fired by the police, while 53 were accused of the offence of "impeding circulation" (31);

With the PSUV, the government, with the help of the financial resources of the state, wants to endow itself with a big party strong in every quadrant of the country and able to control the masses. In spite of all the pseudo-revolutionary speeches, this party which exalts bourgeois, interclassist values, of democracy, the fatherland, unity of the people, will be a **pro-capitalist, anti-proletarian party**: it will be the **party of social conservatism and the defense of the established order**.

Against this party and this government, against capitalism and imperialism, the proletarians of Venezuela have no other possibility of defending themselves than by constituting their own organizations and their own party, based on their **exclusive class interests**, distinct and opposed to those of all the more-or-less possessing classes.

The programme of this **class party** whose role is to put itself at the head of the proletarian struggle, is not to discuss democratically, to imagine or invent in a "creative" way: codified by invariant Marxism, confirmed by the long history of the struggle between classes and revolutions, it is the program of the **international communist revolution** which implies as conditions:

the arming of the proletarians; the insurrectionary seizure of power; the dismantling of the bourgeois State and introduction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, essential not only to overcome the counter-revolution, to cut down the domination of the bourgeoisie and to neutralize the petit-bourgeoisie, but also to **despotically** intervene in the economy in order to start to uproot capitalism.

But even before arriving at this point, the class party is necessary to direct the daily fights of resistance against the bosses and their State, to unify and centralize these struggles into a general struggle to fight against their being sabotaged by all the pseudo-worker and pseudo-revolutionist forces.

It is in the fire of these struggles that the proletariat will find its force, that it will gather around the class party and that will be able to finally commence, objective and subjective conditions being ripe, the period of the final war against world capitalism!

(*"le prolétaire"*, Nr. 484/485, May-Sept 07-486, Oct'-Nov'07-489, March-April 08)

(1) *"The Washington Post"*, 2/9/2007.

(2) *"The Times"*, 2/14/2007. The London daily newspaper quotes also a financial analyst for whom the price "has been pretty good for VERIZON, if not they would have dragged their feet a little longer". It seems that VERIZON was excused from retirement payments due the employees.

(3) *"le Monde"*, 7/7/2007.

(4) Declaration of a diplomat in Caracas, *ibid*.

(5) *"Business Week"*, 6/25/2007

(6) *"The Economist"*, 8/11-17/2007.

At the time of his departure the Japanese ambassador in Venezuela declared in an interview, with ironic Asian finesse: «We the Japanese, are much more socialist than President Chavez, because the dif-

ferences in quality of life between rich and poor in Japan are much smaller than in Venezuela».

(7) See «le Prolétaire» n°462 for our analysis of this missed putsch.

(8) «El Nuevo Herald» (Miami), 7/8/2007.

(9) RCTV, the most popular television channel, belongs to Marcel Granier, a relative of Cisneros (the Venezuelan capitalist world is small! But, it appears, the two men do not speak any more). Granier claims that Cisneros supports the closing of the RCTV because that will profit his own network, Venevision, which is its principal competitor. see «El Nuevo Herald», July 8, 2007.

(10) cf «Accion Proletaria» n°196, July-September 2007 or, in English on the Internet site of the ICC: internationalism.org.

(11) These principal social problems are, according to this article: «unemployment, insecurity, etc.». The capitalist exploitation of the proletarians and the means of fighting against it must undoubtedly be contained in this «etc»! All joking aside, the students intend to discuss their problems, of employment and others, and obviously not of those of the proletarians.

(12) Declaration of the June 19, 2007, Sao Paulo. www.gsi-litqi.org/declarcom/an-2007/D-LITQI-20070620-rcr. The LIT is an organization known as «Morenist» (Moreno was an Argentinian Trotskyist) whose principal organization is in Brazil. In Venezuela its partisans are members of the PRS, an organization of extreme left where there are many Trotskyists and which campaigned for Chavez in the last elections.

(13) «Freedom of the Press and the Working Class» (August 21, 1938). cf Trotsky, Works, volume 18.

(14) «Terrorism and Communism», Editions Prométhée pg. 71.

(15) «Chávez: Reforma Constitucional profundizará la Revolución Bolivariana», Caracas, 20 de agosto (*Rebelión*).

(16) See *Latin Reporters*, Madrid 11/29/2007

(17) *Página/12*, Buenos Aires, 11/24/2007. But Chirino also regretted that this project did not ascribe to itself «in a socialist perspective». The leader of a Trotskyist current wishing to spare both the goat and the cabbage, Chirino finally called for a null vote. He was to be laid off from his employment with the PSDV at the beginning of this year.

(18) Corriente Marxista Revolucionaria, 11/30/2007. This group belongs to a Trotskyist current of British origin which is devoted to entryism into the mass reformist parties of which it makes itself the defender; in France its partisans form the group «*La Riposte*» which militates in the PCF. In the version of this text diffused out of Venezuela, the slogan on the

fatherland or death was discretely erased...

(19) Lenin, *Collected Works* Volume 26. Our party text «*Struttura economica e sociale della Russia d'oggi*», makes a detailed analysis of this declaration.

(20) Lenin, «*Theses on the Constituent Assembly*», December 1917. *Collected Works*, Volume 26.

(21) A.P., Caracas, 7/22/2007. Chavez added that on the question of the respect of the private property «Fidel Castro and Lukachenko [president of Byelorussia] agree, we should not be prisoners of dogma, one should not nationalize the economy». Well if those guys say it...

(22) «*The rise of the 'Bolgarchs'*», *The Economist*, 8/09/2007. Muller Rojas has been just named by Chavez as the first vice-president of the PSUV.

(23) cf «Theses on the tactics of the Communist Party of Italy (Rome Theses), 1922. cf «*Défense de la continuité du programme communiste*», *Textes du Parti Communiste International* n°7, p. 52-53 («Defense of the continuity of the communist program», *Texts of the International Communist Party* n°7, p. 52-53.)

(24) cf *En Clave Obrera* n°14, Diciembre 2007. This group recommends the creation of a «mass» independent workers' party, based on the trade unions, in which the revolutionists would fight democratically to make their positions prevail: in short, a non-revolutionary party, a reformist party independent... of Marxism!

(25) Vladimir Villegas, *El Nacional*, 12/5/07. For the bourgeois, even the «reds» and Bolivarians, everything can be bought and sold, including «socialist models»...

(26) The principal Chavist parties were the MRV, Patria Para Todos, the Venezuelan CP and Podemos. The PCV and Podemos refused to dissolve into the PSUV. But while affirming that it wanted to preserve its organization, the PCV declared: «In any case, the important thing is the union of all the Venezuelan anti-imperialists to defend Chavez and the Bolivarian government (...). And we call all Communists for this unity of anti-imperialists on all questions, to defend the Venezuelan fatherland». In any case, the PCV was and remains a fanatic craftsman of collaboration between the classes and the submission to national capitalism...

(27) Lenin *Collected Works*, *Progress Publishers*, 1975, *Moscow*, Vol. 18, pages 582-585. See also the *Fil du Temps* (*Thread of Time*) written by Amadeo Bordiga: «*Preparate il canguro*», in the newspaper of the party at that time, *Battaglia Comunista*, n°10/1951.

(28) Declaration at the time of the installation of the Founding Congress of the PSUV. Caracas, 12/1/08. ABN.

(29) Chavez Interview on the *Dando*

y *Dando*, program 11/12/07. cf www.aporrea.org/oposicion/n106139.html. Chavez declared that «What makes Venezuela different from the remainder of the continent is that the employers' sectors passionately defend the economy of their country». On the other hand, in Venezuela, because of «the influence of the United States», «there is a significant sector of the employers who are antinational»; «they are groups accustomed to draw their resources «by parasitizing the State» and not from their own efforts». In short capitalists who are not capitalist enough...

