

*Workers of the World, unite!*

# **THE INTERNATIONALIST PROLETARIAN**

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**WHAT DISTINGUISHES OUR PARTY:** The line that goes from Marx to Lenin, to the foundation of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Italy (Livorno 1921); the struggle of the Communist Left against the degeneration of the International, against the theory of the "socialism in a single country" and the Stalinist counterrevolution; the refusal of the Popular Fronts and the Resistance Blocks; the hard work of restoration of the revolutionary doctrine and organ, in contact with the working class, outside the personal and electioneering politicking.

## **MAOISM IS JUST THE EXPRESSION OF THE CHINESE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION AND OF THE PROLETARIAN COUNTERREVOLUTION: THE RECENT CASE OF JASIC TECHNOLOGY IN SHENZHEN**

(from El Comunista #62 – April 2019)

### **Introduction**

During the last months of 2018, several articles were released by the Western bourgeois press regarding the repression by the Chinese bourgeois government to several student groups, labeled as Marxist, linking it to the support they had given to the struggle of the workers of several companies, and notably Jasic Technology in Shenzhen (Canton province).

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**DEFLATION IS A PRODUCT OF THE  
OVERPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL AND  
MERCHANDISES**

*"At a certain high point this increasing concentration in its turn causes a new fall in the rate of profit. The mass of small dispersed capitals is thereby driven along the adventurous road of speculation, credit frauds, stock swindles, and crises" (Capital, Book III)*

**THE CULPRIT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE  
ENVIRONMENT IS CAPITALISM**

Capitalism is destroying the planet, yes. Not only that, it also threatens to destroy it completely with the Third World War. Therefore, **CAPITALISM MUST BE DESTROYED SO THAT IT DOES NOT DESTROY THE PLANET.**

Regardless of the usual anti-Chinese bias of the Western press, which led it to publicize the situation to some extent and rejoice in the repression of "Marxists" by the "communist" Chinese government, it is certain that the Chinese government, just like any other bourgeois government, persecutes and suppresses any worker attempt to organize, especially when they occur outside the institutions created by the bourgeois state for that purpose, that is, the subsidized trade union apparatus. In this sense, we, as Marxists, must denounce the attacks from the Chinese state, just like any other state, against the attempts of union organization outside the subsidized apparatus.

And this is precisely what happened in Jasic, where the workers in the technological company in Shenzhen tried to organize themselves outside the only legal "trade union" in China, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, to achieve improvements in their precarious labor conditions, and they were repressed by the company by means of dismissals, which in turn encountered the opposition from the workers, which, facing the last attack, organized several gatherings and mobilizations against the dismissals in front of the factory and in Shenzhen city during several days, events that the state could only end using the force after several confrontations.

It was in this context and after the first clashes, that some groups, apparently emerged from the circles of Marxist studies from some of the Chinese universities, organized committees to support Jasic workers, and even moved there to support the gatherings in front of the company. They also promoted a campaign of support in the social networks, Chinese and Western, as it may still be noted.

### **The Maoist (non-Marxist) student circles**

In order to keep the hard-to-believe Marxist aura, the Chinese government tolerates and even promotes the existence of Marxism study groups in the universities, as well as it offers "Marxism" lessons in the same institutions, always trying to keep control on their content, at least to some extent. The truth, anyway, is that, what is understood as Marxism in these contexts, as well as in many others internationally, includes not only the classics from Marx, Engels and Lenin (which, on the other hand, are interpreted in the most convenient way for the bourgeois and petty bourgeois political positions of those promoting these circles, warding off their real content), but also a series of pretended Marxists, among which the founder of the modern Chinese state as a people's republic stands out: Mao Zedong (or Mao Tse-tung in the classic transliteration).

The ideologists of the people's republic, both in its beginning as well as after Mao's death, and even now, agree in defending this bourgeois revolutionary, and its alleged Marxist condition, with the Marxism study groups in the Chinese universities.

Then, why does the Chinese government repress the "Marxist" student groups (which we would better classify as Maoist) which support and spread the struggles of worker groups against the subsidized trade union apparatus?

Several factors influence this reality. On one hand, it must be said that the state, in China just as in any country in the world (now capitalist in every corner, after the independence of the last colonies and the creation of the last nation states), has as primary function the defense of the bourgeois *statu quo*, the monopoly of the violence precisely to prevent organized workers imposing their claims over the survival of capitalism. In this sense, it must be noted that the first ones suffering the repression, even though the Western bourgeois press did not broadcast it likewise, were the Jasic workers, much earlier than the students themselves. On the other hand, the Chinese state is very much aware that the international deterioration of the crisis brings something pressing on the table: the configuration of the blocks in front of the prospective Third World Killing. And in this sense, it is very much committed to fight against the possible internal instability spotlights, which could eventually be exploited, with or without the awareness of their protagonists, by other imperialisms in order to undermine the position of the Chinese state in the global scenario. There are other targets in this precautionary repression, such as the Uighur or the Tibetan minorities, which the Western bourgeois press so much likes to quote, as well as other groups not so much echoed by this press.

Finally, the ongoing fight among the various sectors and tendencies in the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot be neglected, specifically those who might want to promote a bigger liberalization and promotion of the so-called private sector and those who defend, to some degree, the state ownership of the companies (not their obliteration), that is, one of the possible means by which the state may play the ideal collective capitalist role. Indeed, we already referred to this clash of approaches, both of them bourgeois, in our magazine more than 30 years ago: *"The big struggles in China between the two bourgeois tendencies, one of them nationalist and the other one fostering openness, have ended with a victory, at least for the time being, of the latter. The nationalist stream was represented by the "Gang of Four". They aimed to build the national market, and to achieve industrialization by exclusively using Chinese economic resources, with no dependencies to the outside world whatsoever, with an accelerated exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The sole additive received by it, to alleviate its effort, were the political speeches of the great Chinese chauvinists. This will result in that, each time that the supporters of the openness (who were personified in the line of Chu Enlai and Deng) lead the economy, the industrial production grows enormously by means of certain material incentives to production. And the reverse would also be true, when the nationalist rule. These intended, with the so-called "cultural revolution", to take the*

*"big leap forward" of industrialization. Finally, this was just an utter failure of the nationalist, clearing the way to power to the supporters of openness.*

*Openness was nothing prepared after Mao's death. In 1969, ineffable Henry Kissinger was already in China preparing the process of restoring the commercial and diplomatic relations with the USA. Having reached the first agreements in 1971, which set the trip which Nixon would do in 1972, Nixon being received by Mr. Mao, precisely in those days in which the Yankees were throwing hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs over Vietnam and Laos (even though Maoists conveniently forget these facts), from here may the agreements between China and the United States of America be dated back. Deng's government did only put them in practice in line with his openness approach; the foundation had already been put in place by Mr. Mao, as much as his shopworn followers would like to deny. (...)*

*Back in 1953 our current already said: "If the China emerging from the revolution searches how to accelerate its march towards private capitalism, which cannot be connected yet in a single block operated by an uncompromising military government, like Russia could do, it will have to look for support in the Western economies (Multiple Revolutions, April 1953)." (China: Autarchy, world market or communist revolution?, El Comunista #7, May 1985)*

Therefore, there is no real contradiction in that the Chinese state tries to repress and redirect those groups claiming the alleged "original" Maoist values, while it considers itself the heir and guardian of these very same values (the last clashes of the state against the members of the Marxism student groups of the University of Beijing that we know of happened during the celebrations of the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mao's birth at the end of December 2018, which both intended to and did celebrate), from the moment in which, in reality, these groups are only ideologically distinguishable from the state which represses them, by, at most, a higher dose of asceticism linked to the period of development of the Chinese capitalism, in the context of the primitive accumulation of capital. A period during which most of Mao's life elapsed, as well as that of the rest of the ideologists which are claimed, a period which has already been widely surpassed and going back to which is not intended.

Contrary to what some of the aforementioned student groups may think, the nature of the Chinese state, just as that of any other modern capitalist states, is not only perfectly compatible with claiming Mao's figure and Maoism, but its birth and existence, precisely in its current situation, are the logical consequence of this approach, and even the consequence that it, very publicly, was and still is after. *"Our current defined Maoism and the Chinese revolution of 1949 as "a French revolution with a delay of a century and a half", "it is a bourgeois revolution in that it is aimed against feudalism with the action of the rural masses". Revolution that "has been set to the great construction of the internal capitalist market, ordering itself in a unitary State (Il Programma Comunista #6,*

*1953)." (Asia – Pacific: China is already a capitalist industrial power, El Comunista #26, May 1993)*

From this point of view, it is vain to claim an alleged "pure" or "original" Maoism, confronted with the alleged empty claim of Maoism made by the dominant tendency in the present Chinese state. As we will try to demonstrate below, through a brief historical analysis, Maoism was, from its start, a bourgeois revolutionary ideology, by no means a communist or proletarian ideology, but a mix of rural tendencies, Stalinism and Sunyatsenism (after all, the great bourgeois ideologist Sun Yat-sen, founder of Kuomintang [KMT -or Guomindang, literally "nationalist party"], is worshiped in a mausoleum in Nanjing, People's Republic of China [PRC], and the students in "Marxist" circles like the government itself claim wholeheartedly the Republic of 1911 and the patriotic student movement of the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1919) in line with the anti-imperialism sense (against the other imperialisms, not the Chinese, obviously). The perfect ideology to sustain the bourgeois Chinese revolution and the creation and development of a modern capitalist state which allowed China to be positioned at the top of capitalism and the world-wide imperialism, with the highest indexes of industrial production and any other product manufacture (see data in El Comunista #56 and #62) and with one of the largest armies in the world, which is already being deployed internationally, both in international missions in which it participates, and in its own military bases abroad, like the one opened recently in Djibouti.

### **Historical approach to the question**

We do not intend in this article to develop in depth the process of degradation of the Third International, which happened during the twenties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and consequent criticism of which from the beginning is part of the Communist Left legacy (as it may be read in multiple texts of the period and later documents), but we do have to mention it since that historical tragedy is in the basis of the possibility of Stalinism (expression which finally took the democratic-bourgeois revolution in Russia), and later the Maoism (expression which finally took the democratic-bourgeois revolution in China), of fighting the proletarian revolution while hoisting its flags, names and traditions.

