

Proletarian

Organ of the International Communist Party

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

Nr 18

**Winter-2021-2022
Supplement to the
"le prolétaire" Nr. 541**

£1/US\$1,5/CAD 2/€1,5

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«COP 26» demonstrates once again the inability of capitalism to prevent the disastrous consequences of its development

The "COP 26" that has just ended in Glasgow brought together representatives from no less than 195 countries and nearly 40,000 participants, many of whom were business delegates who came to lobby for their interests.

These international conferences are organized every year by the UN within the framework of a "convention" on climate change adopted in 1992 and signed to date by 197 countries. The convention was based on 3 principles: the precautionary principle, the principle of collective ("*but differentiated*") responsibility, and the principle of the "*right to development*". Elaborated by bourgeois experts and signed by equally bourgeois states, this convention obviously could not question the role of the capitalist mode of production. On the

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Americans withdraw from Afghanistan to have a free hand elsewhere

COLLAPSE OF A PUPPET REGIME

Nothing helped: neither the "historic" agreements signed in February 2020 in Doha under Donald Trump between the Taliban and the Americans for the opening of peace negotiations, nor the weapons left in quantity to the Afghan army, nor the repeated declarations of American support to the Afghan government and institutions: in a few days the Kabul regime collapsed, as soon as the American troops began their withdrawal, the loyalist troops refusing to fight, and the provincial authorities offering only minimal resistance or even lending allegiance to the Taliban.

Symbol of this collapse: the precipitous flight of President Ashraf Ghani, without even taking the time to warn his ministers and only a few hours after a meeting with Joe Biden in which the

American president assured him of his unflinching support, following the Taliban's entry into the capital without a fight... And if the Americans and their allies have been able to repatriate thousands of nationals and protégés, it is thanks to the goodwill of the Taliban that they had driven from power twenty years ago!

The collapse of the regime in Kabul demonstrates that it was held together by the strength of American troops and the international financial transfers decided under the aegis of the United States, without enjoying any solid support among the population. If, thanks to this manna, an economy similar to that of the West had been able to develop in Kabul and in the big cities, creating a westernized middle class, it was only an island; the great mass of the popula-

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Pathology of bourgeois society Necessity of communism

Both the sociologists who attribute the innumerable phenomena of social pathology engendered daily by bourgeois society to the general conditions of insecurity and anarchy caused by the world economic crisis, and their colleagues who «discover» their causes in the orgy of «sensual pleasures» and «expectations» unleashed by the years of prosperity, actually hide the truth by stating only part of it. How could it be otherwise? The spokesmen for the interests and ideologies of the ruling class will never prescribe any other remedy for the troubles of present-day society than an even greater development of capitalist production - provided, of course, it is «purged» of all its imbalances and excesses in one direction or

another. They are obviously incapable of admitting that in the course of the accumulation of capital, «periods of average activity, production at high pressure, crisis and stagnation» (1) not only succeed one another ineluctably, but condition one another as alternating phases of a single cycle; that under capitalism the colossal development of the productive forces is inevitably accompanied by «the most outrageous squandering of labor power and of the social means of production» (2) that this waste is inseparable from development and constitutes the necessary result of the anarchic system of competition without which the extended reproduction

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Americans withdraw from Afghanistan to have a free hand elsewhere

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tion, in the countryside where 3/4 of the inhabitants live, but also in the cities, remained apart from it, living in abject poverty: according to the estimates of the NGO's, 9 million people, that is to say more than a third of the population, have no means of satisfying their basic vital needs and suffer from hunger.

THE KABUL REGIME: MISERY OF THE MASSES AND ENRICHMENT OF THE CORRUPT ELITES

The western media praises the progress of the status of women, but this progress concerns essentially a thin privileged layer of the urban population. The situation is quite different for the others: Afghanistan is one of the countries with the highest maternal mortality

(as well as infant mortality), a country where only 36% of girls go to school (but the percentage of boys barely reaches 50%) (1). They now pretend to discover the generalized corruption in the country, where for example the generals created phantom army corps to receive a part of the American subsidies and where the first president, Hamid Karzai, was in full view of everyone, linked to the opium traffic of which the country is one of the biggest producers.

But this corruption was only the necessary corollary of the American occupation: it was necessary to buy supporters of the Western presence in one way or another! It is easy to understand why the Afghan masses did not rise up to defend a regime built for the enrichment of a real mafia of corrupt people...

Historically, Afghanistan has always been the plaything of various more pow-

erful countries that have invaded it on several occasions, not because of its own - very limited - wealth, but because of the risk of disruption it represented in the region. It was in the name of maintaining regional stability (read: stability of the Soviet presence) that the Russians invaded in 1979, as the British did in the previous century to protect their Indian empire; and it was in the name of international stability that the Americans did the same in the following century; these different invaders using as a pretext, or relying on, internal rivalries between ethnic groups and regional centers of power, the weak economic and social development of the country having never allowed its unification.

WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN SIGNALS A SHIFT IN INTER- IMPERIALIST RELATIONS IN ASIA AND THE WORLD

American imperialism has been trying to disengage from Afghanistan for some time, fearing the fate of the Russians, who were bled by an endless guer-

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contrary, it wanted to protect it from the harmful consequences and disruptions caused by global warming - something quite different from the bourgeois slogan "save the planet", which only aims to camouflage this real objective behind a claim common to all, above social classes and their conflicts.

Over the course of successive COPs, participants have tried to move beyond general declarations of intent to set concrete goals. In Paris in 2015, at COP 21, an agreement was signed providing for various measures to limit global warming to less than 2 degrees, the IPCC experts having concluded that this was the minimum temperature increase that could be expected if nothing was done (1). Despite the vague and non-binding nature of this agreement (2), the Trump administration withdrew from it in 2020 before Joe Biden reinstated the United States at the beginning of his presidency. It is not surprising that its objectives were not achieved, especially after the failure of the COP 25 in 2019. This COP, whose slogan was "Time for Action" (1) should have been held in Chile, but because of the social unrest in this country it was transferred to Spain: social revolts are obviously not favorable

to discussions between bourgeois states: they fear them much more than global warming!

The COP 26, which took place two years later because of the pandemic, was not a failure like the one in Madrid; and the British Prime Minister declared that a "big step forward" had been made with the agreement signed on November 13 at the end of the two weeks of negotiations of the Conference, while recognizing that there was "a huge amount more to do in the coming years" But for environmental activists like Greta Thunberg, this agreement is only "blah-blah-blah", an opinion shared by Antonio Guterres, the UN Secretary General who denounced "the empty promises" of this conference. An example would suffice to demonstrate this: at the last minute India insisted that a phrase calling for a "phase out" from the use of coal be removed from the final agreement, and replaced by "phase-down".

The European capitalist countries that made their industrial revolution with coal have almost all closed their unprofitable mines (3), so they have no difficulty in advocating the end of coal use in other countries - while India, China and others still use it massively. "We have become the voice of the developing world," said India's Minister of Cli-

mate and Environment, commenting on his country's move. India is the most polluted country in the world (40% of the population, mainly urban, is subject to "extreme" levels of air pollution, notably because of the use of coal), but the Minister of the Environment is above all concerned about the health of capitalism: the children of Delhi (the most polluted city on the planet) (4) may well die from breathing poisoned air if Indian capitalists get rich by producing this pollution!

This attitude is not fundamentally due to the reactionary character of the Modi government; India's approach to the COP is not exceptional (apart from the moment when it intervened, in full view of everyone, instead of the discreet atmosphere of the negotiating tables): for all the states, what takes precedence is the interest of national capitalism. One of the promises of the Paris Agreement was that the rich countries would finance the energy conversion of the poorest countries to the tune of 100 billion dollars per year from 2020 onwards; needless to say, this promise has not been kept, while thousands of billions of dollars have been released to revive the capitalist economy in the world...

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rilla war (supported and armed by the USA!). The Obama administration, which included Joe Biden, already wanted to leave the country; but convinced by the military that victory was within reach, it stepped up military operations, increasing the number of American soldiers from 30,000 to more than a hundred thousand, before reducing the number of soldiers in the face of the lack of results of this “surge”. It was up to the Trump administration to draw the conclusion by opening negotiations with the Taliban for a definitive withdrawal. The Biden administration decided to respect this agreement and to leave the country quickly, regardless of the immediate consequences.

The international media present the American withdrawal as a victory for the Russians and the Chinese, but nothing is less certain: if these two imperialisms will try to fill the void left by the Americans, they fear above all the “destabilization” provoked by this withdrawal, which the Beijing government has judged “irresponsible”; the Chinese fear the influence in their country of the Uighur rebels fighting alongside the

Taliban; as for the Russians, they have organized military maneuvers with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in recent weeks near the Afghan border: for these border states and for Turkmenistan, vassals of Russia, weak and unstable, the victory of the Taliban constitutes a threat to their internal security.

However, this withdrawal is part of an ongoing mutation of inter-imperialist relations that prepares the alignments for a future world conflict.

The proletarians should not be mistaken: the withdrawal from Afghanistan does not mean that US imperialism is going to stop its interventions, military or not, all over the world; on the contrary, it means that knowing that it cannot intervene everywhere at the same time, it wanted to get rid of a burden in order to have a free hand elsewhere, where the confrontations are more important. At a time when the United States is pulling out of Afghanistan, the American vice-president was completing a tour of Asia during which she brought US support against China to countries such as Vietnam from which it had been ejected 46 years ago...

This coincidence has symbolic value; American imperialism, even weakened by the rise of its rivals, remains the dominant imperialism, capable of coming back after its defeats. The scenes of chaos at the Kabul airport are not a debacle; American imperialism is and will always be as aggressive, it will not hesitate to unleash a new world conflict to defend its interests and its domination. If this prospect is not immediate, it is nevertheless approaching, as the crises of the world economy are worsening.

U.S. imperialism is withdrawing from Kabul, but it is still the number one enemy of the masses and the world proletariat, the pillar of international capitalism.

It will have to be brought down by the **communist revolution** of the American proletarians and of the whole world for humanity to end wars forever !

August, 30th 2021

(1) <https://www.oxfam.org/en/what-we-do/countries/afghanistan>

Longshoremen’s strike at the Port of Montreal : workers once again crushed by special laws

After only a few days of strike action in late April, longshoremen at the Port of Montreal were forced to return to work because of a special law that forced the workers to return to work or face fines of up to \$100,000 per day of “violation. In addition, under this despicable “Act to provide for the resumption and continuation of operations at the Port of Montreal”, a mediator-arbitrator will decide on the content of the next collective agreement. We can now say it: Canadian democracy no longer recognizes the right of workers to strike to defend their working conditions, which have been under constant attack for over 40 years.

EXASPERATION AND FIGHTING SPIRIT

The Port of Montreal’s 1,150 longshoremen have been without a contract since December 2018 and have never been able to reach an agreement with the management. The union’s demands were mainly opposed to changes in the allocation of shifts that the bosses wanted to impose on its employees, who already have to deal with unstable

schedules, which makes it very difficult to balance work and family. Already in August, the inflexibility of the bosses had pushed the workers to strike (for a period of 10 days), which was then postponed after an agreement in principle was reached. But with management unwilling to back down, CUPE Local 375 members voted on April 26 in favour of an indefinite general strike with a majority of over 99%. However, all this fighting spirit did not weigh very heavily in the face of the repressive measures taken by the Canadian government, which did not hesitate for a second to pass a special law with the aim of breaking the striker ; it was adopted by the House of Commons on Wednesday night, April 29.

THE NORM, NOT THE EXCEPTION

It is clear that « special laws » are now commonplace in Canada. A similar law had crushed postal workers in 2018. In 2017, it was government lawyers who were victims of a law passed by the provincial government. In 2015, it was Canadian Pacific employees who

were broken by the federal government. So, the state that has itself framed the workers’ right to strike as a democratic right now has no qualms about taking it away from the most combative elements of the proletariat when they decide to fight to defend their working conditions. Many people are offended by these laws, which they consider undemocratic. The fact that these laws have been invalidated in the past by the courts as unconstitutional reinforces their position. But this is not the case. Court invalidations may indeed prevent certain union sections or individuals affected by the laws from paying the hefty fines imposed on them, but they do not prevent these laws from fulfilling their real function of breaking the movement, which they do every time. Workers should be under no illusion that although the courts work hard to give the impression of impartiality and equality of all before the law, they are bourgeois institutions that serve primarily to consolidate the power of the ruling class. The workers cannot count on them to defend themselves.

