

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST BULLETIN

**Organ of the Fraction of the International Communist Left
(English version)**

Extracts of the French and Spanish versions of Issue#6

n° 6

October 2011

To contact us :

e-mail address : **inter1925@yahoo.fr** ;

See our web site : **<http://fractioncommuniste.org>**

Contents

(The texts translated and available in English are in bold. The others aren't translated into English.
Warning : the translations into English we do, are made by comrades whose knowledge of this language is very relative. Thus, besides the lack of easiness for the reading, our English texts may present some mistakes and confusions which aren't political but "technical". One can refer to the French and Spanish versions.

The Economical Crisis, the March towards War and Classes struggle speed up.....1

PROLETARIAN CAMP

Struggle against Opportunism

**Shameful Resolution of the ICC against the Communist Left :
In Secret, the Present ICC Betrays itself and the Working Class.....4**

Marxism is Proletarian and Revolutionary, Anarchism has never been so

TEXTS OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

Rosa Luxemburg : The Socialisation of Society (December, 1918).....10

The Economical Crisis, the March towards War and Classes struggle speed up

No more illusion ! The capitalist world can't escape the crisis ; and the true present distress, indeed the panic, of the ruling class - governments, politicians of all sides and other so-called experts - reveals in the eyes of all its total powerlessness. Today this crisis strikes directly and frontally at the very heart of capitalism ; it means its great European and North-American powers. These latters cannot this time transfer the main and heaviest effects of the crisis to the countries and the areas of capitalism's periphery. This time, they neither can cheat or postpone the deadline by using the weapon of the massive and great scale debt for a so-called "economical revival". Even the more "optimistic" fractions of the bourgeoisie, in general the ones "in power", know that it is the time of recession ; they themselves confess that the growing use of debt and the general use of "printing money", mainly in the United-States and Europe, don't have but one goal at the economical level : the general stampede. That is what their agitation clearly shows up when they attempt to avoid the inescapable bankruptcy of Greece and of half the European countries ; when they try to save the "AAA" of the United-States and Great-Britain which are much more in debt than Greece and other lame ducks ; and when they also try to limit, if not to avoid, the lack of "liquidities" on the markets, it means loans between banks, which would have as immediate consequence a brutal fall into recession very close to total paralysis of the economy... For the rest of the world, in particular the famous "emergent countries" we are constantly told about, they are well unable to substitute to the great Western powers for any economical revival and they prepare too to suffer the after-effect of the generalized recession while they are as well in debt.

No more illusion ! Despite the world economical catastrophe and the system bankruptcy, capitalism will not disappear by its own, naturally if so we can say. As inhuman as it is, the bourgeoisie will never renounce pacifically to this barbarous system of class exploitation from which the ruling class gets its profits and its privileges. It will never give up and let being set up another mode of production, an other society, without classes, nor exploitation, nor profit and money. Its class nature, its fundamental interests and its ideology ("*man is a wolf to man*") push it to relaunch with even more rage and ferocity the

imperialist rivalries which oppose it, rivalries which express through a global economical war before becoming a world holocaust.

Today, this economical war crystallizes in growing tensions between the Capitalist States : for instance, the international meetings such as the G8-G7-G20¹, just to mention these ones, are places of confrontations from which no "saving" economical decision is taken – up to the point that every one is now systematically followed in the next days by falls of the stock exchanges and/or "speculative attacks" ; up to the point that the different plans to save such country or such economical sector multiply with no success. Actually, the attitude of the world bourgeoisie is not so much to attempt to "resolve" the crisis than to develop a battle with no mercy between its different parts or nations. Far from gathering the great powers, far from reducing their rivalries, the crisis makes accelerating the imperialist polarization. In our present period, this latter organize essentially between the United-States accompanied with, amongst others, a part of the Anglo-Saxon countries and the main European countries around Germany. The battle between the dollar and the euro which is becoming more acute, is one of its manifest signs. For the American bourgeoisie, the loss of the dollar supremacy, its likely abolition as international money reserve would represent a considerable weakening of its power. Here is why its present strategy consists in making all it can to weaken and discredit the euro ; which means to attack what is Germany's "*pré-carré*". The speculative attacks which are led presently against the States debts of some European countries are directly launched by the American bourgeoisie as has recently denounced the "President of the French

1 « *Actually, the G7-Finances has wondered whether it matters to push on the accelerator in order to avoid recession or if it matters to carry on the braking of the deficits that the austerity States plans have already begun in the rich countries. According to François Baroin, the French financial Minister and G7 President, it matters to do "both while taking into account the different situations". No details has been given on how to realize this subtle mixing of support and austerity* » (*Le Monde*, 10/09/2011, translated by us from French, http://www.lemonde.fr/economie/article/2011/09/10/ent-re-reliance-et-rigueur-le-g7-echoue-a-trouver-une-ligne-claire-et-commune_1570336_3234.html#ens_id=1198047).

