

**INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST  
BULLETIN**

**Organ of the Fraction of the International Communist Left**

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## **Editorial**

The *International Communist Bulletin* #11 presented here, is a ‘transitory’ bulletin in advance of the new publication that the Klasbatalo-Internationalist Communists (who posted this issue on their blog) and our Fraction of the International Communist Left (ex-Internal Fraction of the ICC) decided to develop and to constitute through their fusion. For over 6 months, we’ve engaged in a regroupment process aimed at forming an international and internationalist group based on the positions and experience of the international Communist Left. And in trying to ensure the solidity and political clarity of this new organization, this process cannot but be a long one, especially since the two nuclei have different histories and experiences. The beginning of this process was announced in the [Presentation of the International Communist Bulletin #10](#) (February 2013) after the October 2012 conference of the Fraction. The reader can take a look at the summaries of the various issues as well as at the K-IC’s blog (<http://klasbatalo.blogspot.fr/>) to get an idea of the development of the relationship, of the discussions & debates, of our past disagreements, of our convergences, and common collaborations & interventions since 2006 (see the IFICC's *Bulletin* #41, 2007 : [http://www.fractioncommuniste.org/index\\_eng.php?SEC=b41](http://www.fractioncommuniste.org/index_eng.php?SEC=b41)).

The time for formalizing this regroupment draws near and will materialize with a Conference to constitute the new group. We are on the way to adopting a ‘platform’ with main positions close to those of both the ICT and the “historical” ICC. We continue to discuss and clarify the questions of organization and functioning based on the Communist Left, especially the tradition of the “Italian” Left. Our political orientation and attitude towards other communist forces and the proletarian camp are in the process of clarification<sup>1</sup> and we are discussing a document analyzing the present international historical situation so as to define political orientations as clearly and efficiently as possible. Thus, we'll have enough programmatic documents for the foundation and the building of a communist group based on the experience of the Communist Left, claiming its political legacy with a central orientation to work and better participate in the regroupment around the International Communist Tendency.

As we’ve already said, *“our perspective of regroupment, of setting up a new group, with the comrades, fully fits into the perspective of regroupment around the ICT; clearly, it is not a matter of creating an ‘alternative’ pole, much less an organization ‘in competition’ with the ICT, but a group around the ICT, supporting it. We are convinced that the presence of our historical current<sup>2</sup> alongside the ICT is an asset in leading the struggle for the future party.”* ([Presentation of the International Communist Bulletin #10](#)).

Now, the theoretical, political and practical struggle toward building the proletariat's world party is the primary orientation and task of communist groups today. As strange, illusory, or incomprehensible as that may appear to the great majority of the individuals and workers raising the question of the class struggle and of revolution – to mention only those ‘most interested’ in that problem, including individuals and revolutionary forces, **the struggle for the Party – and thus the regroupment of the communist forces – is the essential historical question of our time where the outcome will depend on the class confrontations to come.**

Actually, the deepening of the economic crisis and the historical dead-end of capitalism, with its drive to generalized war, forces global capitalism to attack the international proletariat, with ongoing and ever increasing force, through their living and working conditions. And on the ideological level, as well, in order to make the proletariat pay for the crisis, for the preparation of imperialist war, and finally to drag them

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1 See the K-IC blog (particularly – in French – the link *Vues et positions politiques divergentes dans les CIK*) and on the Fraction web site – all in French, some in English : [Contribution à un état des lieux de la Gauche communiste internationale \(CI-K\)](#), [Réponse au texte des Communistes internationalistes-Klasbatalo \(FGCI\)](#) dans le bulletin 4 de la FGCI (2011) et [Retour sur une "contribution à un état des lieux de la Gauche communiste \(CI-K\)](#) dans le bulletin 9, août 2012) as well as [Statement of the Internationalist Communists - Klasbatalo on the Report of the FICL](#) (English *Bulletin* #10).

2 The one represented by the positions and the tradition of the International Communist Current today liquidated by the ‘official’ organization.

into it. The bourgeoisie leads a class war that can only erupt into massive global confrontations between the classes, at an historical dimension; in a process of international *mass struggle* which, in any case, has already begun<sup>3</sup>. The fulfillment of this dynamic does not depend on revolutionaries. They can't be a determining factor of this, even though they have a role to play in it. On the other hand – and here they have a primary and indispensable role to play, **the outcome of these class conflicts will depend upon the capacity of the proletariat to develop and to assume the political confrontation with the capitalist State and its political and union forces** so as to avoid the traps and sabotage of its struggles, and to make the most efficient use of these struggles by forcing back the bourgeoisie and opening the door to a revolutionary situation. And it is precisely for this essential political dimension of the class struggle that the proletariat must create, historically, the political minorities to express its class consciousness, to play the leading role of the political vanguard – indispensable for the accomplishment of this political class struggle, the finality of which can only see capitalism's destruction through the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For present-day communists, claiming the legacy of the Communist Left, the main priority, then, is to work toward the regroupment of revolutionary forces around the communist program and those organizations that have remained true to the embodiment of this. Meaning around the political and organizational pole represented by the Internationalist Communist Tendency on account of its history, its theoretical patrimony, its political positions and its international organization. Our regroupment and formation of a new group – our political divergences, prevent us **for now** from adhering to the ICT – is momentary and must become an active factor of this struggle for regroupment for the Party of tomorrow in which we continue to believe that the ICT has a central responsibility and role to play; a responsibility and role we intend to foster to the best of our ability and from our perspective.

**The K-IC and the FICL, September 2013**

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<sup>3</sup> With the crisis, all continents are affected by mass revolts and demonstrations of the “populations” and in particular the working class and the social strata which surround it.

## Communist Intervention and Evolution of the Class Struggle

### Presentation of the two Statements of the ICT and the ICK-FICL on the Class Struggle

In this issue, we reproduce a statement from the Internationalist Communist Tendency and a leaflet the IC-K and our Fraction distributed during the workers struggle in Egypt, in Turkey and in Greece (both already published on our web site). Though dating back several months, it is always useful to review them so as to assess their validity at the time they were produced, but also return to the political approaches on which they were founded.