In reality, bourgeois democracy is simply following its normal evolution in this rotting capitalism. In every country of advanced capitalism, the bourgeois state is indeed tending to centralize and to impose tighter and tighter control over workers’ organizations.

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The general and long-term interests of capitalism may come into conflict with the immediate interests of particular capitalists; then the bourgeois state, defender of the general interest ... of capitalism, may be led to impose it on certain reluctant capitalists. There is nothing similar at the international level, where power relations reign and where each state defends its own economy: although the productive forces of capitalism have developed to the point of having planetary consequences and objectively calling for international action, if only to temper them, the capitalist organization into distinct and rival states prevents this. And this is even truer when it is not a question of the general interests of capitalism, but of those of the population in general and the proletariat in particular.

The ecologists who believe that the pressure of the "civil society" on the governments could force them to "act", or who imagine that the "awareness" of the citizens, whatever their social affiliation since the climate change affects all the individuals, is the solution, are seriously mistaken. They refuse to see that it is the functioning of capitalism - the search for the profit that is indispensable to its life - that is responsible for all the problems, for all the environmental or other disasters, just as it is responsible for the exploitation, the oppression, the misery and the wars that affect a large part of humanity.

This mode of production cannot be reformed; if we want to put an end to its disastrous consequences on all levels, it will be necessary to destroy it and replace it by a communist economy, without money or market, without social classes or states, without wars or oppressions, where humanity will live in harmony with itself and with nature. The condition to achieve this is not the union of all, capitalists and proletarians; it is the merciless struggle of the proletarians and oppressed masses of all countries against the capitalist class in order to bring down its domination, its political and state organization, in order to erect on its ruins the totalitarian power of the exploited - the dictatorship of the proletariat - indispensable to extirpate capitalism by revolutionizing the whole social organization.

The emergency facing the proletari-

ans is therefore not the *climatic emergency*, but the political and social emergency of resuming the struggle for the **international communist revolution!**

(1) We do not enter into discussions on the forecasts of the IPCC (International Panel on Climate Change, a UN committee), which are contested by the "climate skeptics".

(2) The American delegation threatened at the last moment not to sign be-

cause it was written that the States "must" reduce their CO2 emissions instead of "should". The conditional tense had to be reinstated for them to sign; however, this was the time of the Obama presidency and not of Trump!

(3) In the United States, coal production, which has been declining steadily for decades, is expected to rise sharply this year. And the US delegation has also been reluctant to make any firm statement against the use of coal, even though Joe Biden stated during his election campaign that he was against the use of fossil fuels...

(4) On 13/11 the schools of this metropolis of twenty million inhabitants were closed for a week, the air being unbreathable.

Strike at the Port of Montreal

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Today (and for some time now), the state has no qualms about abusing its legislative power to crush organizations that do not prove as submissive as it would like. It will not hesitate to throw its leaders in jail if necessary. In the years to come, we will see this process become even more violent; we cannot hope for a return to the "real democracy" that some liberals dream of when they call on strikers to defy special laws and go under the protection of the courts. In such a situation, workers should not hide from the reality that the contradictions between capital and labor will only become more severe and that the struggle will have to intensify to lead to the final confrontation.

LACK OF COMBATIVENESS OF THE UNIONS' LEADERSHIP

In the case of the longshoremen, it is clear that they were not prepared to defend themselves against these vicious attacks by the state. The fact that the labor organizations representing the workers are bowing to special laws is a powerful brake on workers' struggles. In future struggles, workers may have to prepare to ignore state threats and strike illegally. For this to happen, struggles must expand to hundreds, if not thousands, of workers. It is therefore more necessary than ever to get out of union corporatism and to unite struggles. But it is unlikely that the union bosses will show such audacity. Rank-and-file workers will have to struggle to either force their leadership to act or to build parallel organizations that can perform this function. In the

context of the longshoremen, we saw very well how their isolation allowed the bourgeois state to crush the movement like a sand castle.

In Canada as elsewhere, proletarians will have to break with union collaborationism and fight and organize on a class basis!

April, 25th 2021

Registration number to the "commission paritaire de presse": 52926. Managing Editor: Dessus. **payments:** by checks or international money order **to:** Dessus. Printed on our press.

PARTY'S PRESS

- **"le prolétaire"** - (*bimonthly in French*)
- Price per copy £ 1 / € 1 / CAD 1,5 / Sfr 3. **Subscription:** £ 5 / € 7,5 / CAD 10 / Sfr 30. **Subscription support:** £ 9,5 / € 15 / CAD 3 / Sfr 60.
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- **"Proletarian"** - (*Supplement in english to "le prolétaire"*) • price per copy : 1,5 €, US \$ 1,5, £ 1, CAD 2 \$, 3 CHF.

Riots in Cuba : Neither with the “democratic opposition” nor with the Castro regime. The Cuban proletariat has only one way out: the class struggle!

For several days, the main cities of Cuba, especially Havana, have been experiencing incessant clashes between demonstrators and the police. According to information provided by the international press, which should always be taken with caution given its usual bias about Cuba, the Diaz-Canel government has responded to the demonstrations that have been taking place on the island since July 11 by militarizing the cities, as the police have been unable to contain the tide of rioters. The same press reports that the Cuban government was forced to acknowledge that at least one person died in the riots, while demonstrating in front of a police station in the suburbs of Havana. While the crackdown, which President Diaz-Canel himself called for on his social networks, attempts to calm the tension with batons, tear gas and gunfire, the government has begun a series of food distributions in the poorest neighborhoods of Havana and Santiago, and has also ended the power cuts that sparked the protests.

Beyond these facts, the reality for the majority of the Cuban population is that their living conditions have deteriorated considerably in recent years. The effects of the embargo that the United States maintains against all commercial activity with Cuba have worsened with the arrival of Donald Trump as president, as he has reversed all the measures of openness that his predecessor, Obama, had put in place. Nothing changed after Biden’s election victory last November, and the consequences of the policy of restrictions are being felt in the form of shortages of practically all types of basic necessities.

But the American embargo is only one of the causes of the situation that the Cuban economy is going through. It is well known that Cuba depends almost entirely on tourism to survive. The Covid 19 crisis put an end to tourist trips to the island, resulting in the loss of a vital source of income, as the foreign currency from these trips is used to finance the purchase of a large part of the capital goods, especially agricultural, that the country needs.

Finally, traditional Venezuelan support, which provided oil and other basic commodities at low prices, has also been drastically reduced, exacerbating the lack of energy sources that have caused electricity prices to rise and the power outages that major cities have experienced in recent months.

In January 2021, the Cuban government responded to the economic crisis with a series of financial measures that only succeeded in worsening the situation of the proletariat class: the traditional two-currency system (the Cuban peso, in normal use on the island, and the convertible peso, used for international trade) disappeared, leaving only the Cuban peso set at a convertibility rate of 24 to the dollar. This led to a

devaluation of the currency for the state economic sector, which was the only one able to import the goods necessary for daily life in Cuba, and thus to a drastic increase in the prices of these goods. Thus, the “socialist” government of Diaz-Canel has proceeded to eliminate subsidies on almost all basic products. As compensation, the government has increased salaries and pensions by up to 450%... a totally useless measure when there is a fundamental problem of shortage of goods and services, and which therefore does not improve the purchasing power of the Cuban proletariat.

Some international commentators compare this catastrophic situation to what happened in economic terms during the so-called “special period,” the long decade following the collapse of the Eastern bloc, leaving Cuba without its main source of supply and its main buyer in the international market. The unrest known as the “maleconazo” in 1994 (1) and the “balseros” crisis (2) in the following years were the response of the Cuban proletariat to the economic and social crisis that the country was experiencing. A desperate response that resulted in the deaths of dozens of Cubans drowned in the Caribbean Sea, and which was quickly suppressed inside the country by a classic combination of repressive force and persuasion on the part of the government’s top leadership.

Today’s reality is completely different from that of then. First, because the years that have passed since the Castro revolution of 1959 and the collapse of the Eastern bloc in 1991 have contributed to weakening the heavy illusion in the supposed “Cuban socialism”: the economic, political and social measures that resulted from the crisis of the “special period” have greatly weakened the conviction that the Cuban government

and proletariat are marching together towards socialism or, at least, towards the defeat of US imperialism.

Second, these measures, which were accelerated after Raúl Castro came to power and which aimed to “open” the Cuban economy both to international markets (mainly tourism) and to small local businesses through the liberalization of certain commercial activities, have led precisely to an increase in social polarization:

On the one hand, the caste composed of the military leadership and the leaders of the “Communist” Party that controls the national enterprises has constantly reaffirmed the “irremovability” of a power that, as it loses its ascendancy over the masses, is forced to react more violently against them.

Secondly, a small but consistent layer of middle class, petty bourgeoisie enriched by the opening of trade which it has been able to use to improve its economic position through establishments that buy and sell only in dollars, etc.

Finally, a proletarian mass in the countryside and the cities, traditionally employed by one or another branch of the public sector, which suffers the economic ups and downs with no prospect of improvement, with no possibility of union or political organization and, of course, without being able to access the “advantages” of the spaces of free trade opened up in the last six years.

The revolts of the last few days have set in motion both this proletarian class and the petty bourgeoisie. The latter was also hit hard by the financial measures of last January, which contributed to a slow maturation of the confrontation with the government through artistic groups, opinion groups, etc. as the so-called “San Isidro movement” (created since 2018 against the censorship of artists). It is this middle class that shouts the slogans of “*democracy*” and “*freedom*” or “*homeland and life*” (as opposed to the famous “*homeland or death!*”), heard in the demonstrations. It is in their interest to capitalize on social discontent, to succeed in getting the upper hand over the proletarians who spontaneously take to the streets, in order to impose their own demands, which obviously differ, both politically and economically, from those of the

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Riots in Cuba ...

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working class. This petty bourgeoisie, which only aspires to have its economic status recognized by a partial integration into state structures, which in turn allows it to reinforce this status, is also the alibi of all the European and American imperialist powers that have an interest in pushing for a change of government in Cuba.

For its part, the proletarian class presents itself barehanded in the struggle. Not only because it has found itself disarmed in the face of the police and the army, but above all because the myth of Cuban “national socialism” still weighs heavily on it. The pressure of more than sixty years of power of the Castro brothers, once leaders of the revolution, and of alignment with this government and against the pressure of U.S. imperialism, is still capable of preventing Cuban proletarians from recognizing in this capitalist regime disguised as “socialism” and in this false “communist” party in which their class enemy is organized, the real enemy to be defeated.

This is why, beyond the spontaneous revolts, the difficulties faced by the Cuban proletariat in breaking with the policy of collaboration between classes that the defense of the “socialist state” means are immense: neither in the field of the immediate economic struggle, where the state controls all the existing trade union organizations, nor in the field of the political struggle, is it yet able to advance.

But each one of these social explosions, and there will be many more, each one of these revolts, contribute to show the hard reality: capitalism exists in Cuba; therefore, there is a proletarian class and its class enemies: the Cuban dominant bourgeois class, however weak it may be, and the layers of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie; the latter, which played the function of social glue during the falsely socialist political domination of Castro, once the help of Russia and the Eastern countries disappeared, as well as that of chavismo, are turning more and more to another protector, American imperialism, one of the greatest enemies of the proletarians of all countries. As this reality becomes more visible, the myth of “Cuban socialism” erodes and the ideological and material pressure it exerted on the proletarians weakens.

The importance of this development is not only national: the myth of “socialist” Cuba extends far beyond its borders. First, in Latin America, where the

Cuban state itself has, in one way or another, propagated this myth to defend its national interests, and where it has always found support among the proletarian class and the popular masses. Secondly, to the rest of the world, starting with Spain, where adherence, albeit in “humanitarian” terms and against the U.S. blockade, continues to be a major point of reference for the local forces of political and trade union opportunism.

The value of the riots of the last few days lies, therefore, in the fact that they are the expression of a social force which inevitably tends to show that the class struggle of the proletariat, in all countries and in all circumstances, remains the great question of the bourgeois world. Even where the bourgeoisie has had to veil its power under the cover of a false socialism, it tends to fall as the demands of bourgeois society, causing periodic crises and increasingly frequent phases of misery for the proletariat, bring the class struggle back to the forefront.

Against the false national “socialism”!

Against the democratic demands of the petty bourgeoisie!

For the return of the class struggle of the proletariat!

For the reconstitution of the international and internationalist communist party!