The application of the unique political front tactics to countries of advanced capitalism (like, for example, Germany), the disciplinary imposition of the submission to the center by means of maneuvers like the so-called "Bolshevization" (creation of factory cells, instead of territorial), or the application of the so-called tactics of the "worker government" or "peasant and worker government" (which implied, in practice, the ministerial collaboration with the bourgeois parties), among others, are some of the tactical mistakes committed by the head of the International in those years, which laid the foundation to allow that, the moment in which the counterrevolution felt strong enough, it could happen not only without the need of formally renouncing to Marxism, in which name the most aberrant tactical case files had already been theorized, but precisely by claiming being its biggest advocate, since, just like we said in

our text «Mao's thought», a critical text from the Left to Maoism: "... facing the clear confirmation of the Marxist anticipations, the conservative ideological reaction is forced to accept, under certain conditions, the proletarian doctrine. This means that, instead of refusing the whole of it, it mutilates its revolutionary conclusions, as well as its strategic, tactical and organizational consequences." (« Mao's thought»)

And just as we develop in that text, the reading of which we recommend to every militant interested in the question: *"The fact that the national-revolutionary, democratic-bourgeois movements (at least in their most advanced wing) give to their ends, which are the primitive accumulation of capital and the construction of the modern capitalist State, a socialist disguise, is by no means a surprise: this fact is perfectly explained by the social composition of these movements which are essentially recruited in the worker masses, in a rabble, of poor peasants, from workers of more or less recent rural extraction, of semi-proletarians, of coolies, etc.; these layers are the ones which give the bourgeois revolutionary insurrectionist democracy (or its more or less advanced sectors) the, to some extent, «communist» color.*

*This is what, in essence, had already happened with the "Enragés" of the great French revolution, with the English Levelers of the time of Cromwell, with the Tai-ping and the populism of Sun Yat-sen in China. Likewise, with «The Peasant War in Germany», Engels had noted that the religious heresy emerging among peasants, and totally independent from the bourgeois heresy of Luther, «expressed directly the needs of the peasants, of the farmers, and was almost always linked to an insurrection».* (« The thought of Mao»)

With the current linked to Stalin having taken control of the International, albeit not having expelled the Russian opposition yet, it only took a small additional twist so that the political united front tactic, which had been applied in the most diverse ways in the West, turned out in China in the theorization of the need of submitting the (still) Communist Party of China (CPC, founded in 1920, even before the CP of Italy) to the bourgeois nationalist party of Kuomintang, forgetting (or rather, forcing to forget) the need, in a context of pending bourgeois revolution, and double revolution, of keeping the organization and, at most, making alliances **with the weapons at hand** (Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League, Marx, 1850), something very different from letting the own party be phagocytized and submitted to the line of the other just like, unfortunately, the Stalinized International, by means of its envoy Borodin, managed to enforce to the Communist Party of China in 1926-1927.

The treason from the International to the Chinese proletarian revolution (which the late attempts of denouncing it by part of the Russian opposition could not stop), was the necessary prelude for the Kuomintang, led by butcher Chiang Kai-Shek (who was even appointed as honorary president of the International, having already admitted the Kuomintang as sympathizer party in 1923) and the international imperialism to

annihilate the cream of the crop of the Chinese proletariat (Shanghai, Canton – 1927) and with it the only organized groups of workers which up to now have had anything to do with the Marxism in China. Such treason was committed in parallel to the treason to the strike of the English miners, which was for a few days a general strike (1926), treason which was originated in the Anglo-Russian pact, by which the Russian state agreed in practice to renounce to the international spreading of the revolution, in exchange for investments and technological transfers, as well as in the nefarious politics of the International regarding the Labor Party. All these facts denote the **defeat of the international revolution** which happened then, and of which the defeat of the Chinese revolution is another milestone, since, had the approach of the Thesis about the national and colonial questions for the Second Congress of the Communist International stood regarding England (the center of imperialism then) and China (periphery of capitalism and focus of colonialism then), fact that could not occur precisely due to the counterrevolution in Russia, that could have marked an inflection point in the reflux of the revolutionary surge. The necessary corollary of all that was the permanent expulsion of the Russian opposition from the International (the Communist Left had already been *de facto* expelled, previously) which followed immediately after, and preceded the repression let loose by the Stalinism to everything resembling proletarian revolution, inside and outside Russia, that is, exactly what it had just supported in China.

The "reconstruction" immediately after of the so-called "Communist" (Maoist) Party of China led by the group of Zhou Enlai (also transliterated as Chu or Chou Enlai) – Mao Zedong takes place within the framework of a complete denial of the Marxist principles and in a complete initial fusion with the interests of the Russian state, which was already in counterrevolutionary hands, from a proletarian point of view (not bourgeois). No ulterior counterrevolution was necessary in China, where not even soviets were built, and the eventual victory of Mao's party over Chiang Kai-Shek's (in the present PRC) in the struggle held over the following years and even after the Second World War, aside from the detailed analysis which could be done of it (including several pacts that Mao's party made with Chiang Kai-Shek's during the civil war and the clash with Japan), has a lot to do with the most consequent anti-imperialism (Western and Japanese) of the former in relation to the latter, as well as with the international context after the end of the Second World War of clashes between Russia and the USA, and in any way has nothing to do with the alleged "communist" or "proletarian" character of one in relation to the bourgeois character of the other. Both wanted the development of capitalism in China; it is just that one of them wanted it on the lap of the Western imperialisms and the other wanted it through a much more radical democratic-bourgeois revolution, consistently with the Stalinist-Maoist ideology which supported it, and acting more consequentially in relation to Sun Yat-Sen than those who hoisted the name of his party. We can see the result of the profound bourgeois revolution which

happened in China, which overcame a situation of Asian feudalism which had lasted more than two millennia, in its present situation in the context the international imperialism in contraposition, for example, to India, where the bourgeois revolution happened more faint-heartedly and inconsistently led by the group created around the British agent Gandhi. Indeed: *"Otherwise, this Chinese bourgeoisie, heir of a high culture, also scientific, of the previous dominant classes, has been quickly placed at par with the Western regarding technical knowledge. Moreover, it has done it, except a minority, without surrendering, even if due to a nationalist feeling, to the capitalism of foreign empires. And besides, from 1912, it has fought with weapons and a lot of courage against feudalism and against central and provincial despotism, setting itself to the head of the masses in revolt, even getting rid of the terrible inertia."* (*Economical and Social Structure of Today's Russia, point 94.- Russia and China*) Just as we wrote in *Il Programma Comunista #4 in 1960* (in a moment in which we were the only current saying it): *"Asides, China has always been, over the centuries, the greatest Asiatic power. If, after 100 years of eclipse, it would retake the place that the Celestial Empire had among the Asiatic and worldwide powers, under a "communist" regime, only the inexperienced could be surprised of that."*

Summarizing, coming back to the same text quoted above: *"Our thesis is that the Maoist ideology is precisely a result of the revisionism (Stalinist, in this case) and of that socialist disguise of tasks which are tightly national bourgeois. This very same disguise has been, on the other hand, used by Stalinism, both in the international and the inner planes (where it has identified its industrial capitalist draft with the «building of the socialism in a single country»), and so breaking with the Bolshevism, with the doctrine and practice of the international revolution.*

*In an ultra-synthetic way, it can be said that «Maoism» and its «theoretical» expression, «Mao's thought», are the formalism of the Stalinist counterrevolution and the ideology of the democratic bourgeois revolution in China, which has been born tightly linked to the crushing of the Chinese proletariat in 1927, precisely thanks to the good trade of Stalinism, «organizer of defeats» and «gravedigger of the revolution». (...)*

*The movement which we, for the sake of convenience, call «Maoist», is, therefore, heir of the Stalinist neo-Menshevism, and it is also proclaimed as the continuator of Kuomintang. However, while the Mensheviks, the revolutionary socialists, etc., were waiting for the bourgeois-democratic transformation of the constituent assemblies of the rickety democracy typical from belated areas, and becoming, like Trotsky appropriately highlighted with regard to the revolutionary socialists, in a pure and simple «agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie», Mao's movement has achieved historically the bourgeois revolution against the mercenary revolution of imperialism, personified in Chiang Kai-Shek, or at least competing against it, although the Stalinist pressed until Mao's victory in order to subordinate the peasant and plebeian forces to the old responsible of the*

*massacre of workers in Canton and Shanghai, just like in 1927 the proletarian forces were subordinated. (...)*

*By achieving «its» bourgeois revolution, Maoism has been forced to deviate from Stalinism, precisely because of its nationalism; but just because it was not and could not be internationalist, it has been forced also to follow Stalinist paths (hence its worship to Stalin), with the difference that, since it did not benefit from a vigorous impulse of a revolution like October's, it was not forced to crush the opposition from a party like the Bolshevik's party, which did not intend to quit on internationalism or (both things are indissolubly linked) to the «ulterior development» of the democratic revolution on the economic-social level [This in no way means that Maoism did not exterminate the few revolutionary elements which were inspired by the leftist international opposition, like, for example, just to name one, Ciu Li-Ming. On his part, Hô-Chi-Minh had Ta Thu-Tau, protagonist of the Canton Commune, shot].*

Indeed, the radical Chinese nationalism in which Maoism consists on was after and created a country just with the same imperialist longings of any other capitalist power. From the beginnings of the PRC we may verify its imperialist character (War of Korea, failed invasion of Vietnam after the American defeat), which concludes with its entry in the UN and the subsequent recognition, by part of all the imperialisms, as just like any other member of the heir of the League of Nations which Lenin called the cave of bandits. Following the same text:

*"Maoism wanted to be and has proclaimed itself the heir of Sun Yat-sen and the first Kuomintang... (...)*

*Lenin proved it very clearly in «Democracy and Narodism in China»:*

*«This Chinese progressive democrat (Sun Yat-sen) reasons, literally, like a Russian. His resemblance with a Russian populist is such that there is a perfect identity in the basic ideas and in multiple expressions (...). Let us consider, with the example of Sun Yat-sen, which is the social significance of the ideas begotten by the revolutionary movement of hundreds and millions of hundreds of people, which are dragged irreversibly now in the current of the universal capitalist civilization (...). The East has chosen, definitely, the path of the West (...); new hundreds of millions of people will participate from now on in the struggle for the ideals which the West has already made its own. The western bourgeoisie is rotten, already facing its gravedigger, the proletariat. In Asia, on the contrary, there is still a bourgeoisie capable of representing a consistent democracy, honest and militant, a bourgeoisie which is worthy companion of the great preachers and the great men of action of the end of the French 18<sup>th</sup> century. »*

*«The main representative or the main prop of this Asiatic bourgeoisie, still capable of a historical progressive task, is the peasant. Near him there exists already a liberal bourgeoisie, the leaders of which like Yuan Shi-kai (we could add Chiang Kai-Shek, ed.) are capable of treason, over all: yesterday, they feared the emperor and they revered him; afterwards, when they have*

*seen the strength, when they have felt the victory of the revolutionary democracy, they have betrayed the emperor; tomorrow, they will betray the democrats in order to deal with some old emperor or some new "constitutional" emperor.»*

*«Without the great and candid democratic impetus which inflames the worker masses and turns them capable of making miracles (...), the liberation of the Chinese people from its secular slavery would be impossible (...). Such an impetus implies and engenders the most honest sympathy towards the situation of the worker masses, the most burning hatred towards those repressing and exploiting them. But in Europe and America, for the vanguardist Chinese, all the Chinese, in that they have lived that impetus, have taken these liberating ideas, what is already the order of the day is the liberation from the yoke of the bourgeoisie, that is, socialism. Inevitably, that is where the sympathy of the Chinese democrats towards socialism, their subjective socialism (...) derives from. However, what the objective conditions in China, a backward country, agricultural, semi-feudal, make the order of the day, is just the suppression of a specific form, historically defined, of this enslavement and exploitation: feudalism (...).»*

*«And ideas and programs subjectively socialist of the Chinese democrat give birth in reality to a program of "change of all the legal basis" of the "real state property", just a program of annihilation of the feudal exploitation».*

*«This theory, when considered from the point of view of the doctrine, is a theory of "socialist" reactionary petty-bourgeois (...). The dialectics of the social relations in China consist solely on that the Chinese democrats, candidly sympathizing with the Socialism in Europe, have transformed it in a reactionary theory, and that over the basis of this reactionary theory of "prevention" of capitalism, they apply an agricultural program purely capitalist, as capitalist as it might get!». (...)*

*...Maoism has represented in reality a block of petty-bourgeois and peasant forces, which replaces the traditional, national bourgeoisie. (...)*

*Product and apology of the democratic bourgeois revolution in China, which extent and importance are considerable; «Mao's thought» is, under certain aspects –and not the lesser ones– the child of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. (...)*