They are different in form. One is a "propaganda-intervention" article of the ICT undertaken while the bourgeois media attempted to censor and suppress news of the street demonstrations in Egypt; and the other is a more immediate "intervention-agitation" leaflet undertaken the very night they announced the closure of the Greek national TV broadcaster. Both statements aim to present general orientations of struggle, as –unable to intervene directly there – these can be taken and adapted "locally". Moreover, they provide orientations that the world-wide proletariat can take into present workers struggles. As well, both statements warn against the pitfalls – isolation and democratic illusions – that the political and union forces of the bourgeois States use to oppose the development of the struggle; traps which finally snapped shut on the various workers mobilizations. Reading them again today, it seems that both interventions were correct, without suffering mistakes or particular weaknesses<sup>4</sup>.

Since then, and despite censorship and bourgeois media distortions, workers struggles opposing the effects of capital's crisis never cease even though their intensity seems to diminish; a kind of hesitation; as if to catch their breath. Actually, we can consider a first period of struggle to have ended and a new step taken. The 2008-2013 period is characterized – it seems to us, and is indeed described in broad outline – in "The proletariat in Greece shows us the way". Of course, far be it for us to reduce everything to the workers struggles in Greece. But workers combativity and will to confront the bourgeois State in order to oppose to its attacks at the economic as well as political level, as a tendencial characteristic of some struggles and at the same time as objectives and perspectives, have been expressed more particularly, more decisively and more massively, in Greece than in any other country<sup>5</sup>. That was the direction that the communists had to advance everywhere by adapting their slogans to the different moments and steps of these struggles.

Today, it appears that the **political** dynamic of the struggle in Greece that had developed since 2008 is becoming exhausted due to its international isolation, because in no country has the working class been able to reclaim the banner and the dynamic of the "mass strike" at the level reached by the Athena's workers and required to confront the bourgeois

offensive; despite the few attempts here and there. The Greek workers seem exhausted by the absence of significant international response, and are unable to advance their fight to a higher level; and the bourgeoisie takes immediate advantage of this through political initiative aiming at diverting the attention of the Greek workers – and else where – toward the defense of the democratic State using the provocations of the extreme Right or that of supposed "terrorist dangers". The relation of forces between the classes, in terms of local and immediate dynamic, has reversed in Greece precisely because the international proletariat remains weak. Weak in the sense that it largely remains submissive to bourgeois ideology, particularly, for the most part – to the democratic themes put forward by the unions and Left forces aimed at binding workers to "their" State and nation.

Nevertheless, we are convinced that this is only a moment of "relative hesitation" – relative since the attacks can't but multiply everywhere on account of the very unsolvable economic crisis of capital and its economic, political... and warlike consequences between imperialist powers. But, isn't it the beginning of a response to the Athena workers that the Brazilian workers have given this summer? In the midst of an international soccer competition (the Confederation Cup – a kind of general repetition of the World Cup in this country and an important nationalist mystification organized by the bourgeoisie), , they launched massive and violent movements to express their anger toward the ruling class and its ideology, quite clearly defending their class interests paying no heed to calls for national unity or for the good of the soccer matches, and this despite the massive and brutal repression.

The great masses of workers seeing that their minorities or more militant sectors hesitate at the sheer scale of the task, of the necessity to avoid the democratic traps and erroneous approaches – such of the "indignados" or "Occupy" ideology for instance – this indicates, **above all, the concrete, practical, necessity to take up the political fight against capitalism's forces, in the first place from the unions who pretend to be "workers", in the struggle.**

Here is the basic call that the two statements which follow, make to the proletarians. In this sense, as well, they remain valid since it's up to organized communist minorities to lead the way and to immediately take on, at their level of development with regard to their real potential, the political leadership of these struggles.

**The IC-Klasbatalo and the FICL, September 2013.**

4 Any criticism or comment is welcome.

5 We refer to our different statements on the international working class struggles all along these years (see the IC-K's blog and our English pages of our web site: [www.fractioncommuniste.org](http://www.fractioncommuniste.org)).

## **Workers Solidarity with our Class Brothers in Port-Said !**

*We reproduce below a political statement of the Internationalist Communist Tendency whose immediate analysis and whose political orientations we agree with and support.  
The IFCL.*

### **The Events in Port Said (Internationalist Communist Tendency)**

*We are publishing this position statement about what is happening in Port Said, Egypt with the warning that the news about what is going on is limited [ignored internationally by the official media] and not entirely consistent even if all the sources consulted agree on the fact that the Egyptian city is in ferment.*

Information is still scarce but some facts speak for themselves. After street protests, anger erupted following the 21 death sentences handed down for the massacre in Port Said. During a spontaneous protest against this Morsi's police left 40 more victims on the streets. After that the police were forced to abandon the city leaving it in the hands of the protesters. At the moment, all public order, traffic and production linked to the Suez Canal are in the hands of the insurgents. Port Said has become a kind of free zone where the state has had to temporarily raise the white flag. If it is true that the death sentences on the 21 youth and the subsequent forty victims were the tragic triggers immediately provoking the rebellion, it is also true that the devastating consequences of the economic crisis and the arrogance of the reactionary Islamist Morsi government have been a decisive element.

Finally, after two years of tensions on the streets, of managed elections, of fraud and betrayal of the most basic expectations, something has snapped. The main fact, if confirmed, is that workers of Port Said were the first to trigger the revolt; including the port workers, those in transport and workers from other factories. Marine traffic has halted, factories have closed and the mobilisation of the city seems to be general and definitive. The movement, as well as guarding against the inevitable government reaction, must also deal with a number of internal problems

A first danger is the risk of isolation. The workers of Port Said must actively ask for practical militant help from all Egyptian workers, from the factories of Cairo to those of Alexandria, Ismailia and Assiut. The only way to avoid the risk of isolation and the ability to continue the fight is to widen the struggle and open up greater opportunities. Any bourgeois government can wait. It can wait until the anger is exhausted in some act of protest, however powerful and violent, and then take back by force the situation that previously got out of hand. The manoeuvre is much simpler and more effective if the uprising is isolated, if it concerns only a sector of production or a geographically small area. Breaking this isolation, asking for proletarian solidarity is not only tactically necessary but it is the condition for the fight to continue, otherwise the axe of repression will fall heavily on the demonstrators.