July, 15th 2021

(1) *Maleconazo*. Comes from the 8 km long El Malecon avenue along the coast of Havana, where a big anti-government demonstration took place on August 5, 1994

(2) *Balseros*: this is what Cubans fleeing the island in August 1994 (and the following years, including 2014) to the United States were called. The “balsa” was a makeshift boat, constructed from any object that could float in some way, rigged with sheets imitating sails and propelled by oars also made of odds and ends.

Is Colombia burning ?

At the end of March, we highlighted the enormous social tension that reigned in this country (1). Already in September, the capital Bogotá had been shaken by riots after the murder of a demonstrator by the police, whose brutal arrest had been broadcast on social networks: the repression had then left 16 dead and dozens injured by firearms.

It didn't take long for this tension to explode again, for the volcano to erupt.

On April 28, dozens of social and trade union organizations called for a 24-hour national strike. The call was massively followed; the marches and demonstrations, which took place despite a court order banning them, were attend-

ed by tens of thousands of people; they were sometimes peaceful but more often violent. There were assaults and lootings of department stores and big brands, bus burnings, clashes with police for long hours, with the usual number of injuries and arrests. Throughout the night, while the government declared a curfew, “cacerolazos” (concerts of pots and pans) were heard throughout the country.

The demonstrations and clashes continued spontaneously in the days that followed, with the government deploying the army in the cities on May 3. To date, the crackdown has left at least 37 people dead and 800 wounded, with



police firing live ammunition at demonstrators in the city of Cali, as well as 379 people missing, according to NGOs since May 1. NGOs have also denounced sexual assaults committed by police.

For their part, the trade union leaders condemned on 28/4 “*the disproportionate use of force*” (sic!) by the police and the anti-riot brigades (ES-MAD) as well as the acts of violence and looting, affirming that they were not the work of the demonstrators...

THE REASONS FOR THE ANGER

What has angered large sectors of the population is the planned increase in taxes in the new tax reform, which almost entirely exempts the sectors that benefit most from this society, namely a handful of prosperous “oligarchic” groups. In Colombia, the clan of former president Uribe Vélez (under accusation by the Supreme Court for corruption and for his role in the massacres committed during his term of office), mentor of the current president, is one of the most powerful (2). The new reform, the third so far since the beginning of Duque’s term, pompously called the “Law of Sustainable Solidarity”, only taxes the big bourgeoisie at 1% or 2%, but it hits hard millions of workers who, until now, were exempted from declaring their meager incomes. Among the points of this new reform are the increase in VAT, the creation of a 20% tax on services and basic necessities such as water, electricity, garbage collection, gas, etc., which affects the entire population, including the petty bourgeoisie, but especially the poorest, who have already been subjected to a terrible economic crisis for years.

But the list of discontents and demands is long, among which the disastrous or non-existent social management of the pandemic, while the fiscal reform was presented as necessary to finance the fight against it (3). Colombia is the third most affected country in Latin America, after Brazil and Argentina. According to the Spanish website “La Tercera”:

“... since April 19, the country has been reporting more than 400 deaths per day [for a population of 50 million-NDR]. In addition, hospitals are facing an intensive care unit (ICU) bed occupancy rate of over 80%, a significant increase from 61% at the beginning of April”.

The government has not hesitated to use this tragic situation, for which it bears responsibility, to try to dissuade protesters: a government spokesman on the eve of the demonstrations

threatened to send to prison those who would go out to protest, under the infamous charge of “*endangering the lives of others*,” or to enforce the rules of “social distancing” in the marches. But “*the government is more dangerous than the virus!*” “*the reforms are more frightening!*”, will answer the demonstrators the next day, disobeying the “advice” that the government has launched to the impoverished masses, its provocations and blackmail.

However, the root cause of the anger is the deterioration of social conditions, including among the lower middle classes. The economic crisis has led to an increase in unemployment: the latest published statistics give an unemployment rate of 14% in March, but this figure does not take into account the informal sector, which is the first to be affected by job losses: it employs more than 66% of the workforce! Proletarians working in the informal sector have no social protection in terms of unemployment, health, pension rights, etc., not to mention respect for the minimum wage: a truly bestial exploitation! It is not surprising that the poverty rate has risen to 42.5% of the population and that of “extreme poverty” (a condition that does not allow for the basic needs of food, medical care, etc.) has risen to over 15%. The country had already been experiencing a general strike and a strong proletarian mobilization in November 2019 against government austerity measures, before it was stopped by the measures against the pandemic.

Other reasons for the strike were the violations of the peace treaty between Farc-Fln guerrillas and the national government of former president J.M. Santos, signed in Havana in 2016: since then there has been a macabre toll of more than 450 (52 since the beginning of this year) signatories and other social activists murdered by paramilitary employer militias.

For all these reasons, and in spite of the pandemic, from 5am on April 28, an hour after the outbreak throughout the country, cities such as Cali and Bogotá were already registering strong demonstrations including blockades. In the middle of the morning, the Misak indigenous people demolished the statue of the conquistador Sebastián de Belalcazar in Cali, the city where the clashes were the most violent in the country. In Cúcuta, the capital of Norte de Santander, the days of protest began early. The demonstrators denounced in particular the increase in violence and murders in this border region. In some municipalities, such as Entreríos and Santa Rosa de Osos, there were demonstrations punctuated by speeches and concerts of pots and pans. The demonstrators closed the Sogamoso - Belencito highway in order to block the multinational company Votorantim, which

operates in this region. Hundreds of people gathered in Saravena, Arauca, to begin the days of protest as part of the national strike. In the municipality of Tibú, Catatumbo, Ecopetrol workers joined the national strike; they blocked the company’s facilities at three points, calling on other workers to join the mobilization. Trenches were dug to block traffic at the portal Suba bus station, (Bogotá); in rejection of the policies implemented by the government of Iván Duque during the pandemic, the residents of the municipality of Cantagallo, south of Bolívar, blocked the mayor’s office and the bank. They also protested against the possible return of aerial spraying of glyphosate (a carcinogenic herbicide) and the plans to produce shale gas by hydraulic fracturing in their territory, etc.

Strikes and demonstrations continued spontaneously in the following days, to the point of forcing the National Strike Committee (NSC) to call, in an attempt to regain control of the movement, for a new day of mobilization on May 5, whereas it had only planned a new one on May 19.

The success of the strike and the days of demonstration, in spite of the dilatory action of the NSC, had first positive results; due to the seriousness of the social situation, the Duque government first announced that it was going to correct some aspects of the reform; sectors and pro-government parties took fright, such as the Liberal Party, which announced that it would vote against it, while others, such as the Democratic Center, demanded the outright withdrawal of the reform. Finally, on May 2, the president announced this withdrawal, at least temporarily.

But this retreat did not put an end to the mobilization: on May 5 the demonstrations were numerous; they continued on May 6 and 7 and it should be the same on May 8 with still blockades.

BUT THE PISTON-BOX IS MISSING

The Colombian Communist Party, as a good bourgeois democrat, in a declaration ending with “*Fatherland or death, we will win!*” launched on May 5 an “*urgent appeal (...) to the national and international community to demilitarize the cities and provide basic guarantees for the protest and mobilization of the population*”(4). What is this “community” to which this appeal is addressed, if not a bourgeois fiction to camouflage the national and international organizations and state structures of the ruling class?

The Socialist Workers’ Party (Trot-

(Continued on page 8)

Is Colombia burning ?

(Continuation from page 7)

skyist) has criticized the action of weakening the mobilization played by the NSC, which seeks above all to negotiate with the government the end of the movement. But it cannot understand that this attitude is not explained by the “bureaucracy” of the NSC, but by its class collaboration and interclassism, because it suffers from the same evil: the declaration of May 3 of its Executive Committee puts forward as a central perspective “to strengthen the struggle” an “emergency national meeting” to “democratically elect a new leadership with the social and trade union organizations, [organizations] of women, youth, Afro and indigenous communities” - the same ones that are part of or support the NSC! And the declaration ends with: “for a workers’ and people’s government!” (5), without of course specifying what such an interclassist government would mean, by what means it would be instituted and what its purpose would be. The only thing that is clear in this confused verbiage is that the SWP is completely alien to Marxist revolutionary positions and the overriding need to fight for the class independence of the proletariat.

The NSC, which brings together with the unions, peasant and student organizations, in short collaborationist and petty bourgeois organizations, is in fact by nature incapable of giving a class orientation and direction to the struggle; it has already given proof of its attachment to class collaboration and to the defense of Colombian capitalism: its platform of demands gives pride of place to the “defense of national production (agricultural, industrial, handicraft, peasant)”, a bourgeois demand if ever there was one!

It is not surprising, therefore, that on May 7 it decided to participate in the “national dialogue” proposed by the government to find a way out of the crisis, without, however, calling for an end to the movement: such a call would not be followed and the NSC is obviously counting on the struggle running out of steam; it will therefore go to “negotiate” with the government, employers’ organizations, the Church, etc., its emergency plan that it has been working on for several months and its demands. But it is not new negotiations with this murderous government that threatens to decree a state of exception to stop the demonstrations, the strikes and the blockades and accuses the demonstrators of being paid by the narco-traffickers, that will be able to lead to positive results for the proletarians !

In 2019 the struggle had already been betrayed by the NSC, which had lent itself to negotiations with the government: the proletarians and the impoverished masses can see that this was only a masquerade that was useless. It cannot be otherwise today; only the determined struggle of the proletarians can wrest from the capitalists and their state new concessions, after the first governmental retreat.

This implies organizing the struggle on a class basis and for exclusively class objectives - and therefore breaking with the practice of class collaboration of the trade union organizations. It also implies working on the class organization of the proletariat, from the organizations for the immediate struggle to the political organization indispensable to lead the struggle towards the revolutionary conquest of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an indispensable step towards the eradication of capitalism and the opening of the way to communist society: the **class party**.

Trotsky recalled in the preface of his “History of the Russian Revolution” that “Without a guiding organisation, the energy of the masses would dissipate like steam not enclosed in a piston-box. But nevertheless what moves things is not the piston or the box, but the steam” (6).

Obviously, the piston-box is none other than the revolutionary party that does not create revolutionary situations, does not create the steam, but directs them. The proletarians and exploited masses of Colombia give to their class brothers of other countries the example of their combativeness (the “steam”), but also the example of the betrayal of this combativeness in the impasse of “negotiations” with the representatives of the ruling class. The militants and the vanguards that are emerging and will emerge from the class confrontations in Colombia and elsewhere, confrontations that today preoccupy the ruling classes, not only in Latin America, will have to learn the lesson: this lesson is the irrefutable need to work to reconstitute the internationalist and international class party, in conjunction with the revolutionary proletarians of other countries, on the basis of the authentic communist program that synthesizes the lessons of the past class battles, thus making it possible to draw a solid orientation for the battles to come.

This result cannot be obtained overnight, but it is the only non-illusory perspective of proletarian emancipation.

May, 8th 2021

Notes:

(1) See “Against the threats of war between Venezuela and Colombia, solidarity and international class struggle of proletarians!”, 3/9/2021

(2) Uribe, who is also president of the ruling party, said on April 30 in response to protests against the use of firearms against demonstrators: “we support the right of police and soldiers to use their weapons to defend themselves and defend people and property”!

(3) A European institute of geostrategic studies has discovered that Bogotá has spent - for the year 2020 alone! - 9,100 million dollars on the renovation of its aeronautical and military equipment: buying weapons is more important for the bourgeoisie than saving the lives of the proletarians, the ones most affected by the pandemic.

(4) <https://www.pacol.org/index.php/comites-regionales/tolima/14952-militarizada-colombia-el-paro-nacional-sigue>

(5) <https://litci.org/es/65703-2/>

(6) <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1930/hrr/ch00.htm>

« Il Comunista »

N° 170 Settembre/Novembre
2021

Nell'interno

- COP 26: incapacità del capitalismo di prevenire le disastrose del suo sviluppo
- Movimenti interclassisti contro l'obbligo vaccinale e il green pass e lotta di classe
- Colpo di Stato in Sudan e vicolo cieco del democratismo interclassista
- Italia-Slovenia: azioni repressive sui migranti nella «rotta balcanica»
- Carbone in Sudafrica e Europa
- Pre-COP26 al Mico di Milano
- Sciopero dei portuali di Trieste e Monfalcone
- Sulla disastrosa sanità pubblica
- Qualche lezione da tirare rispetto ai movimenti interclassisti anti-green pass
- La Comune di Parigi, 1871 (3)
- Francia: inoffensive «giornate d'azione»
- Contro la sospensione del salario per i lavoratori non vaccinati !!!
- Sullo sciopero dei portuali (Clpt) di Trieste e Monfalcone
- Mimmo Lucano
- Alla Texprint e alla Gkn, lotta operaia
- Corrispondenza dalla Spagna: Yolanda Diaz ha parlato
- Errata corregge dell'articolo di fondo “La guerra in Afghanistan”
- Guerra al virus? Guerra ai lavoratori!
- Ciao Pia
- Sciopero generale dei metalmeccanici nella Baia di Cadice

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South Africa: Riots demonstrate the need to overthrow capitalism and the white and black ruling class!