*Indeed, the text from August, 1937: "On Contradiction" (as well as that from 20 years later, "On the correct handling of contradictions among the people") used to justify inter-classism, and, above all, the alliance with Kuomintang, which, in 1927, had physically destroyed the Chinese communist movement with the blessings of Stalin. All the more, as we pointed out very often, it was not only a new type of alliance, but more about an adoption of programmatic directives and the role of Kuomintang, by giving them a real demo-revolutionary content, a peasant-revolutionary content, in sum, of a transformation of the pseudo CPC, in a monstrous "two-class" party, in a true Kuomintang. ("Mao's thought")*

We also nailed this down in our text "Formation and structures of ancient China. Class and state struggles in the world of non-white peoples. Vital historical field for Marxist revolutionary critique", from where we take the following excerpt:

*"The point of fundamental dissension was that of the relations between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, that is, the party of the democratic revolution; having the International led the former (weakening it and submitting it to the alliance and even confusion with the latter), to defeat and ruin, the moment in which Chiang Kai-shek suddenly attacked and exterminated the Chinese communists, which were, back then, contrary to the present ones, following the path of the classist and revolutionary Marxism. (...)*

*Indeed, it will be the complete degeneration of the political directives regarding national and colonial matters, which were approved on the II Congress of the International (July-August 1920) what will channel over a mistaken path the movement of peasants and workers controlled by the Communist Party of China, allowing Kuomintang to break the alliance with the CPC with impunity, alliance which, precisely at the end of that period, is reestablished and put into practice. (...)*

*Stalinist historiography traditionally defines this dramatic development of the first Chinese civil war as the «betrayal» of Chiang Kai-shek. But if the words refer to the content of class of the events, it may be noted that, when talking about «betrayal», it was not the henchmen of Kuomintang which were accused of it, who had imposed the Communist Party of China (the left wing opposed to it in vain) to totally sacrifice the program of the «double revolution», which had been pursued by Marx and Engels in 1848 in Germany and victoriously put in practice by Lenin in 1917 in Russia. (...)*

*But the open conflict with KMT is not good for, certainly, putting the CPC over the Platform of the Second Congress of the Communist International. On the contrary, in concomitance with the development of the politics of the Russian state, which moves determined towards the final crushing of Bolshevism, the left wing of the CPC is completely defeated and the direction of the party is assumed by the current of Mao Tse-tung (1934), the same that, facing the victory over the KMT, will have to set up in China the popular Republic founded over the block of the «four classes». (...)*

*The bourgeois China of Kuomintang, as we have explained, consolidated its position but shifted its program more towards the right, until it preferred, as it was expected, and in the same spirit as the Thiers of Versailles, to have a pact with the Japanese foreigner, over risking a victorious Shanghai or Nanjing Commune.*

*At this point, the same ones which had betrayed, by trampling the lesson of the international revolutionary Marxism (which easily would have used those who would not have blasphemed yet, by saying that the national paths to socialism are different, and that the socialism in each country is made on its own), represented in front of the world what is boasted as a victory*

*over the Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek, consisting on having expelled him, in order to put his program in practice, that which Kuomintang and Sun Yat-sen started with, for a leftist Chinese bourgeoisie which has renounced its passage to a socialist revolution, with the reason of calling socialism, as in Russia, to a state capitalism in an even inferior degree, since it is not only limited to industry, but also in this sector is self-limited to the 50%, left in hands of a private bourgeoisie, fourth class of the block.*

*This sour vicissitude shows how the path of bourgeois counterrevolution is not national, nor continental, but the same in Europe and Asia, in France and China, with the difference of phase of a century.*" (Formation and structures of ancient China. Class and state struggles in the world of non-white peoples. Vital historical field for Marxist revolutionary critique)

Neither the "great leap forward" nor the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" had anything to do with communism, both are events which occurred in the context of the process of primitive accumulation and struggles among different sectors over the control of the state apparatus, over which we, due to space constraints, will have to stop in more detail in another occasion.

Facing the quick conclusion of the primitive accumulation and the need of introducing new technologies, the so-called "openness" led by Deng Xiaoping finally imposed itself. This was a step which, on one hand, has some other parallelisms in the historical struggle between free trade and protectionism in the various capitalist countries, and on the other hand, was made most consistently with the original Maoism, from which it could be sourced with no issues in order to celebrate the benefits of a "socialism with Chinese characteristics".

The exquisitely capitalist development which followed in the subsequent years, led by the Maoist policy of the Hukou, which allowed (and still partially allows) the most brutal exploitation of ex peasants proletarianized in cities (and in which context the greatest proletarianization *en masse* in the history of mankind, to date, happened), grouped the population even further in the big cities (for example, Shenzhen grew exponentially during those years, growing from a fishermen town to a metropolis, within the bosom of the free trade zone promoted by Deng Xiaoping) and generated endless tensions which had their zenith in the strike movements occurring all around the country in the dates prior to the so-called Tiananmen massacre in Beijing (June 1989), which were repressed brutally by the government and which, facing the complete absence of any organized communist party and with influence among the masses, were finally defeated. It is important to mention that the movement occurring those days was initially a worker movement, and that the students only joined it later, and following it, albeit managing this way, even if partially inadvertently, feedbacked the strike movement. The government could have tolerated the student protests for months, but decided to trigger the repression at national level, by deploying the army in every corner, the moment in which the strike movement seemed

capable of challenging the state (which, in a significant fraction of the cases, was *de facto* and *de jure* the same thing as the employer). We cannot help highlighting the resemblances between the coverage by the western bourgeois press of the events in 1989 and the recent events in Jasic, in regard to the repression to students and specifically, to students in Beijing, tiptoeing around the repression suffered by workers and in many other places.

Back then we wrote: *"With this data we intend to show that the China of 1985 is not the China of 1949, nor the China of 1959, nor that of 1969, nor that of 1979. China got fully into the whirlwind of the worldwide market with its industrial products, and the relations of production and property in agriculture have been revolutionized in such a way, accelerating the ejection of hundreds of millions of poor peasants towards the cities and towards the burgs and villas, that they are the true reasons of the explosive situation lived in May-June 1989. (...)*

*That is, a surge of workers in search of any kind of employment. Canton flooded by 2.5 million peasants in a little more than a month. Some figures said more than 50 million people were living in the streets of Chinese cities at the end of April, coming from abandonment and massive ejections in agriculture. That is, coming from the agricultural reform of April 1988 put in practice, and the resulting concentration of the land, accelerated by the bad harvest of the preceding year. These are some of the reasons which provoked the situation of the past Spring. (...)*

#### *The student movement*

*Facing a situation which was socially explosive, such as the one which China lived last March-April, with the familiar and social links shattered in few years, students, together with a fraction of the state and the bourgeoisie, tried to denounce this situation their way and look for the most democratic exit in order to prevent this barrel of gunpowder from exploding and bury them all. (...)*

*"Like in last 4<sup>th</sup> of May, during the past two days industrial workers have overcome students in a ratio of ten to one, especially in Beijing, but also in another 21 Chinese cities in which the wave of protests spread..." (Cinco Días, 19 May 1989) This already prevented the end of the spiral of demonstrations and worker strikes, prevented the peaceful end of the incantation which the golden boys had unwittingly set in motion. The government declared martial law, and not precisely against the students. (...)* "The students have asked the workers to come back to their jobs so that the security forces would not have a reason to repress the movement" (El País, 23 May 1989). *The workers did not obey the students, whose democratic and institutional "struggle" was circumscribed to the support of the bourgeois faction of Zhao Ziyang, against the no less bourgeois faction of Deng Xiaoping – Li Peng and to denounce the corruption of the rulers and their relatives, and therefore it became necessary for the bourgeois State to impose social peace by force. (...)*

The average monthly salary is 100 yuan, around 3,000 peseta, although inflation is constantly eroding it, provoking an explosive situation among the salaried workers: "The protest lost its exclusively student character three days ago and has become a very serious social uprising, which is difficult to channel given the amalgam of different sectors participating in it" (*El País*, 19 May 1989). Strikes were spreading further, even though the right to strike was illegal, since it was removed from the Constitution of 1982 (*Cinco Días*, 15 August 1989). And the very "vice director of the Union Federation said last week that the first semester of the current year there have been 49 strikes" (*ibid*). And, when in 1982 the right to strike was forbidden, it was because the salaried workers were exercising it." (The integration of China in the world market and the dissolution of agricultural family economy are the cause of last May-June clashes, *El Comunista* #19, November 1989)

The quick development process carried on hand in hand with the brutal proletarianization of the Chinese peasantry:

*"The reservation of workforce*

*The so-called Chinese miracle has been sustained by the massive emigration from the countryside to the cities. In the bourgeois China of Mao and Deng the free circulation of people was forbidden. A transit permit was required, and another one of residence. These controls were not abolished until February-March 2003. There were times in which this fluctuating population, illegal Chinese inner emigration, with no permits, WITH NO PAPERS, had overcome the 200 million salaried workers who had abandoned the agricultural cooperatives (true subsistence economy) to sell their arms in the cities, in the factories, in the construction of dwellings, offices, roads, railways, ports, airports, dams, power plants, etc.*

*With exhaustive working days, very often sleeping outdoors, with a small backpack as all their belongings (as narrated more than 15 years ago the western chroniclers), millions and millions of modern slaves, with their work and their miseries, have modernized China. The rate of surplus value pulled out from our Chinese class siblings, by yellow, black and white capitalists, has made this leap possible, this modernization of an enormous power which was already dominant during 18 of the last 20 centuries. This experience, this memory of the dominating Chinese classes through history, together with the atomic armament, intercontinental ballistic missiles and their satellites crossing the space, are what have absolutely blocked the massive attack and destruction appetites, appetites from the North American imperialism. England, by yielding Hong Kong to China, accepted the development of this power, by assuming an important role in the integration of China in the world market. (China: low prices of merchandises overthrow world's borders... preparing the 3rd World War, *El Comunista* #43, May 2004)*

Summarizing: *"The opium wars in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century blew the stale power of the feudal and pre-feudal Chinese society, while crushing the great radical-democratic revolutionary movement of the Tai Ping during the decades of*

*1850-60, delaying in 100 years the great bourgeois revolution of 1949, with Mao or Chinese flavor. But having kept China like an English protectorate or Japanese colony.*

*The North American and English armadas also forced Japan to open its borders, by systematically bombing its coastline. During the 20s-30s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japan tried to colonize Asia by expelling the English colonialists. A Japanese attempt which resulted in its defeat during the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. Then, from another level, much lower, of the development of the productive forces, Indonesia, India and China took over from Japan.*

*In 1954, France was defeated in Dien Bien Phu and expelled from Indochina, being taken over by USA which would be, in turn, defeated in 1975 in Saigon and expelled from Indochina. Starting in 1975 the so-called Asian tigers (South Korea – Malaysia – Indonesia – Singapore – Thailand – Taiwan, and later Vietnam) are shaped, and finally the big DRAGON was conformed, that is, China.*

*The alliance between the USA and the European Union crushed Japan with the costs of the two wars against Iraq, with the limitation of the exports to the USA and UE and with the puncturing of Tokyo's stock market since 1990, with the sudden plunge of the Japanese real estate value, as well as that of the companies and banks, provoking and indebtedness of the Japanese state which is currently equivalent to 160% of the GDP. Here, like in 1945-49, China and Asia take over Japan in the fight of defending the development of the productive forces and the conquest of the world market based on the low prices of their merchandises.*

*The great development of the productive forces and the commercial exchanges in the geohistorical area of Asia has already granted them the primacy in the world ranking. The relative crisis of overproduction of 1997-98 strongly affected all Asiatic countries but the great DRAGON, China, which carried on with its march towards the conquest of the industrial and financial world HEGEMONY." (The role of China – Asia in world's production, *El Comunista* #47, May 2008)*