The more the struggle continues on the lines of a frontal attack, away from the conservative siren calls of reformism, whether secular or religious, the more it can serve as a model for proletarians in the whole area of North Africa, in the hope of giving an initial sense of class to the failure of the "Arab Spring ". At this point, the proletarians of the Egyptian Canal Zone must not fall into the trap of believing that reform can be a different way of managing public affairs within the framework of a capitalism that is everywhere around them. It is not only by demanding the fall of the Morsi government and respect for democratic freedoms, or by operating within the political framework of civil disobedience that things will radically change. The movement that has had the strength to rebel against the murderous authoritarianism of the Islamist government, to free itself from the chains of the traditional political forces, which is trying to present itself as politically autonomous, must continue on the path without falling back on the options that radical reformism offers, or be drawn back into the old worn-out democratic game.

The European proletariat, which suffers the same exploitation on the other side of the Mediterranean, should do its part. Class solidarity, which despite a few episodes of struggle has recently sensationally absconded everywhere, has expressed itself here and there. It should now take this opportunity to reappear on the international scene. Europe's streets have every reason to be full of disturbances against the various policies and heavy sacrifices demanded of us. If they do it should not be in single sectors or under the umbrella of this or that union policy, of this or that "left reformist" political force, but on the basis of real class solidarity, beyond nationalist boundaries and particularism, and this seems to be a good opportunity to start.

One last point. Spontaneity, the determination of a struggle that arises immediately against a government, against its police, is doomed to failure if it does not elaborate a tactic, a strategy and a programme that goes beyond the traps of capital, to build a real social alternative, which is another way of producing and distributing that wealth of which the Egyptian proletariat, like the international working class, is the only creator. However, if we stay on the ground of civil disobedience, if the movement sets as its objective just the overthrow of the Morsi government in favour of "true democracy", subject to all the pressures of capitalism, as the movement in Tahrir Square did with Mubarak, the results will be the same, if not worse.

**FD, 6 March, 2013 (*Battaglia Comunista*)**

***Greece, Turkey, France, Spain ...***  
**The workers' response must be international and united!**

Tuesday evening, June 11<sup>th</sup>, thousands of angry proletarians flocked to Greece's public television and radio headquarters, in response to the bourgeois government's sudden and brutal announcement of its closure, and to stand in solidarity with the thousands of dismissed workers. All the while, massive labor protests had paralyzed Turkey – the so-called "hereditary enemy" – for almost 15 days in its major cities, despite the Turkish bourgeoisie's violent and even bloody repression (with several protesters killed). Proletarian anger, determination and courage in struggle remains unabated in the face of the brutal repressive forces of the State. This reaction reflects the current reality of confrontations between classes at the international level and, more importantly, shows the course that the entire international working class must take to defend itself against the constant attacks it has suffered everywhere, and to impose another power relationship to that of the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

It's all across Europe, in fact – and even beyond – that workers' reactions are escalating in response to the rise of increasingly brutal attacks that capitalism in crisis imposes everywhere. Despite the bourgeois media's misrepresentation and deliberate censorship of these mobilizations – one must take time to scour the Internet for alternative sources of information to get a sense of the many struggles and mobilizations, all of which we cannot mention here– from Spain to Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain and elsewhere, working class and exploited people are overwhelmingly expressing their anger.

By now, we must recognize that all the struggles (and there are many) that have arisen since the start of capitalism's open crisis in 2008 (the "subprime"), failed to drive back the bourgeoisie and their state, except perhaps momentarily. Essentially, the struggles remained too limited, hampered by the same ideological framework and capitalist policies imposed by all political and trade union forces, and primarily the bourgeois states.

Compliance with this order of affairs or even any illusions about it remain a source of deepening misery, the most crushing of defeats, and even death for the proletariat. This is why we should not be fooled by poisonous rhetoric, deceptive and "legalistic" political and bourgeois media. That is why we must rid ourselves of the union-imposed framework, and take our struggle into our own hands. We must not accept that every mobilization remain in its particular "corner" in its "own" region or its "own" country. To remain isolated, separated from other sections of the working class, poses the

best prospect for the bourgeoisie to continue to maintain control of the situation, for it to successfully wage more attacks against our lives, forcing us to sacrifice more and more, ultimately sacrificing our lives in the inevitable war that capitalism's crisis brings down on us all.

Only all together, combining all sectors, in all countries at once, can the proletariat contend with the bourgeoisie, pin back its murderous arm, put an end to it and its system of misery and barbarism. It is high time for workers to join with the struggles across borders. It's time for the international generalization of the class struggle against capitalism.

The brutality of the Greek government's latest measures offers just such an opportunity. All European workers, at least, have their eyes now on what's unfolding in Athens, as well as in Istanbul, and (indeed) on other struggles. With European air traffic disrupted by an air traffic controllers' strike – controllers from different European countries are taking over from their French colleagues. With protests raging on in Turkey in spite of massive repression. Through it all, the struggles increase, with generalized anger spreading amongst workers of all countries. Even the bourgeoisie at the moment, given the general anger amongst workers, is apprehensive about the social and political consequences of the Greek government's decision.

The time for unified struggle is upon us. Time to join our comrades in Athens and in Istanbul. It's time to enlist all local and European mobilizations in direct and active solidarity with our Greek comrades. It is high time to reject and to once and for all break out of the nationalist straitjacket, the state, democratic left parties and unions impose upon us.

**Active solidarity with the workers in Greece, Turkey and everywhere else!**

**Everywhere, all of us must unite in the struggle against capitalist attacks!**

**For an International generalization of the struggle of the working class!**

**One perspective: away with capitalism!**

**The one and only way: widespread and united international struggle against capital!**

June 12, 2013

**Communist Internationalists-Klasbatalo**  
(<http://klasbatalo.blogspot.fr/>)

**Fraction of the International Communist Left**  
([http://www.fractioncommuniste.org/index\\_eng.php](http://www.fractioncommuniste.org/index_eng.php))

## **International Situation**

### **The bourgeoisie prepares its repressive apparatus**

As the economic crisis deepens, the bourgeoisie and its instruments of repression are consolidating. Throughout the world, police act with increasing violence, aided and abetted by ‘democratic’ societies. It’s primarily in these ‘democratic’ societies that repression hits: arrests without charge, mass arrests, kettling of demonstrations and infiltration by agent provocateurs, surveillance of workers in struggle, murders, torture, new and old laws (the American “Patriot Act” has broadened its scope everywhere) giving individuals and police more power, if not “complete power”. In several countries, the police benefit from the unions’ help in isolating workers struggles or in containing demonstrations. The weapons paraphernalia grows steadily and is widely used: Tasers, Flash Ball (plastic or rubber balls), and even live ammunition. Far from neutral, the police are trained, armed and educated to protect the capitalist system; that’s their prime directive.

