

the Communist Party

WHAT DISTINGUISHES OUR PARTY – The line running from Marx to Lenin to the foundation of the Third International and the birth of the Communist Party of Italy in Leghorn (Livorno) 1921, and from there to the struggle of the Italian Communist Left against the degeneration in Moscow and to the rejection of popular fronts and coalition of resistance groups – The tough work of restoring the revolutionary doctrine and the party organ, in contact with the working class, outside the realm of personal politics and electoralist manoeuvres

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Leaflet for a strike at the Port of Genoa, Monday 17 February For Anti-Militarism and Proletarian Internationalism

Peace is impossible in capitalism because war is a product of its irremovable economic laws.

On the one hand, war is the military continuation of economic competition. In times of economic growth this competition is predominantly contained in the commercial sphere. In times of crisis, it becomes so bitter as to lead states, the defenders of the general interests of all national capitalisms, into the clash of war. Hints of this epilogue are economic protectionism, accompanied by nationalism –both right and "left"– in the political field, all of which are well present today.

But war is the only solution that capitalism, as a whole, has to the devastating crisis of overproduction in its economy. This solution comes before and beyond any means of dividing the world market among the bourgeoisie of every country. This immense destruction of goods already produced –infrastructure, industries, cities and "labor force"– prevents a further valorization of capital (vulgarly called "growth"). War comes to save all national capitalisms, winners and losers, offering a bath of youth to a dying and anti-historical way of production.

Capitalism thus offers both the greatest progress and the greatest barbarity that human history has ever experienced. The so-called "economic miracle" after World War II was only possible because of the immense destruction and deaths of over 50 million people during the war; almost all of which were proletarians and poor farmers in the metropolises and colonies. After which, the brutal exploitation of the working class intensified in the name of "national reconstruction".

It was the World War –by the admission of the bourgeois economists themselves– which solved the economic crisis in which capitalism sank in the first half of the 20th century. The policies of state intervention in the economy create no solutions to the crisis. These policies had been applied indifferently by all bourgeois regimes, democratic and Nazi-Fascist alike, before the World War. They are now invoked by the reformist Left as an alternative to so-called "neo-liberalism". The national ways out of the crisis brings war, not socialism, closer.

All the bourgeois states, even in times of peace, never stop maneuvering with anticipation of the general clash to come. They are aware that any lost position is granted to the "enemy". Hence the hundreds of unceasing local wars, with millions of victims, have characterized the "peace" that followed the Second World War. These are conducted by stirring up national, ethnic and religious hatred with terrorist massacres. Such as is happening in recent weeks in northern Syria, where the clash between the regional imperialism of Syria and Turkey is consuming the skin of more than three million civilians unable to escape.

Just as contemporary war has a deeper function than the division of the world market –to save the whole of capitalism from its crisis– so too are all national bourgeoisies united in having an enemy superior to that which each of them faces militarily: the working class of all countries. Every national bourgeoisie always has two fronts and two enemies to fight: one external and one internal.

Faced with the inevitable twisting of the economic crisis that crushes the workers into misery. In the increases of exploitation of the employed and the army of the unemployed, war is a means of hindering the social revolt which, if led by the Communist Party, becomes revolution. A part of the working class is removed from the cities and led to the front to the fratricidal massacre against workers in another uniform. The bombardments on the cities further decimate the working class and reduce its strength.

This is the only solution available to the bourgeois regimes. But it is always very risky for them because it involves arming the workers. If strikes in factories and city riots break out during the war –for example in Russia in 1917,

Germany in 1918, Italy in 1943, Iraq in 1991– the internal front can collapse and rebellion can easily infect the army.

For this reason, war cannot be explained to the workers of every country by every national bourgeois regime for its authentic reasons of cowardly economic order. Nor can it be explained as an inevitable product of the economic course of the whole of capitalism. War must always be justified as a product of the will of a political party and of particularly reactionary, evil, warmongering nations, which oppress that people and nation. This is employed so as to convince the proletarian masses to support the war effort and not to rebel against the terrible living conditions it entails.

To this end, the bourgeoisie welcomes the false workers' parties within each country. All of which are always ready for the "less worse" policy –which the bourgeoisie punctually prepares "the worst"– to set up "single political fronts" in defense of democracy and "against the right". This is never to fight against all the bourgeois parties, right and left, for the revolutionary conquest of power. So on the international level and in the face of the dangers of war they always identify an alliance with the "less worse" capitalist states for which to lead the workers to be slaughtered.

WAR ON WAR is not a slogan of generic opposition to the militarist violence of capitalism. It is the practical indication with which the Bolshevik party in Russia, the Spartacists in Germany, and the Communist Left in Italy, proclaimed to the workers in the First World War. To "transform the war between states into war between the classes", to apply "revolutionary defeatism" against one's own country at war. Rather than shoot at the class brothers of other countries, turn the gun 180° to overthrow the regime of one's own national ruling class.