On July 15, the official death toll from six days of rioting, in what is considered the worst explosion of anger since the end of apartheid in South Africa, was more than 117 and more than 2,000 arrests.

It all started after former President Jacob Zuma was arrested for corruption. When he was still deputy president, he had received bribes to facilitate an arms contract with the French firm Thompson (now Thales); to this case, which has been dragging on for years, were added accusations of corruption of Zuma and his family by powerful South African companies (the Gupta group) and others (MacKinsey, an American « consulting » firm very active with the current French government, the American KPMG, the German SAP SE, etc.). Zuma, who succeeded Nelson Mandela as head of the ANC (in power since the end of apartheid) before becoming president, had long managed to avoid problems with the courts: only his financial director being convicted in the Thompson case (1). The main trade union, COSATU, as well as the Communist Party (SACP), had always supported this « freedom fighter » who had been imprisoned with Mandela and who was on the left wing (!) of the ANC. In 2018, however, he was forced to resign from the presidency following the revelation of new financial scandals. Although he then made an agreement with the other fractions of the ANC, the worsening of internal rivalries in the party meant that the judiciary finally received the green light to arrest him.

It was then that his supporters among the Zulu ethnic group of which he is a member began demonstrating in

KwaZulu-Natal province to protest against his imprisonment.

MISERY AND HUNGER RIOTS

This was the trigger for a revolt that spread mainly to the province of Gauteng, where the country's two largest cities, Pretoria and Johannesburg, are located. But the revolt had nothing to do with ethnic issues or internal rivalries within the ruling party. In the townships, the poor working-class areas of the big cities, stores, pharmacies and warehouses were looted, trucks carrying food were attacked, roads were cut off and official buildings were burned, while the police force was overwhelmed. The government called in thousands of soldiers and reservists to restore order (numbering 25,000 on Thursday 14), including shooting at crowds, while white and Indian shopkeepers and property owners set up armed militias to patrol their neighborhoods' and defend their property.

These riots are the consequence of the dramatic situation from which a large part of the population is suffering. South Africa, the most industrialized country in Africa, whose economy has been in the doldrums for several years, has been hit hard by the current economic and health crisis. In 2020, it experienced its deepest and longest recession in 26 years (8% decline in GDP). Half of the country's companies fear that they will not survive the crisis. Already the unemployment rate, which has risen sharply, is officially 42% (more than 50% in the townships) –and more than 72% for young people (aged 18 to 32) (2)! The poverty rate, which was 55% of the pop-

ulation in the spring of 2020 - and the rate of extreme poverty, meaning difficulties in feeding oneself to the point of hunger, which was 25% - according to World Bank figures, has increased by nearly 10% since then (3).

The health crisis of covid 19 affects in all countries the most underprivileged populations, those who have the most difficulty in accessing health care; this is particularly true in South Africa where, faced with a particularly virulent « variant », the vast majority of the population is helpless. Because of the negligence of the authorities, vaccination is very slow and available only to those who master English and the Internet to register, that is to say in fact for white people; moreover, the latter have most often subscribed to private insurance policies essential to obtain the necessary medicines, while 90% of black families do not have the means. It is easy to understand why the rioters looted pharmacies and even set fire to a vaccination center!

South Africa is indeed one of the most unequal countries in the world; the average salary of blacks is three times lower than that of whites, and that of women 30% lower than that of men, which reflects the difference in the positions of the two groups: the proletarians are overwhelmingly blacks (and black women), while whites occupy the most qualified and best-paid jobs, and are moreover less often affected by unemployment.

Furthermore, the country has many large fortunes linked to the large capitalist groups and to the new black bourgeoisie (such as Cyril Ramaphosa, the current president, a rival of Zuma, a former lawyer leading the miners' union and Mandela's successor, who has made a fortune in business). Zuma's political opponents accuse him of having done nothing to improve the conditions of the poor black masses and of having done everything to preserve the interests of the white bourgeoisie; indeed, thirty years after the end of apartheid, the situation of the proletarians and the black masses has not fundamentally changed and the economic domination of the white capitalists has remained intact.

But this is precisely why the white ruling class agreed in the late 1990s to

(Continued on page 10)

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South Africa ...

(Continuation from page 9)

hand over the reins of political power to the ANC: it was the best way to preserve the capitalist order and the interests of the South African bourgeoisie, including the big landowners, by calming down mass agitation and disciplining the proletarians through the ANC-linked unions.

Despite its armed struggle against the apartheid regime, the ANC has never had any other goal than the **reform** of South African capitalism; and, despite its socialist propaganda, the SACP, which was its driving force, like the Stalinist movement as a whole, has always been hostile to proletarian revolution, even before it officially renounced any revolutionary perspective in the early 1990s. For years its perspective has been that of a « national democratic revolution », i.e. **nationalist** and **interclassist**, in opposition to the true communist perspective of a potentially **international** and proletarian revolution, i.e. **monoclassist**. Its integrally bourgeois perspective could only lead to the rallying to the established order, once the apartheid regime was abandoned by the ruling class. The result is the develop-

ment of a black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and the consolidation of capitalism and bourgeois domination. Today the SACP is organizing the guarding of public buildings and calling for the « *defense of our hard-won democracy* » against the rioters accused of being « *counter-revolutionary* » criminals (4)...

The working class in South Africa has a long history of hard struggle against particularly rapacious capitalists. It has experienced and is experiencing every day the collusion of its so-called « friends » – from the ANC to the SACP to the big collaborationist unions – with the capitalists. It can see that three decades of democracy have only benefited its class enemies and their henchmen.

But it is not condemned to always suffer exploitation, misery and hunger – and bullets when she revolts. As the creator of all social wealth through her work, it has the strength to resist all injustices victoriously and to attack the capitalism that causes them – provided it finds the way of struggle and revolutionary class organization.

The disorderly outburst of anger of the last few days has made the bourgeois tremble: they have had a foretaste of the rage of the proletarian masses,

which will tomorrow make them pay for all the crimes of their system by the communist revolution.

May the bourgeois tremble at the thought! The proletarians only have to lose their chains, they have a world to win.

July, 17th 2021

(1) He had claimed that in addition to payments to Zuma, the French firm also paid money into the ANC's slush fund, demonstrating the widespread corruption of Mandela's party. French presidents Chirac and Sarkozy intervened with the South African authorities to stop the prosecution of this French champion of corruption.

(2) www.thenationalnews.com, 16/7/21

(3) According to statistics released on 7/7/21, the poverty rate in 2015 was 62% among children under the age of 17, with the rate reaching 82% in rural Limpopo province and 76% in Natal. <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=13422>

(4) <https://www.sacp.org.za/content/sacp-gauteng-calls-its-red-brigade-members-and-people-defend-our-hard-won-democracy> (15/7)

Coup d'état in Sudan : Tragical dead end of inter-class democratism

On Monday, October 25, the Sudanese military assumed full power, declaring a state of emergency and dissolving the existing government, arresting the prime minister and, in the following days, political leaders of the democratic movement.

Despite a fierce repression the gigantic revolt movement of 2018-2019, had led to the fall of the dictator al-Bashir, after 30 years at the head of the country. Al-Bashir came to power after a coup in June 1989, and he was overthrown in April 2019 by the military who deemed it necessary to separate from this disgraced character to better preserve the established order.

Constituted as a « Transitional Military Council » (TMC), the military leaders engaged in bloody massacres to break the revolt; in particular, it is estimated that more than 100 people were killed in the early June 2019 crackdown by RSF (« Rapid Support Forces ») militiamen and soldiers on a peaceful sit-in in front of the army headquarters in the capital Khartoum. But despite the re-

pression, the demonstrations and strikes continued en masse for regime change and an end to the military's rule, when in July the leaders of the movement – the « Forces of Freedom and Change », which includes bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, trade union organizations and the Sudanese CP – reached an agreement with the TMC under imperialist sponsorship: formation of a provisional government, the « Sovereignty Council » (SC), with two military men as president and vice-president and a civilian prime minister; then, after 21 months, a fully civilian government was to be formed and elections were to take place. It is precisely the president of the SC, General Burhan, head of the army, and the vice-president Hemetti, head of the RSF, who are the leaders of this coup d'état, which was carried out shortly before giving way to the civilians!

Burhan and Hemetti are not only former pillars of the dictatorial regime and directly responsible for its crimes (notably in Darfur); they also represent

important economic interests, as the army manages a military-industrial complex, while the RSF, a para-military militia reputed to be sometimes more powerful than the regular army, exploits gold mines and other businesses in an opaque manner (1). They are also linked to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, where contingents of the RSF have gone to help Saudi troops against the Yemeni rebels.

The democrats had presented the interim government as a great victory for the Sudanese « revolution », but its actions demonstrated the reality of this agreement with the military. The government benefited from the end of U.S. sanctions, but in return for IMF loans and debt relief, it agreed to eliminate most subsidies for basic necessities. As a result, according to the official statistics themselves, inflation, which had been soaring since the transitional government was installed, reached 400 per cent on an annual basis by June!

The government was in a hurry to satisfy the wishes of the international financial community, but was much less so with regard to the demands of the masses; of course, it turned a deaf ear to the demands to put on trial those responsible for the massacres of 2019 – the president and vice-president of the SC! The conditions of the proletarians continued to deteriorate and

many dismissals of workers who had made demands took place. A new law on trade unions was being prepared, but this law was to limit industrial action; this repressive law was approved by the Sudanese CP and the « Sudan Professional's Association » (SPA, a gathering of trade unions where the CP is influential) (2)! The CP is above all interested in union with the bourgeois democratic parties, and like its colleagues all over the world, it sacrifices proletarian interests to the perspective of defense of the state and the economy of the country.

Disenchantment with the transitional government was therefore growing, and the military leaders, citing the risk of social unrest, considered that the government had exhausted its usefulness (passing antisocial and anti-proletarian measures without significant reaction) and was in danger of attacking their particular interests. They probably even stirred up unrest by allowing regionalist forces close to the former dictator to blockade Port Sudan (in protest against the advantages granted to other regions), the economic lung of the country, which led to serious shortages in the capital. They mobilized religious elements for demonstrations against the government.

In this climate of growing tension, a coup attempt was foiled on September 21, after clashes between soldiers in Ondurman, the twin city of Khartoum. General Burhan, while assuring that it would never attempt a coup, said on September 22 that the Army was the « guardian of Sudan's security and unity » and Hemetti told his militia that « politicians are the main cause of coups because they neglect the ordinary citizen [...] and because they are more interested in fighting to stay in power » These threatening statements did not stop al-Faki Suleiman, one of these politicians, spokesman for the Sovereignty Council (and « revolutionary icon » it seems), from then boasting to the demonstrators gathered in support of the government: « the revolution is victorious! » (3). A month later he was arrested by the coup plotters along with other government officials... The coup attempt had in fact served as a dress rehearsal, and the weakness of the reaction was a green light for the military.

However, the coup provoked a strong reaction among the masses; strikes called not only by the trade unions but also by the bourgeois Umma party broke out and became widespread, including civil servants in the ministries. Tens and tens of thousands of people demonstrated on October 30 in Khartoum, Ondurman, Port Sudan and many other cities against the coup. The mili-

tary responded by using their weapons against the demonstrators in Khartoum ; a total of 20 to 30 people were reportedly killed. Subsequently, the Forces of Change called for two days of « civil disobedience » in early November for the restoration of a civilian government, a call that met with limited success: clearly the masses did not see this initiative as being what was needed.

While the democratic parties are pinning their hopes on the diplomatic pressure of imperialism on the military (4), it seems that it is the grassroots « Resistance Committees », independent of these parties, that are the driving force of the struggle. The coordination of the committees of « Greater Khartoum » (Khartoum, Ondurman, Bahri) has drawn up a platform of demands that has been taken up by the SPA, the CP and others: it is centered on the refusal of any compromise with the military, the establishment of a civilian regime, the formation of a new national army and the « complete sovereignty of the Sudanese state » (5) : these demands remain entirely on bourgeois terrain, even though the bourgeois civilian politicians have shown themselves to be adversaries of the proletarians and the poor masses!