### **Marx and Engels expected the revolution in China**

We do not want to conclude this text without mentioning, even if succinctly, the position of Marx and Engels in regard to the events which happened in China during their lives, from the first opium war, always deemed as imperialistic banditry, to their description of the Tai Ping revolt, and the following two imperialistic interventions (the so-called second and third opium wars, which were followed, after the deaths of Marx and Engels, by the so-called Boxer Rebellion, and imperialistic intervention carried out by a coalition of eight countries), which concluded with the burning of the Summer Palace and led to the treaties of Tien Tsin (Tianjin) first, and then Beijing, which aggravated the consequences of the first Nanjing treaty. We quote again our text "Formation and structures of ancient China":

*"The idea that there might be concomitance in the action against capitalism in the white metropolis between the class*



*struggle, inner of workers, and the rebellion of the nations overseas against the incursions and colonial vexation, is not in Marxism, like some might believe, from the times in which Lenin provided his examination of the bourgeois imperialism between the last two centuries, but dates from much earlier, since Engels and Marx.*

*In the «Neue Rheinische Zeitung» of February 1850, Engels refers to the texts of a well-known Christian missionary, Gutzlaff, which had been in China for more than thirty years in a row, and was returning to Europe during the famous revolt of the Taiping; which exploded among the little peasants against the monarchy of Beijing, caused by the severe crisis which was initiated towards 1840 when England, then followed by other European powers, imposed China the opening of its ports to commerce, particularly to the commerce of opium, severely disturbing the finances of the empire and the economy of the country. The Taiping movement assumed attitudes of disapproval of the private property of the land in general, and not only of attacking the feudal nobility and the state bureaucracy which sustained it. In his great lines, Engels describes this social movement, highlighting that the economic origin of the revolutionary movements is an historical fact, which is also completely verified in that distant nation which is thrown outside millenary immobilism. He concludes: «When, after twenty years of absence, mister Gutzlaff returned among the civilized people and the European, he exclaimed, horrified: Then, will I not be able to run away from this pernicious doctrine, anywhere? This is precisely the same question which has been preached, by multiple persons, in the Chinese nation for a long time! ».*

*Engels continues: «It is very likely that Chinese socialism is related to the European as much as Chinese philosophy to Hegel's (the tone is funny, but maybe, some very original positions of the ancient thinker Lao-Tse could be considered dialectical). However, whatever it is, it is a comforting fact that the oldest and most irremovable Empire on Earth has been set, in a lapse of eight years (by the bales of cotton of the English bourgeoisie) in the verge of a social revolution which must have, absolutely, the most important consequences to the history of civilization. When, finally, our European reactionaries, on their next escape through Asia will reach the great wall, certain that its doors will open over the home of ultra-reaction and ultraconservatism, who knows if they will not read this inscription: Chinese Republic: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity».*

*With this short note, the great Engels wanted to affirm precisely that in China, just like anywhere else, we also expect that the cycle of social forms will have the same stages, and that the feudal China will be, like in France, followed by a republican capitalist social form, theater of a class struggle for socialism.*

*Something which has already historically happened, even in 1911, with the revolution of Sun Yat-sen, and after another long series of aggressions from European colonialism on the coasts of the Celestial Empire, drowned in the long struggle. (...)*

*England, which had interest in establishing an «open doors» regime, triggered the first opium war, from 1839 to 1842, and China had to, with the treaty of Nanjing, surrender and open, in addition to Canton, Amoy, Fu-chow, Ning-po and Shanghai, yielding Hong Kong to Great Britain, which made it its colony.*

*Meanwhile, the United States and Russia throw their first pretensions, in 1850 the great movement of the Taiping starts, which seized vast provinces and had its capital in Nanjing from 1853 to 1864. The rebels killed landowners and mandarins of the empire, refusing the unbearable rates, refusing the vice from drugs and opium, even when not being against trading with foreigners, threw egalitarian and communist slogans. Mao Tse-tung, when dealing with the long series of wars of the Chinese peasantry, refers to the agrarian law of the Taiping which, without a doubt, is of true communist content, much more than those thrown by him, Mao, in that it is not about distribution, nor property, nor exercise: «ALL THE LAND UNDER THE SKY WILL HAVE TO BE FARMED BY ALL THE PEOPLE WHICH ARE UNDER THE SKY... LET THEM ALL FARM IT TOGETHER AND, WHEN THEY HARVEST THE RICE, LET THEM ALL EAT IT TOGETHER». The Taiping were not Utopian: they kept a state which lasted 14 years, brigades of state artisans, laws such as that no person should be malnourished or badly dressed...*

*In 1856, with an infamous pretext, England and France triggered the second opium war which, after horrible massacres, led to the treaty of Tien-t'sin with England. The war is resumed until the sanguinary conquest and pillage of Beijing, in 1860. China had to make many other concessions to the Europeans in the treaty of Beijing, which worsens that of Tien-t'sin. A joint army of the Emperor and the Europeans, in 1864, crushed the heroic Taiping, and enters Nanjing making rivers of blood run.» (Formation and structures of ancient China. Class and state struggles in the world of non-white peoples. Vital historical field for Marxist revolutionary critique)*

## **Conclusions**

In China, like in the rest of the world, the distinct groups of proletarians which feel the need of organizing themselves for the immediate struggle, must refuse the line of yellow unionism and assume progressively the task of building the class union, with no subsidies from the patron or the state, even when this task must be clandestine.

And in order to achieve it, these groups of workers must break ideologically with Maoism in its different versions and assume the historical lessons of the degeneration of the International and the disaster of the Chinese revolution (1927), a necessary starting point for resuming the class struggle in a bigger scale, recovering the red thread of true Marxism, truncated in China for so many years and also in most of the world due to the tremendous defeats of those years.

In this recovery of the theory and the defeats of the worker movement, workers must be organized autonomously and must not look for or count on the support from inter-classist movements like that of the "students". Specific individuals

coming from these environments might eventually support the proletarian movement, but only under the condition that they abandon completely their original points of view and embrace those of the proletariat, without reservations.

In the present world, like it was a century ago, the reorganization of the Chinese worker movement over classist foundations is an essential need of the international proletariat, getting ready to spread the motto of the revolutionary defeatism in the framework of the less and less distant outbreak of the third world slaughter, only bourgeois exit to the crisis, in which the capitalist and imperialistic Chinese state will have to play a

## **DEFLATION IS A PRODUCT OF THE OVERPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL AND MERCHANDISES (from El Comunista #63 – September 2019)**

Capitalists develop their productive forces. They try to do it indefinitely, but again and again they clash with the development of the productive forces of other capitalists and, ultimately, they always end up colliding with the limits of the local and world MARKET. The purpose they pursue is the indefinite increase of the surplus value, of the Profit. Riding on the backs of the increase of the Production for the Production that ends up colliding with the limits of the Market, that at a given moment can no longer absorb (with an acceptable profit rate) those floods of Merchandises produced under the regime of the Anarchy of production for the Market marshland:

*“The **real barrier** of capitalist production is **capital itself**. It is that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and the closing point, the motive and the purpose of production; that production is only production for **capital** and not vice versa, the means of production are not mere means for a constant expansion of the living process of the **society** of producers. The limits within which the preservation and self-expansion of the value of capital resting on the expropriation and pauperisation of the great mass of producers can alone move – these limits come continually into conflict with the methods of production employed by capital for its purposes, which drive towards unlimited extension of production, towards production as an end in itself, towards unconditional development of the social productivity of labour. The means – unconditional development of the productive forces of society – comes continually into conflict with the limited purpose, the self-expansion of the existing capital. The capitalist mode of production is, for this reason, a historical means of developing the material forces of production and creating an appropriate world-market and is, at the same time, a continual conflict between this its historical task and its own corresponding relations of social production” (Capital, Book III)*

The whole process leads to concentration:

*“At a certain high point this increasing concentration in its turn causes a new fall in the rate of profit. The mass of small dispersed capitals is thereby driven along the adventurous road of speculation, credit frauds, stock swindles, and crises” (Capital, Book III)*

*“Overproduction of capital, not of individual commodities – although over-production of capital always includes over-production of commodities – is therefore simply over-*

preponderant role in regard to its condition of (already) first economic world power.

**For the resumption of the class struggle in China and worldwide!**

**For the reconstruction of the classist union!**

**Let us break the submission to inter-classist movements like that of the students!**

**For the ideological independence of the working class from bourgeois ideologies like Maoism!**

*accumulation of capital. To appreciate what this over-accumulation is (its closer analysis follows later), one need only assume it to be absolute. When would over-production of capital be absolute? Overproduction which would affect not just one or another, or a few important spheres of production, but would be absolute in its full scope, hence would extend to all fields of production?*

*There would be absolute over-production of capital as soon as additional capital for purposes of capitalist production = 0. The purpose of capitalist production, however, is self-expansion of capital, i.e., appropriation of surplus-labour, production of surplus-value, of profit.” (Capital, Book III)*

*“In reality, it would appear that a portion of the capital would lie completely or partially idle (because it would have to crowd out some of the active capital before it could expand its own value), and the other portion would produce values at a lower rate of profit, owing to the pressure of unemployed or but partly employed capital. It would be immaterial in this respect if a part of the additional capital were to take the place of the old capital, and the latter were to take its position in the additional capital. We should still always have the old sum of capital on one side, and the sum of additional capital on the other. The fall in the rate of profit would then be accompanied by an absolute decrease in the mass of profit, since the mass of employed labour-power could not be increased and the rate of surplus-value raised under the conditions we had assumed, so that the mass of surplus-value could not be increased either. And the reduced mass of profit would have to be calculated on an increased total capital” (Capital, Book III)*

And all the process leads to the general clash to determine what capitalists pay the crisis:

*“A portion of the old capital has to lie unused under all circumstances; it has to give up its characteristic quality as capital, so far as acting as such and producing value is concerned. The competitive struggle would decide what part of it would be particularly affected. So long as things go well, competition effects an operating fraternity of the capitalist class, as we have seen in the case of the equalisation of the general rate of profit, so that each shares in the common loot in proportion to the size of his respective investment. But as soon as it no longer is a question of sharing profits, but of sharing losses, everyone tries to reduce his own share to a minimum and to shove it off upon another. The class, as such, must inevitably lose. How much the individual capitalist must bear of the loss,*

*i.e., to what extent he must share in it at all, is decided by strength and cunning, and competition then becomes a fight among hostile brothers. The antagonism between each individual capitalist's interests and those of the capitalist class, then comes to the surface, just as previously the identity of these interests operated in practice through competition.*" (Capital, Book III)

Also, capitalists end up badly for the overproduction:

*"Over-production of capital is never anything more than over-production of means of production –of means of labour and necessities of life – which may serve as capital, i.e., may serve to exploit labour at a given degree of exploitation; a fall in the intensity of exploitation below a certain point, however, calls forth disturbances, and stoppages in the capitalist production process, crises, and destruction of capital."* (Capital, Book III)