The Bolshevik party, by virtue of this address, was the only one in the history of capitalism to stop the imperialist war; even when the pacifist bleating of the bourgeois left never succeeded. They did so at the price of enormous territorial losses for Russia, thus following a deeply anti-national conduct. However the objective was the international proletarian revolution, not the struggle to "defend one's own country".

The inability to recognize the Stalinist counter-revolution and the capitalist nature of the USSR led the false workers' parties to deny this direction. They instead deployed the proletariat on one of the two imperialist fronts in World War II, just as Social Democracy had done in the first. In more recent examples, support has been thrown to bourgeois regimes that oppressed and massacred poor workers and peasants like that of Serbia, Iraq, Syria, Nicaragua, Venezuela or that of Moscow in the war in the Donbass (Ukraine).

This inability to understand how the contemporary world has for decades been entirely capitalist. In not recognizing how the fight against imperialism and fascism cannot mean the fight against capitalism as a whole. Leads these false workers' parties to fall into the ideological traps with which the national bourgeoisies try to lead the workers to war.

Only the working class has the strength to prevent or stop the war. This can be done by striking the economy of the nation at war in the factories and at the front by laying down arms and fraternizing with the workers of other countries. In so doing, conveying social revolt over national borders.

For this reason the initiative of the port workers of Genoa adhering to the Collective Autonomous Port Workers is important:

- because anti-militarism returns to stir anti-militarism not as a generic

pacifism to be advocated with inter-classist demonstrations, but as a consequent action among the workers and in the trade union movement;

- because it happens as a result of similar repeated actions in other parts of Europe and therefore takes a first practical step of international action by the workers.

It is necessary to fight so that all the conflictual trade unionism –that is, the rank and file trade unions and the opposition in CGIL– gives unitary and practical support to these initiatives, both by participating in the garrisons and the pickets and by proclaiming the strike.

It is necessary to fight for the unmaking and defeat in the workers' movement of those opportunist parties that bend proletarian anti-militarism and internationalism to partial political objectives. These objectives being completely compatible with those of national and international bourgeois fractions. This includes the exit from NATO and the closure of its bases in Italy. They are clearly implicit in putting these objectives before the conquest of political power by the working class. But this is the only revolutionary political objective for the working class. In abandoning it they only lend their support to that part of the national bourgeoisie eager to throw off its subjection to American imperialism and move on to Russian and, above all, Chinese imperialism. This has the disastrous result of favoring the deployment of the workers on one of the imperialist fronts, once again betraying internationalism.

For the international unity of the workers!

Against every front of the imperialist war!

Against every military mission of the bourgeoisie!

From a public meeting in Paris
November 23, 2019

ON THE COMING ECONOMIC CRISIS

The massive destruction and massacres of the Second World War allowed world capitalism to emerge from the crisis of 1929 and start a new cycle of capital accumulation, almost without a crisis of overproduction: the famous "Glorious Thirties" [the French economic boom of 1945-75] of economists and journalists. But this cycle ended definitively with the first crisis of international overproduction in 1974-1975. Since then, following a cycle of 7 to 10 years as in Marx's time, capitalism has experienced, after a phase of growth, an international crisis of overproduction: international and national trade plummet, bankruptcies of commercial and industrial enterprises explode, the national and international markets are engorged with goods which are difficult to buy. Bankruptcies lead to mass unemployment and restructuring. As arrears accumulate, the banks themselves go bankrupt and bond and share prices fall in turn, capital enters a deflationary spiral.

Faced with a crisis of the economic system which guarantees it immense privileges, the bourgeoisie, both industrial and financial, responds by systematically resorting to subcontracting, outsourcing, and making workers ever more precarious. Monopolies, which are the multinationals, respond with massive offshoring to countries where cheap labor can be exploited without restraint, such as in China. This "globalization", as economists in the service of the bourgeoisie call it, has given world capitalism about thirty years of security.

To this is added frenzied speculation in all areas: on raw materials (like oil and gas), cereals, housing, etc. This is accompanied by general deregulation and the destruction of public services that capitalism is no longer capable of providing. This is all good for profits. The bourgeoisie does not care about the suffering it inflicts on workers through its policies. What worries the bourgeoisie and its governments are the social outbursts caused by its worldwide economic policy, and the general crisis of capitalism.

But the economic policy led by the bourgeoisie and its governments does not solve anything! On the contrary, from crisis to crisis, the situation worsens: from cycle to cycle, growth only slows down, while the debts of companies, families and states become so gigantic that they jeopardize the system itself. Even the central banks themselves hold trillions in debt in the form of bonds, many of which will never be repaid, bringing the crisis to the heart of the financial system.

However, a solution exists: capitalism, by socializing the productive forces, has developed on a considerable scale the economic bases of communist society - this is its great historical role. The crisis of capitalism exposes the need to transition to a communist society: a classless society, communal and without commodity production, where the goal of production will be the satisfaction of human needs. The goal of production under capitalism is only the accumulation of capital.