bosses association", Laurence Parisot. As well, Germany, France and Europe have denounced the political attacks of the IMF (which is essentially under American influence) focusing on the European banks exposition - above all German and French - to the so-called "sovereign" debts of some European countries. For their side, the Europeans don't remain inactive and they reject with no hesitation and openly the responsibility for the crisis and its consequences to the "bad" Americans and their friends ; so is their discourses about the subprimes and the Federal US Reserve laxity, about the Anglo-Saxon "liberal and free-market" ideology and about the incredible amount of the American military spendings, etc.

In this world battle between capitalists, the other bourgeoisies are confined, in the best cases, to the "supporting rôle". This confirms thus that the main polarization does occur between the two sides of the Atlantic. The stake is thus significant. It is not of economical order but fundamentally of imperialist order. These economical and financial tensions and rivalries, facing the global economical dead-end, are not but moment of the increase of the imperialist rivalries and, in particular, of the polarization around two great capitalist powers. It becomes more obvious every day, and the crisis doesn't but increasingly throw light on it, that Germany is one of these two leaders. The German bourgeoisie is utilizing the economical crisis, through the conditions it imposes to all the countries of the "euro zone" and above all to those which are in great difficulties, to establish its ruling and leading position in Europe that the euro had already greatly favour.

It is around Germany that the anti-American regroupments tend to articulate ; and this one way or another. Because there is no doubt, and the present crisis doesn't only confirm it but also it accentuates it and speeds it, that the bourgeoisies of all countries are inescapably pushed to march towards generalized imperialist war and so pushed to prepare it.

No more illusion ! Despite its deep natural divisions which express today in the more savage and sordid manner, it means imperialism, the international bourgeoisie has only one ground where it remains and will always remain united : it is when it has to confront the proletariat ; today to make it pay for its present crisis. In accord and united, it is in the international meeting like the G7-G8-G20, in the international organisms - IMF, World Bank, etc. - to decide and coordinate the austerity plans ; it means

the violent deteriorations of the living and working conditions of the exploited classes. In accord and united, it is for censoring the strongest and more dangerous workers struggles as much as it can – that is the case with the generalized and almost total silence about the mobilization in Greece which, nevertheless, lasts and develops since more than 3 years. In accord and united, still it is to exploit deeply the weaknesses of the class and to try to make, for instance, the "movement of the *Indignados*" in Spain – which is very sensitive to the mystification of the fight for a true "citizen" democracy (sic!) - an example to be followed by all proletarians. In accord and united, it is finally for justifying the police and even military repression when the States don't succeed any more to control and limit the development of the workers anger – Greece, Egypt, Great-Britain, Spain, etc...

Everywhere it agrees to utilize and develop the ideological mystification of Democracy and to reinforce the Left wing of the State apparatus by putting forwards Left parties and other radical leftists and by the artificial setting up, thanks to the "internet social networks", of so-called informal structures such as *Democracia ya !* in Spain. Because it knows that it is not enough to oppose from "outside" to the workers struggles in order to confine and defeat them. It needs to be relayed within the very struggles, to get forces - political and union firstly – which falsely present themselves and speak in the name of the working class and its interests. And, in particular, forces which attempt to divide and to wear out the class fights against the capitalist State of any will and perspective of spreading, of generalization and unification. These forces rely on the political weaknesses of the working class and its democratic illusions. The utilization of the democratic mystification for emptying the Assemblies of their spreading and unifying function for the workers struggles has become an essential element of the political offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class fight as the powerlessness and the failure of the Spanish "*Indignados*" movement shows it. Thus it is from the "inside" of the struggles that the bourgeois offensive is the most dangerous and it is at that level that the classes confrontation, in particular in its indispensable political dimension, expresses at the highest point.

But this acute political confrontation doesn't limit to the only field of the workers struggles. The

bourgeoisie has also an imperious need to weaken the working class' vanguard ; it means its communist minorities. There too, it has to intervene from « inside » the communist camp. For this, it relies on the weaknesses of this latter (its inclination to sectarianism and above all its division) and aims at finding relays in its ranks. Unfortunately it does find them in the councilist tendencies and in political opportunism which affect an important part of this camp. This offensive led from « inside » has dangerously spread to a full-scale attack against the very existence of the organized groups of the Communist Left².

As the working class can't avoid the political confrontation in its struggles against the political and union forces of the bourgeoisie, the communist minorities and above all the serious groups of the Communist Left can't ignore, nor avoid, a resolute confrontation particularly with political opportunism which does exist **in its own ranks** and which openly claims now its goal : the destruction of the communist groups.