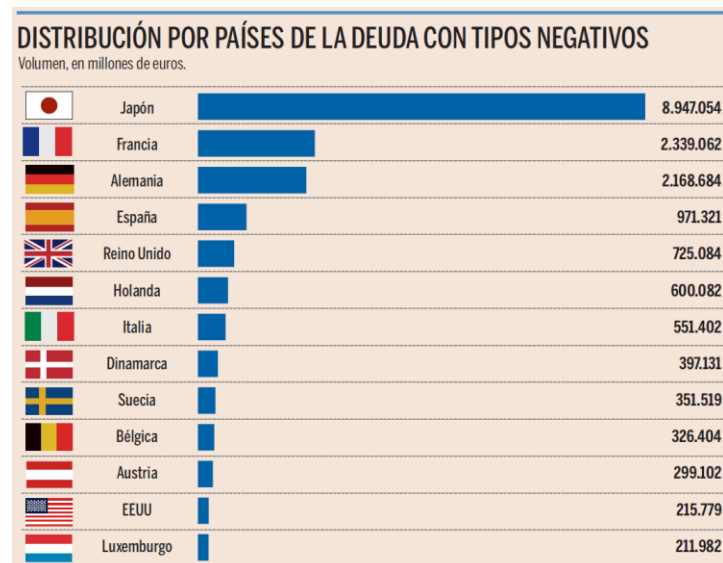
*"The same occurs when there is an overproduction of commodities, when markets are overstocked. Since the aim of capital is not to minister to certain wants, but to produce profit, and since it accomplishes this purpose by methods which adapt the mass of production to the scale of production, not vice versa, a rift must continually ensue between the limited dimensions of consumption under capitalism and a production which forever tends to exceed this immanent barrier. Furthermore, capital consists of commodities, and therefore over-production of capital implies over-production of commodities. Hence the peculiar phenomenon of economists who deny over-production of commodities, admitting over-production of capital. To say that there is no general over-production, but rather a disproportion within the various branches of production, is no more than to say that under capitalist production the proportionality of the individual branches of production springs as a continual process from disproportionality, because the cohesion of the aggregate production imposes itself as a blind law upon the agents of production, and not as a law which, being understood and hence controlled by their common mind, brings the productive process under their joint control. It amounts furthermore to demanding that countries in which capitalist production is not developed, should consume and produce at a rate which suits the countries with capitalist production. If it is said that over-production is only relative, this is quite correct; but the entire capitalist mode of production is only a relative one, whose barriers are not absolute. They are absolute only for this mode, i.e., on its basis."* (Capital, Book III)

What happened? How has this gigantic overproduction of capital or money that cannot be productively reinvested been reached?

The economic Crack that began in 2008 in the US and spread across Europe and then Latin America, forced central banks to buy the (same) debt that had led banks, companies and insurers in the US and Europe to bankruptcy. The most blatant example is that of Lehman Brothers, General Motors, Chrysler, AIG (the world's first insurer whose rescue cost \$85,000 million), Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (whose rescue cost \$169,000 million). Another example is the €150,000 million that costed the restructuring of the banking groups of the Spanish capitalist state (Bankia and Caixa Catalunya) and the €662,000 million in which the financial assets of the Spanish banks were reduced. United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, etc, also had

widespread bankruptcy of companies and families with mortgages.

The central banks bought a good part of the debts, throwing BILLIONS and BILLIONS of dollars, euros, yens, pounds and francs into circulation. These debts transformed into circulating money by the financial system and by the companies have led to an overproduction of capital money (and to huge debts of the central banks, of the capitalist States, which someone will have to pay); money that cannot be productively invested, due to the overproduction of production means and the general fall of the rate of profit. And here we find the Capitalist Monster in its pure swelling state: loans with NEGATIVE interest rates. When money is borrowed, a loan, and an interest is paid by the one who grants the loan to the one who requested it, as shown in the following graphic:



We verify the gigantic amounts that are being lent at NEGATIVE interest rates. There are more than €22 billion of debt with negative interest rates, to be paid by the SOLVENT to whom the credit is borrowed. This is the DEFLATION raised to the third power. Money is still being lent at a negative interest rate when *"debt has risen since the crisis (2008) up to 245% of the world's Gross Domestic Product."* (Expansión, August 10, 2019), that is, about \$250 billion. This DEFLATION inexorably leads to a crisis of the 1929 type, but hundreds of times more powerful and harmful. The crisis that we integral Marxists are waiting for, as the Italian Communist Left established in the studies published in 1958-59:

*"(...) But, politically, we are not looking for the crisis of the worker, but the crisis of the capitalist. We liked the crisis of 1929 in which the remuneration of the proletariat was not ruined, but that of the owner was.*

*(...) The main feature of the great crisis of 1929 was the sudden collapse of the values of the industrial shares traded on the Stock Exchange. From October 21, 1929 to the 25th, **Black Friday**, the total of shareholding values that were passing from hand to hand in the colossal sales fell below half its value in a few **sessions** of the tumultuous negotiations. The story was in the anthology of ballads for many years.*

*(...) From 1929 to 1930 the industrial index fell 12.7%. From 1930 to 1931 17.3%. From 1931 to 1932, a **year of minimum**, no less than 21.6%. In the three annuities the drop*

or fall was 43.4%, that is, production fell more than half, to 56.6% since the maximum of 1929, which was already questioned by the crisis, which broke out in October. It can be affirmed that a crisis like that must **decimate the quantum** produced by the industry.

In those years the population [of the USA] grew from 121.8 to 124.9 million, that is, 2.5%. It can be said, then, that between the average of 1929 and the average of 1932 the real production at parity of inhabitants fell to 55.2%, without looking for monthly data, difficult to find, that would give even more.

Even leaving aside the relationship with the population increase, the three-year decrease of 43.4% is equivalent to the average negative annual rate of 17.3%, very relevant. A crisis of the calibre of that famous is thus defined as: time of the fall, 3 years; speed of fall, 17.3% of industrial production year after year.

The crisis of 1937-1938 lasted no more than a year, although it also appeared violent: in that single year, a loss of 26.4%. But it is enormously easier to return from 74.6 than from 56.6, and the remedy was **heroic**: war in Europe with huge orders to American industry (...)

In the real crisis all the mischiefs but inflation happened. The bankers blew their brains out - but with inflation they don't do it; they will pay with paper money without any value for the good currency received.

Indeed, here is the index of the cost of living, inverse to the purchasing power of the dollar. 1929: 172.7; 1930: 168.4; 1931: 153.5; 1932: 137.7

In 1929-32 **things were very different**. Inflation was conspicuous by its absence: prices sank, dreadfully at wholesale, generalizing terror among the bourgeoisie - less decidedly, but always enough to comfort the proletarians in part for the terrible unemployment, retail prices.

In the course of the three years, wholesale prices fell 31.6%, the index being, for 1913 = 100, decreased from 136.4 to 93.3. At the same time, the price of wholesale agricultural products, that is, for producers, decreased much more than the average: from 146.7 to 67.5, that is, the huge jump of 54%. Since then, the crisis of agriculture in the rich, cultivated and very tenacious America of the Capital and the Villain has not ended.

The prices paid by the consumer, that is, retail prices, also fell violently, but to a lesser extent. The general index fell 20.3%. But the food index, which concerns the poor classes more, fell from 165.4 to 107.9 and, therefore, 34.8%." (The course of world capitalism, 1958)

This type of crisis is what we have called the crisis of capital: prices fall, companies and banks go bankrupt and bankers threw themselves from the top of their buildings, committing suicide to avoid becoming proletarians.

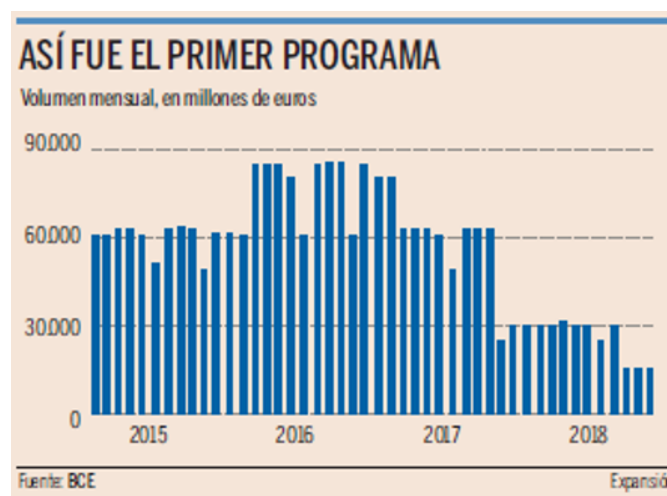
Faced with the current situation of DEFLATIONAL crisis, what are the proposals and actions of the international bourgeoisie? More of the same! The bourgeois fantasy of being able to solve the overproduction crisis through monetary measures is not

new: "The entire artificial system of forced expansion of the reproduction process cannot, of course, be remedied by having some bank, like the Bank of England, give to all the swindlers the deficient capital by means of its paper and having it buy up all the depreciated commodities at their old nominal values" (Capital, Book III)

These fantasies are as old as they are useless to overcome the crisis of overproduction, but at the same time the bourgeoisie cannot stop in its super-productivity madness no matter how illusive it is.

A year ago, the ECB (European Central Bank) announced its attempt to curb the purchase of private and public assets (although it maintained the deposit facility at -0.4% and interest rates at 0%):

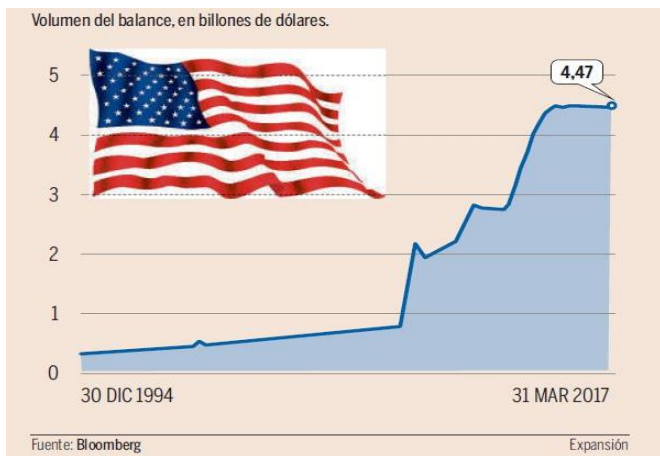
"The ECB today has put a final date to the European QE [Quantitative Easing], which totals €2.4 billion (more than twice the Spanish GDP) since 2015. Purchases of debt and other actives will end at the end of the year, unless inflation and other indicators give surprises. And the first rises of interest rates could come in the summer of 2019." (El País, June 15, 2018)



What has come on summer 2019 instead of the increase of the interest rates?

The European Central Bank agreed on September the 12th 2019 to relaunch more "monetary measures" as antidote or vaccine against the deflationary crisis based in the overproduction of capitals: "BCE unload a big part of its artillery in last Thursday meeting. Deposit facility, the rate that it charges the Banks for their deposits, goes from the previous -0,40% to -0,50%, as it was expected." (Expansión, September 13 2019) and "Since November the 1st, the ECB will buy assets on a rate of € 20 billion a month." (Expansión, September 13 2019).

