Syriza’s ultranationalism
There are no national solutions to the crisis

According to the media, the triumph of the Syriza coalition has made the big capitalist powers very nervous. This ‘nervousness’ is apparently linked to the manoeuvres around the negotiations over Greece’s debt. But Syriza is on the same side as these powers, because it shares with them the defence of the nation, the barrier behind which every national capital defends its interests against the proletariat and against its imperialist rivals.

At its last meeting, just before winning the election, Tsipras, Syriza’s leader, summarised it: “Beginning Monday, we will be finished with the national humiliation and with orders coming from abroad”. This programme is antagonistic to that of the proletariat, whose objective is the formation of the world human community and whose driving force is internationalism.

The triumph of Syriza is not that of the ‘people’, but of Greek capital whose needs it serves. Its policies will only bring new attacks against the whole working class.

The catastrophic situation of the Greek economy is an expression of the world crisis of capitalism

The data on the Greek economy is terrifying. We will mention just two figures: national income has fallen by 25% in 7 years, and exports, despite huge wage reductions, are now 12% lower than in 2007. The traumatic state of the Olympic installations built at vast and wasteful expense for the 2004 Olympics is an eloquent symbol of all this.

However, the crisis Greece is suffering is not a local crisis resulting from the poor management of successive governments, but the expression of the historic impasse facing the capitalist mode of production, which has been in open crisis since 1967 – almost half a century. A crisis in which the ‘sub-primes’ of 2007 marked a new step, followed in 1967 – almost half a century. A crisis in which the ‘sub-primes’ of 2007 marked a new step, followed in 1930s. 70 years ago, the world bourgeoisie was back to a situation similar to that of 1929 and the world crisis of capitalism – has managed to ‘organise’ the world economy in such a way that the effects of the crisis fall most heavily on the weakest countries and spares the strongest as much as possible. Germany and the US, which in 1929 were at the epicentre of the crisis, are today the countries which are coping the best and have succeeded in improving their position vis-à-vis their rivals.

Managing the crisis means dividing the working class

The policies described above are allowing capitalism as a whole to resist further plunges into the crisis by concentrating on the defence of its nerve centres. They are also a means of dividing the proletariat, since “one of the major components of the evolution of the crisis escapes from a strict economic determinism and moves onto the social level, to the rapport de forces between the two major classes in society, bourgeois and proletariat”. The economy is not just a blind machine functioning by itself, and the needs of the class struggle do have an influence on it. By displacing the worst effects of the crisis onto the weakest countries, the bourgeoisie gives itself the means to divide the proletariat.

This political management of the crisis means that this dramatic situation is seen by the Greek workers not so much as the expression of the impasse of world capitalism, but as the consequence of the ‘well being’ of its class brothers and sisters in Germany. And, by the same token, the apparent prosperity in Germany makes it difficult for the workers of this country to grasp the gravity of the situation, making them vulnerable to the ‘explanation’ that the threat to their ‘privileged’ position comes from the ‘laziness and irresponsibility’ of their Greek brothers and sisters and, in general, the waves of immigration lapping at their doors.

This political management of the crisis reinforces a deformed vision among the proletarians of each country: seeing the problems as something specific to ‘their’ country, and thus having national solutions, when really the problem is worldwide and can only be solved at the world level. In Greece, unemployment has reached the intolerable level of 27% and public employees, who generally have had jobs for life, have been reduced by 900,000 to 656,000; a third of the population lives below the poverty threshold; around 40,000 people have abandoned the cities and have headed to the countryside in a desperate search to live by subsistence farming in the most precarious conditions. The minimum wage in Greece has gone down by 200 euros over the last 5 years; pensions by 5% a year…all this is the extreme expression of a situation which is developing to varying degrees in all countries, but appears to be a phenomenon strictly limited to Greece and caused by Greek problems. This helps the bourgeoisie to create a thick smokescreen which makes it hard to understand the prevailing general tendencies in world capitalism.

1. In Greek Syriza stands for Coalition of the Radical Left
3. ibid
4. ibid
5. ibid
6. Life of the ICC
7. Imperialist politics against bourgeois electoralism
8. Ukraine: an imperialist war on both sides
9. Palermo killings: An excuse for increased militarisation
10. 21st Congress of Revolution Internationale: A painful but salutary crisis for the future of the revolutionary organisation
11. Resolution on the social situation in France
12. Australia A$2.25, Canada C$1.50, Europe €1.3, India 10 rupees, Japan ¥300 USA 90¢
In Greece the triumph in the January elections for the parliament has given a pleasurable and somewhat surprising sense ofлегкий трудности и успехов, подвигавших вправо и влево, за участие вновой власти. The Daily Mail’s “Shock waves across Europe as the far left sweeps to power”.