Thus it is at all the levels that the bourgeoisie is compelled to attack head-on and at great scale the whole international proletariat. We have entered in an historical period of decisive confrontations between the main classes of society. From the proletariat's point of view, the fights aren't yet sufficiently developed to impose significant withdrawals to the

bourgeoisie and to clear up to the eyes of the workers masses the perspective of capitalism's destruction and of a society without classes, without exploitation and without war. Nevertheless, the classes contradictions exacerbate as never since decades. And despite the proletariat's weaknesses, particularly at the level of its consciousness and of its political vanguard, the situation has never be so favourable than in the present historical period : capitalism appears increasingly clearly for what it is, it means a system in full bankruptcy, a barbarous system which leads humanity towards its end if nothing stops it ; and since the proletariat is not historically defeated, nor politically, nor physically, since in its main concentrations it expresses more and more its refusal of the sacrifices imposed by the bourgeoisie, it is forging its weapons which will enable it to bring down this system. For this purpose, it needs since now a strong and acting communist vanguard looking for its union.

The FICL, September 10th 2011.

2 . We publish in this bulletin extracts of a secrete Resolution adopted by the ICC in 2005 whose objective was to make all it could to destroy the IBRP (today the ICT). Since then, the liquidationist politics of the present ICC has make emulators. Already in 2009, the groupe *Internationalist Perspective* has launched an Appeal to a so-called « pro-revolutionary » milieu on the basis of an identical rejection of the communist groups. Now, the circles having dismissed lately from the ICT, the *Istituto Damen*, and the ICC, *Controverses*, go still futher than *IP* and join the present ICC politics of liquidation by declaring the « *bankruptcy of the Communist Left* » and by calling to the disappearance and dissolution of its main organizations... ICT and ICC. For the latter, unfortunately, the process is already well engaged if we believe the balance-sheet that this very organization presents itself of its late 19th international Congress – we plan to take position on it in our next issue. For the ICT, we'll do all we can to struggle at its side and against the « liquidation » for the regroupment and the setting up of a true world communist party.

The International Sovereign Debt Crisis

We reproduce in the following a statement of the comrades of the Internationalist Communist Tendency about the brutal worsening of capitalism's crisis. This article has been written in August after the withdrawal of the "AAA" of the American debt by a Credit trading agency. Since then, the crisis has still dramatically sped up and struck head-on the whole great imperialist powers. Nevertheless, the facts occurring while we are writing, mid-september, don't but confirm what our comrades present in their article about the deep and historical significance of these events.

*Thus we support this statement we share for the essential : capitalism is living "its period of historical decline" and "it is more than ever the hour of the world revolutionary party, of class revolt against the crisis of capital, against the inevitable politics of tears and blood, for the creation of a society without classes, without capital and without the cursed economic laws linked to the logic of profit". In the present historical situation, the divergences we can have with the ICT comrades about the precise analysis of the causes for Capital's economical crisis, are secondary. They deal with the fact the comrades tend to, at least in this text, consider only the "profits crisis" as the main cause of Capital's dead-end while we would tend – if we had worked out our own statement – to put **also** in evidence the growing lack of markets for the explanation not only of the generalized debt but also for the fact that "the profits crisis has prompted an ever-increasing amount of capital to detach itself from production in search of the false prospect of valorisation through speculation, shifting the problem from the productive to the speculative sector". Let's precise, this phenomenon doesn't but worsen even more the falling rate of profits which the article underlines.*

Nevertheless, this divergence of understanding doesn't prevent us to join the comrades on the immediate implications ; amongst them the one that "real production is facing a crisis of profitability" and about the inescapable sharpening of the imperialist rivalries up to "more general warfare for the survival of this or that imperialism, never mind the environmental devastation and unlicensed predation of the planet's resources" – without of course talking of the massive and head-on attacks the bourgeoisie will again launch against the whole proletariat.

The FICL, September 14th 2011.

The International Sovereign Debt Crisis

After the sub-prime crisis it is now the turn of sovereign debt. Bourgeois analysts have rushed to condemn the present serious situation as market madness. Actually the real madness is the entire global capitalist system which is agonisingly debating its own incurable contradictions. The so-called markets are nothing but a dozen or so international banks and financial centres. They speculatively "administer" something like 600 thousand billion dollars a year, equal to 12 times global GDP. This is a mass of fictitious capital which moves every day to the four corners of the earth in search of an immediate economic advantage with the aim of generating more capital to reinvest in other speculative activities like a sort of chain letter where you can see the chain. Money in itself cannot produce more money (except fictitious it should be noted) unless it is productively invested through the wage labour-capital relationship. Speculation, whatever form it takes, does not produce new value but represents only the transfer of value that has already been produced.