(30) cf *El Dia*, 23/2/2008. Lina Ron, popular leader of the Bolivarian Circles, member of the technical Committee for the constitution of the PSUV, had directed the occupation during 2 hours of the buildings of the Archbishop's palace and declared that the Globovision chain, which had just undergone an attempted attack, was «a revolutionary objective». After Chavez publicly suspected him of being «an infiltrator», he made his public apology: «Our actions displeased our commander; it is for this that we apologize but only in front of him. We do not repent anything because the Church, Globovision and Fedecamaras were implicated in acts against the fatherland and Hugo Chavez». As if this same Chavez had not already pardoned the people implicated in these acts (the failed putsch)....

(31) The negotiations with the directors for the renewal of the employment contract have lasted for... 13 months! The principal demand is a wage increase from 20 to 60 Bolívares per day (from 9.3 dollars to 27.9 dollars) whereas the directors proposed only 22 Bolívares (10.23 dollars) initially. Management having increased its offer to 44 Bolívares (12 dollars), the minister asked for the organization of a referendum so that the workers could decide «democratically»... Several times, under the direct pressure of the workers the SUTISS trade union leaders were constrained to call strike days. As good Chavists, these trade-union leaders seek to prevent an open workers' struggle. On March 26, after death by infarction of a worker, the Sidor workers who attributed this death to the murderous working conditions, launched a new 78 hour strike. See *El diario de Barquisimeto*, 3/26/8

Siderurgica del Orinoco (Sidor) is one of the largest steel-works of South America; the Italo-Argentinian group Techint is the largest shareholder (60% of the shares) since its privatization at the end of 97, while the State has 20 to 30% (in 2003, the Chavez government agreed to convert the debt of Sidor with respect to the State into shares owned by the State), the remainder of the shares having been reserved for the employees - according to their place in the hierarchy.

Montreal: Riots against Police Repression

In Montreal rioting almost without precedent in Canada erupted beginning Sunday night into Monday August 11, at the end of a demonstration denouncing the death an 18 year old Honduran immigrant youth, Freddy Villanueva. He had been shot down by the police Saturday in Henri-Bourassa park, in Montréal Nord, a proletarian district of the city. 85,000 people live in this district, including 40% below the poverty line; the official rate of unemployment there is 12% compared with only 8% for the remainder of the province of Québec. There is a large proportion of Latin-American and Haitian immigrants here who are subjected to police harrassment and who often experience discrimination in hiring and on the job. (1).

According to information from the press and Radio Canada, some 500 police officers were deployed to the scene, but they had extreme difficulty containing the rioters, who set fires in a score of places and committed other "acts of vandalism". Two cops were wounded during the operation, including one who took a bullet in the leg. An ambulance attendant also received a Molotov cocktail to the back of the head. A cameraman was struck in the the face and rocks were hurled in the direction of reporters' cars. Seven cars belonging to firemen working from a station near the park were torched. Another car was also set fire to and a fire started at a building on Roland boulevard. Six people were arrested.

Freddy died Saturday when a policeman fired on three young people who, according to the authorities' version, were rushing to surround the police. Two other people were wounded. According to the police, the officers, who sought to apprehend a suspect that they had just located playing dice, were about to be encircled by a score of young people in the park. The young man apprehended was Freddy Valenzuela's brother.

The cops evidently want us to believe that they opened fire against young people (unarmed!) to defend themselves when faced with their menacing attitude, but according to witnesses it was the cop who first struck one youth who then shot his brother when others approached in protest.

The media portrayed the victims and the rioters as gang members; and the cops, as reported in various media outlets, intimated that "professional agitators" had mixed with the demonstrators! In actuality, a youth interviewed by Haiti Close Network, Maxime, 23 years, spoke about the relationship with the police: "Here, the police force acts like a form of gang. The difference it is that it operates

as a gang with authority". In other words, brutality and police impunity are the rule.

A representative of the Haitian community declared to Radio Canada: "This is a revolt against the whole system"! Stressing that it is not only the police that had been confronted but the whole ensemble of institutions". He reckoned that the events of Sunday were foreseeable in the context of the tension created in the neighbourhood by the murder of the young Villanueva; according to him the anger of the young people of the black community of Montréal-Nord is exacerbated by racial "profiling" (blacks and other visible minorities are disproportionately targetted by the police force). "People cannot accept being treated as criminals" he added

The Canadian police are so infamous for their brutality (and which has nothing in common with the images of the "Mounties" in the cartoons) ; that on November 2, 2005, the Committee of the Rights of Man of the UN declared in its report on Canada its concern that: "the police force, particularly in Montreal, perpetrates mass arrests of demonstrators", which persecutes freedom of expression and of assembly. The committee invited Canada "to carry out an inquest" into the Montréal police. To ask a State to inquire into its own police force, it had to be the *UN Committee on the Human Rights* that thought that one up!

Against this kind of UN hypocrisy, Lenin explained long ago why even in most democratic of Republics, the famous democratic liberties of expression, of assembly, etc, in fact only existed for the ruling classes. Another example, which failed to give rise to interest at the UN: in Quebec, the other large city in the Canadian province of Quebec, the local police force has put in place an operation called "Respect" (!) to prohibit the presence of homeless people, beggars, and other working poor, on the streets and in the parks of the city (a demonstration against police repression demanding the abrogation of this operation and the end of the criminalization of poverty gathered together some hundreds of demonstrators last July 7); in Ontario (an adjoining province whose capital is Toronto), where, in a big democratic production, an in-

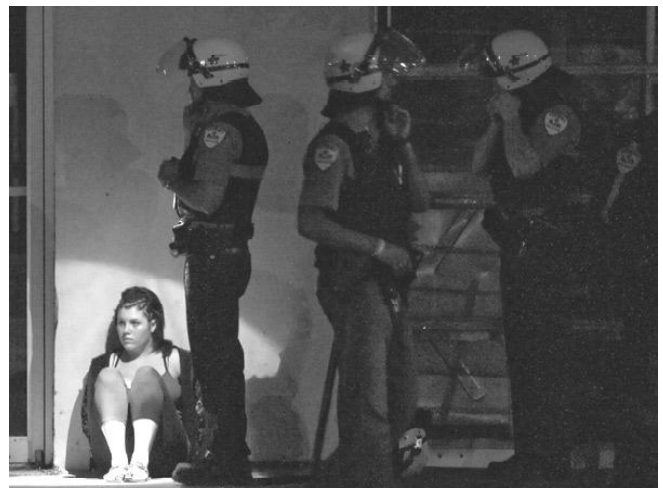
vestigation is obligatory when people are killed or wounded by the police, a recent report showed that this official service supposed to control the acts of police force was actually used to cover the police "excesses": since 2003 out of 31 investigations after murders perpetrated by police, the cops where white-washed in 29 cases (with 2 investigations not being finished)...

Anxious to restore calm after the riot, the various social firemen have appealed to await the result of the inquest opened into the murder of Freddy. We know what these investigations mean: bury the problem. Two and-a-half years after the assassination of another young person by the police force in a nearby district, we're still waiting for the results of the inquiry opened back then! The COBP (Collective Opposed to Police Brutality) has registered the fact that of 43 victims of the Montreal police force in 22 years, only 2 cops were put on trial—and they were both acquitted! It also points out that in 1996 an investigator of the police had publicly acknowledged that it was a constant practice to adulterate investigations to clear the accused police.

But that didn't stop the COPB from calling for a new "public and independent inquiry" and putting the police on trial: either one is a democrat or one is not...

"Québec Solidaire", an electoral gathering of various left parties, published an official statement on August 11 which commenced by condemning the rioters, declaring that: "the violent activities which unfolded in the streets of Montréal Nord yesterday evening are unacceptable" and ended with a call for "the most open dialogue possible" "to put an end to the climate of mistrust and of suspicion" which reigns between the youth and police authorities"

"Québec Solidaire" proposes as a



remedy for the problems of the “disadvantaged districts”, “an extensive policy of prevention and integration” of which the only points cited are “the reduction in the number of pupils per class” and to provide teachers support worthy of the name by professionals: social workers, speech therapists, etc. as well as “increased support for community agencies” (2)... Without doubt “Québec Solidaire” has found the right solutions to the problems of the proletarians of Montreal who will finally be able, thanks to the speech therapists, to dialogue with the cops and to make themselves comprehensible to the bosses!