Here are several examples which represent only a tiny part of police and military activities around the world and the free reign they enjoy, backed by the media, the magistrates, laws and commissions of inquiry. The mass arrests and murders of demonstrators and of militants are increasingly trivialized by the ‘democratic’ media. The armies reinforce this to a great extent by bringing us to war to oppose workers’ uprisings.

#### **USA**

The vigilante, George Zimmerman was acquitted of the murder of the teenaged Trayvon Martin. He copped a plea of “self-defense”. This happened in February 2012, when Zimmerman killed the unarmed teenager with a single bullet during a surveillance round. The “Stand your ground” law, valid in a large number of American States, allows bourgeois repressive forces to kill anyone if they “consider themselves at risk” of being attacked. This is the law that Zimmerman’s lawyer used to acquit him.

On the military side, the American army has established an urban training center 4 kilometers square in Indiana’s south center which boasts of more than 1500 “training structures” designed to simulate houses, schools, hospitals and factories. The center’s website confirms that it “could be adapted to reproduce foreign as well as domestic situations.”

#### **France**

Demonstrators in France sustained irreversible eye injuries from Flash-Ball discharges (in Mureaux in 2005, in Clichy-sous-Bois in 2006, in Nantes in 2007, in Toulouse, Montreuil, Neuilly-sur-Marne or Villiers-le-Bel in 2009). And on the military front, the French army constructed a city and a village. The fake town of Jeoffrécourt was created entirely by the French army for training troops in urban guerilla warfare, the most common form of 21<sup>st</sup> century combat. Jeoffrécourt condenses all recent conflict scenarios, from Kosovo to Afghanistan, mixing suburban homes and abandoned buildings. Combat and war situations are standardized there. In this ghost town, soldiers in training can take over a town, a church or hide out in a cemetery. Sidewalks, public lighting, shutters that rattle, everything is reproduced to scale.

As for the village of Beausejour, it consists of 63 houses, all different, many obstacles (fences, barricades, rubble), different types of roads (wide, narrow, winding or clear.) It is made up of different modules: the village in itself, a squatter area in which it is impossible for vehicles to enter, a campground made up of caravans (perhaps as practice for expelling Roma), a road created from scratch and a strategic hamlet.

#### **Canada**

- The first Toronto cop to be prosecuted under criminal charges in the wake of protests against the G20 meeting in Toronto in June 2010 was recently acquitted. Constable Glenn Weddell was charged after the journalist Dorian Barton had suffered a broken shoulder, June 26, 2010. Dorian Barton had wandered onto the grounds of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario during a demonstration. In his testimony he said he’d been struck from behind while photographing police on horseback.

- One month after a Toronto cop killed Sammy Yatim, the Ontario minister of Community and Social Services, Madelein Meilleur, announced that all police officers in the province will be equipped with Tasers.

- Following the fierce and scandalous repression exercised against the students, the City of Montreal Chief of Police and the director of Sûreté du Québec presented themselves before a bogus commission of inquiry into the events of 2012 Quebec. They claimed that the police did a “great job” under difficult and exceptional circumstances. Remember that there were over 3,000 arrests, many with serious injuries, (loss of an eye, a torn ear and head injury). Now they plan to use new chemical weapons. So far not one officer has so much as been charged.

As Rosa Luxemburg said, over a century ago:

“Violated, dishonored, wading in blood, dripping filth – there stands bourgeois society. This is it [in reality]. Not all spic and span and moral, with pretense to culture, philosophy, ethics, order, peace, and the rule of law – but the ravening beast, the witches’ sabbath of anarchy, a plague to culture and humanity. Thus it reveals itself in its true, its naked form.”

Wake up and open your eyes to what bourgeois democracy is really all about.

Steve (ICK) september 13.

## An irrational accommodation<sup>6</sup>: capitalism

*In various countries, the bourgeoisie increasingly bombards with ideological campaigns on such or such subject so-called "of society" which, for one part, occupy the ground and the minds derailing the latter from the reality of Capital's crisis and proletarian's living and working conditions and, for other part and complementary the first one, which look at creating false problems which, all of them, aim at reinforcing the support for the democratic mystification of the bourgeois State. In different countries, mainly in Europe, the question of forbidding the Islamic veil for women has become one of these themes. In France, the Islamic veil has become the pretext for the strengthening of the secular and ideological ideology, it means democratic, of the State. It has been also the case in Canada in the francophone province of Quebec. Late September 14<sup>th</sup>, religious organizations have called for a street demonstration in Montréal. On this occasion, our IC-K comrades thought useful to publish again the following text they had written in 2007 on their blog.*

For several months, the press and bourgeois media spearheaded a massive campaign to divide immigrant workers from their Québécois and aboriginal counterparts. The pretext: reasonable accommodations for Jews and Muslims. Even if, for example, no Islamic religious organizations requested the right to wear the veil during voting, the media kept on about it. **The whole point of this divisive debate is to have us forget that the vote is utterly useless for the proletariat, regardless of their origin.** Amongst politicians, this has culminated in the creation of the Bouchard-Taylor commission given the task of touring Quebec. Everyone - bourgeois, petit bourgeois and workers are invited as "citizens" to offer their opinion. This campaign serves to fuel the worst of bourgeois ideology: racism, xenophobia, and nationalism, of 'every man for himself'. The capitalist class has only one aim in mind: to prevent the proletariat from affirming its solidarity and its unity as an international working class. While making believe that the Québécois proletariat would have something to safeguard, to defend against all immigrants from Arab countries or elsewhere, all this media hoopla endeavors to do is to make them believe that the immigrant situation<sup>7</sup> is separate from the working class, from the misery of its own condition as an exploited class.