This phenomenon is not new to capitalism but it has grown exponentially in the last few decades simply because real production is facing a crisis of profitability which makes it difficult for the accumulation mechanism to operate. What has been universally defined as a financial crisis is really an economic crisis whose origins lie in the increasing difficulty of capitalism to survive with an ever lower rate of profit which is less and less remunerative for investment. The profits crisis has prompted an ever-increasing amount of capital to detach itself from production in search of the false prospect of valorisation through speculation, shifting the problem from the productive to the speculative sector. This in turn — after causing a series of burst financial bubbles — has returned to the world of real production, worsening the very precarious condition which launched the perverse speculative mechanism in the first place. This is the context in which the crisis of sovereign debt was born and raised and

which, with different levels of intensity, engulfs all the major capitalist states.

Sovereign debt, or rather public debt — in other words the debt that the state contracts with national and foreign subscribers in order to finance its own activities — is so much greater the more the state has to intervene to support the national economy. In the last few decades, besides the normal financing of public affairs, sovereign debt has had to provide for the failures which the progressive decline in the rate of profit has wrought on enterprises in both the private and public sphere. When the crisis then broke out in the financial sphere the public debt had to shoulder the burden of restoring the health of the banks and institutions directly involved in the crisis. It meant a sort of nationalisation of finance way beyond state support for some of the giants of private enterprise like the engineering section of the motor manufacturers.

For the top imperialist countries the costs of war and arms expenditure have done the rest. One example above all the rest is the American situation. For years the crisis of the falling rate of profit has continued within the mechanism of the valorisation of capital. It has favoured the flight to speculation and determined the bursting of the financial bubble which has burned billions and billions of dollars, forcing the state into a hasty and costly intervention which has dried up its financial reserves and brought it to the brink of collapse. Its sovereign debt has reached 14.5 thousand billion dollars equal to 102% of GDP. According to some American analysts the debt is really greater and would be equal to 140% of GDP if it were not for a statistical calculation which does not include the amount of bonds acquired by insurance funds and the individual states. With these sort of numbers the US could never have entered into the parameters of the Maastricht agreement, or if it had already been inside it would have ended up worse than Greece, Portugal or Spain. If we added on the debts of individual states, which amount to 11% of GDP, and included the debts of families and firms the picture we end up with is catastrophic. The state of Minnesota has declared itself bankrupt. It is no longer capable of ensuring social services and cannot pay state employees. It is waiting for the Federal Government to intervene with finance which has not yet arrived. Another forty states are almost in the same condition. The wonder is that the reclassification of US bonds

has only happened now and not before and then only by Standard and Poor, whilst Moody's continue to grant Triple A status. In this regard the protest of the US Treasury over a presumed error of 2000 billion in the calculation appears ridiculous if not embarrassing. Furthermore, the weakness of American bonds quoted in dollars has unleashed a planetary currency war with the Euro at the head that puts the already shaky European economy at risk. China — with \$1,250 billion in its monetary reserves — is crying that it is a scandal. It reproves the US Government for living beyond its means, of not doing enough to put things right. It threatens the possibility of diversifying its foreign exchange holdings (which it began to do some years back) and calls for a new international currency as substitute for the dollar, if only in the form of a basket of more trustworthy currencies.

So what are the remedies for getting out of the crisis? The usual ones, with a few differences. In 1929 the financial means existed to set up a mechanism to support demand, but today this is no longer possible. The financial means no longer exist, states are heavily loaded with debt and the only way that capitalism can keep going is by a further degradation of labour power. Let's give a general example, again from the USA, where the biggest social carnage in modern history is being organised. With a social fabric where real unemployment has already reached 16% (official figures say 9.8% but these are absolutely false because they don't take into account people who are not signing on and do not include anyone who has worked even a few weeks in a year), where 50 million live in absolute poverty — and 90% of them survive on handouts from charities — the axe is coming down on public spending. The bi-partisan plan proposed, or imposed, by Obama foresees an assault on social care and welfare benefits, a further overhaul of the relation between capital and labour, drastic reductions in public spending, partial tax increases which would only hit income from wages and not from financial returns and rents, and deep cuts to anything associated with state intervention. No more social state, only taxes and cuts which means more unemployment and an increase in both absolute and relative poverty. It also means greater exploitation in the workplace with an accompanying reduction in real wages, first of all in those sectors exposed to international competition and then everywhere else. Getting a job is difficult and there is no guarantee of keeping it when you do. The retirement age has increased and cuts in medical