In contrast to the scaringomapping and leftists welcomed Syriza’s coming to power. In the Greek elections, Nigel Farage of the UKIP

Also, in a country where the political apparatus of the Greek state and, in turn, of the European Union

“Greece has experienced a truly historic election day. We rejoice with you... It is a great achievement SYRIZA has accomplished. As a pluralistic and modern left party you’ve managed to be

and because you give them back their pride.”

It’s true this Right/Left pattern of demonisation/celebration was not perfect as some right-wing parties still failed to salutary (and not just for their coalition with the far right ANEL).

There are no national solutions to the crisis

the extreme nationalism of Syriza

There is an objective need to be in a position to fight in solidarity with the different thieves of the EU, the new Greek government knows quite well that having a hard
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Leftists give credence to Syriza’s ‘anti-austerity’ claims

Continued from page 1

The extreme nationalism of Syriza

applied to the Greek state’s own political apparatus of the extreme nationalism of Syriza

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There are no national solutions to the crisis

The political crisis of the 1930s

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The bloody and barbaric attacks in Paris last month were a calamity for the bourgeoisie and its state and an ecumenical disaster. All this was shown in the gigantic gatherings in all the major towns of France and beyond. They were the spontaneous actions of people and hundreds of thousands of workers all wanted to express their total rejection of these barbaric attacks. This spirit of the people was unerringly taken hold in the streets and in the squares. But this healthy and necessary reaction was immedi-ately caricatured with calls for patriotism, “na- tional unity” and the “sacred union” from almost all wings of the French bourgeoisie – a bourgeo- is shamefully profiting from the emotion which gripped the country. It has been very obvious in recent years what happens when the bourgeois press and the politicians and the media in France was about “to go to war”. Only the state could protect us; it alone could provide “security for the French”, the de- fence of “democracy” and “freedom of speech”. And this same ideological poison wounded the body of the French state. The display of the state in the 30s and 40s is a thing that it was the head of the family proposing to the “good people” its benevolent and protective stare.

Beyond these mystifications real questions are posed to the proletariat. Who really profits from these attacks? Are the vast majority of the journalists of Charles Hebdo and the customers in the kosher supermarket? What does the talk of the government amount to? What is hidden be- hind these declarations of unity? What is the real reason for the attacks? The working class has been distanced with the French bourgeoisie, and the idea that the state was the head of the family proposing to the “good people” its benevolent and protective stare. A pity.

The latest attacks in Paris are an ideal pretext for strengthening the managerial state.

The French bourgeoisie, from the time of the attacks, has displayed its unity. The permanent wars between different cliques and conspira- tions have disappeared as if by magic. In the name of the defence of “the country under attack”, of “the French people in danger”, of the “French nation” must “face up to the terrorist menace as one”. Dressed up in a humanist facade, hiding behind hypocrisy and lies, the imperialist wolf finds a democratic alibi in order to justify its more marked military engagement in the world, aimed at ensuring that France “takes up its proper rank”.

The texts are legion. The “courage of Charles de Gaulle” for French leftists in this new crusade. We are no longer meant to be disturbed by the fact that the new imperialism is playing in a number of wars which are soaking the planet in blood and which it tries hard to cover up under the flag of “humanitarianism”. Erased is the role played by the French bourgeoisie and its army in the genocide in Rwanda during the time of another Socialist president – Mitterrand. For- gotten are the declarations of the latter accord- ing to which the genocide, which led to over a million deaths in this country, was nothing really serious. The extreme barbarity of the attacks in Paris seems to give the French state the right to make war and restrict so-called “freedoms”. After the attacks, the bourgeoisie has thus dressed itself up, without any complexes, in the costume of the guardian of order and security. Faced with iratio- nal, crazy murders, the ordinary barbarity of the democratic state must be presented as “normal”. Its zealous servants, the media, can now show off their services to the state in the face of the forces of order on a war footing. Thousands of police, gendarmes and military can henceforth take over the “courage of Charles de Gaulle” at the model of what the US bourgeoisie put into effect after 9/11. This is something that the left and the grassroots will be called on to confront as so actively to prepare measures which are exactly like it. In fact, regarding the ideological and re- pressive response, there’s a great similarity be- tween the Patriot Act and the policy adopted by the French government. It is a clear-cut attack on personal liberties however, this security policy that the Socialist Hol- lande has prepared as a spearhead within the general trend which has already been seduced and conquered.

