Workers of the World, unite!

THE INTERNATIONALIST PROLETARIAN

ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY

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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.

MONETARY CAPERING OF INFLATION, DEAD WEIGHT OF OVERPRODUCTION

No matter how many electro-shocks capitalism administers to itself, how much capital it injects into its drugged economy, how many military and tariff blockades are imposed and how many wars are unleashed to destroy the productive forces already created and unload the losses on competitors, how many droughts and hurricanes distort circulation. It is not only possible, but inevitable that capitalism will develop through spasms, conflicts, and crises; as we shall see below: *"The rate of profit would not fall under the effect of competition due to over-production of capital. It would rather be the reverse; it would be* ***the COMPETITIVE STRUGGLE which would begin because the fallen rate of profit and over-production of capital originate from the same conditions.*** *"* (Capital, Book III, Part 3, Chapter XV, K. Marx). *(Continues on page 11)*

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"7.- ***What are, in this unfavorable period, the consequences on the internal organic dynamics of the party?*** *We have always said, in all the texts indicated above, that* ***the party cannot but suffer from the characters of the real situation that surrounds it****. Therefore, the great proletarian parties that exist are necessarily and avowedly opportunist.*
A fundamental thesis of the Left is that ***our party must not renounce to resist despite of this, but must survive*** *and transmit the flame along the historical "thread of time". (...)"* (Considerations on the activity of the Party when the situation is historically unfavorable, 1965)

The historical cycle of the degeneration of the Third International (p. 2)

*"****Real unity and centralization*** *- demanded by us more than by anyone else -* ***in action and in the Party's organizational mode are the result, the endpoint, not the cause and the starting point, of unity and centralization of doctrine, program, and the system of tactical norms****: seeking the former without the latter is futile; worse than futile, it's destructive and deadly."*
(Continuity of Party Action on the Thread of the Tradition of the Left, 1966)

THE HISTORICAL CYCLE OF THE DEGENERATION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

In this timeline, a series of **synthetic facts** and **fundamental texts** are collected, initially for the introduction to the study of the 1920, 1922 and 1926 Theses, which constitute the **framework for the study** of the **struggle of the Communist Left against the degeneration of the Communist International**, as well as the causes and external manifestations of this degeneration.

In the course of only seven years after its birth in 1919, what should have been the world organization of the revolutionary proletariat and for a moment was so, completed the full parabola from an initial tactical error to a true **tactical deviation** ("political united front", 1921), **tactical-programmatic deviation** ("workers' government", "workers' and peasants' government", 1922), **organizational deviation** ("bolshevization", 1924) to end in a complete betrayal of communist principles with the **programmatic deviation** of "socialism in one country" in 1926, which culminated the process of **degeneration** of the International and the abandonment of the world revolution.

The lessons of the struggle of the Italian Communist Left against this degeneration are **indispensable material for the resumption of the communist revolutionary movement** for the overthrow of the bourgeois regime.

The material presented here is **deliberately schematic**, among other reasons, because **to understand and retain the lessons of complex and detail-laden processes, it is necessary to first comprehend the internal connections of the fundamental facts** that determine the rest. Only then, once an **appropriate mental framework** is established, can a greater number of facts and details be incorporated into this scheme without "the trees obscuring the forest."

Finally, the detailed study of the schematically presented facts, together with the explanations provided and - most importantly - **the study of the fundamental texts linked (see QR code below), is a task to which communist militants must devote the utmost attention**. The programmatic and tactical political content of the fundamental texts presented throughout the timeline is not easy to absorb in the current hostile environment devoid of immediate revolutionary prospects. These texts must be the **subject of permanent study at the individual and collective level**, not for historiographical erudition but **to correctly apprehend and apply the profound lessons they contain to the militant activity of the Party**.

- July 1914 – Start of World War I (bankruptcy of the II International)
- 1917 – February and October revolution in Russia
- 1917 – foreign military intervention and civil war in Russia
- March 1918 – Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
- November 1918 - Kiel mutiny
- November 1918 – End of World War I
- December 1918 – Foundation of the Communist Party of Germany
- January 1919 – Assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht by the social democracy
- March 1919 – 1st Congress of the 3rd International
- March-August 1919 – Hungarian Soviet Republic (participation of social democrats dynamite it)
- April 1919 – Soviet Republic of Bavaria
- March-April 1920 – Kapp/Lüttwitz "putsch" + Ruhr uprising
- May 1920 - *Theses of the Communist Abstentionist Fraction of the PSI*
- July-August 1920 - II Congress of the 3rd International → "21 conditions of admission" (in particular, the 21st)
- August 1920 – Defeat of the red army in Warsaw
- September 1920 – Occupation of factories in Italy
- December 1920 – Fusion of the 'left' of the USPD with the KPD
- January 1921 – Foundation of the Communist Party of Italy
- January 1921 – 'Open letter' of the KPD to the SPD and the trade unions
- March 1921 – Failure of the March action in Germany
- June-July 1921 – III Congress of the 3rd International → **"conquest of the masses"** (of the majority...).
- December 1921 – Resolution previous to the 1st Enlarged Executive → **"political united front"**
- January 1922 - *Theses on the tactics of the Communist Party of Italy (Rome)*
- February 1922 – 1st Enlarged Executive
- April 1922 – Joint conference with the II International and the II ½ International
- June 1922 – 2nd Enlarged Executive → **"workers' government".**
- October 1922 – March on Rome
- November 1922 – *Project of Thesis presented by the CP of Italy to the IV Congress*
- November-December 1922 – IV Congress of the 3rd International → **"workers and peasants government"**
- January 1923 – French occupation of the Ruhr
- February 1923 – Arrest of the leaders of the CP of Italy, handpicking of Togliatti for the direction.
- June 1923 – "National bolshevism" in Germany
- October 1923 – Communist ministers in the governments of Saxony and Thuringia (and ulterior military dissolution)
- January 1924 – Death of Lenin
- June-July 1924 – V Congress of the 3rd International → **"bolshevization"** + Kuomintang sympathizing party
- June 1924 – assassination of Matteoti and Aventine pantomime
- April 1925 – Hindenburg's presidential election in Germany
- January 1926 – *Theses of the Left to the III Congress of the Communist Party of Italy (Lyon)*
- February 1926 – VI Enlarged Executive
- March 1926 – Betrayal of the revolution in China (massacre of Shanghai and Canton in 1927)
- May 1926 – Betrayal of the miners' strike in Great Britain (Anglo-Russian Committee)
- December 1926 – VII Enlarged Executive → **"socialism in one country"**, defeat of the Russian opposition
- October 1929 – Crack of 29
- 1936-1938 – Moscow processes
- May 1937 – May events during the Spanish civil war
- September 1939 – Start of the 2nd Imperialist World War II
- May 1943 – Formal dissolution of the 3rd International

The **complete timeline**, with the explanation of each event, can be consulted interactively on the **installable web app** by accessing through the QR code or the link.

siguiendo-el-hilo-del-tiempo.web.app/?line=ic&lang=en

The **late organizational break with opportunism** and the consequent **delay in the formation of communist parties** prevented the exploitation of the revolutionary fire at the right moment and imposed a tragic phase delay.

This **phase delay acted as a catalyst for all subsequent tactical errors** and justified **tactical eclecticism** and **organizational mergers with ambiguous currents**, motivated by the eventual **eclipse of the revolution and isolation of the Russian revolution** within the global revolution. Therefore, communist parties became detached from the working masses in Europe.

The Communist International **was not a politically homogeneous organization**, and despite apparent declarations, **completely heterogeneous and anti-Marxist positions coexisted** behind national exceptions and **sudden tactical zig-zags** that followed one another.

The **lack of political homogeneity** within the International resulted in a **lack of tactical stability**, an **internal environment of parliamentarism and bureaucratic diplomacy** alongside **its inevitable counterpart: 'discipline for discipline' and 'ideological terror'** as organizational cement.

The **misguided transfer of a suitable tactic for the dual revolution in Russia** (anti-feudal revolution combined with proletarian revolution) to a situation of mature capitalism where the prerequisites for its application did not exist led to the **subjugation of newly formed communist parties to the politics of social democracy, causing complete confusion** with the executioners of the revolution.

It is crucial to realize the **extreme speed** at which a tactical error solidifies into a **tactical deviation** that projects into a **programmatic deviation** and, to establish itself within the organization, materializes as an **organizational deviation**. Just a year and a half after its birth, the International embarked on the path that would lead to its **complete degeneration in just 7 years of existence**.

More specifically, starting with the **tactical error** of *'revolutionary parliamentarism'* in mature capitalism and the **ambiguous formulation** of *'conquering the majority'*, the slide into the **tactical deviation** of the *'political united front'* combined with a **tactical-organizational deviation** in the *federalist* sense (not individual adherence but *'mergers with pieces of parties'*, admission of sympathizing parties, internal atmosphere of *'parliamentary maneuvering'*) led to **theoretical-programmatic deviations** such as *'national Bolshevism'* in Germany and the *"workers' government"* culminating with the **organizational deviation** of the wrongly named *'Bolshevization'* which meant the establishment of *'discipline for discipline'* and of *'ideological terror'*, the method of *'personal humiliation'* through *'self-criticism'*, even using the state police apparatus and economic pressure to suppress internal disagreements.

The **material defeat of the revolution** in Europe, both **cause and product** of the aforementioned points, prevented the correction of deviations and **confined the Russian revolution to the task of building capitalism** in Russia.

The **Stalinist counterrevolution - 'socialism in one country'**, abandonment of the world revolution, reinstatement of Menshevism, and physical elimination of the old Bolshevik guard - is thus a **result of this degenerative process of the International**, straddling the material defeat of the revolution in Europe, a combined product of the **needs of capitalism's development in Russia and the tactic of alliance (*'political united front', 'workers government'*) with European Mensheviks**, with social democracy, a consummate bourgeois agent.

The organizational formula of 'democratic centralism', characteristic of the Third International, was historically open to different and opposing developments: on one hand, it tended toward **bureaucratic, despotic, and state, yet always democratic, centralism of Stalinism, in other words, of counterrevolution**; and on the other hand, it tended toward **organic and non-democratic centralism characteristic of the single International Communist Party, purely communist and purely Marxist, based on a single doctrine, a single program, and a rational systematization of tactics**. *"'Democratic centralism' was historically open on one hand to the monolithism of the revolution, and on the other hand to the monolithism of counterrevolution."*(The organic structure of the party is the other side of its unity of doctrine and program, 1965).

The **Russian opposition**, physically liquidated in the culmination of this degenerative process, **shared responsibility for all tactical deviations** that precisely led to that degeneration. It was **defeated by the counterrevolution without being able to draw lessons from its own mistakes** - or, worse, drawing incorrect lessons - so it cannot represent a starting point for the resumption of the revolutionary communist movement.

The **councilist opposition** faced the mechanical generalization of the tactical lessons of the Russian revolution to capitalist Europe but made profound errors in assessing the political nature of the Russian revolution (considered purely bourgeois), in the **devaluation of the Party** and the role of leaders, in equating the workers union plan with the parliamentary one, thereby falling into **anarchoid positions incompatible with Marxism**. This opposition cannot represent a starting point for the resumption of the revolutionary communist movement either.

Among the currents that opposed Stalinist counterrevolution, **only the 'Italian' Communist Left opposed the degeneration of the Communist International on the basis of integral Marxism**, anticipating causes and consequences, advocating for a *left line that is truly general and not occasional*, while consistently advocating for the proletarian political character of the October Revolution, the need for a **centralized Communist Party**, the need for the **Dictatorship of the Proletariat** led by this Party, the use of **Red Terror**, and the need for the development of **labor union work** as a necessary but insufficient element for the revolutionary perspective. Simultaneously, it advocated for the need for a **tactical program binding for the entire organization (center and periphery)**, the most **complete political homogeneity** as the only basis for true **organic centralism** to **overcome the deceptive democratic organizational aspect**: *"Real unity and centralization - demanded by us more than by anyone else - in action and in the Party's organizational mode are the result, the endpoint, not the cause and the starting point, of unity and centralization of doctrine, program, and the system of tactical norms: seeking the former without the latter is futile; worse than futile, it's destructive and deadly."*(Continuity of Party Action on the Thread of the Tradition of the Left, 1966).

How to untangle the mess

For the present work we will begin with the article published by the spontaneist organization Grupo Barbaria and entitled "Capitalist Catastrophe and Revolutionary Theory".

That article claims to be aimed at *"making explicit the general scheme that presides over our* [Grupo Barbaria's] *conception of the revolutionary process and that is already germinating from the contradictions of capitalism"* and, for that purpose, it is based *"on what was developed by an important text of the Italian left in 1951, Theory and Action in Marxist doctrine"*.