care will follow. The proposals underline how Obama's plans for reforming the health system — which exist only on paper — are now being aborted whilst huge spending cuts are envisaged for the already inadequate Medicare and Medicaid. More or less the same recipe that has been imposed on Greece in order to receive the subsidies from the ECB and which the other European countries are being obliged to adopt in order to survive this second wave of the international crisis. This is as much as capitalism can concede in its period of historical decline. The paradox is that while the development of the productive forces could easily allow more goods and better services for everyone, within the framework of capitalism this is transformed into a crisis of the rate of profit which not only does not allow social well-being from the wealth produced, but triggers economic crises with their devastating consequences weighing down on the shoulders of those who produce the wealth, the proletariat. This is without taking into account the danger of wars that are no longer limited to strategic areas for raw materials, but

more general warfare for the survival of this or that imperialism, never mind the environmental devastation and unlicensed predation of the planet's resources.

If this is the outlook, it is more than ever the hour of the world revolutionary party, of class revolt against the crisis of capital, against the inevitable politics of tears and blood, for the creation of a society without classes, without capital and without the cursed economic laws linked to the logic of profit. A retro idea? No! This is the only solution to the devastating consequences of an outdated economic and social system which, in order to survive in its own contradictions, is forced to feed off the international proletariat. This is the only practical way out of the whole historical arc of capitalist productive relations.

FD

(<http://www.leftcom.org/en/articles/2011-08-16/the-international-sovereign-debt-crisis>)

STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

Shameful Resolution of the ICC against the Communist Left In secret, the Present ICC Betrays itself and the Working Class

Here is what the ICC voted at its 16th international Congress in 2005 :

*« All the groups of the Political Proletarian Milieu, **except the ICC**, are going through the most dangerous crisis since the after-war... The inability of the groups of the milieu, **apart from the ICC**, to be up to the stake of the new historical period (...). In addition to the IBRP, **the other groups of the Proletarian Milieu aren't anymore able to contribute positively to the future class Party**, the priority of our intervention isn't to help them to do so (...). We must be consequent : if we say that the groups of the Proletarian Political Milieu have a destructive attitude, **we must discredit them politically** (...). The organization has to be the clearest and the most homogeneous on our aim of our policy towards the IBRP : what matters is to **discredit the IBRP (...)** **that it disappears at the political level**. If this policy ends up with its physical disappearance, **it is all the better** (...). We must utilize the difficulties of the IBRP forum for **discrediting it**. (...) The ICC is the **only** living organization capable of responding to the needs of the revolutionary vanguard (...). **Only the ICC** today poses the foundations for the future party the class will have to make appear (...) Since the ICC is today **the only historical group** of the Communist Left able to contribute to the future world party, the present work of regroupment of the revolutionary forces is first and above all the one of the ICC political, geographical and numerical strenghtening (...). An organisation respresenting the historical consciousness, the marxist method and the organizational approach that today **only the ICC** can offer (...). If we say that the Proletarian Political Milieu has a destructive attitude towards the new elements, our attitude has to be different, **we must render it harmless** » .*

1- It is totally by chance that this small part of this Resolution voted by the present ICC has recently felt on us, or rather has felt on our head. Actually, and contrary to the principles and the methods that this organization had always defended since its foundation, this Resolution has been deliberately kept secrete. Whether it is by shame or by « opportunist tactic », the fact this Resolution has not been made public doesn't change the hateful character of its content. Even though this Resolution speaks for itself, we think necessary to underline its main aspects in order to « make the shame more shameful ».

2- What does this infamous text says ?

a) that the Political Proletarian Milieu is in full collapse, that it has no more reason to live, since all the groups which compose it, **except the ICC of today** (of course !), are not up to theirs responsibilities towards the class ;
b) that the « so-called » ICC has no more intention « *to help them* » contrary to all it had always claimed and done in the past ;

c) as if it was not enough and since it judges that all these groups are « *destructive* », it even intends to « *discredit them politically* », to « *render them harmless* » ;

[Thus the ICC, turning its back to its own political foundations, decides in stead of History (the attitude in presence of war and revolution are the two criterions which can settle the question) and according to its goodwill, that political vanguard organizations – that the class made so much years and efforts to create and develop - deserve to disappear.]

d) and, in the framework of this charge worthy of the bourgeoisie, this phoney ICC pays a particular and privileged place to the IBRP (the present ICT) ; not only it wishes (and goes concretly into action) that the IBRP « *disappears at the political level* » but it also proclaims it and is very pleased of it without any shame : « *If this policy ends up with its physical disappearance, it is all the better* » !) ;

e) in its crazy logic, the ICC can't be but the only survivor of the supposed « general disarray » and even the only organization « *able to contribute to the future world party* » ; the policy of regroupment which has always been

at the core of the existence of the true ICC is disastrously reduced to the simple « *the ICC political, geographical and numerical strengthening* ».