Following the riots an association of young people was organized, the “Citizen’s Movement of Montréal-Nord Republik”; it organized a demonstration of 200 people on August 20 in front of the district town hall with the following demands: resignation of the district mayor (who had declared: “Everything goes well in Montréal-Nord, there is no problem. I have never seen anything coming”), a public and independent inquiry into the death of Freddy, end of abuses by the police force, the creation of a monument in his memory, recognition of the principle that as long as there is economic insecurity, there will be social insecurity (3)

The absence of authentic class struggle and any proletarian organization has as a consequence that the attempts at organization which do appear are immediately drowned and sterilized by the dominant democratic orientation; on August 31 Montréal-Nord Republik held a public meeting for “the implementation of a more participatory citizenship” in the district...

The problem is not to implement a better democracy, because “democracy” is nothing other than an alluring decoy which is used to mask the reality that under capitalism the “citizens” are divided into social classes with opposite interests; and that the most democratic capitalist society is nothing other than the capitalist dictatorship whose faithful agents are the murderous pigs. To make believe that a bourgeois institution like Justice, can defend the proletarians against another bourgeois institution, namely the Police is not only an idiocy: it is actually a conscious lie to dissimulate the class nature of the Judiciary, as anti-proletarian an institution as the Police and the remainder of the State apparatus.

The Spartacists of the ICL (who publish “Spartacist Canada”) and their dissidents of the Internationalist Group have both produced apparently classist statements, but they are hollow phraseology. They speak of calling “upon the power of the organized working

class”(IG); with the “labour movement of the Montreal area” (ICL), as if the working class today was not organized by collaborationist apparatuses resolutely hostile to any class action! But moreover, both mingle with their allegedly classist declarations; with their calls of solidarity with immigrant workers; the demand for Quebec independence, thus showing their complete capitulation before bourgeois nationalism.(4)...

Against repression, only proletarian struggle can succeed in forcing a sufficient relationship of forces to force back the State and its forces of repression; but for this to be effective, the struggle must proceed on an authentic class basis, independently of the collaborationist orientations imposed by the trade-union bureaucracies and sundry social firemen with the support of all parties, right and left

In Canada, as everywhere under the reign of capitalism; exploitation, imperialism (the Canadian contingent is one of the most important at the side of the American troops in Afghanistan), racism and repression go hand in hand

Beyond the various particular details it is social tensions which are at the origin of a situation where a police crime incites an explosion of revolt. On both sides of the Atlantic, misery and oppression incites and will inevitably incite the resistance of the oppressed and the awakening of the class struggle

These skirmishes of “blind” violence and “vandalism” denounced by the media and the defenders of the established order, prefigure the social conflagration which will burst into flame tomorrow, and which will destroy capitalism, this unjust and murderous order, when proletarians succeed in breaking with all the nationalist, pacifist, democratic lies and organize themselves on exclusively class bases and who under the leadership of their class party will launch forward with the insurrectionary revolutionary struggle!

(1) See the precise details in the sociological text published on: www.cmaq.net/node/30802

(2) See the official statement on the site: quebecsolidaire.net. Taking part in “Québec Solidaire”, the so-called far left more or less Trotskyist groups “Socialisme international”, “Gauche socialiste”, “Masse critique” and the Communist Party of Quebec: it can be seen that they are nothing other than pure reformists

(3) cf www.montrealnordrepublik.blogspot.com/

(4) Oddly, the IG also advances in its article on the riots of Montreal, the de-

mand for a “sliding scale of wages”! cf www.internationalist.org/montrealnordrevolte0808.html. The article in *Spartacist Canada* n°158 can be read at: www.spartacist.org/english/spc/158/jeune.html

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For a Proletarian, Class Struggle May Day!

It is high time that May 1st once again becomes the **international day of struggle of the proletarians of all countries** for the defense of their living and working conditions; it is time to radically break with the class collaborationist policies of the reformist trade-union organizations: they never brought enduring benefits to the workers, but on the contrary have permitted the **fragmentation** of the working class into a thousand corporately isolated layers, categories and sectors, thus facilitating **competition between proletarians**, French and immigrant, "legal" and "undocumented", between employed and unemployed, between full-time and under-employed, between the younger and older workforce, between women and men, etc., this competition which is the **supreme weapon** of the capitalists and the bourgeois State.

With the decades-long economic expansion and gigantic increase in capitalist profits which followed the last World War, the bourgeois class could grant some crumbs from its profits to the workers. The capitalists granted these concessions, only under the pressure of workers' struggles, and with the well-defined objective of guaranteeing **social peace**, i.e. the disappearance of the **class struggle** which alone can threaten their domination.

But for years and years and to the rhythm of successive economic crises, the capitalists in all countries, under the imperative need to maintain and increase their profits, busied themselves with continuously and increasingly taking away the benefits and improvements formerly obtained by the workers, always increasing their exploitation to continuously attack their living and working conditions.

The institutionalized uncertainty and precariousness which touches very many proletarians, young people, temporary, without-papers, unemployed, today is actually the fate which the capitalists intend for the whole working class, including in the rich and ultra-developed countries which dominate the world.

It is capitalism which leads to the growing accumulation of social inequalities, thus creating the chasm between the antagonistic classes; it is capitalism which leads to the increasing differentiation between rich countries and poor countries, condemning their proletarians to the most abject misery and the hunger; it is capitalism which by producing **too many goods, too much capital**, is periodically struck by recessions caused by this overproduction and which, at a certain time, will inevitably plunge the world into a grave general economic crisis which it will be able to escape only by destruction and a new **world war** - if the proletariat does not succeed in stopping it by **revolution**.

Since 1945, the world has known practically not even one day without a war at one place or another on the planet: capitalism does not know any other solution to its problems and its contradictions. The amplitude, the duration and the extension of these wars undoubtedly depend on the gravity of antagonisms and clashes of interests; but it is a fact that capitalist growth means also the growth of antagonisms and of all the factors which lead towards war.

It is not by chance that, under the pretext of the fight against terrorism, the American government invented the concept of *preventive war*, before invading Afghanistan then Iraq and going on to threaten Iran; it is not by chance that Russia rearms itself and that China shows its teeth; it is not by chance that the French government reinstates NATO and sends reinforcements to Afghanistan (all the while continuing its usual military interventions: in Chad and the Comoros, very recently in Ivory Coast, without speaking about the Congo or Lebanon). Beyond the particular circumstances,

this is the demonstration of the truth which states that while capitalism has permanently produced sixty years of "local wars", it unrelentingly sets out on the road towards insurmountable crises and towards a new **world conflict** which will be the consequence.

Only one force can stop this infernal race towards war: the force of the proletarians, whose **exploitation** creates the profits of the capitalists and which animates this inhuman mode of production. However the workers can only escape their current state of enfeeblement and express this force which is able to overthrow capitalism, on the condition of overcoming the competition which divides them, of a complete rupture with the practices of class collaboration which paralyse them, to organize for the struggle for the of exclusive defense their own interests-in a word on the condition of taking again the road of the **independent class struggle!**

The current anti-worker attacks are not due to the particular spite of a Sarkozy; a Bush or a Putin who does nothing but express the needs of capitalism. No "social dialogue" will ever be able to convince the capitalists who **consciously** carry out their offensive to increase the exploitation of the proletarians: proletarians and capitalists are not the "two sides of industry", but **class adversaries!**

It is possible to resist the attacks which follow one another without interruption, but by carrying out real struggles and with other means, other methods and other objectives than those decreed by the collaborationist trade-union apparatuses and those who tail along behind them.