The conclusion of the article of the Grupo Barbaria, allegedly derived from the Party text of 1951, is that neither the actual existence of a formal Party nor the intervention of the communists in the organisms of immediate struggle (class union) is possible:

- *"And it makes no sense that, as revolutionaries and communists, we permanently bang our heads against the wall of capital."* (Grupo Barbaria).
- *"Hence the absurdity to proclaim oneself a formal party without a movement of the proletariat to constitute itself as a class for itself."* (Grupo Barbaria).
- *"What does seem decisive to us is the critique of the idea that in every time and moment it is possible to be an active factor in transforming History, whether in the intermediate organisms that are subjected to the logic of capital (such as the labor unions or the apparatuses that participate in the electoral contest), or with the attempt to create them ex novo through the impulse of organized minorities. They are an empty effort, worthy of Sisyphus."* (Grupo Barbaria).

Trite and long-refuted positions

The conclusions of the Grupo Barbaria are the umpteenth formulation of positions that Marxism has refuted since its beginnings and forever. They are the positions of anarchism: negation of labor union action and equating it to parliamentarism, negation of the function of the Party, etc.

Frankly, if it is sometimes useful to expose the errors contained in these positions, we would find to do so other sources that present them in a more genuine and coherent way. But there is a reason that moves us to continue with this analysis.

What is the opportunist core of the Grupo Barbaria

The reason is the tergiversation made by this group of the positions held by the "Italian" Communist Left in defense of Marxism; a defense that it carried with complete continuity and coherence throughout the cycle as a faction within the Italian Socialist Party, as leadership of the CP of Italy and then as a majority in the opposition, later as the Internationalist Communist Party and as the International Communist Party. The distortion is of such magnitude and otherwise so recurrent, that it is worthwhile to stop and analyze it.

The Party met other "barbarists" precisely in the period in which Theory and Action in the Marxist Doctrine was written. Despite the different nuance in the name, we will see that we are dealing with the same basic substance. To the refutation of yesterday's "barbarists" the Party dedicated in 1953 the series of texts: *"The Batrachomyomachia"*, *"Squawk of praxis"* and *"Dance of puppets: from consciousness to culture"*.

As we said at the time: *"It is clear that it would not be worthwhile to follow these fools, if they were not accompanied by the pretension of being the last development and modern expression of Marxism; and, even more, of being the presentation of Marxism, from which the resumption against the degenerations, induced in the world movement by the predominance, even outside its borders, of the Moscow State and party bureaucracy, should start. It is even more worrisome when things of the kind, and even with greater confusion of terms and theses, are launched by pretended followers and coherent continuers of the left oppositions, which 30 years ago decided to fight against the first symptoms of Stalinist opportunism."* (Squawk of Praxis, 1953).

Theory and Action in Marxist Doctrine (1951)

The Party, then called the Internationalist Communist Party, held a general meeting in Rome on April 1st, 1951. The content of that meeting was published in the Internal Bulletin, No. 1, on September 10th, 1951 with the title "Theory and action in the Marxist doctrine" consisting of two parts "I- The inversion of praxis in the Marxist Theory" and "II- Revolutionary Party and economic action".

From this simple material fact, without even needing to start reading, it is evident that the comrades who held these meetings, who wrote, published and distributed this text were part of a formal Party and that in no way was their intention, nor their position, nor their practice to claim that the formal Party should not exist, even at a time of maximum depression as was the year 1951.

From this point on, shame on anyone who attempts to stammer out one more word trying to derive from the content of this text - or any other Party text - the impossibility of the existence of the formal Party even in times of complete domination by the counterrevolution.

Breaking anonymity, sign of opportunism

This text we have been talking about is published in the Grupo Barbaria website with the following title: *"Amadeo Bordiga: theory and action in the Marxist doctrine"* in the section of texts whose authorship is attributed to him. It is not the only Party text that suffers in the web page of the Grupo Barbaria and in its articles this personification with name and surname.

This same obsession of publishing Party texts with the author's name and surname is shared by the Grupo Barbaria - and it is no coincidence - with the degenerate center of the former party that published them through the Iskra publisher and that came to participate in the aberrant Amadeo Bordiga Foundation.

With what right and intention does the Grupo Barbaria publish this Party text, giving an author's name and surname?

If the comrades who published the original text had considered it the product of an individual author, if they had considered it convenient to publish it with a signature, if they had wanted it to be republished associating it to a name and surname, they would have done it from the very beginning. But they did not. Contrary to what the Grupo Barbaria would wish and what is convenient for them, not only this report but all those that followed appeared anonymously, **not as documents of individuals but as Party texts**.

Why does the Grupo Barbaria personify the texts?

The answer is simple. To distort the content of the texts and try to make them say the opposite of what the comrades who wrote and published them stood for, they need to tear the texts out of their context, to **degrade them from Party texts to documents of individuals**.

How else could the Grupo Barbaria sustain its anti-Party position based on these… Party texts?

As an example, the Grupo Barbaria states: *"Basically, as Bordiga developed extensively during the 50s and 60s of the twentieth century, this contradiction between productive forces and social relations of production expresses a clash between two modes of production: one that loses more and more social energy, capitalism, and another that advances in the dissolution of the old, communism"* (Grupo Barbaria). Let's see where our "barbarists" can find any text from the 50's and 60's of the 20th century signed by Bordiga! Here the personification serves them to introduce a variant of the theory of decadence and of a reformist gradualism worthy of Gramsci... precisely the position that the text Theory and Action in Marxist doctrine mercilessly demolishes (see below point 1 in the Summary)!

The iconification of leaders of Marxism is not a new phenomenon but a regular trait of opportunism. Lenin explains it well at the beginning of "The State and the Revolution": *"What is now happening to Marx's theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it. (…) All the social-chauvinists are now "Marxists" (don't laugh!). (…) In these circumstances, in view of the unprecedently wide-spread distortion of Marxism, our prime task is to re-establish what Marx really taught on the subject of the state."* (State and Revolution, Lenin, 1917).

A representative of the Italian Communist Left had to warn that Lenin would not escape the same fate: *"At the beginning of The State and the Revolution Lenin himself says that it is fatal that the great revolutionary pioneers are falsified: as has happened with Marx and his best adherents. Will Lenin himself escape this fate? Certainly not (...)."* (Lenin on the path of revolution, Prometeo, 1924).

The same militant was subjected to the method of personalization of the collective and impersonal positions that he defended, on that occasion by Bukharin, in the last intervention within the Enlarged Executive of the International: *"One rejoices in repeating: "Bordiga's system, Bordiga's theory, Bordiga's metaphysics", and one pretends that I am completely alone, that I am exposing here only my own ideas and my personal critique.* ***They want to present my position as if it were strictly personal*** *(...) I represent here the positions defended by a group within the communist movement (...)* ***It is not, then, exclusively personal ideas that I defend here, but those of a whole group."*** (Speech at the VI Enlarged Executive, 1926).

The same comrade wrote in a letter in 1964: *"So* ***no more names and myths made of names****. It is therefore regrettable that comrades are not educated to understand that* ***it is not a decent point of view to say: 'Amadeo thinks like this'****."* (letter of November 25th, 1964).

And that same comrade, as an anonymous Party militant, participated in the warning contained in the Milan Theses (1966) of the existing tendency within the Party to reproduce the same mechanism: *"6.- Another regular and constant trait of the opportunist phenomenon, as it was generated in the Second International and as it triumphs today after the even worse ruin of the Third, is that of* ***combining the worst degeneration of the principles of the party to an ostentatious admiration for the classic texts, for the dictation and the work of great masters and great leaders. Constant characteristic of the hypocrisy of the petty bourgeois*** *is the servile applause for the power of the victorious leader, for the greatness of the texts of illustrious authors, for the eloquence of the fecund orator, when in the application they descend to the most despicable and contradictory degenerations. Therefore,* ***a body of theses is worthless if those who embrace them with literary enthusiasm do not succeed later in practical action in understanding the spirit and respecting it and want to mask the transgression with a more accentuated, but platonic adherence to theoretical texts****."*

The Milan Theses (1966) end with this lapidary passage: *"The current effort of our party in its difficult task is to* ***free itself forever from the treacherous thrust that seemed to emanate from illustrious men, and from the despicable function of fabricating, to achieve its objectives and its victories, a stupid notoriety and publicity for other personal names****. The party should not lack in any of its meanders the decision and the courage to fight for a similar result, true anticipation of the history and the society of tomorrow"*.

Also the closing of the 1965 Considerations is clear in this respect: *"The transmission of this non-deformed tradition, with the* ***efforts to make real a new international party organization without historical pauses****, organizationally cannot be based on the election of very qualified men or very informed of the historical doctrine, but organically it cannot but use in the most faithful way the line between the group action with which it manifested itself 40 years ago, and the present line. The new movement cannot hope for supermen or to have the Messiah, but it must be based on the revival of what may have been preserved over a long period of time, and preservation cannot be limited to the teaching of theses and the search for documents, but it also makes use of living tools that form an old guard and that rely on giving an uncorrupted and powerful slogan to a young guard. This is launched towards new revolutions, which perhaps should not have to wait more than a decade from now for action on the plane of the historical scene;* ***the party and the revolution are not at all interested in the names of the one or the other."***

Can anyone, acting honestly, publish Theory and Action in Marxist Doctrine (1951) or any other Party text that has appeared anonymously, associating with it the name and surname of its supposed author?

The Considerations and Theses of 1965 and 1966

The Considerations and Theses of 1965 and 1966 contain the balance and, at the same time, the antidote against the degeneration that subsequently developed within the Party, as an effect of the prolonged weight of the counterrevolution.

The Party lacked in the following years the energy to apply them. We will have the opportunity to delve into this process when we deal with those who simultaneously label us as "syndicalists" and "generically theorists", a curious combination that exposes the labeler and reveals its real position then and

now: abandonment of labor union work, interclassist activism and revision of the fundamental positions of the Party.

The Considerations and Theses of 1965 and 1966 are simultaneously directed against the activist current that wanted to reintroduce democratic centralism in the Party, as well as the mystical-humanistic-spontaneist tendency that also left the Party after their publication to create the magazine "Invariance".

This second tendency can be seen in some articles appearing in the Party newspaper of the time (il Programma comunista) such as "The Death Penalty", "The dissolution of bourgeois sexual morality..." and "Origin and function of the Party form". It is impossible not to see the moralistic, mystical, humanistic and spontaneist content of these articles, which sometimes manifests itself openly, sometimes it hides a little and only shows its head, and other times it remains crouched between lines and ambiguities. It is equally impossible not to see in the Considerations and Theses of 1965 and 1966 a precise and even literal refutation of the mystical-humanistic-spontaneist positions of that current, which coincides in time with the material departure of the Party by the members of the same current.

Tenacity and resurgence of Proudhonism

We spend some time on all this because precisely this mystical-humanistic-spontaneist current and its main representative (Jacques Camatte) are the real theoretical source of the Grupo Barbaria and, like this current, they have to resort to all kinds of tricks and twists to cover up the fact that their positions are totally contrary to those of the Party texts in which they are trying to fish.

Like the current spontaneists of the Grupo Barbaria who see the beginning of a revolutionary process in the misnamed "Arab Springs" or in the Spanish 15-M (!) and in the movements of the petty bourgeoisie everywhere, also that spontaneist current saw in May '68 the *"opening of a new revolutionary phase"*, *"the emergence of communism"*, a *"total rejection of the society of capital, the appeal to an affirmation of men, a launching towards another type of society"* and blamed the Party and, of course, comrade Bordiga, for not having recognized the emergence of the revolution. Fifty years later, it is clear which assessment was the correct one, without this being enough for our spontaneists to stop seeing emerging revolutions in every bubbling of the boiling water of the petty bourgeoisie.

This humanistoid mysticism is condensed in the metaphysical explanation that the Grupo Barbaria gives of itself: *"Each time throughout history that the exploited classes have risen up, they have carried along the same barbarism, the same* (sic) *human community against the exploitation. Barbaria is a place that resides in memory* (sic)*. It is there where the millenarian history of our class* (sic) *is kept, from the primitive communities to the worldwide human community."* (Barbaria?, Grupo Barbaria).

The rejection to the integration in the present capitalist society in putrefaction is a vital integral part of our position as a Party, but the Party has never said that the proletarian class was "millenary" nor that all the preceding revolutionary classes posed "the same human community": only with capitalism and the birth of the modern proletariat a class is born whose historical mission is the abolition of all classes, culminating a millenary arc that goes from primitive communism to higher communism. Whoever speaks of a "millenary proletariat" is a moralistic humanist who camouflages his essence under the wrapping of the word "proletariat" which in his mouth means any oppressed class in history, including the revolutionary bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie against feudalism.