To weaken seriously the revolutionary class and to submit it politically and physically is obviously, and above all in the period we now live, an imperative objective of the bourgeoisie. In the ICC of today and in its policy expressed by this Resolution, the ruling class has found its « Trojan horse » vis-à-vis the class political vanguard. This ICC is clearly compromised in a destructive policy of the Proletarian Camp :

- directly by attacking the groups, above all the most serious, the ones of the Communist Left, which compose this camp ;
- indirectly by confusing and distorting its image (see its numerous attempts it has made the last years to introduce anarchist organizations within the camp.)

3- The « regroupment policy » of the true ICC

Since its foundation and what ever could be the general situation and the state of the organizations of the Proletarian Camp, the ICC had always, without failing, put at the core of its activity a persistent policy of regroupment. The numerous Resolutions of congresses, the numerous « appeals » made to the other groups, without forgetting the international correspondances, never stopped to put forwards this policy in an almost obsessional manner. Let's just take some examples : we are struck by the approach, the content and the spirit of this policy which, obviously, is totally opposed to the one put forwards today. It could be defined in clear words : « *It is a question of establishing a conscious co-operation between all organizations, not in order to carry out hasty and artificial regroupments, but to develop a will and an approach which centers its attention on a systematic work of fraternal debate and confrontation between proletarian political forces* » (Address to Proletarian Groups, *International Review* 35, 1983).

Contrary to what prevails now, the place of the « old » groups is central for the strengthening of their links :

- « *... as far as the "old" groups are concerned (...) priority must be given to tightening our links with the movement's other historic pole of reference: the current of the IBRP (continuing and improving our public and international debate, presence at their public meetings, proposals for common public meetings, direct contacts as often as possible)* » (Resolution on the Proletarian Political Milieu, *International Review* 51, 1987) - than to serve as a reference and as a springboard for the « new ones », the ones that the proletariat makes appear in our days - « *A new revolutionary generation does not appear through miraculous conception, but as the continuation of those revolutionary generations of the proletariat that preceded it* » (Correspondence with Emancipacion Obrera - Argentina, *International Review* 49, 1987).

That's well and good a fundamental betrayal we are witnessing in the present days.

Since such a policy can't but lead to death, for the proletariat, for the organization which advocates it, it is also of the responsibility of the sincere militants who are within the present ICC – despite the desertions of the last years, we know some still remain inside - to rise against it. Members of the ICC, where do you situate yourselves ? How long are you still going to accept to sit « fraternally » with anarchism and to participate at the same time to the policy of destruction of the other groups of the Communist Left ? Because that's the historical interests of our class which are at stake, there is also the need for all the organizations to lead an open fight against this policy ; militants and organizations of this Left, what ever are your disagreements with the positions of the original ICC, what ever are your considerations on the present ICC, you can't let establish such a policy without reacting, without rising your voice against it, without denouncing it with energy. It is just like this that you'll and we'll be able to save what can still be saved - maybe some militant forces at least - from the organization whose name is still the « ICC » and from the political current it less and less embodies and that, for our part, we carry on representing proudly and defending.

The Fraction of the International Communist Left, August 2011.

TEXT OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

The Socialisation of Society (Rosa Luxemburg, December 1918)

The proletarian revolution that has now begun can have no other goal and no other result than the realisation of socialism. The working class must above all else strive to get the entire political power of the state into its own hands. Political power, however, is for us socialists only a means. The end for which we must use this power is the fundamental transformation of the entire economic relations.

Currently all wealth – the largest and best estates as well as the mines, works and the factories – belongs to a few Junkers and private capitalists. The great mass of the workers only get from these Junkers and capitalists a meagre wage to live on for hard work. The enrichment of a small number of idlers is the aim of today's economy.

This state of affairs should be remedied. All social wealth, the land with all its natural resources hidden in its bowels and on the surface, and all factories and works must be taken out of the hands of the exploiters and taken into common property of the people. The first duty of a real workers' government is to declare by means of a series of decrees the most important means of production to be national property and place them under the control of society.

Only then, however, does the real and most difficult task begin: the reconstruction of the economy on a completely new basis.

At the moment production in every enterprise is conducted by individual capitalists on their own initiative. What – and in which way – is to be produced, where, when and how the produced goods are to be sold is determined by the industrialist. The workers do not see to all this, they are just living machines who have to carry out their work.