We should remind ourselves how the Patriot Act, this infamous and odious law, was smushed into the twin towers in New York. Two others crashed in Washington and Pennsylvania. The French state has been the territory of thousands people killed. Doubts persist about the breadth of complicity of the US state in the at- tacks. But one thing is certain, just like France, the French bourgeoisie has not listened to these attacks. The social-democratic government and its media were requisitioned to mobilise the population behind the establishment of a state of war on American soil. The imperialist aims of the United States were not at all absent from this cynical calculation and the orchestration of a war psychosis. For the US bourgeoisie, it had to profit from this dramatic event in order to wipe out the “Vietnam war syndrome”, and prepare its role in the post-Cold War era. The French bourgeoisie has its own terrorist act of September 11. Dressed up in a humanist facade, hiding behind a sophisticated democratic screen. The permanent militarisation of society has gone up to 700 million euros, to be paid for out even the need to pass it though the legislature. But the bourgeoisie is not the duplicated in a number of wars which are soaking the planet. But the bourgeoisie, it has played to-profit from this dramatic event in order to wipe out the “Vietnam war syndrome”, and prepare its role in the post-Cold War era. The French bourgeoisie has its own terrorist act of September 11. Dressed up in a humanist facade, hiding behind a sophisticated democratic screen. The permanent militarisation of society has gone up to 700 million euros, to be paid for out even the need to pass it though the legislature. But the bourgeoisie is not the duplication of a number of wars which are soaking the planet. But the bourgeoisie, it has played to-profit from this dramatic event in order to wipe out the “Vietnam war syndrome”, and prepare its role in the post-Cold War era. The French bourgeoisie has its own terrorist act of September 11. Dressed up in a humanist facade, hiding behind a sophisticated democratic screen. The permanent militarisation of society has gone up to 700 million euros, to be paid for out even the need to pass it though the legislature. But the bourgeoisie is not the duplication of a number of wars which are soaking the planet. But the bourgeoisie, it has played to-profit from this dramatic event in order to wipe out the “Vietnam war syndrome”, and prepare its role in the post-Cold War era. The French bourgeoisie has its own terrorist act of September 11. Dressed up in a humanist facade, hiding behind a sophisticated democratic screen. The permanent militarisation of society has gone up to 700 million euros, to be paid for out even the need to pass it though the legislature. But the bourgeoisie is not the duplication of a number of wars which are soaking the planet. But the bourgeoisie, it has played to-profit from this dramatic event in order to wipe out the “Vietnam war syndrome”, and prepare its role in the post-Cold War era. The French bourgeoisie has its own terrorist act of September 11. Dressed up in a humanist facade, hiding behind a sophisticated democratic screen. The permanent militarisation of society has gone up to 700 million euros, to be paid for out even the need to pass it though the legislature. But the bourgeoisie is not the duplication of a number of wars which are soaking the planet. But the bourgeoisie, it has played to-
The ICC’s section in France recently held its 21st Congress, which was devoted to two questions: the defence of the organisation and a discussion on the nature of the class struggle. The first, devoted to debates about the organisational problems of the oldest section of the ICC, took place during the 21st International Conference last May. The second session of the Congress was devoted to two questions: the defence of the organisation and the fight against capitalist barbarism. The section of the organisation in France had been a victim of the media campaigns about the ‘financial crisis’ of 2008, which was aimed at sowing panic through-out society, especially within the working class in order to make it accept sacrifices, trying to get it to believe that because this really was a financial crisis (i.e. one that could be fixed through a few reforms) and not a new conjuncture of a historically condemned world system based on the production of commodities and the exploitation of workers’ labour power.

The Workers’ Party of France had indeed also affected the ICC, particularly its section in France, so that the Congress had to restore the balance, notably by re-appropriating the theoretical conception of the bourgeoisie, its capacity to use its tame media as a means of ideological intoxication to obscure the chronic weaknesses of the exploitation machines. Since barbarism is the main weapon of the proletariat in the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a new society which will always try to disarm its moral enemy through ideological media campaigns.