The position of the "barbarists" of today is the same as those of yesterday: **proudhonism**. The Party can give them the same answer: *"The whole conception of class struggles is reduced to an uninterrupted battle against a single enemy: exploitation. The monster is always it, the victims in revolt change: slaves, serfs, wage-earners, etc. Here we are in full Philosophie de la misére a la Proudhon. Swill buried in 1847, something unsuspectable in 1848."* (The Batrachomyomachia, 1953).

This is not a license in its presentation: *"it is a path that began since the first human rose up against power and exploitation"* (France, Greece, United Kingdom... proletarians of the whole world, let's burn capitalism!, Grupo Barbaria). By means of this complete blurring of the characters of the proletariat, which encompasses everything anybody wants and more, they arrive untainted at the **crassest interclassism**: *"all these revolts and struggles can come to look each other in the eye, as part of the same project, of the same human need (...) all the struggles are part of the same struggle and all are necessary to continue fighting"* (France, Greece, United Kingdom... proletarians of the whole world, let's burn capitalism!, Grupo Barbaria).

It is clear that, for this humanist, moralist and interclassist approach in which "all struggles" and "all revolts" (regardless of the class that carries them forward and the class interests that are defended) are "human" and are part of the same struggle millennia ago as today, the Communist Party is something very uncomfortable so the better that it does not exist.

These are not new conclusions either: *"It is proven that they travel the historical road backwards, by the fact that if they diverge on the date of death of the 'party' (which causes them horror, inasmuch as there are, as they say, Heads and Leaders), they all agree on the thesis that the party is becoming progressively less and less necessary to the class.* ***In substance they are people who, as soon as you scratch them, reveal their idealism, moralism, individualism and sanctity of the person****, and all they have understood of the Russian issue is that a dishonest gang thirsty for domination and luxury has tripped up the proletariat, with the aim of insinuating to it that it had need of these* ***two sinister instruments: a government and a political party, moreover centralized, and which have stifled autonomy, supreme obsession of anyone who has grown up in the crass bourgeois mentality*** *survived under the empty attitudes of... existential refractory.*

Because the exact thesis is precisely the opposite: ***The working class, more and more, in its long historical course towards revolution, needs its political party!"*** (Squawk of Praxis, 1953).

Summary of the Rome meeting of April 1951

There is another curious aspect of the way Grupo Barbaria publishes the text. It is in fact a collage of the original publication. Thus, the items of the Summary, the Report ("relazione" in Italian, erroneously translated as "relation") and the Appendix are reordered.

If, instead of scattering its constituent points, the Summary is published in full and in order (as it was published in 1953 in the booklet "Sul Filo del Tempo" together with fundamental texts such as "The Corpse Still Walks"), the mentioned Summary refutes by itself the conclusions that the Grupo Barbaria tries to draw from our fundamental text. We reproduce below the text of the Summary, highlighting in bold the main points subject to

misrepresentation by the anti-labor union spontaneism:

"1. Against the disordered situation in which ideology, organization and revolutionary action are in, ***it is a false remedy to count on an inevitable and gradual decadence of capitalism*** *that would have already begun and at the bottom of which would await the proletarian revolution.* ***The curve of capitalism has no descending branch.***

2. The second historical and international opportunist crisis, with the collapse of the Third International, derives from intermediatism, a conception that sought to place transitional general political objectives between the bourgeois dictatorship and the proletarian dictatorship. ***It is an erroneous position that which, in order to avoid intermediatism, renounces the particular economic demands of the proletarian groups****.*

3. Correct Marxist praxis affirms that the consciousness of the individual, and even that of the mass, follows action, and that action follows the impulse of economic interest. ***Only in the class party does consciousness and in certain phases the decision of action precede the class clash. But such a possibility is organically inseparable from the molecular interplay of the initial physical and economic impulses****.*

4. According to all the traditions of Marxism and of the Italian and international Left, ***the work and struggle within the proletarian associations is one of the indispensable conditions for the success of the revolutionary struggle****, together with the pressure of the productive forces against the relations of production, and the* ***correct theoretical, organizational and tactical continuity of the political party****.*

5. In the several phases of the bourgeois trajectory (revolutionary, reformist, counter-revolutionary), the dynamics of trade union action underwent profound changes (interdiction, tolerance, submission); but ***this does not alter the fact that it is organically indispensable to have among the mass of proletarians and the minority within the party an additional layer of organizations that are politically neutral in principle, but constitutionally accessible only to the workers, and that organizations of this type must re-emerge in the phase in which the revolution is approaching****."*

The Summary is sufficient to make it clear that the **work and struggle within the proletarian economic associations** (class unions) is one of the **indispensable** conditions for the success of the revolutionary struggle, together with the **pressure of the productive forces** against the relations of production and the correct **theoretical, organizational and tactical continuity of the... Party**. This continuity requires the existence of this organism, of the formal Party, long before the moment in which the polarization of the classes in struggle takes place. Its existence is, in reality and according to the text, a condition of this polarization.

These are the same positions that our current has always defended, with complete continuity: *"Above all, it is evident that* ***the proletariat would not be mature enough to face the extremely difficult problems of its dictatorship if the indispensable organ for solving them, the party, had not long before*** *begun to establish the body of its doctrines and experiences. (…)*

The international communist movement must be composed *not only of those who are firmly convinced of the need for revolution, who are willing to fight for it at any cost, but also* ***of those who are determined to move on the revolutionary terrain even if the difficulties of the struggle indicate that the goal is steeper and more distant.*** *In the moment of acute revolutionary crisis, acting on the solid foundation of our international organization, we will* ***polarize*** *around us the elements that are still undecided today, and we will prevail over the social-democratic parties of all shades.* ***If revolutionary possibilities are less immediate, we will not, even for a moment, run the risk of being distracted from weaving our network of preparation*** *and retreating to the solution of other contingent problems, which would only benefit the bourgeoisie."* (Party and class action, 1921).

It also follows from the Summary that, despite the dynamics of integration of the trade union apparatus into the networks of the bourgeois State, organizations of this type (class unions not integrated into the State) must **re-emerge** in the phase of approaching the revolution.

The Summary resolves the absurd syllogism in which the Grupo Barbaria entangles itself to justify its anti-Party position: the class struggle is not possible without the Party but the Party can only emerge from the class struggle. The false dilemma resolves itself with the affirmation: *"****Only in the class party the consciousness and - in certain phases - the decision of action precedes the class clash****. But such a possibility is organically inseparable from the molecular play of the initial physical and economic impulses."*

In its opportunist reading of this paragraph, the Grupo Barbaria (as does also N+1, its other source of inspiration besides J. Camatte) deduces that the party can only exist in those moments (or phases) in which the decision of action precedes the class clash. This when they do not directly affirm that *"will and consciousness can never precede action"* (Grupo Barbaria), that is to say, the negation without further ado of the inversion of praxis and of the very function of the Party.

But neither one thing nor the other is what this fundamental Party text states, written precisely at a time when the class clash was conspicuous by its absence. The text claims that **only in the Party** (as an impersonal and collective organ) consciousness is the starting point. The text adds that, in certain phases, the decision of the Party action precedes and influences the class clash. These are the moments of revolutionary effervescence in which the Party can lead the movement along the path of revolutionary action. These moments are not determined by the will of individuals or organizations but by the molecular play of the initial physical and economic impulses. It is essential to note that this locution "and – in certain phases –" is added to this second consideration and not to the first. There would be no sense in this precision with respect to the second if both were on the same plane.

The solution to the enigma indecipherable for the Grupo Barbaria is evident for those who are not burdened with spontaneist prejudices. The indispensable conditions for the success of the revolutionary struggle are: 1) the **work and struggle within the proletarian economic associations** (class unions), 2) **the pressure of the productive forces** against the relations of production and 3) the correct **theoretical, organizational and tactical continuity of the Party**. If one of these is missing, revolutionary success is not viable.

This Party must carry forward a correct theoretical, organizational and tactical continuity, as well as work and

struggle within the proletarian economic associations. Now, up to this point we have two of the three conditions and these two alone do not determine a revolutionary situation. The third is missing. Only when the three conditions concur do we have a revolutionary situation and the decision of the Party's action entails and guides the revolutionary class clash.

If the first two conditions are missing and only the third is present, we do not have a revolutionary situation and the experience of numerous failures shows that when the time comes it is too late to improvise these two conditions because **continuity** and **work** correspond to processes that are not accidental or sporadic but to **preparation** processes that must precede the situation in which the results must be put into action with multiplied historical potential.

Lyon Theses (1926)

The content of "Theory and Action in the Marxist Doctrine" synthetically collects the content of the positions defended by the Left in its struggle against the degeneration of the International.

Let us read again two important passages of the Lyon Theses of 1926, which not only *"are a point of arrival, if they are observed on the perspective of the six years of history lived (since the successive years were years of death) by the III International: they are a* ***starting point*** *if they are observed in the light of our independent existence first as a current and then as a party, but above all in the light of the future perspectives of the proletarian revolutionary movement"* (The continuity of action of the party on the thread of the tradition of the Left, Milan meeting, December 24th-25th, 1966).

The first passage states: *"The activity of the party cannot and should not be limited only to the preservation of the purity of the theoretical principles and the purity of the organizational complex, or only to the achievement at all costs of immediate successes and numerical popularity.* ***It must ALWAYS and in all situations involve*** *the following three points:*

a) the defense and precision, in relation to the new groups of facts that present themselves, of the fundamental programmatic postulates, that is, of the theoretical consciousness of the working class movement;

b) the ***assurance of the continuity of the organizational complex of the party and its efficiency****, and its defense against the infections of foreign influences opposed to the revolutionary interest of the proletariat;*

c) the ***active participation in all the struggles of the working class, even in those raised by partial and limited interests, to encourage their development, but constantly bringing to them the factor of the link with the final revolutionary objectives*** *and presenting the conquests of the class struggle as ways of access to the indispensable future struggles, denouncing the danger of accommodating with partial achievements, considered as points of arrival, and of sacrificing to them the conditions of the class activity and combativeness of the proletariat, such as the autonomy and independence of its ideology and of its organizations, in the first rank of which is the party.*

The ***supreme objective of this complex activity of the Party is to PREPARE the subjective conditions for the preparation of the proletariat in order to put it in a position to take advantage of the objective revolutionary possibilities that history will present, as soon as they arise****, so that it will emerge victorious from the struggle, and not defeated."* (Lyon Theses, I-General matters, 3.- Action and tactics of the Party, 1926).

The second passage states: *"There are situations which, as a consequence of the relations of force, are objectively unfavorable for the revolution (although they may be less distant than others in time, since historical evolution - as Marxism teaches - presents very different speeds) in which wanting to be at all costs mass and majority parties, wanting to have at all costs a predominant political influence, can only be achieved by renouncing communist principles and methods, and by pursuing a social-democratic and petty-bourgeois policy.*

It must be said loud and clear that, in certain past, present and future situations, the proletariat has been, is and will be for the most part, necessarily, in a non-revolutionary position, of inertia and of collaboration with the enemy, depending on the case: but that, in spite of everything, ***the proletariat remains always and everywhere the potentially revolutionary class and depository of the revenge of the revolution, as long as there exists in its midst the communist party which, without ever renouncing all the possibilities of asserting itself and of manifesting itself in a coherent manner, knows how to avoid the ways which appear easier for the purposes of immediate popularity, but which would divert it, the party, from its task and would deprive the proletariat of the indispensable foothold of its resumption.****"* (Lyon Theses, I-General matters, 3.- Action and tactics of the Party, 1926).

The lesson is deep and has historical reach, but it is simple to understand for those who are not imbued with spontaneist prejudices: 1) there are unfavorable situations in which the Party cannot have a mass influence without renouncing to be such a Party; 2) in these situations, the mass of the proletariat can be in a position not only not revolutionary but of inertia and collaboration with the ruling class; 3) but there is an element whose existence is the indispensable foothold of the resumption of the class struggle of the proletariat: the Communist Party; 4) this Party must never renounce all the possibilities of asserting itself in a coherent manner but it must avoid the easier ways that would disfigure it as such.

If the existence of the Party is an indispensable foothold for the resumption of the class struggle, it is clear, it is a necessary ingredient of it. And it is also clear **that it must pre-exist this resumption** that it is not a Party kept in formol but one that does not renounce to all the possibilities of asserting itself in a coherent way, even if this is possible only in a limited way. Another matter is that its growth and capacity to influence the situation in a revolutionary sense is indissolubly linked to the very development of this struggle and to the material conditions, to the pressure of the productive forces.