In a socialist economy this must be completely different! The private employer will disappear. Then no longer production aims towards the enrichment of one individual, but of delivering to the public at large the means of satisfying all its needs. Accordingly the factories, works and the agricultural enterprises must be reorganised according to a new way of looking at things:

Firstly: if production is to have the aim of securing

for everyone a dignified life, plentiful food and providing other cultural means of existence, then the productivity of labour must be a great deal higher than it is now. The land must yield a far greater crop, the most advanced technology must be used in the factories, only the most productive coal and ore mines must be exploited, etc. It follows from this that socialisation will above all extend to the *large enterprises* in industry and agriculture. We do not need and do not want to dispossess the small farmer and craftsman eking out a living with a small plot of land or workshop. In time they will all come to us voluntarily and will recognise the merits of socialism as against private property.

Secondly: in order that everyone in society can enjoy prosperity, everybody must work. Only somebody who performs some useful work for the public at large, whether by hand or brain, can be entitled to receive from society the means for satisfying his needs. A life of leisure like most of the rich exploiters currently lead will come to an end. A *general requirement to work* for all who are able to do so, from which small children, the aged and sick are exempted, is a matter of course in a socialist economy. The public at large must provide forthwith for those unable to work – not like now with paltry alms but with generous provision, socialised child-raising, enjoyable care for the elderly, public health care for the sick, etc.

Thirdly, in accordance with same outlook, i.e. for the general well-being, one must sensibly manage and be economic with both the means of production and labour. The squandering that currently takes place wherever one goes must stop. Naturally, the entire *war and munitions industries* must be abolished since a socialist society does not need murder weapons and, instead, the valuable materials and human labour used in them must be employed for useful products. *Luxury industries* which make all kinds of frippery for the idle rich must also be abolished, along with personal servants. All the human labour tied up here will be found a more worthy and useful occupation.

If we establish in this way a nation of workers, where everybody works for everyone, for the public good and benefit, then work itself must be organised quite

differently. Nowadays work in industry, in agriculture and in the office is mostly a torment and a burden for the proletarians. One only goes to work because one has to, because one would not otherwise get the means to live. In a socialist society, where everyone works together for their own well being, the *health* of the workforce and its *enthusiasm for work* must be given the greatest consideration at work. Short working hours that do not exceed the normal capability, healthy workrooms, all methods of recuperation and a variety of work must be introduced in order that everyone enjoys doing their part.

All these great reforms, however, call for a *corresponding human material*. Currently the capitalist, his works foreman or supervisor stands behind the worker with his whip. Hunger drives the proletarian to work in the factory or in the office, for the Junker or the big farmer. The employers take care that time is not frittered away nor material wasted, and that both good and efficient work is delivered. In a socialist society the industrialist with his whip ceases to exist. The workers are free and equal human beings who work for their own well-being and benefit. That means by themselves, working on their own initiative, not wasting public wealth, and delivering the most reliable and meticulous work. Every socialist concern needs of course its technical managers who know exactly what they are doing and give the directives so that everything runs smoothly and the best division of labour and the highest efficiency is achieved. Now it is a matter of willingly following these orders in full, of maintaining discipline and order, of not causing difficulties or confusion.

In a word: the worker in a socialist economy must show that he can work hard and properly, keep discipline and give his best without the whip of hunger and without the capitalist and his slave-driver behind him. This calls for inner self-discipline, intellectual maturity, moral ardour, a sense of dignity

and responsibility, a complete inner rebirth of the proletarian.

One cannot realise socialism with lazy, frivolous, egoistic, thoughtless and indifferent human beings. A socialist society needs human beings from whom each one in his place, is full of passion and enthusiasm for the general well-being, full of self-sacrifice and sympathy for his fellow human beings, full of courage and tenacity in order to dare to attempt the most difficult.

We do not need, however, to wait perhaps a century or a decade until such a species of human beings develop. Right now, in the struggle, in the revolution, the mass of the proletarians learn the necessary idealism and soon acquire the intellectual maturity. We also need courage and endurance, inner clarity and self-sacrifice, to at all be able to lead the revolution to victory. In enlisting capable fighters for the current revolution, we are also creating the future socialist workers which a new order requires as its fundament.

The working class youth is particularly well-qualified for these great tasks. As the future generation they will indeed, quite certainly, already constitute the real foundation of the socialist economy. It is already now its job to demonstrate that it is equal to the great task of being the bearer of the humanity's future. An entire old world still needs overthrowing and an entirely new one needs constructing. But we will do it young friends, won't we? We will do it! Just as it says in the song:

*We surely lack nothing, my wife, my child,
except all that which through us prospers,
to be as free as the birds:
only the time!*

Rosa Luxemburg.