We have even heard that "lady of the manor" Pauline Marois, speak to us of "Our identity" as nationalists. This "Identity" being the right to be exploited by our own home-grown business people... The bourgeois elites, as always, stand in the way of any real workers solidarity, which must extend beyond nationality. This "faith" in the "secular" bourgeois State as ultimate judge of peace and social cohesion, is just the kind of crap that's thrown out for the unions. **Behind this whole debate about reasonable accommodation is the defense of "secularism" which is in fact the defense of the special status given to the capitalist state and bourgeois democracy.**

The government has no intention of diminishing the importance of religions, to the contrary – its aim is to reinforce them. It will be under the staff of "our secular State" that courses on all religions will flourish in the schools in the autumn of 2008. Religion will always be the opiate of the masses.

In the face of worldwide misery and barbarism in full putrefaction, there is but one prospect for the working class – to firmly reject the competitive rationale of its own exploiters, of "every man for himself". No matter what their origin, language, colour of skin, or religion, the proletariat has no interest in common with national capital. It can only really defend its interests, by developing everywhere its solidarity with the international working class, by resisting any attempt to foster division as immigrants, Canadians, Quebecois and aboriginal peoples.

Only the assertion of its common interests in struggle will permit the proletariat to gather all its resources, to affirm itself as a world class united in solidarity, to bring down the capitalist Moloch before it destroys the planet.

Some internationalist communists of Montreal  
[klasbatalo1917@gmail.com](mailto:klasbatalo1917@gmail.com)

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6 « The Quebec controversy on the reasonable accommodations or the debate on the reasonable accommodations designs a very large whole of controversies raised since the beginning of the years 2000 in the Quebec province (...) linked with cultural differences and on the project of a Charter of the Quebec Values » (Wikipedia, translated by us from French).

7 From 1840 to 1930, 900,000 French Canadians emigrated to the USA. It is alarming to read the racist report of an American functionary: « *With some exceptions the Canadian French are the Chinese of the Eastern States. They care nothing for our institutions, civil, political, or educational. They do not come to make a home among us, to dwell with us as citizens, and so become a part of us; but their purpose is merely to sojourn a few years as aliens... ..They are indefatigable workers, and docile... All they ask is to be set to work, and they care little who rules them or how they are ruled. To earn all they can by no matter how many hours of toil, to live in the most beggarly way so that out of their earnings they may spend as little for living as possible, and to carry out of the country what they can thus save: this is the aim of the Canadian French in our factory districts.* » ( Massachusetts Report on statistics of labor Boston, 1881)

## **Text of the Workers' Movement**

### **Rosa Luxemburg : Her Fight Against the German Betrayers of International Socialism (Preface to the Junius Pamphlet) - Clara Zetkin (1919) -**

Rosa Luxemburg's **Junius Pamphlet** has its history and is itself a piece of history – thanks both to the circumstances under which it originated and to the life that emanates from it in a sparkling, glowing stream.

Rosa Luxemburg wrote the pamphlet in April, 1915. A few weeks before she had been forced to enter the "Royal Prussian Women's Prison," where she was to serve the year of imprisonment to which she had been sentenced by the Criminal Court of Frankfort a.M., for her courageous fight against militarism. In the fight, the sentence, and the sequel was gathered as in a nutshell what soon appeared, full grown, virile, unconcealed – Rosa Luxemburg's clear recognition of the imminent imperialistic tempest and the need of the hour for the proletariat to hurl itself against the onslaught with all the desperate energy of its protest; the courage and spirit of self-sacrifice with which she led the fight against the dangerous enemy in the name of International Socialism; the acute capitalistic class instinct, not to say the wakeful capitalistic class consciousness with which the bourgeois world so ruthlessly applied its instruments of power to protect imperialism and to which the historical evolution of society, with the rise of imperialism, had assigned new tasks and a greater significance for the existence of capitalism; the dishonorable surrender of the German Social-Democracy, or more correctly of its leadership, to militarism and imperialism.

In truth, at that time great masses of proletarians burned with eagerness to go into the fight against militarism and imperialism. If their class consciousness did not yet clearly recognize the mortal enemy, their healthy class feeling sensed, anticipated that enemy. As though illuminated by a search light, militarism in its historic form had become visible on their horizon, glaringly exposed by Rosa Luxemburg's condemnation and the reason for it – the conviction expressed by the courageous leader, that proletarians would not obey the command to raise the weapons of murder against their brothers of other nationalities. The rousing, fiery effect of the condemned words were intensified by the speech before the Frankfort Court, a classical document of political defense which in place of legal quibbling about "guilt," penalty, and degree of punishment, set up the fight for the scientifically firmly established ideal of International Socialism. A wave of splendid, determined fighting spirit rose out of the proletarian masses. It should have been the obvious task of Social-Democratic leaders, if they had the least political insight, to take advantage of this fighting spirit, to intensify it, in order to give militarism and imperialism a fight on a large scale, to give them a staggering blow. The Executive of the Social-Democracy showed once again clearly that it was not convinced of the truth and worth of the great strong bulwark of that consistent Marxian standpoint which affords a free outlook over situations and their obvious development and thus determines the correct basis of judgment, of will, and of

action.

In the present situation it gave itself the certificate of weakness that it fell short of everything that makes for political leadership. It avoided the obvious, the natural, the necessary thing – to gather together the protest that was arising everywhere with elemental force against the judgment of the Frankfort Criminal Court, into a tremendous mass action against militarism and imperialism. The Party Executive went even further with its "Backward, backward, Don Rodrigo" to the proud vow of the Social-Democracy. It tried to dam up the current that had begun without its effort. And all this in the atmosphere of burning indignation not only about the Luxemburg case but also about the triumph of the sabre in the scandalous trial against the little lieutenant, Forstner-Zabern; about the sanguinary judgment of the Erfurt court-martial, which, treading on all that is human, banished proletarians to the prisons for years on account of mere bagatelles; about the numerous cases of terrible abuse of the soldiers that were to be brought to light out of the darkness of the drill-yards and the company rooms through an approaching second trial of Rosa Luxemburg – if recollection does not receive, more than 30,000 mistreated men volunteered to act as witnesses.