To have a serious chance of success, these struggles cannot be left in the hands of these apparatuses which are indissolubly chained to the institutions of class collaboration and which can thus only sabotage them and betray them, as we witnessed once again during the strikes around the "early retirement provisions" this autumn: the **organization** of the workers on a **class** basis, independently and against all collaborationist orientations, is a **necessity**.

- General raise in wages, with a bigger Increase for the more poorly paid, corresponding to inflation!**
- Increase in all social minimums and the minimum wage!**
- Reduction of the working day and the intensity of work!**
- Immediate full-time hiring of temporary and part-time workers!**
- Reduction of the retirement age with pensions at the full rate!**
- Full wages for the unemployed and job-seekers!**
- Immediate full citizenship for undocumented workers!**
- Release of the workers and youths imprisoned for lack of documents, for participation in strikes, or for confrontations with the police force!**

These are some of the **immediate demands** which meet the most pressing needs of the proletariat; they can be obtained only by a **generalized struggle** uniting the workers across the limits of the enterprise, the corporation, sex or nationality.

But any success will only be temporary if it does not enlist itself in the resumption of the class struggle against capitalism and its national States.

- For the return to the revolutionary class struggle!**
- For the union of the proletarians of all countries!**
- For the reconstitution of the World Communist Party!**

International Communist Party - First of May 2008

The leaflet below was prepared for this May Day by the International Communist Party which continues after more than fifty years to represent the line of the objective historical interests of the world proletariat, by keeping alive the 145 year old militant and communist tradition of Marx and Engels, the Red October of Lenin and Trotsky, the uncorrupted Communist International, the Struggle of the Left Opposition sustained by the Italian Communist Left against the Stalinist Counter-revolution which lead to today's tragic enfeeblement and confusion of forces seeking an authentic revolutionary response to all the attacks of Capital.

For generalized Class Struggle to defeat the generalized Attacks on the Proletariat!

The offensive by the capitalists and their states intensifies day by day. The working class finds its way blocked at every turn by the class collaboration of the trade union labour lieutenants who in the name of 'Social Peace' seat themselves gratefully and servilely at the obscenely overlaid banquet tables of the State and the bourgeoisie in order to **betray the proletariat further into the spiral of jobs loss, destitution and starvation.**

Canada, once little more than a hinterland for the provision of living cannon fodder to British and then U.S. Imperialism, now strikes out on its own militarist foreign adventures, most clearly shown by the purely imperialist and militarist role it is playing in Afghanistan and which is now so loyally reflected in the increasingly jingoist media whether owned privately or publicly. **Canadian imperialism out of Afghanistan now!**

As the American bourgeoisie struggles to keep the core of their economy afloat they resort increasingly to naked military imperialism and the production of means of destruction and their sale and export to disparate, often warring factions in Iraq and throughout the world. The United States has no intention of ending its wars of pillage in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere and is eager to finance them by gutting its own infrastructure and further destabilizing the

world at large. The ex-Soviet Union had nothing to teach the Yankees about the 'Command Economy' and the Department of Defence; the largest corporation on the planet, needs only to bark its demands to become even further engorged. **Smash Pentagon Capitalism! U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan! Dismantle all American Military Installations throughout the world!**

Ceaseless speculation on every item of human consumption, the chronic exhaustion of traditional food and fuel resources has brought much of the world to famine and starvation. Agonized Haitians bake their daily 'bread' from mud, while marginalized Chinese toilers slowly starve as they consume 'buns' made from cardboard and newspaper. **Every human being has the right to existence. Capitalism has no such right!**

For the class struggle organization of the proletariat to defend its daily bread!

For an International Communist Party to lead these struggles toward forging the international struggle Against Capitalism!

Abolition of the Wages System! For World Proletarian Revolution!

International communist party

Down With French Imperialism !

The death of ten soldiers from a regiment of parachutists and the wounding of a score of others during a battle with insurrectionists constitutes a bloody defeat for French troops, which have been present in Afghanistan for six years. The government reacted by doing its utmost to publicize the event and by organizing a ceremonious spectacle. Introducing the "young" soldiers as quasi-innocent victims of "barbarians", it wanted to provoke emotion in order to transform it into solidarity with French combat troops and into support for the intervention in Afghanistan.

Sarkozy declared: "France is determined to continue the fight against terrorism, for democracy and freedom. The cause is just, it is the honor of France and its armies to defend it"; according to Foreign Minister Kouchner, the soldiers "fell in standing up for what is a part of the free world".

Such an operation of repugnant propaganda could not be successful without the collaboration of the opposition,

which was not lacking: thus while [the leader of Communist Party] MG Buffet, expressing "the strong emotion of the PCF", affirmed: "It is firstly of the families of these soldiers that I think. Families hardest hit by this tragedy"; through the intermediary of its spokesperson Julien Dray, the Socialist Party testified to "its great emotion and its total support for the families and loved ones of the French parachutists *victims of the confrontations* in Afghanistan"; he added: "we are in solidarity with all the French soldiers currently engaged in difficult external fields of operation". Four days later, the Afghan government acknowledged that an American bombardment led to 76 civilian deaths, "above all women and children". Who are the barbarians? In any case, "France"- that is to say the politicians of the dominant class - has not been moved...

The French troops in Afghanistan were not the victims of a "tragedy" or of "confrontations" for which they were not responsible; for several years, they

have fought an insurrection (which today controls a good part of the country) within the framework of a military coalition led by the United States - a coalition perceived by the majority of the Afghan population not as friendly liberators, but as an army of occupation propping up a puppet regime.

During the electoral campaign, Sarkozy announced that he would repatriate French soldiers from Afghanistan, explaining amongst other things that: "*no foreign army has succeeded in a country which was not its own (...). None. Whatever the time, whatever the place*". But instead of withdrawing soldiers, he decided to send 700 more. This can be explained, not by the sudden discovery of a terrorist danger in this country, but by squalid haggling with American imperialism. Bugged down in Iraq and thus for the moment unable to send enough men to Afghanistan, this last fact after months of pressure on its allies to increase their

(Continued on page 22)

Down With French Imperialism !

(Continuation from page 17)

quota of cannon fodder and material there, eventually granting something in exchange to them. As if by chance, it recently authorized the French firm Total to return to the Iraqi oil fields protected by its army...

The troops of the international coalition absolutely do not fight "against barbarism", for the liberation of women or for the population's happiness. Not only has the current Afghan gangster regime - which maintains the same discriminations towards women as the preceding religious regimes - that they sustain with tens of thousands of combatants as well as large subsidies, done nothing to improve the conditions of the ground-down population which always lives in the bleakest misery; but as the UNO itself recognized two years ago, "the priority given to economic liberalization" reinforced "the mutual interests which link the large corporations and proponents of

military power", exacerbating inequalities, the population is among the poorest on the planet. But as miserable as it is, Afghanistan occupies a strategic position in Asia: this is why Russia and America invaded in turn after the English before them. So much the worse for the population!

In Afghanistan, in Africa and elsewhere, French soldiers defend only strictly imperialist interests. If French imperialism is no longer the most powerful, it has historically been one of the most murderous and is still dominant in part of Africa. Supporting assassin regimes like Chad, accomplices to genocide as in Rwanda or as military subsidiaries of American imperialism as in Afghanistan, French troops sent abroad are ultimately always in the service of the major capitalist groups which determine the foreign and domestic policy of the bourgeois State based on their profits.

The workers have no support to give to the military interventions because those who send soldiers to sow death and the desolation over there, they are those who exploit them here, who con-

demn them to misery, and who have never hesitated to massacre and repress them. The enemy of the proletarians is not in the Afghan mountains, it is here: their class enemy, is the bourgeoisie, its economic system and its State. Any solidarity with the actions of the bourgeoisie weakens the workers, disarms them when facing the owners, because it forstalls the class independence necessary to resist them.

The only just war, is the class war to overthrow capitalism, French and international!