Capitalism - and the bourgeoisie with it - has become a parasitic organism that hampers the development of humanity, drawing it into pointless wars and inflicting excruciating pain on a large portion of humanity, while destroying nature in the process.

The monstrous course of this economic system cannot be stopped peacefully. The transition to communism requires the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, its expropriation, and the abolition of wage labor and capital, by replacing the management of production and distribution for profit with a communist management, that is to say, a management that is based on physical and not monetary accounting and on human needs, while taking into account the protection of nature.

On February 5, after three years of breathless anticipation from the Democrats, President Donald Trump was acquitted by the U.S. Senate in his impeachment trial. The acquittal on the charges of abuse of power and obstruction of Congress allows him to remain in office until at least the end of his current term. The Republicans could hardly contain their excitement. At the same time the Democratic Party primary election process began with the catastrophic failure of the election system in Iowa. Senator Bernie Sanders, who calls himself a democratic socialist, has emerged as the leader in the Democratic field, having come in second in Iowa and South Carolina, and first in New Hampshire and Nevada. For his followers, Sanders is the face of "resistance" to the Trump presidency, the savior of democracy in the United States. In truth, the democratic system can only reinforce the rule of the bourgeoisie, whether a false reformist or an open reactionary holds office.

Impeachment: Democracy is Not Justice

The impeachment of Donald Trump was a show trial in reverse. The defendant's acquittal was certain from the beginning, and the rest only existed to keep up the act. The Republicans pretended to stand for due process; the Democrats pretended to prosecute. In their own ways, both parties acted as propagandists for the bourgeois state and its system of justice. For the Democrats, impeachment would be the triumph of the separation of powers, of civic duty separated from personal interest, of the sovereignty of the people in the abstract. The Republicans, for their part, would show their dedication to a patronizing form of order, one predicated on a single untouchable personality. Trump's sovereignty depends on him being untouchable (this is the man who declared in 2016, "I could stand in the middle of Fifth Avenue and shoot somebody, and I wouldn't lose any voters"). The defenders of the bourgeoisie

state are always innocent, while workers who defend themselves are always guilty. The financial burden of going to trial causes most criminal defendants to plead guilty, while the billionaire head of state does not even have to argue his innocence. Such is bourgeois justice!

The charges against the president provide further evidence of the reactionary nature of the whole impeachment act. Trump's crime was to modify the United States' existing imperialist strategy in Ukraine. The "abuse of power" that offended the Democrats was to put military aid to the Ukrainian government on hold until the country would announce a criminal investigation into business dealings by Joe Biden's son, which Trump presumably hoped would hurt Biden in the 2020 election. The crime was not aiding the rightist government of Ukraine, which the Democrats fully and enthusiastically support, but using that aid for personal ends.

The Sanders Movement Offers No Alternative

Bernie Sanders and his supporters believe that they are bringing about a "political revolution" in the United States. Very well. When will this revolution occur, and what will change? What will they do to ensure that it happens in the face of massive opposition?

Every revolution has faced questions like these. The uprising in Russia succeeded in 1917 because the Communist Party had the right answers, a party prepared and hardened for many years, on the basis of the intransigent program of revolutionary Marxism. The insurrection would occur around the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, when the political base of support for the party would be gathered together. It would establish a dictatorship of the proletariat based on the soviet system of representation. The Military-Revolutionary Committees and the Red Guards would support the revolution by force of arms.

So what of Sanders and the democratic socialists in the United States? Their supposed revolution is either coming soon or already occurring, depending on the campaign speech one listens to. First and foremost it will make Bernie president, and then perhaps install the kind of welfare State that is disintegrating before our eyes in other countries. And what will support these very moderate demands? The military and the police hate them bitterly, and will not hesitate to do the bidding of the bourgeoisie. Civilian reactionaries despise them and are heavily armed. So do they form militias of their own? Quite the opposite, they demand that all arms should be in the hands of the bourgeois State!

There are only two options for this political revolution. It will fail completely against opposition that its own forces cannot match, or it will restrict itself so severely that it will become a liberal civic movement, no different from the Democratic Party we have long been familiar with. In either case, its petty-bourgeois idealist character will be readily apparent.

A revolution is a fight for the real liberation of an oppressed class, the proletariat these days. When capitalism is becoming economically impossible, then the proletariat can free itself. This is what Marx and Engels meant when they called communism "the real movement which abolishes the present state of things", that is, which completely uproots capitalism and free the society which is ripe inside it.

Political Revolutions are not made through the will of politicians and activists. Only classes, directed by a revolutionary class party, make revolutions. Marx and Engels wrote that "every class struggle is a political struggle".

Sanders, the Democrats, and U.S. brand of democratic socialism cannot abolish the present society, and so they will never open the way to the next one, even if they wished to. Only the communist party, as the most aware and militant representative of the international proletariat, can accomplish those tasks.