OUR POLITICAL POSITIONS

- Since World War 1, capitalism has been a decadent social system which has nothing to offer the working class and humanity as a whole except cycles of crises, wars and reconstructions. Its irreversible historical decay poses the single alternative for humanity : **socialism or barbarism..**
- The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first attempt by the proletariat to carry out this revolution, in a period when the conditions for it were not yet ripe. Once these conditions had been provided by the onset of capitalist decadence, the October revolution of 1917 in Russia was the first step towards an authentic world communist revolution in an international revolutionary wave which put an end to the imperialist war and went on for several years after that. The failure of this revolutionary wave, particularly in Germany in 1919-23, condemned the revolution in Russia to isolation and to a rapid degeneration. Stalinism was not the product of the Russian revolution, but its gravedigger.
- The stratified regimes which arose in the USSR, eastern Europe, China, Cuba, etc., and were called 'socialist' or 'communist' were just a particularly brutal form of the universal tendency towards state capitalism, itself a major characteristic of the period of decadence.
- Since the beginning of the 20th century, all wars are imperialist wars, part of the deadly struggle between states large and small to conquer or retain a place in the international arena. These wars bring nothing to humanity but death and destruction on an ever-increasing scale. The working class can only respond to them through its international solidarity and by struggling against the bourgeoisie in all countries.
- All the nationalist ideologies -'national independence', 'the right of nations to self-determination', etc.- whatever their pretext, ethnic, historical or religious, are a real poison for the workers. By calling on them to take the side of one or another faction of the bourgeoisie, they divide workers and lead them to massacre each other in the interests and wars of their exploiters.
- In decadent capitalism, parliament and elections are nothing but a masquerade. Any call to participate in the parliamentary circus can only reinforce the lie that presents these elections as a real choice for the exploited. 'Democracy', a particularly hypocritical form of the domination of the bourgeoisie, does not differ at root from other forms of capitalist dictatorship, such as stalinism and fascism.
- All factions of the bourgeoisie are equally reactionary. All the so-called 'workers', 'Socialist', and 'Communist' parties (now ex-'Communists'), the leftist organisations (Trotskyists, Maoists and ex-Maoists, official anarchists) constitute the left of capitalism's political apparatus. All the tactics of 'popular fronts', 'anti-fascist fronts' and 'united fronts', which mix up the interests of the proletariat with those of a faction of the bourgeoisie, serve only to smother and derail the struggle of the proletariat.
- With the decadence of capitalism, the unions everywhere have been transformed into organs of capitalist order within the proletariat. The various forms of union organisation, whether 'official' or 'rank and file', serve only to discipline the working class and sabotage its struggles.
- In order to advance its combat, the working class has to unify its struggles, taking charge of their extension and organisation through sovereign general assemblies and committees of delegates elected and revocable at any time by these assemblies.
- Terrorism is in no way a method of struggle for the working class. The expression of social strata with no historic future and

of the decomposition of the petty bourgeoisie, when it's not the direct expression of the permanent war between capitalist states, terrorism has always been a fertile soil for manipulation by the bourgeoisie. Advocating secret action by small minorities, it is in complete opposition to class violence, which derives from conscious and organised mass action by the proletariat.

- The working class is the only class which can carry out the communist revolution. Its revolutionary struggle will inevitably lead the working class towards a confrontation with the capitalist state. In order to destroy capitalism, the working class will have to overthrow all existing states and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale: the international power of the workers' councils, regrouping the entire proletariat.
- The communist transformation of society by the workers' councils does not mean 'self-management' or the nationalisation of the economy. Communism requires the conscious abolition by the working class of capitalist social relations: wage labour, commodity production, national frontiers. It means the creation of a world community in which all activity is oriented towards the full satisfaction of human needs.
- The revolutionary political organisation constitutes the vanguard of the working class and is an active factor in the generalisation of class consciousness within the proletariat. Its role is neither to 'organise the working class' nor to 'take power' in its name, but to participate actively in the movement towards the unification of struggles, towards workers taking control of them for themselves, and at the same time to draw out the revolutionary political goals of the proletariat's combat.

OUR ACTIVITY

- Political and theoretical clarification of the goals and methods of the proletarian struggle, of its historic and its immediate conditions.
- Organised intervention, united and centralised on an international scale, in order to contribute to the process which leads to the revolutionary action of the proletariat.
- The regroupment of revolutionaries with the aim of constituting a real work communist party, which is indispensable to the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a communist society.

OUR ORIGINS

- The positions and activity of revolutionary organisations are the product of the past experiences of the working class and of the lessons that its political organisations have drawn throughout its history. The ICC thus traces its origins to the successive contributions of the Communist League of Marx and Engels (1847-52), the three Internationals (the International Workingmen's Association, 1864-72, the Socialist International, 1884-1914, the Communist International, 1919-28), the left fractions which detached themselves from the degenerating Third International in the years 1920-30, in particular the German, Dutch and Italian Lefts.