It is this war that we must begin to prepare today by refusing any interclassist solidarity, any national unity in war or in peace, in short, by taking up again the path of independent class struggle.

French Imperialism, out of Afghanistan, Africa and everywhere!

Down with Capitalism!

Long live the International Communist Revolution!

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

International Communist Party
August, 22d 2008

No to French Military Intervention in Chad!

While the devastating rebel offensive marks time, the French government is showing its teeth. The dispatchment a few days ago of several hundred soldiers to Chad to reinforce the thousand military personnel already in place had been presented as intending to help expatriates (those local agents of imperialism which, it seems, still haven't been bothered by anybody), French military authorities stated, straight-faced, that they observed an attitude of neutrality vis-à-vis the internal affairs of the country. This so-called "neutrality" was reflected, however, by "*logistical, medical and intelligence assistance*" to the army of Chadian dictator Déby.

On Monday, Feb. 4, the French government dropped the mask: Sarkozy announced that he had decided "to send aircraft to overfly the French border with Sudan" (for Sarkozy Chad is thus a colony which has no say and which it is necessary to preserve against the covetousness of others!) and French foreign minister Kouchner sent a direct warning to the rebels, saying that he hoped that France would "not have to intervene further" militarily.

In addition the French government works with the Security Council of the UNO in order to create the conditions of a military intervention which would be draped behind UN colors, as has already been the case on several occasions (in Ivory Coast, in the Congo, and so on),

the sending of the European force under the fallacious pretext of assistance to the refugees of Darfur, being compromised.

Already in 2006 Déby had been saved by a "Military Support and Instruction Detachment" of the 1st RPIMa (French Marine Infantry). Idriss Déby, former chief of Staff of the dictator Habré, had seized power with the assistance of the French special services when Habré became too close to the Americans. He established a bloody regime in perfect continuity with his former boss, even if with the assistance of the French, he crudely tried to camouflage it behind a vague democratic facade. More than 800 people were killed, and hundreds tortured by his henchmen in the Security Services, without the French authorities being moved by the crimes of their protégé.

But the authoritarianism and greed of Déby and his family have been such that they have alienated the support not only of the poor masses who were never asked their opinion, but even a majority of his clan (clique), his family and most of the warlords who were their allies! Without the unwavering support of French imperialism so far, the criminal regime of Déby, so hated by the Chadian population would have collapsed long ago...

Since its independence, unfortunate Chad has never ceased to be seized in the pincers of French imperialism, one of the most rapacious and among the most dea-

dly of the murderous imperialisms that have partitioned Africa, resulting in permanent wars and the persistent misery of the people.

The recent coming into production of large oil deposits has benefited only the giant international companies (American, French etc.) and a thin layer of local bourgeois who put most of their income into the coffers of western banks, while the Chadian workers still suffer wages in arrears and soaring prices (see the general strike of last year, when the regime responded with the brutal repression).

The proletarians of France have a particular duty to accomplish; they have to denounce the false "humanitarian" reasons that are used to justify military intervention, they have to combat the imperialist oppression exerted by French enterprises and the French State in Africa and elsewhere, they have the duty to fight their «own» imperialism!

No to a Military Intervention in Chad!

No Support for the Bloody Regime in Chad!

Withdrawal of French Troops and an End to "Military Cooperation" in Africa!

Imperialism, Out of Africa!

Long Live the International Unity of Workers!

International Communist Party
February, 4th /2008

Africa

Solidarity with the Struggles and the Riots against the high Cost of Living in Africa !

After demonstrations and riots in Burkina Faso and the bloody repression of the riots (perhaps 200 dead) and demonstrations by young people and workers in Cameroon at the end of February (a hasty justice pronounced hundreds of judgments against the young people, sometimes rounded up randomly, of years in prison), it is the turn of the Ivory Coast and Senegal to undergo demonstrations, struggles and... repression.

GBAGBODANCES WHILE THE PEOPLE ARE STARVING

On Sunday, March 30 president Gbagbo of Ivory Coast received his friend the "socialist" and former French "socialist" minister Jack Lang. After giving him a medal, he took him along to one of the smart night clubs on Princesse Street in the red light district of Abidjan (in the immediate vicinity of another district, Yopougon, Wassakara, where to eat three times a day is a luxury) under the eyes of the television cameras, with the aim of showing that peace has returned to the country.

Overheated by the ambience, Lang recalling when as an expatriate prof he had made merry in these very places, took the opportunity to praise the "popularity" of his host and his qualities as a great "humanist".

But for the poor population of Abidjan who cannot make ends meet this broadcast caused an explosion. The following day, housewives started to demonstrate from 9 AM and, joined by the youth, to erect barricades in the district of Cocody: "Gbagbo, we are hungry and you dance on Princesse Street with a white to show him that all is well"; "We came out this morning because enough is enough. We're sick and tired of it. It is another form of war with which we declare to Ivory Coast". "Gbagbo, we are hungry!" etc. (*Le Nouveau réveil*, Abidjan, 1/4/2008)

In the aftermath spontaneous demonstrations have broken out in other municipalities in the metropolitan Abidjan area and certain cities in the interior: Yopougon, Port-Boué, Attécoubé, Grand Bassam; as of 4 AM Tuesday, the demonstrators blocked the strategic crossroads in Port Boué with blockades, burning tires, etc.

Prices have indeed soared - sometimes doubling: denikacha rice rose from 200F CFA to 400F CFA; a kilo of meat rose from 700 F CFA to 900 F CFA in three days while in the same period of time a litre of oil rose from 600 to 850 F; milk, soap and other necessities follow, but

wages, they remain unchanged!

Faced with these demonstrations, the great humanist Gbagbo and his Prime Minister Soro released their dogs: cops from CRS detachments attacked the demonstrators, firing live ammunition without warning at women and young people. In Port-Boué, in the shantytown of Gonzague city, one young person, Séa Abel fell, killed by a bullet from police of CRS 1.

In his televised speech after 2 days of demonstrations, the so-popular Gbagbo has nothing to say to the dozens of wounded and the young demonstrator killed. He will announce the temporary freezing of the customs duties for a range of imported basic commodities and the strengthening of the fight against racketeering.

These are measures that will not significantly improve the situation of the population in a country where a bourgeois minority build fortunes in the exploitation of agricultural raw materials (fortunes placed under protection in French banks or other)...

REPRESSION IN SENEGAL

On Sunday, March 30 Senegal has also witnessed a demonstration of housewives in Dakar against the high cost of living: "Rice is really expensive, oil is expensive, the government does nothing. We are tired of it, we don't have any work, our children do not have work, we try to manage to eat, we can find nothing to eat, we are hungry, thirsty, we are really tired of it," said one demonstrator cited by Reuters.

The government answered this demonstration with repression. The use of tear gas and tasers by the police has provoked the worst skirmishes in the Senegalese capital in ten years. Walf TV, a private television channel broadcasting images of cops beating demonstrators, was searched and tapes seized. Several people were arrested.