Although Sudan remains a predominantly agricultural country, there is a working class with a significant history of struggle behind it. Unfortunately, its combativeness has been put at the service of interests that are not its own, as was again the case during the struggles of 2019. The collaborationist trade union organizations, the CP and even these Resistance Committees want to do the same by calling once again for an interclassist union to establish a democratic bourgeois regime.

In order that the struggle of the proletarians and the poor masses against the repression and the military dictatorship, not only doesn't end in a new rotten compromise with the military, but be the beginning of a real emancipation struggle against exploitation and misery, it will have to be carried out on **class bases** and on an **anti-capitalist** orientation, in total rupture with interclassism. This means that it will have to pass through the constitution of the proletarian class organization, whether it is for the economic struggle or for the political struggle, in collaboration with the proletarians of other countries.

Even if it cannot be immediate, it is the only non illusory perspective for the proletarians in the struggles that await them ; then « revolution » will no longer be a hollow word serving only to put them to sleep or to put their energy and their fighting spirit at the service of the bourgeois, civil or mili-

tary, but a fighting slogan gathering all the exploited.

Long live the struggle of the Sudanese proletarians and poor masses against repression and oppression!

For the proletarian revolution in Sudan and in all countries!

For the reconstitution of the internationalist and international class party!

November, 8th 2021

(1) *Africa confidential*, vol.62, n°15, 7/22/2021

(2) cf « *Sudan's workers on the march for their rights* » Mena Solidarity Network, 1/30/21

(3) *Middle East Eye*, 10/19/2021

(4) The coup was condemned by Western imperialisms, especially by the United States, which threatened to suspend aid, but also (with lip service) by Saudi Arabia, while Egypt remained silent and Israel implicitly supported it. Russia and China (which had been the dictator's last supporter) refused to condemn him. UN and OAU « mediators » are trying to restore « dialogue » between the military and civilian politicians

(5) cf « Powering the uprising: Sudan's Resistance Committees » *Mena Solidarity Network*, 11/5/2021

le prolétaire

N° 542

(Sept. - Oct. - Nov. 2021)

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Class solidarity with the proletarians and the oppressed Palestinian masses!

For several days the media has been talking about the “escalation of violence” between Israel and the Palestinians, putting the oppressed and the oppressors on the same level. In the last few hours, the Israeli army has announced and then denied having invaded the Gaza Strip, on which its artillery is firing and which its planes are bombing, while Hamas is firing salvos of missiles on Israeli cities. The death toll to date is over 100 (including 27 children) and hundreds of injured on the Palestinian side, and 7 dead on the Israeli side (including a Palestinian and his daughter).

Clashes took place in the Israeli towns of Lod and Jaffa between Arab youth and Jewish far-right groups, and similar scenes were reported in other towns, including Tel Aviv, where calls to demonstrate against Arabs were disseminated; meanwhile clashes between Arab protesters and police continued in Jerusalem. To the point of forcing Prime Minister Netanyahu to warn against anti-Arab pogroms, fearing that they would lead to revolt among Israeli Arabs. The Arabs, who make up a little more than 20% of the total population of Israel, and who generally hold low-paid jobs, have been the hardest hit by the economic crisis which has led to a surge in unemployment, and they constitute a social bomb.

It all started with a mobilization in

support of Arab families in East Jerusalem who were threatened with eviction from their homes to make way for settlers. As the demonstrations grew and led to clashes with the police and settlers, Hamas stepped in: it fired missiles from the Gaza Strip, which it controls, where 2 million Palestinians survive miserably, locked in a veritable open-air camp under a blockade from Israel and Egypt. His objective is not only to take the lead in the mobilization, but above all, by his show of strength, to be recognized by the Hebrew state and its imperialist sponsors as the legitimate representative of the Gazans with whom to negotiate; this is why he has launched several calls for a cease-fire.

But what the Israeli leadership needs is a docile and obedient guardian, a subordinate servant, not an equal, so it has undertaken to “punish” Hamas, killing two leaders of its military wing and destroying buildings belonging to it - while taking care not to hit the Palestinian police, who is essential to maintaining order in Gaza. It is the civilians who are the main victims of this bloody gangsterism.

The Arab states have long since abandoned their platonic declarations of support for the Palestinians, while the imperialists have abandoned any attempt to curb the actions of Israel, the fundamental pillar of the Western imperialist presence in the region. The new US administration is essentially continuing

Trump’s policy (recognition of the annexation of Jerusalem, unwavering support for Israel, etc.), and the Europeans are content with melancholic statements. The French government, following a practice established by former socialist Prime Minister Valls, has even banned pro-Palestinian demonstrations in Paris and other towns!

The Palestinian proletarians are alone; they cannot count on the Islamists of Hamas who dream of selling their skin, nor on what remains of the nationalists, who have already been sold out, nor on the fading mirage of internationally negotiated peace agreements. But they have tens and tens of millions of class brothers in the region and in the world who have the same enemy - capitalism. Sooner or later they will enter the struggle to destroy this bourgeois system and its murderous imperialist “order”. The international proletarian revolution will then put a definitive end to all the oppressions, all the injustices, all the massacres of capitalism.

Real solidarity here with the Palestinians as with other victims of oppression and exploitation, opposition to the crimes committed by the Hebrew state, does not consist only in denouncing support for this state which maintains its domination over millions of Palestinians through violence and terror.

It also and above all consists in working for the resumption of the anti-capitalist class struggle, in the perspective of overthrowing “our” bourgeoisie and its state - and not in trying to convince them to change their policies!

May, 14th 2021

Pathology of bourgeois society Necessity of communism

(Continuation from page 1)

of capital, and therefore of capitalist relations of production, would be unimaginable; that the «accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole» (3) and that the accumulation of growing wealth is the **condition**, and at the same time the **result**, of its cyclical destruction.

If the crisis into which the bourgeois world has plunged is «responsible» for something, it is for having revealed the laws of capitalist production (and hence the laws of bourgeois society) in all of its phases, in their most brutal form, manifested in their paroxysm, i.e. for laying bare the horrors it produces regularly in periods of expansion and periods of contraction, in periods of abun-

dance and periods of scarcity. By precipitating workers as well as a large segment of the intermediate classes (and their children) into a widespread, intense insecurity, the crisis simply reveals that «constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones» (4) thereby revealing that the historical strength of the capitalist mode of production is the very source of its historical weakness. Pulling all the «values» of bourgeois society down from their pedestals one by one, it shows that the absence of any norms is only the obverse of the normality of a process in which «all that is solid melts into thin air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind» (5).

By sowing chaos where harmony seemed to reign, it confirms that «anarchy is the law of civil society emancipated from divisive privileges», and thus of bourgeois society in its pure state, and that «the anarchy of civil society is the basis of the modern public system, just as the public system in its turn is the guarantee of that anarchy» (6). Pitting man against man in a desperate struggle to survive, it gives an exponential expression to the principle in which capitalist production has always seen the beneficial wellspring of progress, i.e. the free play of competition: «Free industry and trade abolish privileged exclusivity and thereby the struggle between the privileged exclusivities. They replace exclusivity by man freed from privilege... man no longer bound to other men by even a semblance of a common bond... In the same way civil society as a whole is this war against one another of all individuals» (7). By precipitating even strata of the bourgeoisie into pauperism, the «hospital of the active labor army», though wi-

thout giving them the capacity of attacking bourgeois society - at its roots (which only the proletariat can do), it only extends the normal condition of the workers to a broader circle, a situation in which «the condition of their life, labor, and with it all the conditions of existence of modern society, have become something extraneous, something over which they, as separate individuals, have no control, and over which no social organization can give them control» (8).

In this context, and with a varying weight depending upon whether we are in a period of expansion or recession of the capitalist economy – but without any essential change of character – flourish the phenomena of petty and major crime, private theft and public pillage, individual and group violence, sexual aberrations and crimes, armed attacks and spectacular kidnappings, settling of accounts between clans and families, in short, all forms of «brutality and degradation». The same social context also gives rise, as a reaction, to the powerless methods of escape from this merciless reality, the senseless flight to the artificial paradises of drugs or religion (which amounts to the same thing), the craven abandoning of the haughty certainties of the philosophies of progress in favor of the much more seductive uncertainties of individualism, existentialism and irrationalism, all of them cunningly promoted and encouraged by the ideological prostitutes of the established order. Side by side in this same medium ferment resignation to the taboos of bourgeois civilization and the hopeless voluntarism of agitational terrorism.

As communists, we do not ask the priests of capital (whether politicians, clergymen, philosophers or Scientists) to acknowledge that the phenomena of degeneration they denounce daily are necessary manifestations of the development of bourgeois society. We do not expect them to do anything other than to administer the opium of escape or reformism to the victims of this irresistible course. For us, nothing is more revealing than the impotence of the official and officious «culture» of the ruling class, its pretensions to demonstrate that these degenerative phenomena derive, if not from chance, pure accident, then at least from the mysterious action of external, exogenous agents, some kind of secular incarnation of the Devil. Nothing is more revealing of the decomposition of this «culture» than the only «remedy» it can advocate, viz. a return of the capitalist economy to a perfectly mythical «harmonious course», and a return of bourgeois society to the just as mythical treasure of its «eternal values». In a fiercely sarcastic page, Marx showed over a century ago that in a mode of

production that makes the most unproductive forms of labor **for people**, productive **for capital**, delinquency and, at a higher level of social pathology, parasitism and idleness, are transformed into a means of development, a factor of expansion, an element of harmony. We reproduce it almost in full here, limiting ourselves to emphasizing passages in which Marx gives an ironic echo of bourgeois sermons about the fertile and stimulating «fallout» of the crimes that mark the centuries of capitalist «progress», from mere extortion of surplus value, through the creation of «a vast number of employments, at present indispensable, but in themselves superfluous» (9) and even harmful, up to and including local, general, national, colonial and imperialist wars. Sarcastically paraphrasing a bourgeois economist, Marx writes:

«A philosopher produces ideas, a poet, poems; a clergyman, sermons; a professor, compendia, and so on. A criminal produces crimes. If we look a little closer at the connection between this latter branch of production and society as a whole, we shall rid ourselves of many prejudices. The criminal produces not only crimes but criminal law, and with this also the professor who gives lectures on criminal law and in addition to this the inevitable compendium in which this sane professor throws his lectures onto the general market as «commodities.» This brings with it augmentation of national wealth, quite apart from the personal enjoyment which... the manuscript of the compendium brings to its originator himself.

«The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc.; and all these different lines of business, which form equally many different categories of the social division of labor, develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs and new ways of satisfying them. Torture alone has given rise to the most ingenious mechanical inventions and employed many honorable craftsmen in the production of its instruments.

«The criminal produces an impression, partly moral and partly tragic, as the case may be, and in this way renders a «service» by arousing the moral and aesthetic feelings of the public. He produces not only compendia on criminal law, not only penal codes and along with them legislators in this field, but also art, belles-lettres, novels, and even tragedies... The criminal breaks the monotony and everyday security of bourgeois life. In this way he keeps it from stagnation and gives rise to that uneasy tension and agility without which even the spur of competition would get blunted. Thus he gives

a stimulus to the productive forces. While crime takes part of the superfluous population off the labor market and thus reduces competition among the laborers – up to a certain point preventing wages from falling below the minimum – the struggle against crime absorbs another part of this population. Thus the criminal comes in as one of those natural «counterweights» which bring about a correct balance and open up a whole perspective of «useful» occupations...

«Would locks ever have reached their present degree of excellence had there been no thieves? Would the making of bank-notes had reached its present perfection had there been no forgers? Would the microscope have found its way into the sphere of ordinary commerce ... but for trading frauds? Doesn't practical chemistry owe just as much to adulteration of commodities and the efforts to show it up as to the honest zeal for production?... would the world market ever have come into benefit but for national «crime?»» (10).

Such «harmonies» nourish the «perpetual insecurity and agitation» that are characteristic of the capitalist mode of production. How can one separate the «good» aspects from the «bad», as Proudhon and his emulators seek to do? The materially beneficial and morally progressive effects of «private» crimes culminate in a deification of «national crimes» laid bare by bourgeois rhetoric. How can the «notorious criminality» of the bourgeois social order be isolated from the triumphant march of Capitalist progress? The stratagems and philosophies of evasion characteristic of the semi-classes and their prophets may offer an illusion of individual escape from this infernal circle, but only the modern proletariat, the «class of general scandal», which has grown up under the crushing weight of this organized delinquency and in the «hard school of labor», is capable of breaking it. It can only be broken by the totalitarian, anti-individualist, anti-national, anti-mercantile communist revolution.