But to be sure, by this time the Social-Democratic Party had already turned its misguided steps toward parliamentarism, it was fast becoming a bourgeois party, and its fear of mass action was already leading to its surrender to militarism and imperialism. It was the active and passive connivance of the Social-Democratic group of the Reichstag, and through them the connivance of the Social-Democracy as a whole, that made it possible in 1913 for the tremendous bluff of the "Jubilee gift for the Peace Emperor, Wilhelm II" to go across the political stage successfully, that enabled the Government to prepare unhindered the imperialistic war stroke of 1914, with the army bill – the most gigantic increase of the army which up to that time had ever been demanded and granted – and the defense contribution of billions – the first war credit for the intended marauding expedition across the Balkans to Bagdad and other "places in the sun." The Party group in the Reichstag had made it easier for the bourgeois "opposition parties" to nod assent to the army bill, by having itself agreed to the separation of that bill from the general budget. It had given its blessing to the defense contribution and income tax bills as presumptive burdens upon the possessing classes. It had run after the delusive spectre of "modified finance" policies and had skipped the fight against the robust armored fellow called imperialism.

But the sins of commission and omission of the Party faction in the Reichstag had begun to determine the attitude of the entire Party, a few small, criticizing and dickered groups excepted. The Social-Democracy had not collected its forces for a stand against the brazen advance of imperialism greedy for power. Thus it created on the one hand the confident

assurance of militarism and imperialism that there was no fear of opposition to their plans on the part of the proletarian masses, and on the other hand a paralyzing dullness in the masses themselves, even a slackening up in the face of danger. In short, the Social-Democracy allowed that atmosphere of war illusion to gather which in the summer of 1914 broke down all the political and moral opposition of the working classes against the crime of the war. Let us not forget that in the attitude of the Social-Democracy at that time, the policy of the “Marxist center” dominated, the policy which Karl Kautsky in our times praises up to the proletariat eagerly as the prerequisite for its victory. Let us not forget, moreover, that it was this high priest of “pure Marxism” who with his extremely un-Marxian tax theory built the ass’s bridge over which the Reichstag faction had proceeded to accepting the defense contribution and income tax measures. Under the given conditions the Social-Democratic Party Executive would have had to jump over its own shadow, if it desired to brace up and make use of the mass sentiment created by the Frankfort decision for a serious fight against militarism and imperialism. In the events which forced Rosa Luxemburg into prison during the latter half of February, 1914, the disgraceful bankruptcy of the German Social-Democracy on August 4, 1914, had cast its shadow before, but there was foreshadowed in them as well, the loyal, self-sacrificing fight of this inspired pioneer of Socialism against its internal decay.

Hardly had the acceptance of the war credit measure by the Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag become known, than Rosa Luxemburg together with a few friends raised the flag of rebellion against this treason to the International, to Socialism. Two circumstances prevented this rebellion from at once becoming widely known. The fight was to begin with a protest against the vote in favor of the war credits by the Social-Democratic representatives, which would have to be so managed, however, that it would not be squashed by the tricks and wiles of the state of siege and the censorship. Besides this, and above all, it would certainly have been significant if the protest was from the start issued in the name of a goodly number of familiar Social-Democratic fighters. We therefore tried to put it into such a form that as many as possible of the leading comrades should declare their solidarity with its ideas who had uttered sharp, even absolutely destructive criticism on the policy of August 4th, in the Reichstag faction or within small groups. A consideration which cost much hard thinking, paper, letters, telegrams, and valuable time – and the result of which, despite all that, was nil. Of all the critics of the Social-Democratic majority who had expressed themselves in vigorous speech, only Karl Liebknecht dared, together with Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and me to defy the idol of Party discipline upon whose altars were sacrificed character and convictions.

Rosa Luxemburg had nearly completed the first number of the magazine **Internationale**, when she was made to begin her prison sentence on the eve of a trip to Holland which we had intended to take together to prepare the way for the projected International Conference of Socialist Women and in general to bind more strongly the ties of international relations and to encourage the attempts to combine internationally the men and women comrades who were still true to their principles. Now, instead of speeding to the Dutch

border with her, I had to visit Rosa in the Barnim Strasse prison. The unexpectedly sudden execution of the sentence had crashed like a thunderbolt into our immediate fighting plans. Nevertheless barely two months later the **Junius Pamphlet** was finished. Rosa Luxemburg did not allow her imprisonment to be a “breathing spell” for the enemy. They would not let her fight. With stubborn courage she replied to the power attacking her, “Very well, now I’ll fight all the more!” Her indomitable will converted the place of severest restraint to a site of spiritual liberty. Writing of a political nature was strictly forbidden her. Secretly, under the greatest difficulties, narrowly watched by spying eyes, outside of the permissible occupation with literary and scientific work, she wrote her grand, penetrating final reckoning with the Social-Democracy, using every minute of time, every spark of light for the purpose. Weariness, illness disappeared before the force of the inner voice. That voice helped her to bear the most disconcerting, the most tormenting part of it all – that innumerable times she was wrested out of her train of thought, that she was never sure that she might not be caught at her task and prevented from completing it. It was a relief from the most tyrannical spiritual pressure when at last she was able to put the last stroke to her manuscript and, crafty as Odysseus, to send the last pages out of prison walls by the hand of loyal friendship.

Outside the doors of the women’s prison lay the heavy atmosphere of the World War, reeking with destruction, commingled with the rotten odors of the unbridled passion of profit and usury of the respectable parasites and defenders of the bourgeois order; raged the “will to victory,” artificially inflamed and fanned to a white heat with all the means of perfidy, violence, despicability; waded the Social-Democracy month after month through the fratricidal sea of blood, repeating piously, like an obedient pupil, the sayings of the imperialistic bourgeoisie and its government, with merely a few clumsy variations, breaking every solemn oath of international solidarity, treading upon the ideals of Socialism; outside those prison walls, stood like a gray, oppressive nebular mass, the dullness and stupidity of the workers allowing themselves to be dragged by imperialism into death and ruin instead of resisting it with strength and consciousness of purpose. In the choking atmosphere of those days, the **Junius Pamphlet** came like the fresh, strong wind that hurries on before the purging storm.