That is to say, they try to extinguish the FIRE of excess capital by throwing on that capital more GASOLINE, more money, more capital, when, to a large extent, it has been the massive purchase of public and private debt, since 2009, by the Federal Reserve of USA, the European Central Bank, the Japanese Central Bank, etc. what has swollen the current capital overproduction. In this way, "The Federal Reserve began to accumulate Treasury debt, corporate and mortgage-backed assets during the financial crisis to stimulate the US economy, to a maximum of \$4.5 billion." (Expansión, March 21, 2019)



Neither can American capitalism put the brakes on the deflation caused by the relative overproduction of capital. In 2014 the stop in the quantitative expansion program was announced:

*"The Federal Reserve has ended this Wednesday the programme of massive purchase of financial assets and mortgage loans to flood the markets with liquidity and stimulate the US economy. November will be the first month of the last 37 in which the Fed will not buy debt, which means leaving the first economy on the planet without the engine that started pumping money in 2008, after the Lehman Brothers catastrophe.*

*The bank statement states that interest rates will remain at 0% for a "considerable" period of time, probably until mid-2015 (the Fed will maintain an asset balance of 4.5 billion dollars) (...)"* (El País, October 29, 2014)

In 2016, they started trying to raise interest rates and reduce the balance of assets. But every time they try to move forward on this path, the follow-up earthquakes bring them to retrace their steps. First was the reduction in the interest rate that had been rising shyly to a maximum of 2.5% as well as the slowdown in the reduction of their balance, announced in March:

*"The Fed puts on hold interest rate rises until 2020. (...) the Fed announced that it could begin to slow down the reduction of its balance sheet in May, reducing the limit of Treasury debt repayments from the current \$30,000 million to \$15,000 million, to stop the reduction in September. The balance will then reach \$3.5 billion"* (Expansión, March 21, 2019)



And now, September 2019: *"A short-circuit in this market rapidly increased the interest rate of one-day interbank loans on Tuesday, which rose to 10% in the US, compared to the 2% where it usually stays. The Federal Reserve has intervened four times, yesterday was the last one, injecting \$75,000 million each time (...). And it will continue to do so until October 10, to*

*add more than a billion dollars injected into the system."* (Expansión, September 21, 2019)

That is, the US injects more than \$1 billion until October 10 in the finance system. This firefighter tries to extinguish the fire with a gigantic mass of gasoline, which leads to the appearance of a much larger fire in a few weeks or months...It is logical that capitalism intends to drown its diseases with more injections of capitalism, the same as the heroin addict tries to overcome his withdrawal syndrome with more injections of heroin that provoke even bigger withdrawal symptoms.

The situation of bonds in the US reflects plastically the big accumulated contradictions. Typically, longer-term loans have a higher interest than short-term loans, but:

*"(...) the rate curve in the US is reversed. For the first time in more than a decade [precisely in the wake of the current crisis, we add] investors ask for more interest in two-year bonds than in 10 (...)"* (Expansión, August 8, 2019) Translation: Investor capitalists in the US see their immediate future equally or more worrisome than their 10-year future.

If in the US, interbank interest rates get out of control and force new injections of capitalist heroin, in the EU, due to more injections carried out (and, dialectically, due to so many injections) the interbank interest rates have been negative for years now.

This is the evolution of the EURIBOR since 1999, in negative since February 2016 (date in which it was at -0.0080):



The EURIBOR (acronym for Euro Interbank Offered Rate or "European type of interbank offer") is the average interest rate at which a large number of European banks (the panel of banks) lend euros to each other.

The EONIA (acronym for Euro Over Night Index Average, that is, the average interbank interest rate with a period of validity of 1 day) is negative since 2014...

The fact that the EONIA and the EURIBOR are negative means nothing else but that when a bank asks another bank for money, it is not the one who asks that pays an interest to the lender, but the bank that lends the money the one that has to pay an interest to the bank that is requesting the credit!

The contradiction in which capitalism is entangled with the relative overproduction of capitals cannot be more graphic. What can we the modern slaves of capital expect of rational or human from this cannibal system addicted to its heroin injections? Only more overspend, waste and destruction: more overproduction, more layoffs, higher work hours, more uncontrollable fires, more floods due to the abandonment of stream beds, more famines, more wars, more pests and destruction of productive forces.

*"Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeois and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises, a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."*

(Manifesto of the Communist Party)

But how could this deep economic crisis be transformed into a revolutionary crisis?

***"The true and proper crisis that will historically arise between the second and third world wars will be international, even more than the one between the first and second wars, and there is proof of what we have been underlining in the collaboration of the Russian state capitalism in the "anti-crisis measures"; collaboration that, culminating in the therapy of the extension of world trade between the two alleged blocks, even with its only ideological presentation, on the contrary, is proving, with dialectical force, that the next true crisis of world overproduction, will be the crisis of superproductive madness that unites the USA and the USSR in the emulative competition praised by both.***

***And this crisis will place the world on the eve of another general war, if not placed on the eve of revolution, one of its conditions is the development, which requires decades, of a party whose programme is destructive of the "myth of producing" and the "myth of consuming", linked by the "mercantile myth".***

*The data available today confirms this position as a whole and we, as far as it goes, have tried to claim and summarize them.*" (II Programma Com. No. 9-1958: "The Course of World

Capitalism in the Historical Experience and in the Marx Doctrine").

Continuing with another passage of the same text of 1958:

*"It is very evident that we are neither on the eve of the Third World War nor on that of the great interwar crisis, which cannot be developed until a few years' time, when the word of emulation and Peace has come to reveal its economic contents: the **single world market**. Then the crisis will not leave any State out."*

*"If the crisis never arrives, they, arm in arm with Keynes and Spengler and the intoxicated science of America, will have defeated us, Marx, Lenin, and us, faraway chicks of the red Chanteclair. And we would lower the crest.*

*But if a crisis came, as it will come, not only will Marxism have succeeded. Stalin's fierce laugh will no longer be able to sound behind the whistle of the first missiles, but it won't be worth anything that, according to his dirty fashion, Kruschev and fellows blaspheme against themselves. By the curtain, turned into an emulative spider web, the universal mercantile crisis will also bite the heart of the young Russian industry. **This will be the result of having unified the markets and made the vital circulation of the capitalist monster unique! But who unifies the beastly heart, unifies the Revolution, which after the crisis of the second interwar, and before a third war, could find its world time**" (Dialogue with the Dead, 1956)*

However, the economic crisis was not enough, but also a series of conditions were necessary, the first of which was the admission of Russia's capitalist nature:

*"It must be expected that then, the immense apparatus would be demobilized, and truly reduced to an organization of nth degree column outside home, as everyone has it, the obstacle that blocks the road to the comeback of an effective communist movement will have disappeared, and such organizations and parties will be formed that the imperialist powers of the West should tremble very differently from that of the current hellfire (...)" (Classic Capitalism, Romantic Socialism, II Programma Comunista #2 –1953)*

*"[It is necessary to bury] the course of the great cycle of opportunism in which the world working class is, at the time which seems to be directed with the emblems of Leninist politics and the Russian revolution, **epoch that cannot be closed but in such conditions that make the weapon of identification between anti-capitalism and present Russian and peri-Russian society unusable.** What is not yet close today."* (Codified in this way the Agrarian Marxism, Communist Battaglia # 12 –1954)

*"From the third world war, the revolution would be born if before its outbreak, which everything makes us consider to be still far away, the classist movement had made a comeback.*

***The first condition for this arduous result is that the alleged socialist nature of present-day Russia should be out of discussion.***" (Dialogue with the Dead, 1956)

*"As we have already said, **we are approaching the Congress of Confession.** The force of the facts is a physical force, and it is imposed on men also presenting itself as the force of a theory, to which one can lie about for entire cycles, but before which one is finally forced to oblige.*

***A great event will occur when it must be declared that the structure of Russia's social economy is a capitalist structure.***" (Dialogue with the Dead, 1956)

This confession came with the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the formal admission of the capitalist nature of Russia and satellites (1991).

This was not a sign of voluntarism but rather a scientific forecast. In 1965, the *Sinistra*, however, defined the general situation as follows:

*"6.- By avoiding pedantic "distinctions", we may wonder in which objective situation is today's society. Certainly, the answer is that it is the worst possible, and that a large part of the proletariat, rather than being crushed by the bourgeoisie, is controlled by parties that work at the service of the bourgeoisie and prevent the proletariat itself from any revolutionary classist movement, so it cannot be anticipated how long it will take for this dead and amorphous situation to be followed again the one we sometimes define as "polarization" or "ionization" of social molecules, which precedes the explosion of the great class antagonism."* (Considerations on the Organic Activity of the Party When the General Situation is Historically Unfavourable, 1965)

*"A single victory is today thinkable for the working class: the doctrinal of the Marxist economy over the mercantilist economy, common to Americans and Russians.*

*The task of the second epoch is the organizational victory, for the Marxist world party against popular-democratic and class-democratic schemes.*

*Only a third historical phase (unit of measurement of not less than a five-year period) will be able to see the question of class power once again placed on the mat of history. In these three stages, the thermometer is the breakdown of the equilibrium in charge, first and foremost - idiots excuse us - of the United States and not of the USSR."* (The course of world capitalism, 1958)

*"The keys to deciphering the picture, eloquent in itself in the meaning of the future course platform, are three: Crisis, War and Revolution.*

*Our work is at the end, and its thesis of arrival is the route of emulation. The more the jockeys get rid of each other, the more the Revolution becomes possible, with its slogan, a corollary of the original theory: blockade of production.*

*For the most extensive conclusions we will not dare to make a prophecy, only an auspice.*

*That the post-war decade of advanced world capitalist production continues for some years! Afterwards the interwar crisis, like the one that broke out in America in 1929. Social massacre of the middle classes and bourgeois workers. Comeback of a movement of the world working class, rejecting any ally. Very new theoretical victory of its old thesis. Single communist party for all the States in the world.*

*Towards the end of the twentieth century, the alternative of the difficult century: third war of the imperialist monsters or international communist revolution. Only if the war does not happen, the emulators will die!"* (Dialogue with the Dead, 1956)

These were thus the conditions for the transformation of the interwar crisis - deflationary - into a revolutionary crisis:

1. Unification of the world market.
2. Great confession: admission of the capitalist nature of Russia.
3. Social slaughter of the middle classes and the bourgeois workers.
4. Comeback of a movement of the world working class, rejecting any ally.

5. Single communist party for all the States in the world.

The first condition is mature. The second, in its material aspect was carried out in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall and in 1991 with the dissolution of the Stalinist Russia apparatus. We are witnessing a deepening of the third conditioner.

These conditions and these great phases of the resumption of the class struggle for the dejection of capitalism must not be understood on the plane of a supposed anti-dialectical automaticity: the *sine qua non* condition is the existence of the single Communist Party for all the States of the world.