The Congress noted that the disorientation of the section in France, its activist tendencies in the immediate struggles to the detriment of our long-term work contained the danger of dragging the organisation into the political and organisational errors in France. These errors are reflected in certain articles in our press which we were able to critically re-examine. The revolutionary organisation was already potentially contained in losing the Marxist compass, in losing our theoretical acquisitions in the face of the bureaucratic struggle. Im-patience, immediatism, losing sight of the function of the organisation were expressed by activist tendencies which saw a focus on intervention in the immediate struggles to the detriment of an in-depth discussion about the social movements. The Congress drew out the fact that the movement of autumn 2010 against the pension reforms was in reality the result of a manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie which was able to revitalise its trade unions in order to inflict a serious defeat on the working class and push through with its attacks. The social calm over the last four years has shown that the ICC was right to fear this defeat. To understand this manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie and the breadth of the defeat in 2010, we have to understand that the Congress and the RC led us to forget the ABC of Marxism: as long as a revolutionary period has not opened up, until there is a situation of ‘dual power’, it’s always the ruling class which is on the offensive, and the exploited class can only develop its defensive strategies, its resistance against the attacks aimed at it. To un-derstand how the bourgeoisie has been able to carry out its economic, political and ideological attacks against the working class in France, the RC had to take a step back from immediate events and re-examine the dynamic of the class struggle since the ‘turning point’ of 2003, placing the question on the immediate and fundamental frame-work of the problems. The RC’s conclusion: the ‘disappearance of the proletariat’ as the only force capable of changing the world.

The ‘turning point’ of 2003 was defined by the search for solidarity between the generations and in the struggle, showed that the working class in France once again, 20 years after the events and the so-called ‘Communards’, had won the support of the bourgeoisie, its capacity to use its tame media as a means of ideological intoxication to obscure the chronic weaknesses of the exploitation machines. Since barbarism is the main weapon of the proletariat in the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a new society which will always try to disarm its moral enemy through ideological media campaigns.

The Congress underlined that losing sight of the acquisition of Marxist political consciousness is an essential condition for the class struggle is linked to an underestimation:

- Of the necessity for revolutionary or-organisations to study the functioning of capitalism and the political life of the ruling class;

- Of the difficulties of the proletariat to rediscover its revolutionary class identity in the historical context opened up by the collapse of the eastern bloc and the Stalinist regimes;

- Of the capacity of the bourgeoisie to keep control of the situation both on the economic and political levels, despite the social decomposi-tion of its system.

The RC noted that the situation on France, ad-opted by the congress, could not integrate and de-volve all the questions examined in the Congress and only assigned them to carry on in the or-ganisation (in particular, the discussion about the strengthening of state capitalist measures, which is not limited to France).

The fight for the defence of the revolutionary organisation.

The report presented to the Congress on the de-fence of the organisation had the object of synthetising the experience of the ICC and its section in France in the face of attempts to destroy the or-ganisation. Such attempts were identified by our comrades MC, a founding member of the ICC, par-ticularly in 1996, and in the 20th Congress, to carry out an operation to get back material stolen by the ‘Chenier tendency’ (typewriters, etc). In the face of petty bourgeois hesitations and resistance in RI at RT (in the notable case of Paris), MC won the support of the central organ of the section in France to recuperate its material in order to denounce the gangster methods of this ‘tendency’ (with a communiqué on the expulsion of Chenier and his colleagues). This had led us to the conclusion that the ICC was right to fear this defeat. To understand this manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie and the breadth of the defeat in 2010, we have to understand that the Congress and the RC led us to forget the ABC of Marxism: as long as a revolutionary period has not opened up, until there is a situation of ‘dual power’, it’s always the ruling class which is on the offensive, and the exploited class can only develop its defensive strategies, its resistance against the attacks aimed at it. To un-derstand how the bourgeoisie has been able to carry out its economic, political and ideological attacks against the working class in France, the RC had to take a step back from immediate events and re-examine the dynamic of the class struggle since the ‘turning point’ of 2003, placing the question on the immediate and fundamental frame-work of the problems. The RC’s conclusion: the ‘disappearance of the proletariat’ as the only force capable of changing the world.