As part of the struggle against the degeneration of the International, our current fought precisely against the position that a situation of progressive crisis of capitalism would be necessary for the formation of communist parties:

"It is clear that if ***our party is a factor of events, it is at the same time their product****. Even if we succeed in having a truly revolutionary party: In what sense are events reflected in this party? In the sense that* ***the number of our supporters grows and our influence on the masses increases when the crisis of capitalism generates a favorable situation. If at a given moment, the conjuncture becomes unfavorable for us, it is possible that our forces will drop quantitatively, but we must not allow our ideology to be affected****, and it is not only our tradition and our organization that must remain intact, but also the political line.* ***If we believe that, in order to prepare the parties***

for their revolutionary task, we must rely on a situation of progressive crisis of capitalism, we create for ourselves a scheme of completely mistaken perspectives*, because, then we estimate that it is necessary, for the consolidation of our party,* ***a period of long and progressive capitalist crisis: but when we get there, the economic situation will have to do us the favor of remaining revolutionary for some time yet to allow us to go into action****. If the crisis deepens after a period of uncertain conjuncture, we will be unable to exploit it. Because our parties, as a consequence of our mistaken way of seeing things, will inevitably find themselves submerged in confusion, bewilderment and impotence."* (Speech at the VI Enlarged Executive, 1926).

In short, if someone has read Party and class (1921), Party and class action (1921), the Rome Theses of 1922 or the Lyon Theses of 1926 and has come to the conclusion that these Party texts defend the non-existence of the formal Party in historically unfavorable situations, this person has a serious problem of reading comprehension or is an intentional falsifier of their content.

Characteristic theses (1951)

In December of the same year in which "Theory and Action in the Marxist Doctrine" was published, a general meeting was held in Florence, the content of which was later published under the title Characteristic Theses. As their name indicates, these Theses are fundamental and characteristic of our current, of the Party.

We reproduce here a brief selection of the part related to the possibility or not of the existence of the formal Party in the periods of maximum depression, unfavorable and passivity of the working class, on the one hand, and of the intervention of the Party in the organs of immediate struggle on the other:

"I.6. (...) While considering the labor union as an organ by itself insufficient for the revolution, Marxism considers it, however, an ***INDISPENSABLE*** *organ for the mobilization of the class on the political and revolutionary plane, achieved with the presence and penetration of the Communist Party in the economic class organizations. In the difficult phases of the formation of the economic associations, the associations which comprise only proletarians and to which these adhere spontaneously, but without the obligation to profess given political, religious and social opinions, are considered as suitable for the task of the party. Such character is lost in confessional and compulsory membership associations, or in those which have become an integral part of the State.*

I.7.- The party never adopts the method of forming partial economic organizations comprising only workers who accept the principles and leadership of the communist party. (...) It is the task of the party, ***in unfavorable periods*** *and periods of passivity of the proletarian class,* ***to foresee the forms and encourage the appearance of organizations with economic objectives for the immediate struggle****, which may even assume totally new aspects in the future, after the well-known types of corporation, industrial union, company council, etc.* ***The party always encourages*** *those forms of organization which facilitate contact and common action among the workers of various localities and of different professions, rejecting closed forms. (...)*

*I V.4.- Today****, in the fullness of the depression, in spite of the fact that the possibilities of action are greatly restricted, the party, following the revolutionary tradition, does not intend, however, to break the historical line of the preparation of a future large-scale resumption of the class movement,*** *which will make its own the results of all past experiences. From the restriction of practical activity does not derive the renunciation of revolutionary postulates. The party acknowledges that the restriction of certain sectors is quantitatively accentuated, but it does not thereby change the whole of the elements of its activity, nor does it expressly renounce them.*

IV.8.- ***The party, in spite of the reduced number of its adherents, determined by the clearly counterrevolutionary conditions, does not cease the proselytism and the propaganda of its principles in all oral or written forms, although its meetings have few participants and its press, limited diffusion.*** *(…)".*

Back to the 1965 Considerations

With a typically opportunist method, the Grupo Barbaria takes specific terms of the Party to give them a different meaning, taking them out of their natural context, to adorn themselves with a depth of analysis whose conclusions are betrayed.

It is not something new or that can surprise us, Stalinism triumphed over the Marxist current by appropriating Marxist terms and publishing the complete works of Marx, Engels and Lenin in all languages.

An example is that of the concepts of "ionization" or "polarization" of the social molecules. This concept appears in point 6 of the *Considerations on the organic activity of the Party when the situation is historically unfavorable* of 1965 and is quoted in the article of the Grupo Barbaria, but without mentioning the source.

In fact, it would be enough to read the title of the text in question to see its complete contradiction with the positions of the Grupo Barbaria since it clearly deals with the activity of the formal Party in a historically unfavorable situation. This is the reason why the Grupo Barbaria is very cautious to say from which text it takes the quotation. But how can one use this text and even quote point 6 in its entirety while concealing what is said immediately below in points 7 and 8 of the same text?

"7.- ***What are, in this unfavorable period, the consequences on the internal organic dynamics of the party?*** *We have always said, in all the texts indicated above, that the party cannot but suffer from the characters of the real situation that surrounds it. Therefore, the great proletarian parties that exist are necessarily and manifestly opportunist.*

A fundamental thesis of the Left is that ***OUR PARTY MUST NOT RENOUNCE TO RESIST DESPITE OF THIS but must survive and transmit the flame along the historical "thread of time". It is clear that it will be a small party, not by our desire or choice, but by ineluctable necessity. (...)*** *(…)*

8.- Since the degenerating character of the social complex is concentrated in the falsification and destruction of theory and sane doctrine, it is clear that the small party of today has a preeminent character of restoration of the principles of doctrinal value, and unfortunately lacks the favorable background in which Lenin fulfilled it after the disaster of the first war. Yet, not for this reason can we erect a barrier between theory and practical action, because after a certain limit we will self-destruct together with all our bases of principle. We vindicate, therefore, all forms of activity suitable to favorable moments, insofar as the real relations of force allow them." (Considerations on the organic activity of the Party when the situation is historically

unfavorable, 1965).

And a little further on, dedicated to the "camattians" and the "barbarists" of today, the position of the Party is clarified as to a crucial point also highly manipulated by these currents: *"12.- **Historical Party and formal party**. (...) **No current militant can infer from this the right to a choice: to have the papers in order with the "Historical Party" and to disengage from the formal party.** (...)"* (Considerations on the organic activity of the Party when the situation is historically unfavorable, 1965).

The "easy way" and petty bourgeois laziness

At the beginning of this article we have seen how the Group Barbaria affirmed: *"And it makes no sense that, as revolutionaries and communists, we permanently bang our heads against the wall of capital."* (Grupo Barbaria). This is a declaration of principles, an authentic confession of its true approach: the revolution will fall from the sky.

The Party established a precise diagnosis for this type of reasoning that is worth remembering: *"**A fundamental characteristic** of the phenomenon that Lenin, with a term admitted by Marx and Engels, called, treating it with red-hot iron, **opportunism, lies in the preference for a shorter, more comfortable and less arduous way, as opposed to that longer, more uncomfortable and full of difficulties**, the only one on which the full convergence between the affirmation of our principles and programs, that is, of our maximum objectives, and the development of the immediate practical action carried out in the real situation of the moment, can be accomplished; (...) This verification obtained in the arc of an immense historical scale (...) leads us to the admonition that the party should avoid any decision or choice that could be dictated by the desire to obtain good results with less work or sacrifice. A similar impulse may seem innocent, but **it expresses the lazy mood of the petty bourgeois and obeys the suggestion of the capitalist basilar norm of obtaining maximum profit with minimum costs.**"* (Milan Theses, 1966).

Continuity of the Party's positions

The position of the Party has always consisted in defending at the same time that the revolution is not the product of a mere act of will and that there are no mechanical recipes to unleash it, that this does not imply the renunciation of the existence of the formal Party and all the forms of coherent manifestation of it that the situation allows, that the existence of the Party is an indispensable condition for the resumption of the struggle in a revolutionary direction, together with the resurgence of a stratum of organizations of struggle of the labor union type not integrated in the apparatus of the bourgeois State in which the Party has been able to gain an appreciable influence as well as the material contradiction generated by the pressure of the productive forces.

The continuity and coherence of the positions of the Party is unbreakable and without fissures through the different Theses and Fundamental Texts. As stated in a 1958 Party text: ***"Formulas and terms can be falsified by traitors and by morons, but their use is always a compass when it is continuous and concordant".***

After all the above, it is clear that the position of our current, of the Party and also, if wished, that of comrade Bordiga (who certainly played a fundamental role in the redaction of these Theses, although they are not "his" writings but anonymous Party texts, expression of an impersonal and organic movement, by decision of all those involved), has nothing to do with the conclusions that the Grupo Barbaria tries to draw from the biased reading of the Party's texts.

The true political DNA of the Grupo Barbaria in terms of organization is synthesized by themselves in the other article we have referred to: *"Proletarian autonomy. The leadership of the struggle is of the proletarians themselves, outside and against any organization that pretends to frame us. We fight independently, for ourselves"* (France, Greece, United Kingdom... proletarians all over the world, let's burn capitalism!, Grupo Barbaria).

This is the answer to "Party and Class" back in 1921: *"This makes the meaning of the fundamental truth clearer: the party is only a part of the class. Anyone who, looking at the fixed and abstract image of society, distinguishes a zone there, the class, and within it a small nucleus, the party, would easily fall into the consideration that all the part of the class, often the majority, that remains outside the party, could have greater weight, greater rights. But as soon as one thinks that in that large remaining mass, individuals do not yet have class consciousness and will, that they live for their own selfishness, for their category, for their local region, or for the nation, **it becomes clear that to ensure the collective action of the class in historical movement, an organization that inspires, strengthens, leads, and FRAMES** —this is the word— **it is necessary** and it becomes clear that the party is indeed the vital nucleus, without which there would be no reason to consider the remaining mass as a bundle of forces."* (Party and Class, 1921)

Anyone who really thinks, as the Grupo Barbaria claims to think, that "the leadership of the struggle belongs to the proletarians themselves", should be asked a question that is self-evident: why don't you dissolve yourselves and let the "proletarians themselves" be led "independently" and "by themselves"?

If the Grupo Barbaria had a minimum of political honesty it would say: we are against all the political positions of the Italian Communist Left and we are against all that has been specifically defended and written by A. Bordiga (with his signature or without it), we are all that that comrade fought against during his whole life. But this would prevent them from playing the role of confusion and distortion of Marxism and the Left to wrap their mystical-moralist-humanistic positions on the one hand and their spontaneist-anti-unionist-anti-party positions on the other.

So, we do not want to delude anyone that this act of political honesty can be expected.



READ, SUPPORT AND SPREAD THE COMMUNIST PRESS!

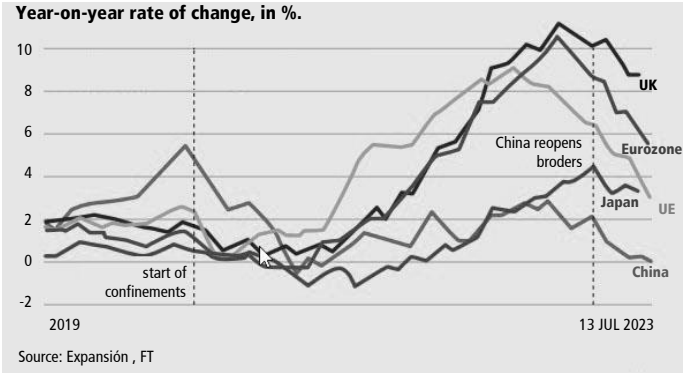
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ALTERNATIVA AL SISTEMA MERCANTIL CAPITALISTA

(documentary video)

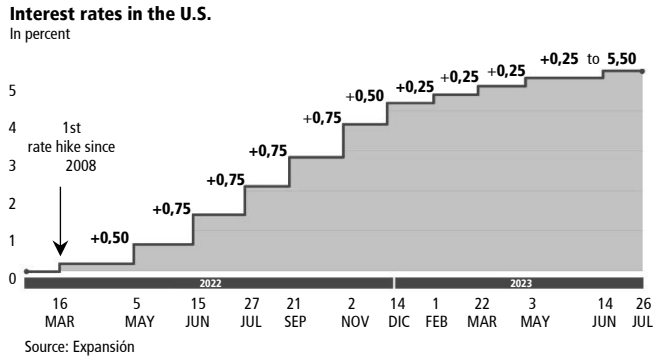
Evolution of inflation in general

Reflecting the evolution illustrated in the graphs published in "The Internationalist Proletarian" No. 11 in "Gradual deflation of the supply chain", the inflation indicators of the great capitalist powers have continued to fall, with inflation in general slowing down and China entering a situation of technical deflation.