President Wade (politically close to the French right) reacted with yet another cabinet reshuffle during which the Minister of Interior was dismissed and he appealed to Landing Savané and Mamadou Diop Decroix, two leaders of the And Jéf party. This party used to call itself "Marxist-Leninist" and Landing Savané was not so long ago a leftist presidential candidate... Savané and Decroix come to lend their support to Wade at a time when he inflicts repression, accuses teachers and students of conducting "political" strikes "without foundation" - he "de-

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« Il Comunista »

n° 109 - Luglio 2008

Nell'interno

- Ancora crisi economica e finanziaria nella prolungata agonia capitalistica
- Italia: La schedatura nei campi nomadi fa parte di un giro di vite che ha per obiettivo l'intimidazione generale del proletariato
- Contro il peggioramento delle condizioni di vita e di lavoro, riorganizzare la lotta di classe indipendente dal collaborazionismo!
- A proposito del Sessantotto studentesco
- Nota elementare sugli studenti ed il marxismo autentico di sinistra
- I moti proletari del 1898
- A proposito di comunismo, famiglia e matrimonio
- Riazanov, il comunismo e il matrimonio
- Quali saranno le conseguenze della soppressione della proprietà privata?
- Che fine hanno fatto gli aumenti salariali? da anni i sindacati tricolore concordano solo miseria per i proletari! (nostro volantino)
- Elezioni: la destra ha vinto e la sinistra ha perso? ha comunque vinto la classe borghese che attuerà inesorabilmente una politica di lacrime e sangue, in perfetta continuità con il governo di centrosinistra! (nostro volantino)

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« le prolétaire »

N° 490

(August - October 2008)

Summary

- Malgré ses crises le capitalisme ne s'effondrera que sous les coups de la lutte prolétarienne
- Amadeo Bordiga : La question Trotsky
- Afghanistan : A bas l'impérialisme français !
- La clairvoyance des experts économiques
- Italie: Alitalia: la lutte doit rompre avec l'emprise du collaborazionisme et du chantage patronal !
- Montreal: émeute contre la répression policière
- Venezuela : Nationalisation de Sidor et «contrôle ouvrier»
- A propos de 1968 en Italie: Lutte Ouvrière, les étudiants et les «bordiguistes»

Solidarity with the Struggles and the Riots against the high Cost of Living in Africa!

(Continuation from page 23)

creed" that the academic year would be a "white (lost) year" because of the strikes, even as the workers multiply their strikes and work stoppages (see the 12 days strike of workers from Nestlé Senegal in late February against dismissal of a delegate, and despite police repression).

According to statistics, almost half of Senegalese households are below the official poverty line; half of the workers are paid below the minimum wage, the rate of unemployed and under-employed is 43%. Meanwhile inflation has reached new heights. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a recent report by the World Bank had raised the possibility of "riots" in Senegal! But the government is more interested in lavish spending that fills the coffers of those close to the president than the situation faced by the masses....

The Intersyndicale CNTS, CSA, UDTS, UTS, called on workers to mobilize to demand a "general increase in wages" and the "immediate" lowering of food prices and the cost of essential services. But isn't this the same federation that called for the emergency suspension of the call for a general strike earlier this year, expressing its confidence in the government? Also, its "action plan", turns out to be actually a "campaign of information, awareness and mobilization" from 5 to 15 April. According to the secretary of the CSA (Confederation des Syndicats Autonomes): "The only certainty today is that the workers can no longer wait."

Because of this they must wait until the unions hold a "comprehensive evaluation meeting" at the end of their campaign, and our trade union leader urges the government to show "more foresight and responsibility" (Le Soleil, Dakar, 30/03/08). In short, do something so that we are not obliged to call for struggle!

In Africa also the workers can count only on their own struggle and their own

organization to resist the capitalism which exploits them and which starves them!

All these countries form part of the "zone of influence" of Tricolour (French) Imperialism: it supports and arms the regimes in order to continue to do profitable business thereof them the modes and arm them, in order to be able to continue to make profitable deals there (like Bolloré, the billionaire who, from time to time, does not hesitate to lend its yacht or his plane to Sarkozy, the proxy holder of French capitalism). The fact that the French media, so prompt in being indignant at the repression and the crimes committed by others, for example by China, never speak about crimes and repression in these countries, is the consequence of this imperialist domination.

There as here, the proletarians have the same enemy and the same anti-capitalist struggle to wage!

International proletarian solidarity!

International Communist Party
April, 5th 2008

Proletarian Solidarity against the Repression in Cameroon !

After last week in Burkina Faso, it is Cameroon this week that has witnessed demonstrations and strikes against inflation and the high cost of living; and the savage repression of these movements of protest.

Since its independence in 1960, this old colony is a country of strategic importance for French imperialism, "one of the pillars of the Franc zone" along with Ivory Coast. France is always the leading foreign investor there, with several hundred companies in all branches of industry, employing several tens of thousands of people; major French groups are present in food processing, construction, the banking industry, oil etc. The privatizations imposed by international financial organizations have largely benefited the tricolour companies.

The "aid" of France in Cameroon is important; it comprises various facets designed to facilitate the smooth running of capitalist companies, including a military component, with the signature of military agreements (partly secret, as usual!) at the time of independence in 1960 and in 1974. It is under the terms of these military agreements that France foiled an attempted coup d'état in April 1984; the Biya government appealed to France more recently, in 2005, when it felt threatened by the military. An important part of French military cooperation is the training given to the forces of the Cameroonian gendarmerie for the "maintenance of law and order". The Cameroo-

nian gendarmes showed that they were good pupils through the bloody repression of demonstrations on several occasions: repression of student strikes (2 dead at the end of 2006), peaceful demonstrators (2 dead this autumn at the time of the repression of a peaceful demonstration against the lack of electricity in Abong Mbang), and of demonstrations of motorbike-taxis protesting against extortion by the police, etc.

The increasing impoverishment of the workers and the broad masses of the population has made the situation in the country explosive, while in the meantime price increases accelerate. The generalized discontent with the present government moreover crystallized against the decision of Paul Biya to change the constitution in order to stand again. At the time of the latest elections this summer, hardly more half of registered voters (who represent only a fraction of the electorate: 5 million out of a population of close to triple that) had considered it useful to take part in the masquerade following which the authorities had announced the unavoidable victory of the party already in power. International observers had severely criticized this farce which was ratified unconditionally by the new French government, concerned above all for the "stability" of its networks of imperialist domination. When he arrived on an official visit last October to Paris, Biya could declare, in connection with the policy of France in Africa, that it was characterized

by a "real continuity": a continuity of imperialist plundering and support for local capitalists against their proletarians and the disinherited masses which are left abandoned.

On Saturday, February 23, the prohibition of a meeting of the opposition in Douala, the economic capital of Cameroon, was accompanied by bloody repression and confrontations. A private TV channel that had the misfortune to broadcast a report on this subject was immediately banned by the authorities. At the beginning of week the transportation unions (taxis, motorbike-taxis, primarily) called for the strike to protest against the rise in the price of fuel. Very quickly and spontaneously, apart from any instruction from the trade unions or political parties, the strike overflowed from the owner/operators of taxis to be followed by a large part of the poor population.

With several thousand people against the high cost of living, the demonstrators and strikers establish barricades with their slogans "We are hungry!", "Lower the price of staple foods", "No to high cost of living and the reducing to beggary of Cameroonians!", as well as antigovernment slogans: "Biya must leave!" "Popaul you will be hung along with your constitution", etc. The forces of capitalist disorder responded by shooting at the demonstrators. The port of Douala, which is the economic heart not only of Cameroon, but also of all the countries of the sub-region, was paralysed.

During the riots, shopping centres were attacked and plundered, various

Cameroon ...

public buildings attacked (the Taxation Center and the sub-prefecture of Douala V were burnt), enterprises belonging to the Biya family, symbols of French presence, etc.

On Wednesday, the demonstrations and riots then extended to the capital Yaoundé where police fired live bullets on the demonstrators who were protesting peacefully against repression while a helicopter undoubtedly piloted by a military co-operator flew over the crowd; as a measure of intimidation the gendarmes attacked the university residence; in Bafoussam, the third city of Cameroon, it was announced that a demonstrator had been killed by the police, and demonstrations also took place in other localities.

Faced with this situation which had developed completely beyond their control; the transportation unions called on this same day, at the end of flash discussions with the government, for a cessation of the strike (without regard for the victims of repression or for those imprisoned): "we want to give the government time to achieve its economic program (by) next June" explained the representative of the CGST...

However, on Thursday morning the more-or-less general strike continued. It should be said that the government regally agreed to lower the price of gasoline, motor oil, and kerosene by... 1%! The government mobilized the army to patrol in the capital, while in a declaration the president stated that "force would remain with the law" and that the strike "had been instrumentalized for political purposes" by politicians opposed to the "normal operation of democratic institutions"; the normal operation of democratic institutions means for the bourgeoisie that the workers must agree to be

exploited, to be condemned to misery without revolting, by accepting the gerymander of the electoral farce.