And its significance was even greater than that by far. It was even a part of that same purging tempest of returning consciousness in which German Social-Democrats and German workers began to find the way back to the historical task of, the proletariat – to overcome imperialism and capitalism through the international class struggle and to realize Socialism. It gave a mighty impetus to the awakening of the proletarians out of the social-patriotic war delusion and harmony delusion of civic truce, the process of their rallying to the class struggle and the banner of International Socialism. Clearly, firmly, scientifically, and penetratingly it gave expression and direction to an emotion, a thought, and a will that stirred within the proletarian masses, at first fearfully and scatteringly, then more loudly, more imperatively, uniting ever larger groups.

Karl Kautsky, the official theoretician of the Social-Democracy, had changed from a leader into a misleader. In

his supply-kit of “Marxian” formulas, he could find not a single one that would justify the miserable treachery of the Party majority. *Ad usum Delphini* he invented the famous two-soul theory for the Socialist International, which was “an instrument of peace and not of war,” and the principles of which therefore were, all according to the given situation, “Proletarians of all lands, unite” or on the other hand, “Proletarians of all lands, murder one another!” “Like a beast on the barren heath” he wandered vaguely back and forth between gay logical houses of cards and schoolmaster quibbling, in order to place himself with his authority protectingly before the policy of August 4th. His subsequent opposition was contradictory, uncertain as to principles, weak. Rosa Luxemburg, on the other hand in the **Junius Pamphlet** placed that policy on trial – consistently, mercilessly, annihilating it. She proved the bankruptcy of the German Social-Democracy, unparalleled in history, and her proofs were not formulas, but hard, stubborn facts. She knocked the bottom out of all the legends and slogans for the justification of Social-patriotism by revealing the causes and the impelling forces of the imperialistic war, baring its character and its aims.

The keynote of the **Junius Pamphlet** is contained in the following sentence of the last chapter: “The history which gave birth to the present war did not just begin in July, 1914, but dates back decades, where thread was tied to thread with the inevitability of a natural law, until the finely woven net of imperialistic world policy had entangled five continents – a tremendous historical complex of phenomena whose roots go deep down into Plutonic depths of economic creation and whose branches point toward the vaguely stirring new world.”

Imperialism, born of capitalistic development, confronts us as an international phenomenon in its radiations and influences, accomplishing with its brutal unscrupulousness of conscience, its gigantic, insatiable appetites, its tremendous means of power, very different wonders from “the construction of the Egyptian pyramids and Gothic cathedrals,” as expressed in the **Communist Manifesto**. It gives new and deepened content to the difference between Germany and France created by the war of 1870-71; it extinguishes old differences familiar to world-politics between the great powers of Europe and creates new fields of conflict between them; it is tearing the United States and Japan into its powerful current. Dripping with dirt and blood it traverses the earth, destroying ancient civilizations and converting entire despoiled nations into slaves of European capitalism. International imperialism is heaping up fagot upon fagot for the devastating world-conflagration – in Egypt, Syria, Morocco, South and Southeast Africa, in Asia Minor, Arabia, Persia, and China, on the islands and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, and on the Balkan peninsula. But it was German imperialism, late-born and madly aggressive, which, by way of the provoking ultimatum of Austria to Serbia in 1914, carried out the war stroke that lit the pyre of capitalistic civilization. It was driven on irresistibly by the gold-hunger of German finance – represented in particular by the German Bank, the most concentrated, best organized institution of capitalistic finance in the world – which longed to exploit Turkey and Asia Minor, and the lust of profit of the armament industries; it received its ruinous fool’s liberty from the barely

curbed despotism of Wilhelm II and the voluntary weakness of the bourgeois opposition.

Rosa Luxemburg succeeded so well in portraying within the narrow limits of her **Junius Pamphlet** the imperialistic nature of the World War and its aims, because in her extensive scientific work on the **Accumulation of Capital** she had traced down in an exposition as thorough as it was brilliant, the last roots of imperialism, as well as its political branchings. But in divesting the World War of its ideological dress, exposing it in its nakedness as a business venture – the business venture, the deal for life and death – of international Capital, she also mercilessly, piece by piece, tears the ideological wrappings of the Social-Democratic policy of August 4th from its body. In the fresh morning atmosphere of scientific examination of the entire historical phenomenon and its associations, the hollow phrases of the “fight for civilization,” “against Czarism,” “for the defense of the Fatherland,” etc., crumble away. Convincingly Rosa Luxemburg proves that in the present imperialistic environment the conception of a modest, virtuous war of defense of the fatherland has forever flown. The Social-Democratic war policy reveals itself in all its primitive ugliness as outright bankruptcy, as the inner expression of a social-patriotic labor-party imbued with bourgeois ideals, a party that has sold the proud revolutionary birthright of the proletariat for even less than the mess of pottage demanded by Kautsky – for the empty words of a Kaiser, “I recognize no parties, I know only Germans,” for the “honor” of a place in the ranks of nationalistic delusion.

The **Junius Pamphlet** is introduced by observations on the duty and importance of Socialist self-criticism, observations that are among the most wonderful things that have ever emerged out of the depths of pure and strong socialistic feeling and thought. Here the sincerest, most glowing conviction demands the highest and severest standards for our actions as Socialists, directing our glance with prophetic force to the great resplendent perspectives of the future which Socialism opens to us. The approaching heroic hour of the new world-epoch must find a heroic race in the proletariat which during the up and down of victory and defeat of its revolutionary struggles shall train itself through unsparing self-criticism, for the triumph of Socialism. The conclusion of the **Junius Pamphlet** links on to the beginning, closing the ring. It views the World War as the pioneer of the World Revolution. Victory or defeat in the present gigantic struggle must be equally fateful for the conflicting imperialist groups, and incidentally for the proletariats of the different lands, leading inevitably to the collapse of the capitalistic order and capitalistic culture, to its world-trial before the judgment seat of the Revolution. Rosa Luxemburg wrote this in March and April of 1915 – long before the heroic Russian proletariat led by the determined Bolsheviki gave the storm signal for the social revolution, long before the slightest ruffling of the waters in Germany and in the Habsburg dual monarchy announced the approach of a revolutionary flood. What we have since experienced, what Rosa Luxemburg herself was still permitted to experience in part, is a splendid corroboration of the sharpness and correctness with which she had in her **Junius Pamphlet** seen the historical lines of development.