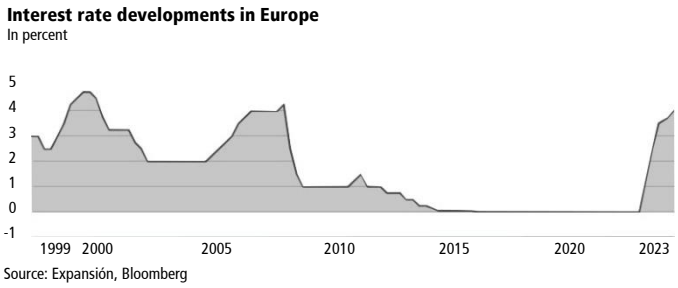


The Fed and the ECB

The Fed has taken interest rates to 5.5%, one point below the last relative high of 6.5% reached in 2000 in the run-up to the dot-com crash and the 2001 attacks that opened the cycle with which the US tried to resist what is now its decline.



The ECB has raised interest rates to 4.5%. The chart below shows that the two moments when the interest rate peaked were the preludes to its abrupt decline:



The following announcement is interesting: *"The ECB also announced that as of September 20 it will cease to remunerate the minimum reserves that it requires banks to have on deposit in Frankfurt. This money, which until now was paid the interest of the deposit rate (3.75%) will no longer offer a return to the entities. (...) almost 165,000 million will be affected by this decision."* (Expansión, 28-07-2023).

In other words, the ECB has reduced the interest rate for this capital to 0%. It is true that these capitals cannot be moved as they are compulsory reserves and this circumstance limits the impact of the decision. But this does not detract from the substance of the decision: lowering the interest rate.

As for the slimming of the balance sheets, on the one hand: *"As of August 9, the Fed's portfolio had shrunk by $0.98tn since the portfolio's peak of $8.55tn in May last year (…) aims to cut another $1.5tn from its balance sheet by mid-2025"* (Financial Times, 11-08-2023).

And, on the other hand: *"the ECB's balance sheet has gone from 8.8 trillion to 7.1 trillion (...) to finish with the debt portfolio in the hands of the institution organically would take between 12 and 15 years".* (Expansión, 02-08-2023).

The paradox is that these amounts are small and large at the same time. They are small when compared to the volume gobbled up and to the time (12 or 15 years of smooth capitalism... NOT EVEN IN THEIR BEST DREAMS!) needed to get rid of it. They are large and even enormous if compared to the oscillations and swings that they can produce in the debt market and in the liquidity of companies and institutions.

In a capitalist economy INDEBTED UP TO ITS EYESBALLS, the rise in rates produces a notable increase in the cost of debt: *"The debt analysts of the entity* [Bank of America] *point out that the cost of the new price of money for public and corporate issuers in the G20 countries could amount to 8 trillion dollars a year (7.3 trillion euros)".* (Expansión, 11-07-2023).

Central bank losses

If in the previous issue we looked at the losses of the Swiss, European and US central banks, now it may be the turn of the German one: *"The Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, may need a recapitalization with public funds to cover losses derived from the European Central Bank's (ECB) bond purchase program, a report by the Bundesrechnungshof suggests (...) losses in the coming years would "probably" exceed the remaining 19.2 billion euros in provisions and 2.5 billion euros in capital."* (Expansión, 27-06-2023).

Central banks against the working class

The blatant statements of the central bankers make clear their objective of torpedoing the purchasing power of the working class to force them to accept WORKING MORE FOR LESS WAGES: *"The labor market is very strong, that puts upward pressure on wages, which in turn serves to keep spending high and leads to more inflation," summarized Jerome Powell, chairman of the Fed. In the United States, unemployment is at near historic lows, below 4%, a situation that the head of the Washington-based institution believes must change in order to recover price stability (...) "the number of job offers for each unemployed person, which was once seven, is already falling."* (Expansión, 29-06-2023).

The 'rating' of the US banks and that of the US

The big US banks announced that they would raise their dividends after obtaining as a result of the stress test – admittedly in the most pessimistic scenario – that they would lose "only" 541 billion dollars (Financial Times, 01-07-2023). The situation is that: 1) a large part of the banks are replacing the escape of money from their deposits with loans from the Fed or the Federal Home Loan System, with a notable increase in the cost of funding 2) there have been widespread losses on bonds: *"Bank of America loses 100 billion in bonds (…) The losses at BofA accounted for a fifth of the $515bn in total unrealised losses in the securities portfolios among the nation's nearly 4,600 banks at the end of the first quarter, FDIC data showed"* (Financial Times, 29-06-2023), 3) non-performing loans have

doubled compared to the previous year and 4) *"Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation in an open letter (...) said it had "observed that some depository institutions" had "incorrectly" lowered the value of their uninsured deposits.* (Financial Times, 24-07-2023).

Result: two of the three main US agencies have downgraded the credit rating of several banks: *"Two weeks after Moody's Investors Service caused turmoil in financial markets by cutting the ratings of a number of U.S. banks, S&P Global Ratings has also downgraded the ratings and outlooks of several more."* (Expansión, 23-08-2023).

Immediate background: *"Fitch Ratings has cut the US debt rating from triple A to double A plus"* (Financial Times, 02-08-2023) joining a decision already taken in 2011, and maintained since then, by S&P.

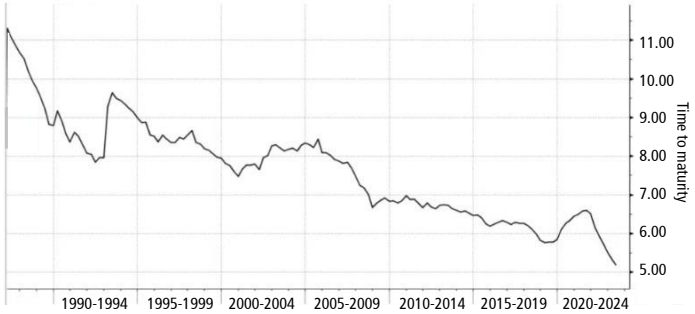
Neither the US banks nor the State itself deserve the full confidence, even for the gallery, of their own rating agencies!

Debt issuance by companies

The difficulty of refinancing - and, therefore, the greater probability of bankruptcy - of companies whose debt is in the "junk debt" category (or "high return", depending on the emphasis) is manifested in the reduction of maturities, in a reduction of the total market volume of this debt and in the reduction of the lowest segment: capitalists are not as willing to lend to companies with the lowest rating and when they do lend, they do so more on a short-term basis.

"By January, companies will have about $260 billion of debt coming due within a year, about double the current level, according to data compiled by Morgan Stanley. (Bloomberg, 17-06-2023).

Bloomberg US high yield corporate debt index



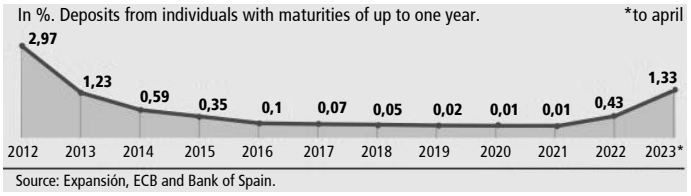
"The $1.35tn [1.2 billion euros] *US junk bond market has shrunk by almost $200bn since its all-time peak in late 2021."* (Financial Times, 13-07-2023). In Europe, *"So far this year, 67% of high yield bond issuance has been concentrated in companies with the highest rating in this category (BB)."* (Expansión, 15-08-2023).

Debt issuance by banks

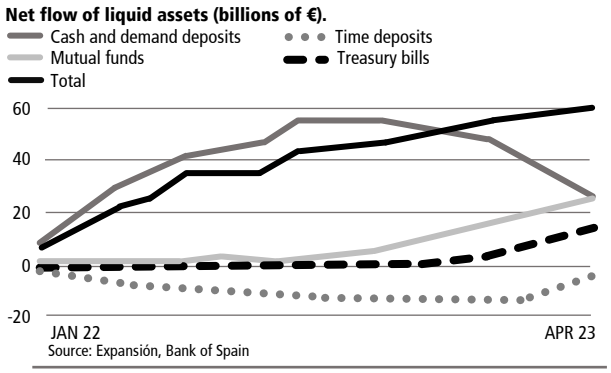
The APPETITE FOR DEBT by idle capital worldwide is still going on and the banks obtain the necessary liquidity by this means without having to raise the remuneration of deposits: *"Banks and other financial firms around the world have placed two trillion dollars in bonds (1.84 trillion euros) in record time this year".* (Expansión, 23-08-2023).

Deposits, bills of exchange and the petty bourgeoisie

The following graphs illustrate the situation derived from the above, in the Spanish State. Despite the evolution of the interest rate set by the ECB and which can be seen on the previous page, the interest paid on deposits is not at the same level.



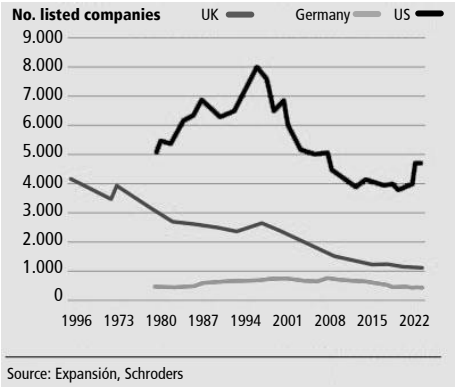
The following graph shows how the total volume of "savings" in the stock market is increasing, but with a significant decrease in deposits and an increase in "investment funds" and government bonds ("treasury bills").



The consequence for current "savers", among which are the future "RUINED", is the following: *"New cold water for savers who invest in Treasury Bills (...). As usual in the last auctions, the demand was very high and more than doubled the final allotment to 5,350 million euros (...) the high volume of requests allowed the Government to relax once again the yields offered (...)".* (Expansión, 17-08-2023).

Stock market: anomalies in the temple of capital

The number of companies on the Western stock exchanges is decreasing. In the City they have been falling since 1966, reaching a reduction of 60%: from 2,700 companies to 1,100.



In the US, the process began in the mid-1990s with a reduction of around 50%, and in Germany *"the number of listed companies began to fall in 2007 and since that year has fallen by 40%"* (Expansión, 28-07-2023).

Apart from this global phenomenon of stock market escape, the month of August has seen a general stock market slump: *"Wall Street's S&P 500 index, Europe's Stoxx 600 and China's CSI 300 have shed a cumulative $2.8tn — about 5 per cent of their aggregate value and more than the entire market capitalisation of London's FTSE 100 — in the three weeks to August 21."* (Financial Times, 22-08-2023).

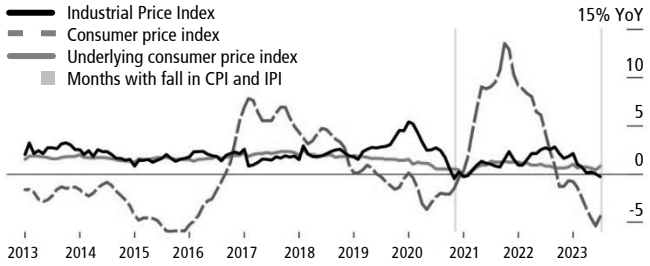
China slides into the swamp of deflation

The "Western" capitalist economies have been living the spasms-soufflé generated by the electroshock administered with

the lock-downs and the epileptic resumption of circulation, in an attempt to parapet themselves before the avalanche of goods from the Asian VOLCANO OF PRODUCTION.

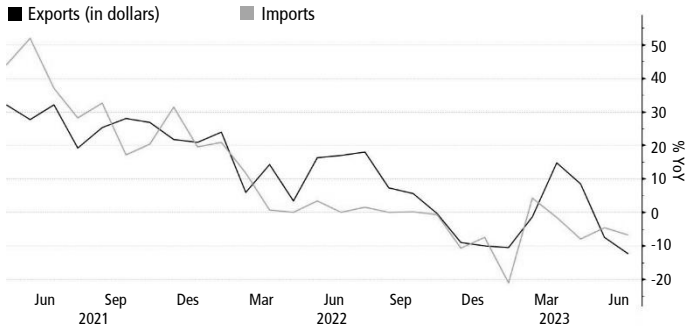
As we have been following in this review, while this was happening, in the Chinese capitalist economy (epicenter of the volcano) the variables presented themselves differently and the actions of the Chinese central bank - albeit timidly - were moving in the opposite direction to those of the central banks of European, American, Australian, etc. imperialism.