*"This amounts to saying that we maintain that the stage of the resumption of the revolutionary workers movement does not coincide only with the impulses from the contradictions of the material, economic and social development of bourgeois society, which can experience periods of extremely serious crises, of violent conflicts, of political collapse, without the workers movement as a result being radicalized and adopting extreme revolutionary positions. That is, there is no automatic mechanism in the field of the relations between the capitalist economy and the revolutionary proletarian party.*

*It could be the case, as in our current situation, that the economic and social world of the bourgeoisie is riddled with serious tremors that produce violent conflicts, but without the revolutionary party obtaining as a result any possibilities of expanding its activity, without the masses subjected to the most atrocious exploitation and fratricidal massacres being capable of unmasking the opportunist agents, who implicate their fate with the disputes of imperialism, without the counterrevolution loosening its iron grip on the ruled class, on the masses of the dispossessed.*

*To say, "An objectively revolutionary situation exists, but the subjective element of the class struggle, the class party, is deficient", is wrong at every moment of the historical process; it is a blatantly meaningless assertion, a patent absurdity.*

*It is true, however, that in every wave of struggle, even those that pose the greatest threat to the existence of bourgeois rule, even when it seems that everything (the machinery of state, the social hierarchy, the bourgeois political apparatus, the trade unions, the propaganda system) has come to a halt and is heading towards its end, to its destruction, the situation will never be revolutionary, but will for all intents and purposes be counterrevolutionary, if the revolutionary class party is weak, underdeveloped and theoretically unstable.*

*A situation of profound crisis in bourgeois society is susceptible to lead to a movement of revolutionary subversion when "... the 'lower classes' do not want to live in the old way and the 'upper classes' cannot carry on in the old way..." (Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism", An Infantile Disorder), that is, when the ruling class can no longer effectively operate its own mechanism of repression, and when "a majority of the workers fully realise that revolution is necessary".*

*Such a consciousness on the part of the workers can only be expressed in the class party, which is in the last analysis the determinant factor of the transformation of the bourgeois crisis into the revolutionary catastrophe of all of society.*

*It is therefore necessary, in order to save society from the "mare magnum" in which it has fallen, and for which the ruling class is incapable of offering any help, because it is incapable of discovering the appropriate new forms for liberating the productive forces and directing them towards new developments, that there should be a collective revolutionary*

*organ of thought and of action that will channel and illuminate the subversive will of the masses.*

*The "not wanting to live in the old way" of the masses, the will to struggle, the impulse to act against the class enemy, presuppose, within the ranks of the proletarian vanguard that is called upon to develop the function of guide of the revolutionary masses, the crystallization of a solid revolutionary theory."* (Activism, 1951)

Faced with the DEFLATIONAL crisis, the true crisis of the system and the capitalist mercantile society that is deepening in the bowels of these relations of production and of change, the integral Marxists must prepare ourselves at the level of the Marxist THEORY and DOCTRINE, with the communist programme and the dialectical derivation of them, that is, the

## THE CULPRIT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT IS CAPITALISM

Pollution, desertification, the thaw of the poles... these issues have been around for a while and continue to worsen, but we are in the middle of a media wave in this respect, and this is not precisely by chance. It is impossible to disregard what is behind it: the manifestation of the economic clashes among the distinct groups of the world bourgeoisie. However and regardless, **THE DRAMATIC TRUTH IS THAT CAPITALISM IS DESTROYING THE LIFE ON THE PLANET.**

**In the capitalist society, the driving principle and ultimate objective is PROFIT**, which may solely be obtained by EXPLOITING salaried work (and we will be in capitalism in full as long as private property, exchange and money exist).

*What is the reason behind the production of goods which spoil after a determined period of time (planned obsolescence) and the existence of advertising with all the diseases it produces (anorexia, bulimia, bigorexia, consumerism, etc.)?* The need of obtaining PROFIT. If the products do not spoil, one cannot sell more of them, or the next models.

*What makes us agglomerate in urban concentrations which are true environmental pollution bombs?* The need of companies to have at their disposal a big mass of workforce to obtain PROFIT from it, together with the urge of this workforce to find a job wherever it may be found.

*What provoked the recent floods in the Spanish state?* Climate, will be said. But it is not just the climate change. It is the lack of maintenance of streams and rivers, the construction on water passage sites, where especially the poorest part of the population lives, etc. which determines the destructive amplification of its consequences.

*Why are they not kept clean?* Because that does not yield profit. It is much more profitable to allow the tragedy and then give way to the big business of reconstruction. This reconstruction business yields a much greater PROFIT and is behind most of the current wars (besides the fight over the control of the world).

*What is provoking the recent fires in the Spanish state?* Again: lack of maintenance and cleaning of the forests. But let us go to the other side of the world: *What is provoking the recent fires*

tactical programme. It is vital to study the living teachings of the struggle of the Italian Communist Left, taken from the degeneration of the October Revolution (1921-26) and the Communist International; degeneration based on their "United Political Fronts", their "workers' governments", then anti-fascist fronts and finally democratic fronts and governments. All of them are and will be sterile substitutes for the old revolutionary Marxist approaches: Communist and International Class Party and abolition of the slavery of wage labour, of money, of the market and of the law of value, as the fundamental and organic law of the capitalist mode of production.

*in the Amazonia?* The thirst for PROFIT is what leads to burning the Amazonia to create crop areas and minerals.

But there is yet another, even bigger destruction: WAR. Capitalism has two World Wars on its back, with 15 million dead on the first, and 80 million on the second. The culminating work of the bourgeois civilization are the atomic bombs thrown over the population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Ever since, the military power to destroy has only increased, but this is not the only thing which has changed. The capitalist system is immersed in a great **relative crisis of OVERPRODUCTION** which demands a DESTRUCTION of productive forces to relaunch another cycle of ACCUMULATION.

The distribution of the world which was made in Yalta and Potsdam after the Second World War has blown up and the USA are in continuous retreat, while they keep trying to trigger military conflicts around the globe, trying to trigger the Third World War while they can still think about winning it. The rest of imperialist countries (EU, China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Iran, etc.) are also taking positions and intervene with the military around the world.

Capitalism is destroying the planet, yes. Not only that, it also threatens to destroy it completely with the Third World War. Therefore, **CAPITALISM MUST BE DESTROYED SO THAT IT DOES NOT DESTROY THE PLANET.**

"Environmentalism", as specific ideology, consists precisely in the assertion that all this destruction may be stopped while keeping capitalism, without abolishing salaried work and private property. This is not only false: it is also very useful for all the companies and states for deviating the fight against pollution and destruction produced by capitalism towards a movement which is harmless to them, and which, even, may be and is a profitable business.

Therefore, the fight against pollution and destruction cannot be separated from the fight against the capitalism which produces them, from the fight against capitalism itself, from the restart of the class struggle. **Any omission of the denunciation of the indissoluble and close bond between capitalism and the destruction of the planet is nothing else than**



**COMPLICITY** with the toxic and destructive effects of the way of production of capitalism.

Television repeats, one and a thousand times: the climate issue affects "rich and poor" equally. Nothing more convenient for the bourgeoisie to convince the working class that we are all equal in front of God, the Law and, now... the Climate!

*Do working class and bourgeois neighborhoods have the same conditions, perhaps? Or are we maybe subject to the same intoxication and dangers in our work places? Or do we, perhaps, have access to the same treatments and medicines? Perhaps the bourgeoisie lives in basements where one drowns when floods occur? Maybe, the quality of the food that the working class*

*buys is the same as that which may be afforded by the bourgeoisie?*

This bourgeois world is sinking and threatens to drag us with it, we do not have patches or mends to apply to it, but a new society to live and fight for. And not a caricature of this one with changed names (like in Russia, China or Venezuela) but a truly communist society: without salaried work, without State, without crises or wars... in which "the free development of each one will be the premise of the free development of all" (Manifesto of the Communist Party).

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## **COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE**

**From «Prometeo», n. 5–1924, translated by «The Internationalist Proletarian»**

### **Premise to the question**

The problems inherent to the relations of the internal life of revolutionary parties are currently of great importance due to the recent and important discussion maintained inside the Russian Communist Party, and because they are reproduced both in the polemic between Communists and other movements claiming to defend the proletariat, as well as in the internal debates over the cases of disagreement and crises particular of our international Communist organization.

In any case, the question is posed in the wrong way, counterposing both criteria of the mechanical centralist dependency and the majority democracy. The question is posed on the contrary according to a dialectical and historical method, and for us Marxists a "principle", whether centralist or democratic, that would be presented as a prejudicial rule whence to mandatorily depart in order to solve the problem, would have no sense.

In one of the issues of *Rassegna Comunista* an article about the "democratic principle" was published, considering its application whether in the State or in the union or political organizations, and developing the demonstration that for us this principle is not sustainable, whereas it can be debated whether the introduction or not of a numerical and majority democracy mechanism can be convenient, for certain organisms, in certain historical situations.

It is implicit in Marxist thought the critique of the pompous majority illusion according to which, the correct way is always indicated by the confrontation between the ciphers of a pole in which every individual would have the same weight and influence. And this critique of the majority criterium can lead to refuse it as an illusion not only in the huge lie of the parliamentary bourgeois state but also for the functioning of the revolutionary state, and even inside the proletarian economical

organisms and our own party, granting the eventuality of having adopted it in practice given the lack of a better organizational convention. Nobody more than us, Marxists, recognizes the importance of the function of the organized minorities and the absolute need, in the phases of revolutionary struggle, that the class and the party that conducts it work under the strict direction of the hierarchies of the organization itself and under the most solid discipline.

To have been liberated of any prejudice of equality or democratic nature does not have to lead though to put in the basis of our action a new prejudice which is the formal and metaphysical negation of the latter. We reclaim for that purpose to what we have written in the first part of the article about the national question (Prometeo #4) about the way to get a prospective of the big problems of communism.

That in practice the organizational mechanism and the rule of internal functioning of Communist Parties might be an intermediate line, so to say, between absolute centralism and absolute democracy, results from the expression of "democratic centralism" which is recurrent in the texts of the International, and is conveniently recalled by the known letter of comrade Trotsky which has brought up big discussions among Russian comrades.

We say right away that, since we do not believe it is possible to ask for solutions of the revolutionary problems to abstract and traditionalistic principles whether of freedom or authority, *so little satisfies us* the expedient of finding our response through some kind of mix of the two mentioned terms almost considered as fundamental ingredients that must be combined with each other.

The communist position in the problems of organization and discipline must according to us be much more complete, satisfying and original.

In order to point it in a synthetic way (setting down clear before that we are against all kind of *autonomous federalism* criteria, and we accept the term of centralism because it has the meaning of synthesis and unity as opposed to some kind of association by chance and "liberal" of forces aroused from the most various independent initiatives), we prefer ever since a lot of time the expression "organic centralism". Regarding a more complete development of the reached conclusion, we retain that it will exist, most likely in texts that will be able to be discussed in the 5<sup>th</sup> World Communist Congress. The problem is also partially considered in the tactic thesis for the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress which have recently been reproduced by *Stato Operaio*.

Let us go now to a simple historical claim that must be borne in mind in order to avoid any simplistic solution of the problem, whether that one that at any moment requires a vote to provide righteousness to the majority, whether that one that on the contrary in all cases considers the central and supreme hierarchies to be right. The problem is to show how to reach through a real and dialectical way the effective overcoming of the perhaps tormenting dilemma to which the problems of disciplinary nature in practice often lead.

Let us reclaim ourselves to the history of the traditional socialist parties and the II International. These parties, in the opportunistic groups that had taken their direction, sheltered in the shadow of the bourgeois principles of democracy and autonomy of the various organs. This however did not impede that against the leftist elements that reacted to the revisionist and opportunistic tendencies the *bugbear* of the *discipline of the majority* and the *discipline to the chiefs* were largely used. This became in fact the main tool by which those parties could assume, especially when the first world war exploded, the function, into which they degenerated, of instruments of ideological and political mobilization of the working class by the bourgeoisie. A true dictatorship of the rightist elements was thus imposed, against which the revolutionaries had to fight, not because immanent principles of internal democracy of the party were violated or to oppose the centralizing criteria of the class Party, which precisely the Marxist left vindicated, but because in the concrete reality the matter was to oppose effectively anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary forces.

The method of building opposition fractions to the leading groups was thus completely justified in these parties, to conduct against them a merciless critique, in order to reach afterwards the separation and split which allowed the foundation of the current Communist Parties.

It is therefore clear that the criteria of the discipline for the discipline is, in certain situations, used by the counterrevolutionaries and is used to obstruct the development that leads to the formation of the true class revolutionary Party. The most glorious example, of how the demagogic influence of these sophisms must be disregarded, is given by Lenin himself, who was hundred times attacked as dissolver, segregator, violator of party duties, but which continued undaunted through his way, and became with perfect logic the vindicator of the healthy Marxist principles of organic centralization in the State and in the party of the revolution.

On the contrary the most disgraceful example of the formal and bureaucratic application of the discipline is given by the vote that Karl Liebknecht considered himself forced to make on August 4<sup>th</sup> 1914 in favor of the war credits.