To date the number of victims in Douala and Yaoundé has probably reached several dozen and the number of those arrested at several hundred.

"We have a privileged caste that lives to the detriment of the majority which suffers" declared a demonstrator. This caste of privileged people, this is a social class: the bourgeois class; that vampire class, which as everywhere grows rich from the sweat and blood of the workers. The solution is not the departure of Biya and his replacement by one of the parties of the bourgeois opposition (all completely absent from the struggles in progress), but the class struggle against this class and the system of which it is the incarnation: Cameroonian capitalism supported by international imperialism, and French imperialism in the first place.

In their vital struggle against misery, oppression and capitalist exploitation, and in the face of the bloody repression of a regime propped up by the French State, the Cameroonian proletarians and masses have a pressing need for the solidarity of the proletarians from here; class solidarity with the proletarians of the countries under the domination of French imperialism which must culminate in the resumption of the revolutionary class struggle against capitalism.

Solidarity with the proletarians and the masses of Cameroon in struggle!

No support for the murderous regime of Biya! No to all military cooperation with it!

French Imperialism out of Africa!

Long live the international proletarian struggle!

International Communist Party,
February, 28th 2008

ITALY

Workers killed at Thyssen Krupp in Turin

Comrades, proletarians!

During the night of Thursday December 6 the latest in a tragic series of «industrial accidents» struck 7 proletarian families at the Thyssen Krupp steel-works of Turin: **7 workers were overcome and charred by flames** in a section where metal castings are cooled by an oil bath. Antonio Schiavone, 36 years old, married and father of 3 children was incinerated immediately, while 3 other workers, after suffering critical burns, died a few days later.

Thyssen Krupp had decided to close its steel-works in Turin as of June 2008, but the thirst for capitalist profit is never quenched: the exploitation of the equip-

ment and the workmen must continue until the very end. Work there is carried on around the clock, in three shifts. Moreover, to respond to demand, the owners **force** the personnel to work overtime. The dead or seriously injured workmen on December 6 had already completed their regular shift of 8 hours and were working 4 hours overtime, all this at night, to boot. **12 consecutive hours** in total and **under the most extenuating circumstances!** And anyone who refused overtime was immediately **laid off!** 200 workers were supposed to carry out the volume of production formerly realized by 380, and in much less time!

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«el programa comunista»

**Nº 47 - Julio de 2007
EN ESTE NÚMERO**

- Futuro del capitalismo: ¿Bienestar y prosperidad? No: Crisis económicas y miseria creciente del proletariado, cada vez y siempre más numeroso y oprimido en el mundo
- En defensa de la continuidad del programa comunista (8) / Tesis suplementarias sobre la tarea histórica, la acción y la estructura del partido comunista mundial (Milán, Abril 1966) / Tesis sobre la tarea histórica, la acción, y la estructura del partido comunista mundial, según las posiciones que desde hace más de medio siglo forman el patrimonio histórico de la Izquierda Comunista (Nápoles, Julio 1965)
- Contra la represión en Oaxaca: ¡lucha proletaria anticapitalista!
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- Crónica Negra y catástrofes de la moderna decadencia social (Técnica descarriada e indolente gestión, parasitaria y rapaz)
- La emigración y la revolución mundial: ¡Por la unidad del proletariado internacional!
- Unión Sagrada para condenar las revueltas de los suburbios
- Palestina, el Líbano: ¡Sionismo asesino, imperialismos y Estados árabes cómplices!
- La misión de los cascos azules es puramente de guerra imperialista: ¡Ni un solo casco azul al Líbano!
- La guerra imperialista en el ciclo burgués y en el análisis marxista (Fin)

(Theoretical review in Spanish) • One copy £2/€3/Sfr 8/Latin America: US \$ 0,5 / USA and Cdn: US \$ 3 . **Price support**, one copy: £ 4 / € 6 / Sfr 16 / Latin America: US \$ 1 / US and Cdn: US \$ 6.

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Workers killed at Thyssen Krupp in Turin

(Continuation from page 25)

Blackmail on the job is the rule for the capitalists who exploit workers and equipment to the maximum; this is why the maintenance of machinery (and consequently the protection and the health of the women and the men who operate them) always leaves much to be desired, when it is not completely absent. All «industrial accidents» regularly reveal that they are caused by insufficient safety systems and the slipshod maintenance of machinery (for reasons of cost!), not to mention the generally terrible terms of employment.

It is the rule that confronted with the hundreds of victims of «industrial accidents» which signify the capitalist race for profit, there is wall of silence which speaks eloquently on behalf of the media and the authorities; and as to the responsibility of the companies, Justice answers with whitewash or interminable inquiries. But when confronted with «accidents» due to particularly disastrous working conditions, the major political or institutional leaders understand that it is sometimes necessary to calm the incensed masses of mourners by making statements showing their concern for

the health and safety of the workers: «safety at work is our priority!», « laws must be respected!» «safety controls already in place must be reinforced!» in order to finish with the usual admonition: «the workers should pay more attention!»

Comrades, proletarians!

It is not the methods of the trade unionist class-collaborationists or official organizations which will oblige the capitalists to apply safety measures at work, to carry out the regular maintenance of machines and equipment. The only solution is the open struggle at every instance because we should not only fight for wages, but also fight to save our lives! We cannot count on the bureaus, commissions and institutions responsible for safety which have never produced any improvement in the working conditions of proletarians. **Industrial accidents and deaths increase year by year. It is a veritable war**, as admitted by even the bourgeois pen prostitutes.

The workers who do not shrink from working 12 hours per day, in very high heat, subject to inhuman physical or nervous efforts, and who «are left there to rot» day after day, must open their eyes to an exploitation which has as its consequence only the alternative of kill-

ing themselves from work or to starve to death from lack of work! The capitalist pressure is even stronger when the workers are divided and disorientated among themselves. This pressure of the capitalists on wages and employment, supported by agreements signed by the class-collaborationist trade unions concerning overtime, flexibility, job security, layoffs etc., is more severe especially since the workers continue to delegate to these same class-collaborationist trade unions the defense of their living and working conditions

Working Men and Working Women, Let's revolt!

It is intolerable to continue to starve or to become invalids to fatten the capitalists! It is necessary once again to take our own struggles in hand, to organize assemblies to discuss exclusively the defense of the workers' living and working conditions! With the advent of each industrial accident, immediately strike until the causes of the accident have been resolved! And if a worker is killed on the job, then a general strike! When a worker is killed through the fault of the capitalists, all the capitalists are responsible; we should strike a blow at them all!

December 8, 2007
(Supplement of *Il Comunista* n°105)

Previous Summaries of «Proletarian»

«The Proletarian» - Nr. 1 (02/ 2002)

- Attacks against the U.S.A. : Only the Revolutionary Class' Struggle against Capitalism will end the Bourgeois Terror and Massacres
- To our Readers
- Capitalism is international and global. The anti-capitalist struggle must be international and global
- The Struggle of the International Proletariat Against the Imperialist Strongholds, the Only Means to Help the Palestinian Proletarians and Masses
- Against the Imperialist War in Chechnya. The Russian Workers Must Break with Their Bourgeois Chechnyan War by reviving the Daily Struggle in the Factories, the Cities and the Country
- No to the imperialist action in Yugoslavia! Down with all nationalisms and all bourgeois oppressions! Leaflet published on March 1999
- Rover: Need of the Class Struggle
- At the Editions Programme
- The International Communist Party's Programme