The situation in China is one of a substantial decline in industrial prices, along with a decline in CPI and virtually neutral core inflation.



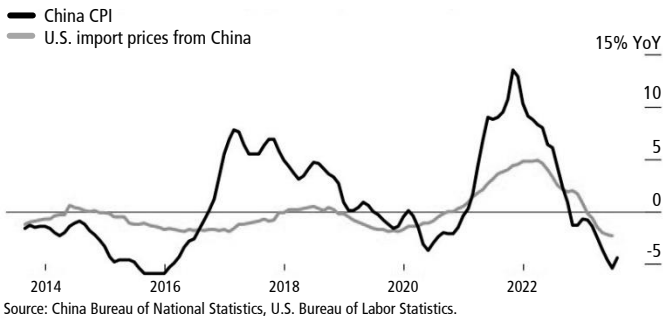
Source: Bloomberg

The value of Chinese exports has been slowing to a net decline of 12.4% in June:



Source: General Customs Administration

The slowdown has not occurred mainly because Chinese goods were too expensive in relative terms, but mostly because of the overcrowding of US warehouses as a result of previous compulsive buying (see *"Gradual deflation of the supply chain"*, p. 16 and the beginning of *"Chinese push in trade war overwhelms US tariff defense attempt"*, p. 17, in The Internationalist Proletarian No. 11). This compulsive buying tightened circulation, triggered transport prices and increased import prices of Chinese products by around 5% during 2021 and until the beginning of 2022, which is when the prices of imports from China to the US began to fall. Throughout 2022 and 2023, import prices from China to the US have been falling and, with some rebound, the total value of Chinese exports has slowed down, reaching contraction.

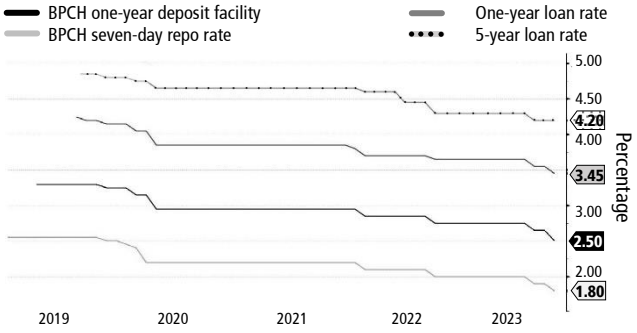


Source: China Bureau of National Statistics, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

"The People's Bank of China lowered rates on one-year medium-term lending facility loans by 15 basis points to 2.50 per cent. The cut, the biggest since 2020 (…)" (Bloomberg, 15-08-2023). However, as has happened previously, these rate cuts have only been partially passed on to bank lending rates:

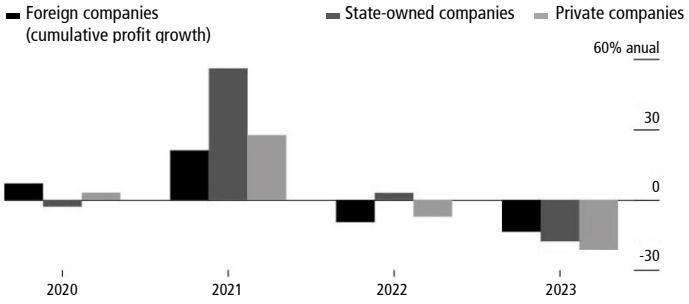
"The five-year loan prime rate was left at 4.2% on Monday, according to data from the People's Bank of China. Most economists had predicted the rate to be cut by 15 basis points following a similar reduction last week to an key central bank policy loan rate. That was seen as precursor for a cut to the 5-year LPR.

The one-year LPR was lowered by 10 basis points to 3.45% from 3.55%, a smaller cut than most economists predicted." (Bloomberg, 21-08-2023).



Source: People's Bank of China

A part of the production has been shifting from China to Vietnam or Cambodia since *"Seamstresses, for example, earn about 800 dollars a month in China, compared to 400 and 600 dollars in Cambodia and Vietnam, respectively"* (Expansión, 02-08-2023). But it is not only Chinese industrial production that is suffering, but also Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam.



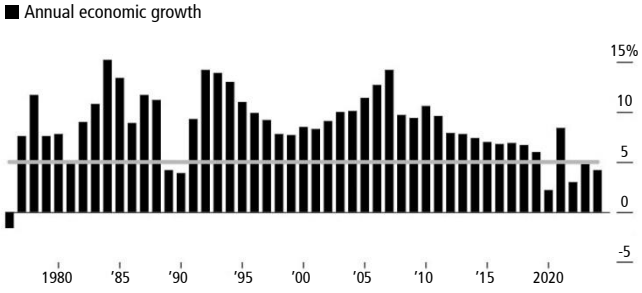
Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Bloomberg

Note: 2023 data are for January through May.

The graph above shows that in China, foreign, state-owned and private companies have all seen their cumulative profit fall.

In these terms two Chinese capitalists, a footwear manufacturer and an electronic components maker, lament: *"Orders dropped by a third from the second half of 2022 and production nearly halved from 5mn pairs of shoes pre-pandemicy (…) Ho, also of the industry group Hong Kong Apparel Society, said some of his peers reported orders falling 20 per cent or more in the first half of this year as retailers cleared excess inventory. With rising interest rates, some buyers have demanded payment extensions."* (Financial Times, 01-08-2023).

The laws of the capitalist mercantile economy, with its DECREASING TREND OF THE RATE OF PROFIT are reflected in a decreasing trend of economic growth that has been imposed in China since 2005.



Source: Bloomberg, National Bureau of Statistics, JPMorgan Chase & Co.

Housing prices are also falling. It should be noted that an estimated 65 million homes are vacant, around 20% of the housing stock:



Source: Financial Times

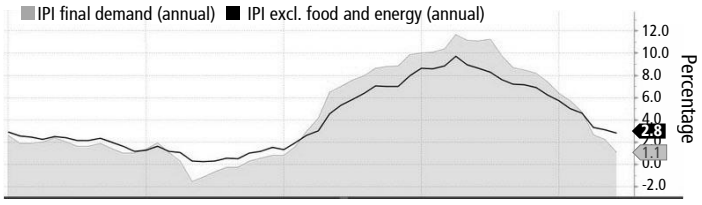
This situation affects Chinese developers, which has once again been brought into the spotlight by Evergrande's filing for bankruptcy protection in the US, followed by a 79% drop in its stock market value: *"Evergrande, the world's most indebted developer with liabilities of $340bn, last month unveiled losses of $81bn over 2021 and 2022..(…) Fellow developer Country Garden, the largest privately owned homebuilder in China which was until recently seen as safer than many of its highly-levered peers, also missed payments on its international debts this month, and investment group Zhongrong similarly failed to repay savings products."* (Financial Times, 18-08-2023).

Only in China?

Industrial prices are also falling in Europe:

"The EU's statistics office, Eurostat, said factory gate prices in the region fell 1.5 per cent in the year to May, the first outright decline since December 2020." (Financial Times, 05-07-2023). *"At first, optimism caused orders to soar well above supply, putting pressure on prices; and now, once inventories have been saturated, orders are contracting again (...) All this has caused retail prices to contract at the fastest pace in almost fourteen years."* (Expansión, 02-08-2023).

And industrial prices are also slowing down in the US.



Source: Bloomberg

Our fixed points of reference

Capitalism can mitigate, slow down and even postpone its inherent contradiction, but, in historical terms, this is a steamroller that will ineluctably impose itself.

*"**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. (…) **Development of the productive forces of social labour is the historical task and justification of capital. This is just the way in which it unconsciously creates the material requirements of a higher mode of production** (…) It comes to the surface here in a purely economic way — i.e., from the bourgeois point of view, within the limitations of capitalist understanding, from the standpoint of capitalist production itself — **that it has its barrier, that it is relative, that it is not an absolute, but only a historical mode of production corresponding to a definite limited epoch** in the development of the material requirements of production."* (Capital, Book III, Part 3, Chapter XV, K. Marx).

No matter how many electro-shocks capitalism administers to itself, how much capital it injects into its drugged economy, how many military and tariff blockades are imposed and how many wars are unleashed to destroy the productive forces already created and unload the losses on competitors, how many droughts and hurricanes distort circulation. It is not only possible, but inevitable that capitalism will develop through spasms, conflicts and crises; as we shall see below:

*"The rate of profit would not fall under the effect of competition due to over-production of capital. It would rather be the reverse; it would be **the COMPETITIVE STRUGGLE which would begin because the fallen rate of profit and over-production of capital originate from the same conditions.**"* (Capital, Book III, Part 3, Chapter XV, K. Marx).

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For convenience of exposition, in the following review, we will start with the trade war over energy sources and follow its development in a number of other fields.

Displacement of energy sources

The representatives of the first 20 world capitalist powers (G-20) *"(...), meeting this weekend in New Delhi (India), have agreed to triple the capacity of renewable energies by the year 2030 (...) The agreement, however, does not include any reference to the gradual elimination of oil and gas following pressure from the producing countries and those most dependent on these energies."* (Expansión, 11-9-2023).

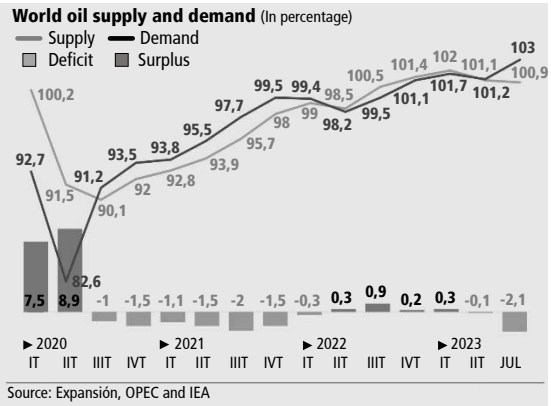
As we explained in "Energy sources and capitalism" published in "The Internalist Proletarian" No.10 (page 12), the existence of the capitalist mercantile regime imposes that the displacement of fossil fuels takes place through an intense commercial war and, indeed, a real commercial battle is taking place on several sides: on the one hand, between the countries producing the old energy sources and their current consumers and, on the other hand, between the countries that seek to acquire the new energy sources and compete with each other.

The OPEC+ cuts

OPEC+ has agreed to maintain until the end of 2024 the cuts announced in April to put upward pressure on oil prices: *"Saudi Arabia will maintain its voluntary reduction of one million barrels of oil per day until the end of December (...). Thus, its total production during the coming months will be around 9 million barrels per day (...). Russia, for its part, (...) will also extend until the end of the year the haircut of 300,000 barrels per day in its supply to world markets."* (Expansión, 6-9-2023).

It must be said that, so far, the cuts have not been carried out in a homogeneous way: *"According to data from OPEC's monthly bulletin, published yesterday, the cartel adjusted its pumping by 431,000 barrels of crude per day in May with respect to the previous month (a figure well below the agreed million) and raised it by 90,000 barrels in June, which means that the adjustment has remained at 341,000 barrels, barely a third of what was agreed. Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf countries have kept their part of the bargain, but not Iran, Iraq, African countries or Venezuela, which have raised their exports in recent months."* (Expansión, 14-7-2023).

Despite internal contradictions within OPEC+, supply has been reduced at the same time that demand has increased due to the end of restrictions in China.



Source: Expansión, OPEC and IEA

G-7 cap exceeded?

This situation has led to an increase in the price of oil above $90 per barrel and has allowed Russian oil to be sold above the ceiling imposed by the G-7: *"Since February, there have been two caps on the sale of Russian refined fuels, one for higher value products at $100 a barrel and another for lower ones at $45. Argus Media Ltd., whose prices are central to the caps, says naphtha and fuel oil are trading above the lower cap, while diesel is trading above the higher one.*

Of the products that are yet to breach the cap at Russia's western ports, gasoil and gasoline are both approaching that ceiling. (…) Last month, Russia's flagship Urals crude breached the price cap for the first time, offering a victory of sorts for Moscow which assembled a shadow fleet of ships big enough to transport its supplies to buyers while circumventing G-7 services" (Bloomberg, 2-8-2023). Again and again, we see that **it is not the will of certain powers that imposes itself on the productive forces, but that it is the thrust of the productive forces that imposes itself on these wills**.

US and Iran

For its part, the US is not in a position to compensate for the cutback with its own resources: *"US oil production is 900,000 barrels below 2020 figures, with half as many wells operating as three years ago."* (Expansión, 16-8-2023).