It is true therefore that in a certain moment and situation, whose possibility to take place and maybe be reproduced we will have to better consider at the right time, the revolutionary

way is marked by breaking discipline and hierarchically concentrate a persistent organization.

It is not different inside the worker union organizations, a lot of which are currently directed by counterrevolutionary groups. Here also the leading groups have tenderness for democracy and bourgeois freedom, and are ranged among those who refuse with horror the communist thesis about the revolutionary force and dictatorship. This does not take away though that communists, fighting inside those organisms, must continuously denounce the dictatorial procedures of the leading mandarin bureaucracy; and the specific method to try to overthrow it is the vindication in assemblies and polls the application of practical democracy. This does not mean that we have to shelter in the dogmatic believe for statute democracy: not excluding in fact that in certain situations it may be convenient to take the lead of these organisms by means of a coup. The guide that links us to our revolutionary purpose cannot therefore ever be provided by the formal and constant deference to the officially stated chiefs, and neither by the indispensable fulfillment of all the formalities of an elective consultation. We repeat that our solution is built in a completely different and superior way.

The problem becomes more difficult and delicate when we want to face the internal life of the Parties and the Communist International. A whole historical process separates us from the situation which inside the old International suggested the constitution of fractions which were parties inside the party, and often the systematic rupture of the discipline as starting point towards a fecund split of revolutionary consequences.

Our opinion regarding this sort of problem is that the question of organization and discipline inside the communist movement cannot be resolved without keeping it in close relation with the questions of theory, program and tactics.

We cannot envisage an ideal type of revolutionary party, as the limit that we set ourselves to reach, and try to draw the internal construction and the rule of life of this party. We will easily get to the conclusion that in such a party no fraction competition or dissension of the directives of the central organ by peripheral organisms can be admitted. By applying *sic et simpliciter* these conclusions to the life of our parties and our International we would however not have solved anything: not certainly because such an integral application may not be highly desired by all of us, but precisely because in practice we are in fact not getting close to such application. Not precisely the exception, but the facts lead us to review the rule in the division of the Communist Parties in fractions, and in the dissensions that may perhaps turn into conflicts between those Parties and the International. Unfortunately, the solution is not that easy.

It needs to be considered that the International does not work as a single world communist party yet. It is on its way to reach this result undoubtedly, and it has made gigantic steps in relation to the old International. But in order to make sure that it proceeds effectively and in the best way in this desired path, and commit to this purpose our work as communists, we must associate our trust in the essence and revolutionary capacity of our glorious world organism to a continuous work based upon the control and rational evaluation of whatever happens in our ranks and of the formulation of its politics.

Consider the maximal and perfect discipline, that would spring out of a universal consensus also in the critical consideration of all the problems of the movement, not as a result, but as an infallible method to use with blind conviction, saying *tout court*. the International is the world Communist Party and one must follow without hesitation and faithfully all that its central

organs dictate, is somehow put the problem sophistically upside down.

We have to remind, in order to begin our analysis of the issue, that communist parties are organisms of "voluntary" adhesion. This is a fact inherent to the historical nature of parties, and not the acknowledgement of some "principle" or "model". It is for granted that we cannot force anyone to take our member card, we cannot make a conscription of communists, we cannot establish sanctions against the person that does not act uniformly towards the internal discipline: all of our members are materially free to leave us whenever he or she wants. We do not want to state now whether it is desirable or not things to be this way: the fact is that they are so and that there are no ways apt to change them. As a consequence, we cannot adopt the formula, certainly rich in many advantages, of the absolute obedience in the execution of orders coming from above.

The orders that central hierarchies emanate are not the starting point, but the result of the function of the movement understood as a collective. This is not said in the foolishly democratic or juridical sense, but in the realistic and historic one. We do not defend, by saying that, a "right" in the mass of communists to elaborate the directives to which leaders have to adhere: we note that in these terms the formation of a class party is presented, and upon these premises we will have to set down the study of the problem.

Thus, is outlined the scheme of the conclusions towards which we tend in that matter. There is no mechanical discipline good for the execution of superior orders or dispositions "whatever they are": there is an ensemble of orders and dispositions that respond to the real origins of the movement that can guarantee the maximum of discipline, that is, of unitary action of the whole organism, whereas there are other directives which emanate from the center that can compromise discipline and organizational solidity.

It comes down therefore to tracking the task of the leading organs. Who will have to do it? The whole party, the whole

organization, must do it, not in the banal and parliamentary sense of its right to be consulted about the "mandate" to confer to the elected chiefs and about its limits, but in the dialectical sense that embodies the tradition, the preparation, the real continuity in the thought and in the action of the movement. Precisely because we are anti-democratic, we think that in any matter a minority can have more corresponding views than those of the majority in the interest of the revolutionary process. Certainly, this happens exceptionally; and it is of extreme gravity the case where this disciplinary overturn appears, as happened in the old International and as it is wished that will not happen amongst our ranks. But without thinking on this extreme case, there are other less acute or critique situations, in which however the contribution of groups in the invocation of precisions in the directive to be drawn by the leading center is useful and indispensable.

This is, in brief, the basis of the study of the matter, which will have to be faced taking into account the true historical nature of the class party: organism which tends to be the expression of the unification towards a central and common goal of all the single proletarian struggles sprung in the class terrain, organism which is characterized by the voluntary nature of the adhesions. We thus summarize our thesis, and we believe to be thus faithful to the dialectics of Marxism: the action that the Party develops and the tactics that it adopts, that is, the manner in which the party acts towards the "outside" have at their turn consequences upon the organization and its "internal" constitution. Fatally compromises the party that who, in the name of an unlimited discipline, pretends to have it disposed for an action, a tactic, "whatever" strategical maneuver, that is, without well determined limits known by the ensemble of the militants.

The desired maximal unity and disciplinary solidity will be effectively reached only by facing the problem in the basis of this platform, and not pretending that it is already solved prejudicially by a banal rule of mechanical obedience.

## **PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY (1951)**

The fundamental of the doctrine are the guidelines of the historical materialism and the critical communism of Marx and Engels, formulated in The Manifesto of the Communists, in The Capital and in their other fundamental works, base of the constitution of the Communist International in 1919, of the Communist Party of Italy in 1921, and contained in the points of the program of the party published in «Battaglia Comunista», n° 1 de 1951 and republished several times in «Il Programma Comunista».

We transcribe here the text of the program:

The International Communist Party is constituted upon the basis of the following principles, established in Livorno in 1921 in the foundation of the Communist Party of Italy (Section of the Communist International).

1.– In the current capitalist social regime and ever-growing contradiction develops between the productive forces and the production relation, giving raise to the antitheses of interests and to the class struggle between the proletariat and the dominant bourgeoisie.

2.– The current production relations are protected by the power of the bourgeois State which, no matter what is the form of the representative system and the use of elective democracy, constitutes the organ for the defense of the interests of the capitalist class.

3.– The proletariat cannot break nor modify the system of capitalist production relations, whence its exploitation derives, without the violent destruction of the bourgeoisie power.

4.– The essential organ of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is the class party. The communist party, gathering together the most advanced and decided part of the proletariat, unifies the efforts of the worker masses leading them from the struggles for group interests and contingent results, to the general struggle for the revolutionary emancipation of the proletariat. The party has the duty of spreading among the masses the revolutionary theory, of organizing the material means of action, of leading the working mass during the struggle assuring the historical continuity and the international unity of the movement.

5.— After the overthrow of the capitalist power, the proletariat will not be able to organize itself in dominant class if it does not destroy the old state machine and the imposition of its own dictatorship, that is, depriving of all rights and political function the bourgeoisie class and all its individuals as long as they survive socially, and basing the organs of the new regime only upon the producing class. the communist party, whose programmatic characteristic consists in this fundamental execution, represents, organizes and leads in a unitary form the proletarian dictatorship. The necessary defense of the proletarian State against all counterrevolutionary attempts can only be assured depriving the bourgeoisie and all the parties hostile to the proletarian dictatorship, of any mean of agitation and political propaganda, and with the armed organization of the proletariat to refuse internal and external attacks.

6.— Only the force of the proletarian State will be able to systematically apply all the successive intervention measures in the relations of the social economy, which with the substitution of the capitalist system for the collective management of production and distribution will be effectuated.

7.— As a result of this economic transformation and the consequent transformations of all the activities of social life, the need of a political State will progressively be eliminated, and its machinery will progressively be reduced to the rational administration of human activities.

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The position of the party in front of the situation of the capitalist world and the worker movement after the second world war is based upon the following points:

8.— During the first half of the XX-eth century, the capitalist social system has developed itself, in the economical field, with the introduction of employer unions with monopolistic aims and the attempts to control and lead the production and the exchanges according to central plans, until the state management of whole productive sectors; in the political field, with the growth of the police and military potential of the State and the governmental totalitarianism. All these are not new types of social organization defined as a transition from capitalism to socialism, neither a return to pre-bourgeois political regimes; on the contrary, they are precise forms of even more direct and exclusive management of the power and the State by the most developed forces of the capital.

This process excludes the pacifist, evolutionist and progressive interpretations of the future of the bourgeois regime, and confirms the forecast of the concentration and the antagonist disposition of the class forces. In order to be able to strengthen and concentrate the revolutionary forces of the proletariat with the potential that corresponds that of the class enemy, the proletariat must refuse, as its own revindication and as an agitation method, the vain return to the democratic liberalism and to the demand of legal guarantees, and must historically finish with the method of alliances with transitory aims of the revolutionary class party, whether with bourgeoisie or middle-class parties of with pseudo-worker parties with reformist program.

9.— The imperialist world wars show that the desegregation crisis of the capitalism is inevitable, with the decisive opening of the period in which its expansion does not arouse the productive forces any more, but conditions its accumulation to a repeated and growing destruction. These wars have led to deep and reiterated crises of the world organization of the workers, since the dominant classes have been able to impose the national and military solidarity with either one of the belligerent sides. The only historical alternative that must be opposed to this situation is lighting again the class struggle in the interior until getting to the civil war of the working masses to overthrow the power of all the bourgeois States and of the world coalitions, with the reconstitution of the international communist party as an autonomous force in front of all the organized political and military powers.

10.— The proletarian State, since its machinery is a mean and a fight weapon in the historical period of transition, does not take its organizational strength from constitutional cannons nor from representative schemes. The biggest historical example of organization has been up till now the Worker Councils, which appeared during the Russian revolution of October 1917, in the armed organization period of the working class under the only guide of the Bolshevik party, the totalitarian conquest of the power, the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly, the fight to refuse the exterior attacks of the bourgeois governments, and to smash in the interior the rebellion of the defeated classes, of the middle and petty bourgeois classes, and of the opportunistic parties, infallible allies of the counterrevolution in its decisive phases.

11.— the defense of the proletarian regime, with the implicit degeneration dangers in the possible failures and withdrawals of the economic and social transformation work, whose integral execution is not thinkable within the limits of a single country, can only be assured by a continuous coordination of the politics of the worker State, with the unitary international struggle of the proletariat of every country against its own bourgeoisie and its state and military machinery, incessant struggle in whatever situation of peace or war, and through the political and programmatic control of the world communist party upon the State machineries in which the working class has conquered the power.

**TEXTS TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH  
(CONTACT TO OBTAIN THEM)**

- Setting down our approach (Tracciato d'Impostazione, 1946)
- The Democratic Principle (Il Principio Democratico, 1920)
- The Program of the Italian Communist Party (Livorno 1921)
- Communist organization and discipline (Organizzazione e disciplina comunista, 1924)
- Previous issues of "The Internationalist Proletarian".