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The analysis of the class struggle in France, of the class struggle in the bourgeoisie and proletariat, can only be understood in the context of the current world situation, even if, of course, the proletariat in each country faces economic and political situations on a particular scale. In his sense, it is necessary to analyze the broad lines of this world situation, in particular to understand the difficulties encountered by the proletariat in France in responding to the increasingly violent attacks coming from the ruling class.

From September 1989, the ICC had been predicting that the collapse of the Stalinist regimes would push the proletariat against the consciousness of the world proletariat: “The disappearance of Stalinism is the disappearance of the Stalinist method and of the most terrible counter-revolution in history. But this does not mean that the development of the world proletariat that will be facilitated by it. On the contrary. Even in its death throes, Stalinism is rendering a lasting service to the demolition of capital, in decomposing, its destruction and the development of the proletariat breathes. For the dominant sectors of the bourgeoisie, the final collapse of Stalinism for the exploitation of an ever-increasing world proletariat widened more than ever. According to which the proletarian revolution can only end in disaster, will for a whole period gain an added impact with the proletarians of the working class. We thus have to expect a momentary retreat in the consciousness of the proletariat… While the increasing and increasingly brutal attacks which capitalism can’t help but mount on the proletariat will oblige the workers to enter the struggle, in an initial period, this won’t result in a greater capacity in the class to develop its consciousness. In particular, reformist ideology will weigh very heavily on the struggle in the coming period on a particularly emancipatory aspect of the union” (“Theses on the economic and political crisis in USSR and the eastern countries”, Internationale Kommune 66).

The quarter of a century that has gone by since then has amplified this prediction and, in my view, has put to an end the weight of democratic illusions and a strengthening of the grip of the unions, which had been more and more put into question during the workers’ movement. Thus, the unions in the transport sectors in France, Belgium and Germany in 1995 had clearly resulted, during the strikes, in the inability of these organs for controlling the working class. Furthermore, the retreat in class consciousness was accompanied by a phenomenon of many large industrial sectors which had traditionally been among the most combative in many western European countries (for example, steel, engineering and cars). And the difficulties met by the working class, both in the development of its consciousness and in its self-confidence, were also aggravated by the growing weight of the decomposition of capitalist society which has instilled in an increasingly damaging way the sentiment of despair, the feeling that there is no future, the flight into ‘everyman for himself’ and atomisation.

3. In 1989 we also established that “the rhythm of the collapse of western capitalism… will constitute a decisive factor in establishing the mode of struggle: the ‘vanguard’ of the working class is marching towards revolutionary consciousness. By sweeping away the illusions about the ‘real’ of the world economy, by exposing the lie which presents liberal capitalism as a solution to the historic bankruptcy of the whole capitalist mode of production - and not only of its Stalinist incarnation - the intensification of the capitalist crisis will eventually push the proletariat to turn again towards the perspective of a new society, to more and more inscribe this perspective onto its struggles” (ibid).

In effect, since 1989, the French bourgeoisie, in the form of its colour cohorts, has launched growing attacks on the working class, passing the latter to resist and to throw off the dead weight that has been bearing down on it since the end of the 80s. One of the moments of this tendency for the proletariat to rise against its head was constituted by the social movement that emerged in 1995 in the car industry in Germany and in public transport in New York. These workers’ struggles were obviously not only a confrontation of the bourgeoisie with the struggling masses of workers, but a dynamic overcoming towards the profound retreat suffered by the working class after 1989. The slow and gradual rise of the social struggles in the class struggle (there had been more than 13 years between the implosion of the eastern bloc to the struggle against CPE in 2008) was marked by a large extent by the slow rhythm of the development of the insurmountable crisis of the capitalist mode of production, a result of which the bourgeoisie had to back the historic collapse of its economic system. Furthermore, these social struggles are a result of the expansion of the political and union apparatus of the bourgeois classes, its capacity to push through attacks and to carry out its economic projects. It is essential that we eliminate that “it’s not the street that governs” (as government minister Raffarin put it in 2003) while a whole arsenal of sophisticated manoeuvres, based on a mobilisation of labour, on the destruction of the relation between the government which delivers the blows and the unions that sabotage the response of the working class.

Thus the strikes of spring 2003 in the public sector in France came up against a strategy of the ruling class which had been launched in 1995: alongside a general attack on the whole working class, the bourgeoisie carried out a more focused attack on a particular social group, this being thus destined to constitute a sort of ‘vanguard’ of the movement;

In 1995, the Juppé plan attacking social security for all wage earners was accompanied by a specific attack on the pension arrangements for the railway sector, a strategy that was to be repeated in 2003.