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- The Mission of the Blue Helmets is

purely Imperialist

- Party and Class
- To our readers
- Palestine, Lebanon: Zionism-Assassin, Imperialism-Accomplice!
- To the Workers of Israel, to the Workers of Palestine, to the Workers of Europe and America!
- One Year after the massacre of Workers in London. To the Terrorism of big Imperialist States, answers back the Fundamentalist Islamic Terrorism
- The New Orleans Catastrophe: Capitalism, the Economics of Misery and Despair!
- Union Sacrée to Condemn the Revolt of the Banlieues
- Proletarian Anger and Violence in the Suburbs Promise Future Social Tempests!
- No to the CEP ! Class Fightback against the Capitalist Attacks !
- Against the CEP and all Bourgeois Attacks, one Solution: The Anticapitalist Class Struggle!
- The Abolition of Wage Labour means the Abolition of Production for the Sake of Production
- The International Communist Party's Programme

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- Multifunctional and indissociable Tasks of the Class Party

- The Counter-revolutionary Role of Opportunism
- Canadian Imperialism Out of Afghanistan!
- The only Way forward for the Palestinian Masses: Proletarian Struggle!
- The Struggles in Guinea:
 - The Workers Struggle in Guinea-Conakry
 - Solidarity with the General Strike in Guinea!
 - The Army Requisitions all the Workers!
 - The General Strike Continues!
 - The Trade-Union Chiefs Liquidate the General Strike!
- Against the repression in Oaxaca, Anticapitalist class struggle!
- The New Orleans Catastrophe: Capitalism, the Economics of Misery and Despair!
- Union Sacrée to Condemn the Revolt of the Banlieues
- Proletarian Anger and Violence in the Suburbs Promise Future Social Tempests!
- No to the CPE ! Class Fightback against the Capitalist Attacks !
- Against the CPE and all Bourgeois Attacks, one Solution: The Anticapitalist Class Struggle!
- France :
 - Down with the Electoral Circus. Long Live The Revolutionary Struggle!
 - For a Return to the Class Struggle. No to the Union Sacrée behind the PS!
 - In the Public as in the Private: For Class Struggle against Capitalist Attacks!

The Internet Website of the International Communist Party

The opening of The Internet Website of the International Communist Party contributes towards gathering numerous party materials in a – virtual – location easily accessible to all those who have access to a computer and to the web. In practice, it acts as a library, a bookshop, a post office box with a unique address, that of the party.

There is information on our catalogue of publications in various languages; contents of leaflets and the position of the party in response to topical events; texts and works of the party classified under broad topics (in the style of a thematic index), and the indication of the theses and basic texts which we consider to be fundamental on the theoretical, programmatic, political, tactical and organizational level. There are also articles which explain the history and the particular characteristics of the party such as «What distinguishes our party», «What we are and what we want», «The program of the ICP».

The purpose of the opening and regular updating of this site is to facilitate the availability of texts in various languages, especially for those who cannot make direct and physical contact with us for geographic or linguistic reasons – or by reason of political uncertainty. Thanks to this site they will be able to have a clear idea of our positions, of our history (and, beyond this, of the history of the Communist Left); they will be able to orient themselves in the magma of groups and parties which more or less claim to represent Marxism and in particular the Communist Left.

We are conscious that an internet site can give the impression of providing everything necessary to compare the products of one with the others, as in a market where one chooses goods which are in competition. We reject the system based on the law of the market; this is why we do not open debates, confrontations or discussions with other movements or political parties; this is why we do not organize forums where everyone expresses one's personal «opinion». Our political positions do not depend on individual consciousness, intellectual debates, majority votes or opinion polls.

Bourgeois society tends to disaggregate, to fragment, and reduce any human being to a petty and impotent individualism. «Alone against all», such is the hidden but quite real mechanism of bourgeois ideology. The techniques of the modern means of communication, from television to the internet, while giving the illusion of promoting bonds between people and of making them a part of the community, in reality actually increase their isolation into a miserable, individual «world». While accelerating, rendering ever faster and in a certain sense easier, the communication

between individuals, these powerful means of communication increasingly distance and place people into greater opposition between each other: just as all commodities are on the market in competition, the human commodity is on the market of the relations and the communication between individuals, in competition with all the other human commodities. Relying on «individual consciousness», on the «freedom of thought», on the freedom to choose, of each, means being captive to bourgeois ideology according to which each citizen is born free to think and to act as they wish. In reality, the life and the death of each individual are determined by the existing relations of production, by the interests of the ruling class: the bourgeoisie which, by force of its economic, political and military apparatuses, appropriates all social wealth, commencing with human labor.

Against this vast, solid and multiform economic, political and military oppression – social oppression; therefore class oppression, there is another social force historically in opposition: the proletariat, placed by the relations of production themselves in an antagonistic position to the bourgeoisie, the class of the owners and the private appropriators of social wealth. It is not a question of individual «choice», of personal consciousness, but a social question, i.e. of class.

Those who do approach Marxism, of the theory of the class struggle and the revolution, don't do it under the impulse of an intellectual illumination or by pure individual reflection. In reality they do it on the basis of social pressure provoked by the struggle of the proletariat against the living and working conditions which are imposed on it by capitalism. It is the class struggle, and the revolutionary struggle in particular, which produces the sparks of classist consciousness which, in gathering themselves together, historically form the class party; sparks, which are destined to endure as a function of the evolution of the social contradictions of capitalism.

The work of the party, which addresses itself to the proletariat and to society in its entirety, can only be perceived as a vital activity by the great masses when the revolutionary period begins, i.e. when the extreme aggravation of social contradictions leads to the inexorable alternative: bourgeois war or proletarian revolution. But the gigantic confrontation between the determining classes of society – bourgeoisie and proletariat – becomes inevitable and necessary with a certain degree of social tension, when the living and working conditions of the proletarians become intolerable. Then the class party – representing the historical program of the communist revolution – will be recognized by the most advanced layers of the proletarian party, in the course of the process of de-

velopment of the class struggle, as their leadership and their class consciousness.

Just as we reject the method of tactical and organizational expedients to artificially increase the number of our partisans, in the same way we do not fashion our means of propaganda, of diffusion of the positions of the party, as master keys in order to obtain immediate successes. According to Lenin, the party newspaper is a «collective organizer» insofar as all militants and sympathizers of the organization take part in its existence through contributing articles, aiding in its distribution, and by supporting it financially. It passes from hand to hand, it is saved and read again; it can be diffused in millions of copies or written by hand, according to the conditions of the proletarian struggle. It is not the organizer of a virtual network for the exchange of opinions, but the organizer of a material network of a militant organization.

Our Internet site is not the party in electronic form nor the electronic version of our press; it is a complement to our activity of propaganda and diffusion by which we place at the disposal of all, friends or enemies, sympathizers or priests and police, basic information on our political activity: Communists do not hide their goals – but they do not put them under discussion with anybody.

Our Internet Site:

www.pcint.org

Our e-mail address:

proletarian@pcint.org

PARTY'S PRESS

- «**le prolétaire**» - (*bimonthly in French*) • One copy £ 1 / € 1 / Sfr 3. **Subscription:** £ 5 / € 7,5 / Sfr 30. **Subscription support:** £9,5/€15/Sfr 60.
- «**programme communiste**» - (*Theoretical review in French*) • One copy £ 3 / € 4 / Sfr 8. Latin America: US \$ 2 / USA et Cdn: US \$ 4. **Subscription:** price for 4 copies. **Subscription support:** £20/€40/Sfr 80/Latin America: US \$ 10 / USA and Cdn: US \$ 40.
- «**il comunista**» - (*bimonthly in Italian*) • One copy £ 1 / € 1,5 / Sfr 5. **Subscription:** £ 6 / € 9 / Sfr 35. **Subscription support:** £ 12 / € 19 / Sfr 70.
- «**el programa comunista**» - (*Theoretical review in Spanish*) • One copy £ 2 / € 3 / Sfr 8 / Latin America: US \$ 0,5 / USA and Cdn: US \$ 3. **Price support,** one copy: £ 4 / € 6 / Sfr 16 / Latin America: US \$ 1 / US and Cdn: US \$ 6.

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.