This pushes the US to try to ease its relationship with Iran: *"The US cleared the way for $6 billion in oil proceeds to be returned to Iran and agreed to release five Iranians as part of a secretly negotiated deal that will clear the way for five American citizens detained in Iran to return home. (…) US officials have privately acknowledged they've already begun to relax enforcement of sanctions on oil sales, allowing Tehran to boost production. Iran, which has some of the world's largest oil and gas reserves, has been shipping the most crude to China in a decade in recent months."* (Bloomberg, 11-9-2023).

China, oil producer

China is not only buying massive (and discounted) oil from Middle Eastern countries, it is also expanding offshore oil production: *"(…) from being a voracious oil consumer, it is becoming a major crude oil producer, thanks to the multi-billion dollar investments being made by its state-owned giants: CNPC, Sinopec and Cnooc. (...) the latest OPEC Monthly Oil Market Report shows that China has been producing an average of 4.56 million barrels of oil per day (bpd) in 2023."* (Banca y Negocios, 11-7-2023).

Liquified Natural Gas

If the U.S. maintains a level of oil underproduction, this is not the case with LNG: *"It already has seven large liquefaction plants, which export 13,000 million cubic feet per day. This year it will overtake Australia and Qatar to become the world's largest supplier. (...) Every year 1,830 ships with LNG pass through this channel, according to port authority figures. (...) Sabine Pass, which connects Sabine Lake with the Gulf of Mexico, is home to the largest LNG production plant in the United States and the second largest in the world. A behemoth of four pipelines and six liquefaction trains, each the size of a small airport terminal, producing a total of 30 million cubic tons of gas per year."* (El País, 3-7-2023).

Gas and European imperialism

With the increase in LNG supply and the redirection of energy flows, European imperialism has succeeded in obtaining low-cost gas supplies.: *"The European Union's gas storage is already at 90% of its capacity, with several countries already close to 100%*

of the total, almost two and a half months before the legal deadline of November 1st (...) last year, since at this time the gas in storage was still at 76% of its maximum capacity (...) the European Union has been supplied with gas this season at a substantially lower price (up to 75% lower) than last summer, partly because of the less pressing need, partly because joint purchases have prevented some countries from competing with others for supply. (...) substantial supplies have also been achieved on this occasion in the eastern countries, including Ukraine." (Expansión, 23-8-2023).

Business comparison (lithium vs. oil)

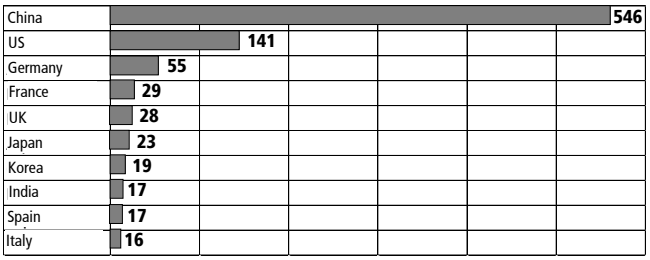
"Oil and gas major companies are stepping up their efforts to enter the lithium sector and diversify beyond fossil fuels." (Expansión 02-07-2023) but the business prospects in the switch of extractive matter on which to base their social parasitism through ground rent is not comparable.: *"even with optimistic growth and price assumptions, lithium could grow to $150 billion per year by 2030, compared to the current $2.6 trillion oil market, according to Financial Times estimates."* (Expansión 2-7-2023).

On the other hand, there is a general tendency for oil companies not to make major investments in existing facilities and for large companies to build energy self-supply plants.

Competition for investments in non-fossil energy sources

In the war between the capitalist powers trying to gain material independence from fossil fuels we have: the US Inflation Reduction Act, the EU Green Deal, the fourteenth Chinese five-year plan, the Japan Green Growth Strategy or the India Convervation Act, a planned investment deal of *"more than one trillion euros on a global scale"* (La Vanguardia, 10-9-2023).

Top 10 countries investing in energy transition, 2022
In billions of dollars



Source: Bloomberg, La Vanguardia

The deployment of these plans, as can be seen, is not homogeneous, with Chinese capitalism having a clear lead: *"55% of the world's installed renewable capacity in 2023 will come from China. Half of the world's electric cars are on the road in China. In addition, Beijing accounts for 60% of manufacturing technology in zero-emission sectors, creates millions of jobs and controls almost the entire battery supply value chain, with 74% of all lithium battery manufacturing"* (La Vanguardia, 9-10-2023).

Chinese solar panels

One of the areas in which the predominance of Chinese capitalism is indisputable is the production of wafers for solar panels: *"Chinese factories produce 75% of the world's panel wafers. The EU imported 84% of its installed solar modules between 2017 and 2021. The United States 77% and India 75%."* (La Vanguardia, 10-9-2023).

However, the most interesting phenomenon is the latent overproduction and falling prices resulting from excess production and production capacity: *"Falling solar material prices have driven down costs along the supply chain in recent weeks, with silicon wafers seeing the largest discount. Top player Longi Green Energy Technology Co. lowered its wafer prices by as much as 27% last week, while peer TCL Zhonghuan Renewable Energy Technology Co. cut its quote by as much as 25%. (…) The "circuit breaker-style" price plunge is fundamentally due to the falling cost of key material polysilicon, according to a statement by China Silicon Industry Association. Solar wafer manufacturers* ***have lowered operating rates*** *because of weaker prices and excessive supply, with some* ***at 60% to 70% of full capacity****, it said."* (Bloomberg, 28-12-2022).

On the basis of this devaluation, China is not only flooding the solar panel market, it is flooding it with low-cost solar panels. The excess production capacity at the epicenter of the volcano results in overcrowding in the capillaries of the distribution network.

"Norwegian Crystals, producer of the ingots used in solar cells, had already filed for bankruptcy last month - the brief added - while Norsun, a solar company of equally Norwegian nationality, had announced this month the ***suspension of its production until the end of the year*** *(...) European spending on solar energy components has risen from €6 billion in 2016 to more than €25 billion last year, bringing with it a* ***superabundance of Chinese solar panels that are currently languishing in European warehouses****."* (Expansión, 13-9-2023).

This is another example of something we have observed on previous occasions, which is that the expenditure or investment made by a capitalist power does not necessarily have repercussions for its own companies: the investment made in solar panels in the EU has basically benefited Chinese companies.

The volcano also spits out electric cars...

"China will overtake Japan as the world's largest car exporter this year. China, the world's largest car market, has built up an electric vehicle industry over the past 15 years that has cornered much of the world's battery supply chains (...), with increasingly fierce competition at home." (Expansión, 5-9-2023).

The exacerbated competition in the interior is due to *"The mismatch between Chinese factory production and local demand (...) The result has been a "massive overcapacity" in the number of vehicles produced in factories across the country, according to (...) Chrysler's former head in China (...). "We have a surplus of 25 million units that are not being used," he explains."* (Expansión, 14-9-2023).

This productive overcapacity that SATURATES the local market is the basis for the FLOODING of the world market. Examples: on the one hand, *"about one fifth of all EVs sold in Europe are manufactured in China (...)"* (Expansión, 14-9-2023), on the other hand: *"Ford Motor Co. Executive Chairman Bill Ford Jr. said the US is "not quite yet ready" to compete with China in the production of electric vehicles."* (Bloomberg, 18-6-2023).

And it is not a mere flood of excess goods either, but goods that are already highly competitive in terms of price and will become even more so because of their overproduction: *"the Chinese EV industry was three to five years ahead of foreign automakers in terms of technology and scale, and up to 10 years ahead in terms of cost advantage."* (Expansión, 14-9-2023).

The European bourgeoisie is studying the possibility of sheltering behind a tariff wall, as the American one has, but we are witnessing the same phenomenon (in the opposite direction, but equally unstoppable) already reflected in the Manifesto of the Communist Party: *"****The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all***

Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate".

The war for semiconductors

Global demand for semiconductors continues to cool, compared to the over-demand generated by the cyclical shortage following the production slowdown in 2020. This is reflected in the drop in South Korean exports affected by both price cuts and unit volumes.



Source: Bloomberg, Customs Office, Ministry of Trade

Relations between South Korea and China have gone back and forth, with statements of "de-risking" the former's economy in relation to the latter, followed by immediate statements by the South Korean foreign minister talking about resuming dialogue. The economic interdependence is too strong.

For its part, European imperialism, especially lagging behind in this field, *"(...) yesterday definitively approved the European Chip Law, with which the European Union seeks to double its semiconductor production to cover 20% of world manufacturing (...), the law will have 3.3 billion euros from the European budget."* (Expansión, 12-7-2023). Although wishes are one thing and what the material reality allows will be another, they have managed to attract TSMC to *"invest 10,000 million euros in a semiconductor megafactory in Dresden, in eastern Germany, the Asian group's first one in Europe."* (Expansión, 9-8-2023).

Meanwhile, the US continues in its attempts to limit Chinese development in semiconductors, announcing new investment bans in China's strategic sectors. The first reaction has been a massive purchase: *"Baidu, ByteDance, Tencent and Alibaba have placed $1 billion orders to buy about 100,000 A800 processors from the US chipmaker, which should be delivered this year, according to several people familiar with the matter. Chinese groups have also bought other graphic processing units (GPUs) valued at $4 billion."* (Expansión, 11-8-2023).

But the inevitable result of these sanctions is precisely the development of the technological capabilities that they are intended to limit: *"Huawei (…) moved into chip production last year and is receiving an estimated $30 billion in state funding from the government and its home town of Shenzhen, according to the Washington-based Semiconductor Industry Association. It's acquired at least two existing plants and is building at least three others, (...) The leading association of global chip companies is warning that Huawei Technologies Co. is building a collection of secret semiconductor-fabrication facilities across China, a shadow manufacturing network that would let the blacklisted company skirt US sanctions and further the nation's technology ambitions (...) Chinese companies are largely allowed to buy older-generation chipmaking equipment, machines that use 28-nanometer technology or above. But blacklisted companies like Huawei are prohibited from such purchases without a license and those exceptions are rare. (...) The SIA estimates there are at least 23 fabrication facilities in the works in the country with planned investments of more than $100 billion by 2030, according to the presentation. By 2029 or 2030, China is on track to have more than half the industry's global capacity in oldergeneration semiconductors, those made with 28-nm or 45-nm technology, the group said."* (Bloomberg, 23-08-2023).

And that's not all, ten Republican congressmen were tearing their hair out in despair in a letter *"(…) after Huawei launched a new phone using highly advanced technology the US has been trying to keep out of China's hands. The phone, which uses a made-in-China 7-nanometer chip that appears to rely on US technology (…). Huawei and SMIC, the Chinese company that produced the chip, are both already subject to partial US sanctions."* (Bloomberg, 14-09-2023).

This has led representatives of the affected industrial sector within the US to continue to oppose sanctions against China:

"The chief executive officers of Intel Corp., Qualcomm Inc. and Nvidia Corp. are planning to lobby against extending restrictions on the sale to China of certain chips and the equipment to manufacture the semiconductors (...) The companies have argued that being cut off from their largest market will harm their ability to spend on advancing their technology and ultimately undermine US leadership." (Bloomberg, 14-07-2023).

So important is investment in China for U.S. technology companies that memory chip maker Micron Technology Inc, despite being partially vetoed by the Chinese government in May, announced in June a $602 million investment in its chip packaging plant in China.

The US tariff war with China

The current ruling faction of the US bourgeoisie has made a diplomatic bid to regain positions, the most recent staging of which is its return to UNESCO, trying to rectify the policy carried out in the opposite direction by the previous ruling faction.

However, in terms of economic policy, and more specifically on the issue of tariffs, it has maintained the continuity with the previous ruling faction, a fact recognized by the architect of the tariffs on the Republican side: *"Biden "essentially adopted the Trump trade policy"."* (Bloomberg, 26-06-2023). This is because this action is imposed by the relative strength (or rather weakness) of US industry in comparison with the degree of development of the productive forces in Asia.

And yet the US cannot carry out this policy of containment against the AVALANCHE of commodities coming from the VOLCANO OF PRODUCTION, without falling into multiple internal contradictions, without greatly damaging its own enterprises, in a completely interdependent capitalist world in which the "WORLD MARKET" of which the Manifesto of the Communist Party spoke has developed to become inappealably world-wide.

The visits of political representatives of the US bourgeoisie to China follow one after the other: the Secretary of State (Blinken) in June, the Secretary of the Treasury (Yellen) in July, the former Secretary of State (Kerry) also in July, the Secretary of Commerce (Raimondo) in August... Precisely to prepare for this last visit, the US lifted the sanctions on 27 Chinese companies.

Also H. Kissinger (sent in the seventies to reach agreements between the US and China) has been received by the Chinese President, as *de facto* representative of the sector of the US bourgeoisie which does not want to confront China in a war in which they have all the numbers to be the losing side.