In 2003, the attack on pensions for the whole public sector was accompanied by a specific attack aimed at the workers of national education.

In the first case, after several weeks of complete blackage of transport and a succession of massive strikes, the unions had only achieved measures aimed at the special retirement regime of the railway and RATP workers. With the return of the workers in the Arrow car industry in 2008 and the government’s backing of the ‘victory’, a fatal blow had been dealt to the dynamics of the movements, which led the government to push through the general attack on social security.

In the second case, the workers of national education, who had gone on strike massively and represented the ‘reference’ for the public sector, were led to carry on for weeks with a movement that had been exhausted in other sectors, and this with the encouragement of the most ‘radical’ unions. This produced a deep feeling of bitterness and demoralisation, with a message for all workers: not only is ‘it’s not the street that governs’ but there’s no point in struggling.

4. This feeling of powerlessness was however overcome, three years later, in the spring of 2006 as the mobilisation for the public sector included generations of the working class against the Consul Première Embauche (CPE) introduced by the Villepin government. A mobilisation which, at this time, was not planned in advance by the government and the unions. The latter had done the minimum possible to oppose a measure aimed at accentuating the precarious nature of employment for young proletarians (and which even the bosses thought was superfluous). It was the educated youth in the universities and high schools who embarked on the struggle, i.e. the huge mass of future unemployed and precarious workers. As we said at the time, the movement against the CPE was exemplary. It was attractive, thanks in particular to the daily general assemblies open to the whole working class, to massive demonstrations which were not controlled by the unions, to deal with the different traps laid by the bourgeoisie. The movement enabled one to draw in the employed workers, in particular in those industries. This is why, on the advice of Laurence Parisot (the boss of the CGT), the leaders of the movement threatened to draw in the employed workers, this being thus destined to constitute a sort of ‘vanguard’ of the movement.

By sweeping away the illusions about the real of the world economy, by exposing the lie which presents liberal capitalism as a solution to the historic bankruptcy of the whole capitalist mode of production - and not only of its Stalinist incarnation - the intensification of the capitalist crisis will eventually push the proletariat to turn again towards the perspective of a new society, to more and more inscribe this perspective onto its struggles” (ibid).

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Today, in a world fraught with imperialist war, we see Russia, China, Vietnam, South Africa, Sudan and Yemen, tensions in the Far East and terror attacks in Europe - Ukraine has been involved in NATO’s Secretary General’s annual report. In the West, the situation is “the biggest reinforcement of our collective defence since the end of the Cold War” (The Times, 12/2/15, citing NATO’s Secretary General). This is manifest in NATO’s Response Force (NRF) in 2015, through the rotation system. And according to last report of the NRF (16/12/15), a pool of 30,000 soldiers with NATO intelligence circles, Germany is playing a particular role in organising elite response forces.

The United States military instructors are due to arrive in Kiev in March in order to train local forces how “to defend themselves against Russian artillery and rockets” (The Times, 12/2/15, citing the senior military US commander in Europe). This is a far cry from ‘US disengagement’ that some parts of the press talk about. In relation to the question of disinformation raised above, it seems that the armies of the west are now using the Russian experience with disinformation in the information through the media in order to mislead the enemy.

A different situation to the wars in the Balkans in the 1990’s

### Resolution on the social situation in France

The current economic crisis has been described as the 'end of capitalism'. However, the bourgeoisie is not ready to give in, despite its incalculable power and the uncountable resources of the state. The bourgeoisie and its unions continue to stand against all efforts to improve the social and economic situation of the working class. They have the power to resist and to fight, but they are not ready to do it. The bourgeoisie is not ready to give up the power it has, and it is not ready to surrender. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept sacrifices, because that's the only way to keep control. The bourgeoisie is not ready to change, because it is afraid of change. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept the future, because it is afraid of the future. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept the past, because it is afraid of the past. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept the present, because it is afraid of the present.

The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept the fact that class consciousness and class identity are not exactly the same. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that they belong to the working class. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that it is the working class that should lead the fight against the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that the working class has the power to change the world. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that the working class can win the struggle against the capitalist class.

The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that the working class can win the struggle against the capitalist class.