(From « Programme communiste » Nr 78, december 1978)

(1) Marx, Capital, Moscow, 1974, vol. 1, p. 593 (Chap. XXV) •• (2) Ibid., p. 496 (Chap. XVII) •• (3) Ibid., p. 604 (Chap. XXV) •• (4) Manifesto of the Communist Party, I. •• (5) Ibid. •• (6) Marx and Engels, The Holy Family, Moscow, 1975, p. 13 •• (7) Ibid., p. 137. •• (8) Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, Moscow, 1976, p. 88 •• (9) Marx, Capital, Moscow, 1974, vol. 1, p. 496 Chap. XVII •• (10) Marx, Theories of Surplus Value, Pt. 1, Moscow, 1975, pp. 377-3.

Deaths in Belarus, drownings in the Channel and the Mediterranean: the European bourgeois are responsible for the tragic fate of migrants!

The drowning, in the English Channel on november 24th, of 27 migrants, men, women and children who wanted to reach Great Britain, moved public opinion and made headlines in the media. French Government authorities immediately accused “criminal networks” of “smugglers” of being responsible for this tragedy: Interior Minister Darmanin called for “very tough measures” against smugglers, while Macron spoke of the immediate reinforcement of Frontex, the European border guard agency responsible for blocking the arrival of migrants; this agency has been repeatedly accused of “human rights violations” as well as various malpractices, to the point that the European Parliament refused to vote on its budget last April.

But in reality, it is the *very tough* European and French policy towards migrants that is the cause of this tragedy as well as those that preceded it, forcing refugees to take all the risks to cross the borders and reach their destination country. There have been 336 deaths in the English Channel since 1999. It is in the Mediterranean that the number of deaths is the highest, even if it is less talked about: the UN agency IOM (International Organization for Migration), estimates a minimum of 1,146 deaths for the first half of 2021 alone (a number of boats having probably sunk without

leaving any trace).

These migrants are driven out by misery and wars for which European imperialism is at least partly responsible: they have all participated in the destruction caused by the conflicts in the countries of origin and in the exploitation that prevails there. These migrants flee from living conditions that have become unbearable, hoping to find better conditions in Europe.

In Belarus, several thousand people, men, women and children, found themselves blocked in the cold by Polish border guards; the Warsaw government, which had sent more than 8,000 soldiers to arrest the migrants, also prevented humanitarian organizations from rescuing them and journalists from seeing what was happening at the border. According to the Polish media, there were a dozen deaths. In the meantime, European politicians and the media have not stopped denouncing the Belarusian regime, accusing it of wanting to destabilize Europe; the Danish social-democratic government has even offered Poland 15 km of barbed wire with sharp blades. As if a Community of countries among the richest in the world, with nearly 450 million inhabitants, could be destabilized by the entry of a few thousand migrants on its territory! Let’s remember that for political reasons, France welcomed more than 120,000 Vietnam-

ese refugees (“boat people”) in 1979 and for economic reasons, Germany welcomed more than one million refugees, mostly Syrians, in 2015.

The hypocrisy of European bourgeois leaders and politicians is even more disgusting when one knows that a good part of these migrants stuck between Belarus and Poland are Iraqi Kurds. When they are repressed in their country, their fate arouses general indignation in Europe; but when they try to reach Europe, they are treated like dogs, just good to die in the forest...

All the anti-migrant policies that exist in Europe are fundamentally aimed at designating foreigners, or those of foreign origin, as their enemies against whom the bourgeois state is the only one capable of defending them. This **nationalism** is absolutely anti-proletarian because it weakens the workers by opposing them according to their nationality, and because it makes them adhere to bourgeois national interests.

To the anti-migrant policies, to the closing of the borders and to xenophobia, to discrimination and to all measures against immigrants, the proletarians must oppose the unity of all the workers in the struggle against capitalism and the murderous bourgeois states.

No to capitalist fortress Europe, no to anti-immigrant policies!

Regularization of undocumented workers!

Openig of borders, freedom of movement for proletarians!

Proletarians have no country!

November, 27th 2021

France: Demonstrations against the “health pass” The struggle against bourgeois authoritarianism can only be waged on proletarian class positions!

On Saturday 24 July, tens of thousands of people (more than 160,000 according to police sources), much more than the “anti-vax” who refuse any vaccination on principle, demonstrated again in dozens and dozens of cities, large and small, against the “health pass” and other government measures announced in the face of the pandemic – such as threats of dismissal of personnel who refuse to be vaccinated, fines or even prison sentences for not presenting the health pass, etc. Nurses who had to take care of patients last year without adequate protections, will now risk being fired if they are not sufficiently protected!

These authoritarian measures

(which, by the way, contradict the statements made a few weeks earlier...) (1) are part of a repressive logic implemented by successive governments under various pretexts, well before the appearance of the pandemic. It is a **basic trend** that responds to the **inexorable** aggravation of social tensions as the difficulties of capitalism force it to increase the exploitation of proletarians while reducing ever more social spending denounced of course as intolerable “burden” by the bourgeoisie (President Macron, 6/12/18: social assistance costs “*a crazy amount of money*”). This tendency has manifested itself with unprecedented force and efficiency when in many countries, from Latin America to Asia, Africa or the

Middle East, governments have decreed confinements to break the proletarian struggles and overcome their difficulties to maintain social peace.

Similarly, the imposition of successive confinements, a permanent state of emergency and the taking of authoritarian measures by the French government, has its roots in the fact that it was successively confronted with the Yellow Vests movement and the workers struggles against the attack on pensions. This also explains the recent passage of repressive laws called “global security” and “against separatism”. Indeed, the government does not intend to stop its anti-social attacks, even if the reduction of unemployment bene-

fits has been postponed to the beginning of October and the attack on pensions postponed to a later date (Martinez, head of the CGT union and the social fireman in chief, had warned that otherwise it would be “*throwing oil on the fire*”!) (2); the decrease of the Housing Aid effective since the beginning of this year should bring in 2021 more than one billion euros to the State, while the subsidies and the aids to the employers have multiplied.

In this situation, where a wave of layoffs and social plans is still threatening (175,000 jobs are threatened according to the OFCE, *Capital*, 15/7/21) and where the much-vaunted economic recovery is proving to be more and more problematic, it is pointless to hope for a softening of the capitalist class and its government.

The demonstrations against the health pass were held with cries of “*freedom! Democracy!*”, in the name of individualism, and behind national flags – a sign of their predominantly petty bourgeois political nature; this is why, as in other large countries where such demonstrations took place (USA, Germany, etc.), there was a presence of extreme right-wing currents. The belief in an ideal democracy and the illusions of a “popular”, interclassist struggle that could push back the government are typical of every petty bourgeois movement, incapable of understanding that the most democratic of democracies is never anything else than the **mask** of the dictatorship of the bourgeois ruling class.

However, these demonstrations also drain, as always in such cases, proletarian elements who intend to show their hostility to the power. But in the absence of a class force, their own interests are drowned in the molasses of a false “popular” unanimism where all the petty bourgeois illusions dominate.

The left and “extreme” left currents that call for it do not do so to defend a class orientation that breaks with this unanimity, quite the contrary. Thus, a “unitary” text signed by the left party «France Insoumise», the Solidaires “left” union, the troskyst NPA, the student union UNEF, etc., bases its opposition to the pass on the “*non-democratic*” way in which the decision to introduce it would have been taken, “*by a single man*” (!), a method “*generating strong tensions, which is deleterious in the middle of an epidemic crisis*” (!!), and it ends with a call for the contribution “*of the multinationals and the richest*” to “*national solidarity*”!!! (3). As if Macron decided all alone according to what goes through his head, as if it were not capitalism itself that permanent-

ly generates tensions and as if national solidarity were not a swindle propagated by the ruling class!

In reality Macron and his government are only the agents of the bourgeoisie, navigating at sight according to the sometimes contradictory interests of the latter. And the strong tensions that our democrats fear indicate on the contrary the way of salvation for the proletarians in front of the bourgeois pressure and oppression: the way of **open confrontations** against the capitalists and their state, the way of the generalized resumption of the **class struggle against capitalism**.

Capitalism and the bourgeois states are ultimately responsible for the global health catastrophe of the pandemic through their criminal neglect at all levels of public health needs. Since the beginning they have responded to this pandemic by increasing their social control, by prohibiting and repressing, in a word by making the consequences of a mode of production based on the search for profit “whatever it takes”, fall on the population in general, but more precisely on the proletarians who are obliged to work without protection or who are plunged into misery. The latest measures announced illustrate this once again, by threatening workers with redundancies and by further weighing on their daily lives (while the deputies have absolved themselves of the health pass to sit in parliament!); even if vaccination is effective, it cannot by itself put an end to the epidemic in the still glaring scarcity of hospital facilities and other health resources: their emergency passage is in fact dictated, not by the

health needs of the population, but by the needs of the capitalist economy.

Against the inexorably growing pressure of capitalism, of which the sanitary pass is only one example, even the most numerous marches will always be insufficient: only a sufficiently powerful force will be able to make capitalism retreat before it can be overthrown.

This force is that of the proletariat, when it has recovered its weapons and its class orientations, and reconstituted its revolutionary, internationalist and international party, necessary to lead the struggle until the final victory.

In a more or less near future, the proletariat will be called again to fight to defend itself; the bourgeois are preparing for it, the proletarians must prepare for it too, prepare to fight on their ground, **class against class**.

Against all anti-proletarian offensives, return to the class struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois state!

July, 26th 2021

(1) “*The health pass will never be a right of access that differentiates the French. It cannot be mandatory for access to places of everyday life such as restaurants, theaters and cinemas (...)*” interview with Macron in *Le Parisien*, 4/29/21

(2) Statement to tv channel LCI, 7/5/21.

(3) *Libération*, 7/22/21. Although the signatories include leaders of several CGT unions, the CGT as such is not among them, no doubt not wanting to compromise its status as a responsible social partner.

Italy Against the Obligation of the “Green Pass” for all Workers!

For some time now, far right organizations, like “Forza Nuova”, a well-known fascist formation, have been mobilizing to try to take the lead in the heterogeneous movement that opposes the restrictive measures with which the government has characterized, in a rather rapid succession, its “struggle against Covid-19”; this has finally been centered on a vast vaccination campaign, formally “non-compulsory”, but in fact imposed at all levels, as the introduction of the « green pass » (green passport) has amply demonstrated.

These measures involve increasingly severe sanctions against those who do not get vaccinated, starting with doctors and nurses, then school staff and

students, until, with the latest decree, the suspension of salaries for all workers who do not have the green pass, which was made compulsory to go to work from October 15 and at least until December 31, 2021, the date of expiration of the state of emergency decreed by the government. The payment of the salary will be suspended for two and a half months. This is a particularly harsh measure against workers who do not vaccinate, not because they fear the shot, not because they are anti-vaccination on principle, but because they express through this refusal a deep distrust in the governmental management

(Continued on page 16)

Italy

Against the Obligation of the “Green Pass” for all Workers!

(Continuation from page 15)

of the pandemic and health care, with a system of obligation dictated by the economic interests of Big Pharma multinationals, and because they see in these measures a greater social control of the dominant class.

According to statistics including both employees and self-employed, there are about 23 million workers in Italy. Among them, more than 5.5 million have not been vaccinated. The pressure exerted by the government to have 80% of the population vaccinated by September (a result that has not been achieved) and 100% (according to agreements made in 2014 with international institutions) by the end of the year, given the broad opposition of a large part of the population, resorts to the additional blackmail of the suspension of the salary of those who do not want to be vaccinated. The fact that this measure is associated with the simultaneous blocking of dismissals for these workers is a decoy to fool the workers for the umpteenth time: it is the carrot promised after the stick!

Thousands of people demonstrated on Saturday 9 October, particularly in Rome and Milan, against the green pass.

But it was the attack on the national headquarters of the CGIL trade union in Rome by a group of “Forza Nuova” militants, supported by a thousand demonstrators, that caused a sensation. It was immediately clear that this assault had been planned in advance, as had a similar initiative aimed at the Palazzo Chigi, the seat of government. While the few police officers at the entrance of the CGIL office were easily overpowered and the union offices were ransacked, the Palazzo Chigi was better guarded and the demonstrators did not manage to enter.