Perhaps on this very account some reader may regrettingly or

fault-findingly inquire why the author did not show in perspective the possibility of a revolution in Russia, why she neglected to indicate the possible methods and means of fighting in the revolutionary period that was just dawning. It is true that in 1915, already out of the roaring chaos of the world struggle more and more clearly and visibly the giant form of the Revolution was emerging. But there was no indication of when and where it would begin its triumphal course. The Russian Revolution was to be the subject of a second **Junius Pamphlet**, some of whose outlines had already been hastily sketched by Rosa Luxemburg. The murderous hand of the German culture-bearing military has deprived us of the projected work, which would also have discussed and evaluated the fighting means and methods of the Russian Revolution – not in Kautsky fashion, certainly, according to a hard and fast scheme to which the actual development had to fit itself. No, Rosa Luxemburg's view is that of a living, creative stream following out the historic development. "The historical moment each time demands the appropriate form of the people's movement and *itself creates* new means, improvises hitherto unknown fighting instruments, enriching the arsenal of the people, unheeding of party rules." The essential thing for the Revolution, then, is "not a conglomeration of ridiculous rules and prescriptions of a technical nature, but the *political slogan, the clear consciousness of the political tasks and interests of the proletariat.*" In accordance with this view, Rosa Luxemburg at one time investigated an already tried fighting instrument of the working class – the general strike, which she recognizes as first in historical importance and as "the classical form of the movement of the proletariat in the periods of a revolutionary ferment." Her pamphlet on this subject – a pioneer work in the proper estimation of this fighting instrument – has been given a new significance by present events; today it should find millions of readers and sympathizers, rally millions of active fighters, ready for revolutionary deeds.

The **Junius Pamphlet** is a particularly sparkling treasure of the heritage which Rosa Luxemburg has left the proletariat of Germany, of the world, for the theory and practice of its struggle for liberation, a treasure whose sparkle and glow are a painful reminder of how great and irreparable is the loss we have suffered. What is said of this treasure, here, compares with it as a dry table of classification of plants compares with a garden full of blossoming, resplendent, fragrant flowers. It is as though Rosa Luxemburg, in anticipation of her sudden end, had gathered together in the **Junius Pamphlet** all the forces of her genial nature for a great work – the scientific, penetrating, independently searching and pondering mind of the theoretician, the fearless, burning passion of the convinced, daring revolutionary fighter, the inner richness and the splendid wealth of expression of the ever struggling artist. All the good spirits which nature had lavished upon her stood by her side as she wrote this work. Wrote – merely wrote? No, experienced in the depths of her soul. In the precisely coined words that mark both her iconoclastic criticism of the Social-Democratic betrayal and her inspiring vision of the expiation and the resurrection of the proletariat in the Revolution; in the sentences that seem to rush on to their goal; in the extensive chains of thought welded together

with iron firmness; in the brilliant sarcasms; in the plastic figures of speech and the simple, noble pathos – in all this one feels that it is suffused with the heartblood of Rosa Luxemburg, that in it speaks Rosa Luxemburg's that behind it stands her whole being, every fibre of it. The **Junius Pamphlet** is the outlet of a great personality that has devoted itself wholly and singly to a great, to the greatest cause. So, out of this work, the same Rosa Luxemburg greets us from beyond the grave who today more than ever is leading the world proletariat, going before it and leading it upon its way of Golgotha toward the promised land of Socialism.

But within the circle of light that surrounds her form, there stands a second great personality, which it is necessary to draw out from the obscurity in which it has purposely remained with that modesty which is a sign of real worth and the complete merging of all personal characteristics in a great ideal. This personality is Leo Jogisches. More than twenty years he was united with Rosa Luxemburg in an incomparable community of ideals and fighting purpose which had been steeled by the most powerful of all forces – the glowing, all-consuming passion of the two unusual souls for the Revolution. Not many have known Leo Jogisches, and very few indeed have estimated him according to his great significance. He appeared usually only as the organizer, who translated Rosa Luxemburg's political ideas into practice, as an organizer to be sure of the first order, as a genial organizer. However, this does not exhaust his accomplishments. Of a far-reaching, thorough general education, a rare master of scientific Socialism, a penetrating dialectic mind, Leo Jogisches was the incorruptible critical judge of Rosa Luxemburg and her work, her ever-waiting theoretic and practical conscience, at times too the one who saw further, the one who stimulated, just as Rosa on her part was the more penetrating and the one who created. He was one of those still very rare great masculine personalities who was capable of living side by side in true and joyous comradeship with a great feminine personality, without feeling in her growth and development a bond and a limitation upon his own ego; a gentle revolutionary in the noblest sense of the word, without any contradiction between belief and action. So, much of Leo's best lies enshrined in the life-work of Rosa Luxemburg. His increasing, impetuous insistence and his creative criticism contributed their full share in causing the **Junius Pamphlet** to be created so soon and so masterfully, just as it is due to his iron will that it could be printed and distributed despite the extraordinary difficulties caused by the state of siege. The counter-revolutionists knew what they were doing when, a few weeks after the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, they had Leo Jogisches assassinated too – "in an alleged attempt at flight" in the same Moabite Prison from which it had been possible to abduct Rosa's assassin, in an elegant private automobile in broad daylight.

The **Junius Pamphlet** was an individual revolutionary deed. It must give birth to revolutionary mass action. It is of the dynamite of the spirit which is blasting the bourgeois order. The socialistic society rising in its place is the only fitting monument for Leo Jogisches and Rosa Luxemburg. And this monument is being reared by the revolution for which they lived and died.

Clara Zetkin (1919)

## OUR POSITIONS

- Since the First World War, capitalism has been a decadent social system. It has twice plunged humanity into a barbaric cycle of crisis, world war, reconstruction and new crisis. There is only one alternative offered by this irreversible historical decline : **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 toward 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 statistified 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 world 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, 1889-1914, 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.