### Leftists give credence to Syriza

The future is not written in advance: despite the economic experts, had the consequence, that the capitalist class is not ready to change, because it is afraid of change. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept the future, because it is afraid of the future. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept the present, because it is afraid of the present.

The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept the fact that class consciousness and class identity are not exactly the same. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that they belong to the working class. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that it is the working class that should lead the fight against the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that the working class has the power to change the world. The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that the working class can win the struggle against the capitalist class.

The bourgeoisie is not ready to accept that the working class can win the struggle against the capitalist class.

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- **Editorial**
  - 100 years after WWI, the struggle for proletarian principles is relevant as ever
  - World War I
  - 1914: Why the 2nd International failed
  - 2014 Extraordinary Conference of the ICC

- **Communism is on the agenda of history**
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- **COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALIST** POB 25, NIT, Faridabad, 121001 Haryana, INDIA. WORLD REVOLUTION BM Box 869, London WC1N 3XX, GREAT BRITAIN

- From Great Britain use uk@internationalism.org
- From India use India@internationalism.org
- From the rest of the world use international@internationalism.org

http://www.internationalism.org
Proletarian politics against bourgeois electoralism

Sylvia Pankhurst opposed the 1914 war and called for soviets, socialist parties, and parliamentarian votes

Soviets versus parliament

The question of the vote and of parliament was a key element in this debate about the tactics appro- priate to the revolutionary movement. Pankhurst’s reaction to the 1914 war had caused a split in the socialist parties, founded on the atonised citizen who votes for a party that can now assume the reins of state and oppress and defraud the population for the next four or five years. And everywhere the councils emerged – especially in Germany – the ruling class did everything it could to get them to hand over power to parliament, above all via the influence of the social democratic parties which still had the majority in the councils. It was not the right that the vote was granted to the majority of the working class precisely when it had gone beyond the parliamentary form and affirmed the practical possibility of a new form of political power, directly controlled from below and aimed at the complete transform- ation of society. In Britain, it was also symbolised that the vote was given to women (though still not all of them) in 1918, after the majority of the suffragette movement had pledged its loyalty to capitalism by supporting the war. Having initially opposed granting the vote to the exploited and oppressed majority for fear that it would result in the overthrow of class rule, the bourgeoisie now rushed to grant universal suffrage as the best way of preserving its continued system. This tactic was denounced at the time by Sylvia Pankhurst, still often presented to us as a famous suffragette, but who in fact broke politically with the suffragette movement, including her mother Emmeline, for supporting the war, identifying herself with its militarist trend. Workers’ Dreadnought entered the battle for soviets against parliament and bourgeois elections.

Need for a proletarian perspective

Of course, this all happened a long time ago. The world has moved on, but the attempt to build ‘communism’ in the USSR and the eastern countries was a total failure, that marxism has been refuted, that the working class doesn’t really exist anymore. Certainly the main parties contesting the next election no longer refer to class – including the ‘Labour’ party; and the ones that pretend to be a radical alternative to the established parties, such as UKIP on the right and the Greens on the left, call on us to vote on the basis of Britishness or as concerned citizens.

But capitalism is even more depersonalised than in 1914 and the longer it continues, the more it threatens the very survival of humanity. In a world facing economic crisis, war and barbarism from all sides, the national solutions and reforms prom- ised in the bourgeois elections are more fraudulent than ever. And despite all the changes in its struc- ture on a global scale since the first revolutionary wave, the working class is still the class that creates value and bears the brunt of capitalism.

All forms of bourgeois politics are a barrier to the self-organised, self-conscious movement we need if we are to challenge this social order. We are against participating in capitalist elections not because we favour apathy and withdrawal from political engagement, but because we are for proletarian politics and the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois state. Amos 5:13/15

Soviet strategy

The regroupment of revolutionaries with the aim of creating a new socialist society, in order to participate actively in the movement towards the unification of struggles, towards workers taking control of them and of their industries, 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 for the world socialist revolution.

OUR ORIGINS

The positions and activity of revolutionary or- ganisations are the product of the past experiences of the working class. The international revolutionary organisations have drawn throughout history its ICC thus traces its origins to the successive contributions of the Comintern, the Workers’ Councils of the Revolution of 1917, the Third International (the International Working- men’s Association, 1868-72, the Socialist International, 1889-1904), the Riga Congress of 1919, which made the left fractions which detached themselves from the degenerating Third International in the years 1920-30, in particular the German, Dutch and Italian Lefts.