All the democratic forces in power have obviously shouted “no to violence wherever it comes from”. Some people warned against fascism, others equated fascist violence with that of the “No-Tav” demonstrators (opponents of the Lyon-Turin high-speed train), and of the “anti-vax”, while others tried to draw a parallel between the right-wing demonstrators in Rome shouting “no to the green pass” and the demonstrators led by the base unions chanting “the trade unions at the service of the bosses!”. Nor could be missed accusations against the government

and the Minister of the Interior for not having foreseen the riots, while in the streets of Rome there were well known to the police Forza Nuova activists and their leaders.

In response to the violence of the governmental measures summarized in the green pass, the petty-bourgeois crowd, full of anger and subject to a generalized malaise, interested in involving the proletariat in its protests, was directed against the symbols that represent this violence: the government building and the main Italian trade union, taking advantage of the imposition of the green pass to all workers.

Why attack the national headquarters of the CGIL?

In fact, this union, like the other CISL and UIL unions, immediately sided with the government in the vaccination campaign and the implementation of the green pass; it shares the same motivations as the employers’ organization Confindustria and the government on the vaccination campaign because it completely shares their objective of economic recovery and restarting the capitalist profit machine. It did not therefore organize any protest movement against the suspension of salaries for those who had not been vaccinated, seeking instead an agreement with the government and demanding free testing for unvaccinated workers. The unions have been perfectly consistent in their anti-worker collaborationist work since World War II, which has reduced them to agents of the capitalists and bourgeois power. The “base unions” are quite right to call them servants of the bosses; for its part, the extreme right is quite happy to point to the three unions as co-responsible for the imposition of the green pass; but, by directing its violence especially against the most important union, the CGIL, it seeks to threaten the proletariat in advance in case it wants to react with struggle and strikes independently of the collaborationist unions.

The attack against the CGIL is not due to the fact that it is a **class union**, as was the CGL of 1921-22, which organized the Italian proletariat on the terrain of the class struggle, making it permeable to the influence of the communist party in the struggle for revolution; it is due to the fact that it is a collaborationist union that kneels too much before the government and that it does not defend the “freedom of choice” of all citizens, whether they are workers, capital-

ists or small businessmen.

The parliamentary forces of the left and the center have obviously shouted against “fascism”, against “squadristism”, praising democracy and the Constitution, making themselves for the umpteenth time the spokespersons of the interests of social conservation. But even the parliamentary forces of the right, the “Lega” and the “Fratelli d’Italia” in particular, feel obliged to affirm that they are against “any violence” that comes from “four idiots” and “a few criminals” (M. Salvini, *Lega*), or from “delinquents who use any pretext to carry out serious and unacceptable violence” (G. Meloni, *Fratelli...*), or from insurrectionary anarchists or “No-Tavs”. The usual refrain “against all violence” – except the violence of the State, which should be considered legitimate and unquestionable – is regularly intoned by all the politicians huddled under the great wings of the State on which their caste privileges depend, except to stir the knife in the wound to obtain more advantages and means of pressure for private purposes.

Proletarians must not be fooled by an “anti-fascism” that aims to bind the workers even more strongly to the ever more pressing demands of capitalist profit; they must not be fooled by hymns to pacifism and interclass collaboration while the ruling class, through the state and all the political, economic and social forces that defend it, constantly shows its contempt for the lives of proletarians. The most striking demonstration is that of accidents and deaths at work due to the systematic lack of safety measures; in the first eight months of 2021 alone, according to INAIL, 349,449 accidents were reported (+8.5% compared to the same period in 2020) with no less than 772 fatal cases, that is, 3 deaths per day!!!, and due not to Covid-19, but to the exploitation of wage labor!

It was clear from the beginning of the pandemic that government action - in all countries - was aimed, on the one hand, at dealing in some way with a situation that was worsening month by month and which it was facing in a chaotic and contradictory way; and, on the other hand, at taking rapid measures to save the national economy and its capacity to resist, if not to overcome, competition from other countries. In order to defend the interests of the national economy, which had been plunged into a deeper crisis by the pandemic, the government – which, not surprisingly, equated the situation with a state of “war” – had to bend the proletariat to the urgent needs of national capitalism. The capitalists knew perfectly well that

the economic crisis, which had become socially aggravated by the pandemic, could push the proletarian masses into revolt, as their living and working conditions, already considerably deteriorated during the last decade, would become even more difficult. Layoffs, and thus unemployment, are on the rise, as is job insecurity, underpaid work and undeclared work. And despite the shutdown of many operations in the fight against the spread of the infection and the closure of many businesses, other businesses continued to operate at full capacity, subjecting their workers to ever more severe work patterns and risks.

The economic crisis despite the much-vaunted “recovery” of recent quarters, has also ruined a significant part of the petty bourgeoisie, in the classic sectors in which it operates (restaurants, sports, tourism, entertainment, concerts, small-scale distribution), sectors that have been hard hit. And, as is often the case, it is these social strata that, through the parties that express their discontent, are the first to express their anger at the deterioration of their social situation. An anger that unites them and pushes them into the streets; an anger that also extends to certain proletarian strata that, not finding class channels to express it, join the petty bourgeoisie that is often also their employer. On the other hand, it is the petty bourgeois themselves who try to associate the proletariat with their protest because they need to reinforce it and to show that it is “the people” who is demonstrating and asking the government and the economic powers to save them from ruin.

But the proletarians, as **wage earners**, as **unreserved** workers, whose lives are at the mercy of a market where misfortunes are all channeled to the working classes and profits and privileges to the rich and wealthy classes, have no common interests with the petty bourgeois, and even less with the big ones. Their “immediate” interests, and even more so their “historical” interests, as the class that produces the general wealth appropriated by the dominant bourgeois class, respond to a social antagonism that they did not invent, but which is generated by the capitalist mode of production and which is used politically and socially by the dominant class to force them into perpetual submission to the demands of profit.

The dominant bourgeois class holds the economic and political power, represented by the state, and therefore the social power; powers that it uses to defend its class interests against those of the working class. This is how it sys-

tematically leads the struggle against the proletarian class, as the latest measures demonstrate for the umpteenth time.

In order for the proletarian struggle to have the strength to respond on the same ground and with the same violent means as the bourgeois ruling class, it must be able to rely on the independent class organization of the proletariat; this is still to be rebuilt, but it will inevitably be born from the resistance that the proletarians will manage to oppose to the increasing pressure and repression of the bourgeoisie. A struggle in which the proletarians will have to overcome the competition between them, which is purposely fed by the capitalists and the forces of interclass collaboration, by separating the objectives and the means of the class struggle from those of the petty bourgeois social strata that influence the proletariat because of their social proximity; social strata that only rebel against “the system”, against the “policy” of the government when they are in danger of sinking into proletarianization, i.e. of losing their social position and their privileges. The proletarians who let themselves be dragged into the petty-bourgeois rebellion lose not only their class orientation – the only one that allows them to defend their immediate interests – but also the strength they potentially possess precisely because they are wage earners, because they are the source of capitalist profit and therefore producers of the wealth of society.

Democracy, reformism, class collaboration, are political weapons that the bourgeoisie uses to attenuate a social antagonism that the capitalist mode of production itself constantly generates – and that the bourgeoisie reiterates in every act and in every activity in all situations, especially the most serious ones; an antagonism that can potentially set in motion the proletarian masses when their conditions of existence and of work become unbearable.

It is of this social movement that the bourgeoisie is afraid, of the awakening of the proletariat as a wage-earning class, of its action after having noticed that the adversary is not the undocumented immigrant, the unemployed who, out of rage, sets fire to the garbage cans, or the proletarians of the country designated as the “enemy”, but its “own” bourgeois class, ready to use all means, legal or illegal, constitutional or unconstitutional, to defend its interests.

The authoritarianism manifested by the bourgeoisie under the pretext of the “struggle against Covid” is an integral part of its power; the parliamentarism and democracy it adorns itself with are only a cloak covering the reality of its

class dictatorship. The bourgeoisie of the “civilized” Western countries does not show, at least until now, its true totalitarian face: it has no interest in doing so as long as the democratic regime manages to paralyze the proletarian masses. It uses the democratic mask to continue to deceive the proletarians, to divert them from the field of the class confrontation to the one which is favorable to it, the democratic and parliamentary field. But a serious economic and social crisis, anticipated by the cyclical crises of overproduction that characterize the whole historical period of imperialism in which we have been immersed for a hundred years, is approaching again with great steps. This is why the bourgeoisie tends to accelerate its maneuvers to paralyze the proletariat even more, crushing it under the weight of its economic, political and social demands, intoxicating it even more with the poison of a democracy that no longer has any positive social role, but continues to have a political role by diverting, isolating, fragmenting and demoralizing the proletarian masses.

The reactions to the Draghi government, which claims to follow a policy of “national unity” in order to win over the proletarian masses, while its priority in the crisis is the defense of big capital, express, and with violence, the anger of the petty bourgeois strata who feel abandoned to their fate. It is on the basis of this anger that the extreme right-wing organizations act as they have always done and as they will continue to do. In fact, they play a double role: on the one hand, they stir up the anger of the petty bourgeois, they organize them, lead their demonstrations, giving them the illusion that the enemy of the day is the so-called “elites”; these layers, idealizing a patriotism that the national elites would not defend at the international level, are ready to attack the symbols and representations of those they consider responsible for their social ruin; on the other hand, these organizations provide the ideological and political pretext for the “democratic” forces to cement the proletarian masses on the terrain of class collaboration in the name of “anti-fascism”, of “anti-totalitarianism.”

But both work for the consolidation

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Italy ...

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of social preservation, aspiring to a society in which all social classes satisfy their aspirations, defending national capitalism in the face of foreign competition; both use democracy to impose themselves in the political arena as champions of economic efficiency, political skill, “national cohesion” and the defense of the country’s historical and cultural roots. Both are faithful to the policy that marked and still marks the political victory of fascism, despite its military defeat in the Second World War: the policy of **class collaboration**.

Attacking the symbols of the Draghi government’s authoritarianism has become the immediate objective of many opponents, the green pass being undoubtedly one of these symbols. But there are opponents and opponents. The petty bourgeois opponents rejoice when undocumented immigrants are imprisoned, deported, parked in concentration camps out of sight, sent back to the countries from which they embarked, perhaps to Libya at the hands

of torturers, or not rescued at sea where they drown in their thousands. The important thing is that all this happens far from their eyes and their homes; and if they get too close, guns and pistols are at hand.

This does not prevent from exploit them worse than cattle in the countryside or in the workshops, under the blackmail of their “illegality”, forcing them to live in shantytowns and among the garbage. In order to be free to lead their petty lives and to exploit underpaid and illegal work as they please, these leeches do not like taxes that jeopardize their dirty business. They evade the taxman through clever accountants, but the green pass is difficult to circumvent, so they try to strengthen their protest by involving the proletarians. It is also against this involvement that the proletarians must fight.

The example of the dockers of Trieste is emblematic; the Coordination of the dockers of Trieste (CLPT) has announced an unlimited strike from October 15, if the obligation of the green pass is not lifted not only for the dockers of the port, but for all workers. It is this resolutely class approach that has made

them declare that they will not even accept the free tests promised by the companies only for them if they go to work: “*We are not for sale!*”, is the cry that unites all the dockers of Trieste, those who have been vaccinated as well as those who do not want to be.

This is what proletarians must do in all factories, in all sectors, following this example.

We will see what happens in Trieste on October 15; the dockers have declared that they will not give an inch on the blockade of the port. Will the police intervene to free the accesses by force? It seems that many truck drivers who have to go to the port do not have a green pass either, especially those who come from abroad and have been vaccinated with the Russian “Sputnik”, which is not accepted in Italy. It is certain that tension has built up in this last period and that the government is at a crossroads: to crush the dockworkers of Trieste to avoid the blocking of the port, which is one of the most important in Italy, or to suspend it with the usual excuse of an “exceptional situation”?

October, 13th 2021

Spain

Metalworkers’ strike in the Gulf of Cadiz: The bosses and the bourgeoisie demand sacrifices and reconciliation, the proletariat responds with the struggle!



For two days, a general strike has been underway in the metalworking enterprises of the Gulf of Cadiz, located mainly in Cadiz itself, Puerto Real, San Fernando and Campo de Gibraltar; it was called by the big trade unions UGT, CC.OO. and the CGT and other minority unions, which thus expressed their support for the demands emerging from the negotiations for a regional collective

agreement in the metalworking industry.

This strike comes after several weeks of mobilisation, initially by the workers of the supplier companies, which eventually prompted the unions to launch a massive call to action. Although most of the media tried to keep the news of these mobilizations and the September 16 and 17 strike under wraps, with the exception of a few local newspapers in

the Bay Area for whom the facts could not be kept secret, eventually the extent to which the pickets, demonstrations, and clashes with the police reached caused even the major national newspapers to suspend their policy of silence about any proletarian mobilization in the country and report on what happened.

According to press reports, on 17 September workers in Cadiz blocked the access bridge to the city, erected barricades on the main avenues near the shipyards and even managed to blockade the railway station, all amid fierce clashes with the police that were reminiscent of the tough strikes of the shipbuilding industry restructuring era.

In Puerto Real, the main companies (Navantia, Dragados and Alestis) remained closed for two days of the strike, shutting down the industrial areas of Río San Pedro and El Trocadero. Some companies simply decided to have their administrative staff work remotely, thinking that all the workers would go on strike and the pickets would again completely close the areas. It should be noted that the strike

was not attended by the workers of Airbus Puerto Real, which is subject to its own collective agreement: this company is seriously threatened by the plans to relocate production and the unwillingness of the metalworking employers to negotiate, but the long struggle waged by the workers against the closure of the plant has been isolated by the union from the mobilization of the entire sector. A great example of the disorganization and sabotage of class unity that these organizations specialized in ensuring cooperation between the classes always carry out.

In San Fernando, workers clashed with the police for several hours and even set fire to a car that apparently belonged to the General Intelligence Commissariat (secret police). They also blocked the entrances to the military docks, set fire to barricades and completely stopped the operations of the local metalworking companies.

After these two days of strike, the situation remains much the same as it was a few weeks ago. The Andalusian Employment Council has called on the CC.OO. and UGT to negotiate with the employers for the final signing of a new collective agreement. The main demand of the unions is that the current agreement expires in 2021 and that in 2022 there is a wage increase to be paid in line with inflation "in negotiable tranches". The employers, on the other hand, are seeking to extend the agreement until 2023, with wage increases of 0.5% and 1.5% over the next two years, the abolition of two overtime premiums and other organizational measures.

The unions, led by the UGT, condemned the "violence" by the workers and called for calm. In the press, the union leaders stressed that they were on the side of the workers, thus trying to justify leaving the proletarians of the subcontracting industries to their fate in recent months, as denounced by organizations such as the "Coordinadora de trabajadores del metal" (Metal Workers' Coordination), an autonomous current that has participated to some extent in the mobilisation in recent weeks by organising a significant number of proletarians dissatisfied with the traditional policies of CC.OO and UGT.

The struggle of the metalworkers of the Gulf of Cadiz has a significance that goes beyond their specific labour demands. Before the pandemic and the initiation of measures restricting movement, closures, etc., the crisis in the metalworking industry was an increasingly urgent reality. Almost two years later, the situation has not changed dramatically: the metalworking industry, and in particular the automotive companies,

have launched a plan to restructure their factories worldwide, supported by all states and governments, and are liquidating excess production capacity, both excess constant capital invested and excess labour. This has led to a real offensive by the employers to close down all the plants considered surplus and to worsen the working conditions of the proletarians who have kept their jobs. This is the case of Alcoa in Asturias, Nissan in Barcelona's Zona Franca, Tubacex in the Basque Country and Airbus in Puerto Real. In all of these companies, employers sought to close, dismiss or worsen the working conditions of workers. This is also the case for hundreds of companies which, like the large companies in the automotive industry, are taking advantage of the measures made possible by the PSOE-Podemos government to temporarily lay off labour that is not needed at the moment.

The struggle of the proletarian metalworkers in Cádiz, San Fernando and Puerto Real, although born around the demand for a minimum wage, has a much greater significance: it is a response to the anti-working class measures that the metalworking bosses intend to introduce throughout the country. It takes the form of a local and piecemeal confrontation, but it is an example for all the sectors for which the companies concerned will seek to adopt similar measures in the coming year.

The workers of Cadiz, who have responded forcefully to the employers' demands, have set an example of struggle, especially since their determination has succeeded in bringing the CC.OO and the UGT unions, the historical saboteurs of this type of struggle, to take its side, at least outwardly, and not be bypassed.

But the struggle of the proletarians of the Bay Area is not only an example for the metalworkers. If the measures taken against the workers by the bosses in this sector are particularly harsh, it is because the metalworking industry is a key point for the entire bourgeoisie: around these industries lives a large part of the proletariat in Spain, and thanks to this fact it drags behind it the proletarians of many other sectors. In many regions of the country, metalworkers are the determining factor in the living conditions of the entire local proletariat. For example, in Cadiz, the region of Spain with the highest unemployment, a large part of the wage income depends on this sector. By attacking them, the bourgeoisie wants to hit the whole proletariat. That is why it has simultaneously launched this offensive. It is looking for the best moment to unleash it, at the very end of the pandemic, but in a situation

where the measures of social control imposed by the State are still in force and it is gathering all the forces at its disposal (press, political organisations, etc.) to promote the objectives of its struggle.

Nobody today can have the slightest doubt that the coming months will bring a series of legislative changes aimed at significantly worsening the living conditions of the proletariat: a labour reform that will normalise the Employment Regulation File on Temporary Employment (ERTE) in all sectors, a pension reform that will extend the period of compulsory contributions, etc. are already on the table of the Spanish bourgeoisie, which is counting on their enforcement thanks to the invaluable efforts that the PSOE and Podemos are making from the highest levels of government to prevent even the slightest reaction from the workers. Alongside these changes to the legislative framework that regulates the conditions of existence of the proletariat, the companies will undoubtedly implement a series of wage cuts and worsening work-

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El Proletario

ÓRGANO DEL PARTIDO
COMUNISTA INTERNACIONAL

No 24 / Agosto-Septiembre-
Noviembre de 2021

- La guerra de Afganistán, un ejemplo del desorden mundial generado por el desarrollo caótico y contradictorio del capitalismo en su fase imperialista
- Yolanda Díaz ha hablado
- ¿vientos de guerra en Europa?
- Crisis económica mundial: ¿en qué punto nos encontramos un año después? (Informe para la reunión general de diciembre de 2020)
- Disturbios en Cuba: Ni con la «oposición democrática» ni con el régimen castro. El proletariado cubano sólo tiene una salida: la lucha de clase.
- Francia: Manifestaciones contra el «pase sanitario» ¡La lucha contra el autoritarismo burgués sólo puede llevarse a cabo con posiciones de clase proletarias!
- Italia: protestas en muchas ciudades contra el llamado «pase verde», al grito de «libertad, libertad», «¡no a la dictadura sanitaria! ¿Pero qué «libertad»?
- Para que el proletariado no sea cada vez más aplastado en la esclavitud salarial y la impotencia social, ¡unificación de todas las capas proletarias, empleadas y desempleadas, contra el colaboracionismo y contra la competencia cada vez más aguda entre proletarios!

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

Spain : Metalworkers' strike in the Gulf of Cadiz

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ing conditions that are very similar to those that followed the 2008 crisis. And it is in this sense that the steel bosses are in the forefront, seeking to counter any resistance and thus weaken the proletarian class as a whole. And that is why the response of the Bay Area metalworkers has a significance that goes beyond the local, just like the victorious struggle of the Tubacex workers: both are examples of the fact that if proletarians overcome their resignation and their credulity in the organizations of political and trade union collaborationism, if they tend to go beyond the democratic confines that the bourgeoisie has set up for the workers' struggle and try to stand, even if very limited, on the ground of real class struggle, fight with genuinely class means and methods, break the local or sectoral isolation of their struggle, etc. etc. , they can win.

In Cadiz these days, as in Tubacex a few weeks ago, the proletarians are reacting to the offensive of the employers (who, in the case of the company in the Basque Country, have even offered to pay wages without work in exchange for an end to the struggle: such is the fear the employers have of the proletarian class when it acts this way!), and although their struggles seem to be a mere drop of water in a sea of total social peace, in the next few years virtually all proletarians will have to follow the same path to face a very serious deterioration in their living conditions. For this to happen, the proletarians must be able to put an end to the traditional politics of collaboration between the classes, to the subordination to the bourgeoisie that the opportunist organizations in the trade union sphere (e.g. the CC.OO. and the UGT) and in the political sphere (PSOE and Unidas Podemos; the two left government parties) want to preserve at all costs in order to prevent the power of the proletarian class from going beyond the limits of the submission imposed on it.

For the renewal of the class struggle of the proletariat!

For the class solidarity of all proletarians!

For the rebirth of proletarian organisations of struggle independent of the practices of inter-class collaborationism!

November, 17th 2021

PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

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

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

2. The present day production relations are protected by the power of the bourgeois State, that, whatever the form of representative system and the use of elective democracy, constitutes the organ for the defense of the interests of the capitalist class.

3. The proletariat can neither crush or modify the mechanism of capitalist production relations from which its exploitation derives, without the violent destruction of the bourgeois power.

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

5. After it has smashed the power of the capitalist State, the proletariat must completely destroy the old State apparatus in order to organize itself as the ruling class and set up its own dictatorship; meanwhile depriving the bourgeoisie and members of the bourgeois class of all political rights and functions as long as they survive socially, founding the organs of the new regime exclusively on the productive class. Such is the program that the Communist Party sets itself and which characterizes it. It is this party therefore which exclusively represents, organizes and directs the proletarian dictatorship. The requisite defence of the proletarian state against all counter-revolutionary initiatives can only be assured by depriving the bourgeoisie and parties which are enemies of the proletarian dictatorship of all means of agitation and political propaganda and by equipping the proletariat with an armed organization in order to repel all interior and exterior attacks.

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

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

* * *

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

8. In the course of the first half of the twentieth century the capitalist social system has been developing, in the economic field, creating monopolistic trusts among the employers, and trying to control and manage production and exchange according to central plans with State management of whole sectors of production. In the political field, there has been an increase of the police and military potential of the State, with governments adopting a more totalitarian form. All these are neither new sorts of social organizations in transition from capitalism to socialism, nor revivals of pre-bourgeois political regimes. On the contrary, they are definite forms of a more and more direct and exclusive management of power and the State by the most developed forces of capital.

This course excludes the progressive, pacifist interpretations of the evolution of the bourgeois regime, and confirms the Marxist prevision of the concentration and the antagonistic array of class forces. So that the proletariat may confront its enemies' growing potential with strengthened revolutionary energy, it must reject the illusory revival of democratic liberalism and constitutional guarantees. The Party must not even accept this as a means of agitation ; it must finish historically once and for all with the practice of alliances, even for transitory issues, with the bourgeois or petit-bourgeois parties, or with pseudo-workers' parties with a reformist program.

9. The global imperialist wars show that the crisis of disintegration of capitalism is inevitable because it has entered the phase when its expansion, instead of signifying a continual increment of the productive forces, is conditioned by repeated and ever-growing destruction. These wars have caused repeated deep crises in the global workers' organizations because the dominant classes could impose on them military and national solidarity with one or the other of the belligerents. The opposing historical solution for which we fight, is the awakening of the class struggle, leading to civil war, the destruction of all international coalitions by the reconstitution of the International Communist Party as an autonomous force independent of any existing political or military power.

10. The proletarian State, to the extent that its apparatus is an instrument and a weapon of struggle in a historical epoch of transition does not derive its organizational strength from constitutional rules nor from representative schemas whatsoever. The most complete historical example of such a State up to the present is that of the Soviets (workers' councils) which were created during the October 1917 revolution, when the working class armed itself under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The Constituent Assembly having been dissolved, they became the exclusive organs of power repelling the attacks by foreign bourgeois governments and, inside the country, stamping out the rebellion of the vanquished classes and of the middle and petit-bourgeois layers and of the opportunist parties which, in the decisive phases, are inevitably allied with the counter-revolution

11. The defense of the proletarian regime against the dangers of degeneration inherent in the failures and possible retreats in the work of economic and social transformation – whose integral realization is inconceivable within the limits of only one country – can only be assured by the constant coordination between the policy the workers' State and the united international struggle, incessant in times of peace as in times of war, of the proletariat of each country against its bourgeoisie and its State and military apparatus. This co-ordination can only be secured by means of the political and programmatic control of the world communist party over the State apparatus where the working class has seized power.