The response of Chinese imperialism

The main response of Chinese imperialism has been to continue to gain ground on the basis of the low cost of its commodities and to try to develop the technologies to which it saw limited access.

But increasingly it is beginning to feint to respond by blocking the sale of certain products or access to certain raw materials. We have already seen the veto of certain Micron chips, it had previously sanctioned some U.S. weapon companies and more recently: *"China announced that as of August 1st, neither gallium metal or germanium - materials that are essential for the manufacture of semiconductors - nor more than a dozen of their derivatives can be exported without specific permission from the authorities to 'protect national security'."* (Expansión, 10-7-2023).

The contradictions of the EU with respect to China

EU imperialism has for some time now taken note that it cannot develop alongside Chinese imperialism without clashing with it, and from "strategic partner" in 2019 it was qualified in 2021 as "systemic rival".

The EU is trying to compete with China in Latin America: *"the European Global Gateway program, focused on digitalization and energy, will allocate until 2027 more than 45 billion euros in investments in Latin America and the Caribbean (...) a compendium of more than 130 projects."* (Expansión, 18-7-2023).

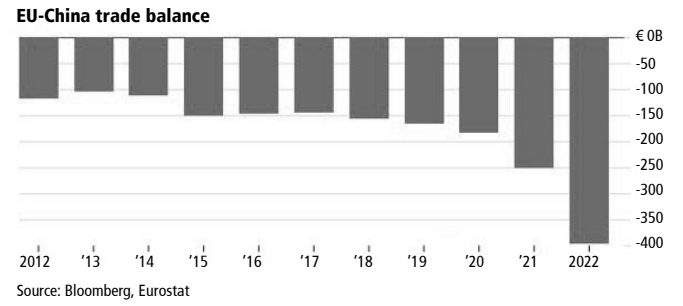
But the EU is not a granitic bloc and its different members have different degrees of relationship or dependence with China. Nor do the European bourgeoisies see clearly that embracing the U.S. will get them anywhere.

Shortly after the visit to China (see "The Internationalist Proletarian" No. 11, page 23), the French president declared: *"The trap for Europe would be to be caught in the imbalances of the world and in crises which are not ours (...) If there is an acceleration of the inflammation of the duopoly, we will have neither the time nor the means to finance our strategic autonomy and we will become vassals, when we can be a third pole if we have a few years to build it (...) We do not want to enter into a logic of bloc to bloc."* (El País, 12-04-2023).

For its part, the German bourgeoisie is in the following situation: *"China is already Germany's first commercial partner (...) BMW opened an extension of its factory in Shenyang, in the northeast of the country, at the beginning of the year; Audi is building a plant for electric vehicles in China; the chemical company BASF inaugurated in September the first phase of its new factory in that country"*. (La Vanguardia, 25-10-2022).

"The chief executive of Mercedes-Benz (...) told the German daily Bild am Sonntag a month ago that cutting ties with China 'would be unthinkable for almost the entire German industry'. And that 'the major players in the world economy (Europe, the United States and China) are so closely intertwined that it makes no sense to withdraw from China'." (La Vanguardia, 14-5-2023).

The point is that the trade balance between China and the EU is increasingly unbalanced: *"In 2022, EU exports of goods to China barely changed, standing at €230 billion, while imports rose to €626 billion, more than 20% of the bloc's total."* (Expansión, 8-8-2023).



Germany had authorized Cosco's entry into the port of Hamburg, but eventually blocked it: *"Chinese companies already have stakes in ports of at least 10 member states, which potentially provides Beijing with access to sensitive information on the flow of European goods."* (Bloomberg, 19-06-2023).

A similar contradiction is experienced by the European bourgeoisie in the field of new generation communication systems. Despite the fact that several European governments have banned Huawei's access to their networks, within the EU framework it has been equally materializing: *"Huawei's participation in multiple sensitive projects, ranging from artificial intelligence to 6G and cloud computing, (...) Huawei has participated in 11 projects in the framework of the emblematic Horizon Europe research and innovation program, receiving up to 14% of the funding for a total of 3.89 million euros. Huawei has stated that it has participated in more than 30 programs under the EU's emblematic R&D framework since 2007."* (Expansión, 15-6-2023).

Developments in the aeronautical sector

The Paris Air Show was held at the end of June: *"At the meeting, business deals worth some 150 billion euros were signed, a figure that serves to secure the future of the industry and highlights its expansionary phase."* (Expansión, 1-7-2023).

The US bourgeoisie quantifies the business forecast in the aeronautical sector as follows: *"Boeing said yesterday that the expected demand for commercial airplanes in the world for the next 20 years will amount to 42,600 units. This will imply sales of eight trillion dollars (7.3 trillion euros) and a turnover for commercial services of 3.5 trillion euros."* (Expansión, 20-6-2023).

The question is who will take the lion's share of this business, considering that the increase in air traffic will not be homogeneous on a global scale: *"Chinese air traffic is expected to grow by more than 5% per year, 50% faster than the world average. Chinese airlines will account for more than 20% of total global demand, according to Airbus estimates."* (Expansión, 31-5-2023).

Let's take a look at the following data. At the immediate level, in the last major contract auction: *"Airbus (...) signed contracts for more than 800 aircraft with different airlines. The order for 500 A320 family aircraft with the Indian low cost carrier IndiGo (...) stood out above all, as did the macro order for 250 units of different models with Air India"* (Expansión, 1-7-2023) and Boeing, for its part, signed 360 contracts, most of which were with *"Air India, which, as with Airbus, will acquire 250 single-aisle aircrafts from Boeing."* (Expansión, 1-7-2023).

Until now, the third largest operating manufacturer was Brazil's Embraer, which, although far behind the big two, had *"a world share of 29% in passenger aircraft of less than 150 seats with its range of E-Jets. Embraer is also a major player in business jets, present in the small and medium ranges, and has an*

interesting activity in defense. And finally, it is developing an electric aircraft for urban transportation." (Expansión, 12-9-2023).

But it is precisely Chinese capitalism that has managed to produce its first commercial aircraft of its own manufacture, with the consequent impact this will have on the evolution of orders: *"(...) first commercial flight of the domestically produced C919 airliner. It bodes well for future sales of the aircraft. Beijing expects it to challenge the duopoly of Airbus and Boeing. The state-owned Commercial Aviation Corp of China has taken 15 years to bring this 164-seat aircraft into service (...) No Chinese airline has bought a Boeing commercial airliner in six years (...) Chinese airlines have placed record orders for Airbus aircraft. Now, instead, they will order more and more CACC aircraft. State-backed China Eastern Airlines has a number of C919 deliveries scheduled for this year. CACC accumulates orders from local customers exceeding 1,200 aircraft."* (Expansión, 31-5-2023).

As we have seen at the beginning, Indian capitalism's eagerness to buy aircraft is the driving force behind the more than 800 and 360 Airbus and Boeing orders respectively. The Chinese market alone accumulates 1,200 orders, the same order of magnitude, with a greater prospect of increase. And that's not counting the fact that Airbus' own aircraft are starting to be built in China: *"Airbus SE is preparing to ship a jetliner built in China (…) for the first time."* (Bloomberg, 13-06-2023).

There is also an expansion of Chinese airlines on all connections from Europe to Asia. The reason? *"Community airlines cannot fly over the Eurasian country, a limitation that Chinese airlines do not suffer. A hypothetical Iberia scheduled flight between Madrid and Shanghai would take two hours longer than the same connection of a Chinese rival, which would be much more competitive as it would have to use less fuel and less staffing requirements."* (Expansión, 22-6-2023).

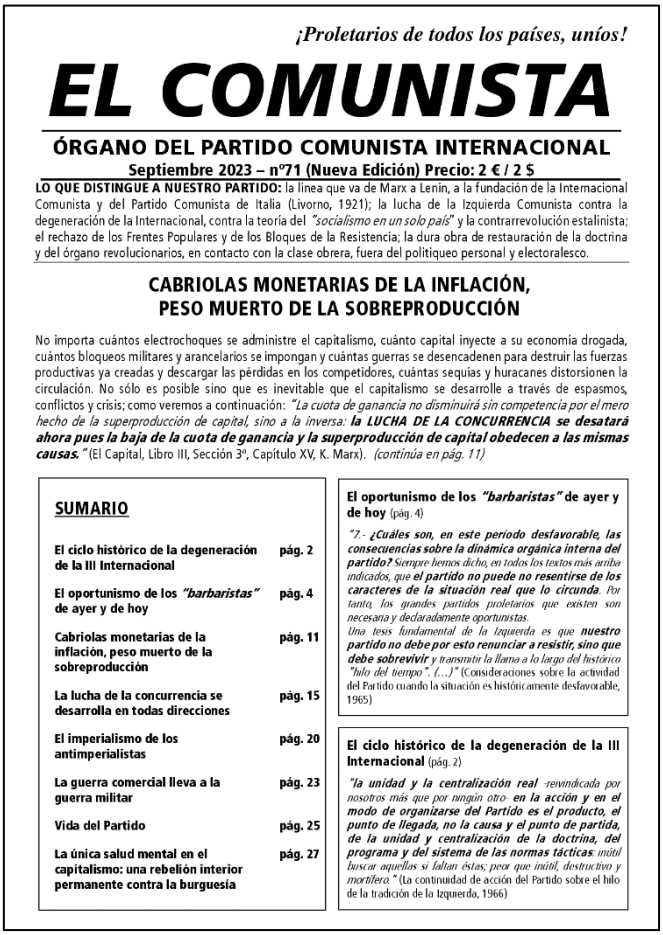
It is significant that one result of the "isolation" of Russia by European capitalism is to isolate the isolators. European airlines are cut off from one of the most important connections because they cannot fly over Russian airspace. Once again: *"Only rarely does what has been desired happen... all the clashes of the innumerable individual wills and actions lead to a state of affairs which is absolutely analogous to that prevailing in the unconscious nature. The objectives of the actions are desired, but* ***the results produced by these actions are not the desired ones****, or, as soon as they seem to correspond to the desired objective, they actually have consequences different than those desired..."* (F. Engels, quoted at "The individual as a puppet in history", 1953).

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El Comunista nº71

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EL COMUNISTA

ÓRGANO DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA INTERNACIONAL

Septiembre 2023 – nº71 (Nueva Edición) Precio: 2 € / 2 $

LO QUE DISTINGUE A NUESTRO PARTIDO: la línea que va de Marx a Lenin, a la fundación de la Internacional Comunista y del Partido Comunista de Italia (Livorno, 1921); la lucha de la Izquierda Comunista contra la degeneración de la Internacional, contra la teoría del *"socialismo en un solo país"* y la contrarrevolución estalinista; el rechazo de los Frentes Populares y de los Bloques de la Resistencia; la dura obra de restauración de la doctrina y del órgano revolucionarios, en contacto con la clase obrera, fuera del politiqueo personal y electoralesco.

CABRIOLAS MONETARIAS DE LA INFLACIÓN, PESO MUERTO DE LA SOBREPRODUCCIÓN

No importa cuántos electrochoques se administre el capitalismo, cuánto capital inyecte a su economía drogada, cuántos bloqueos militares y arancelarios se impongan y cuántas guerras se desencadenen para destruir las fuerzas productivas ya creadas y descargar las pérdidas en los competidores, cuántas sequías y huracanes distorsionen la circulación. No sólo es posible sino que es inevitable que el capitalismo se desarrolle a través de espasmos, conflictos y crisis; como veremos a continuación: *"La cuota de ganancia no disminuirá sin competencia por el mero hecho de la superproducción de capital, sino a la inversa:* ***la LUCHA DE LA CONCURRENCIA se desatará ahora pues la baja de la cuota de ganancia y la superproducción de capital obedecen a las mismas causas.*** *"* (El Capital, Libro III, Sección 3ª, Capítulo XV, K. Marx). *(continúa en pág. 11)*

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*"7.- **¿Cuáles son, en este periodo desfavorable, las consecuencias sobre la dinámica orgánica interna del partido?** Siempre hemos dicho, en todos los textos más arriba indicados, que **el partido no puede no resentirse de los caracteres de la situación real que lo circunda**. Por tanto, los grandes partidos proletarios que existen son necesaria y declaradamente oportunistas.*
*Una tesis fundamental de la Izquierda es que **nuestro partido no debe por esto renunciar a resistir, sino que debe sobrevivir** y transmitir la llama a lo largo del histórico "hilo del tiempo". (…)"* (Consideraciones sobre la actividad del Partido cuando la situación es históricamente desfavorable, 1965)

El ciclo histórico de la degeneración de la III Internacional (pág. 2)

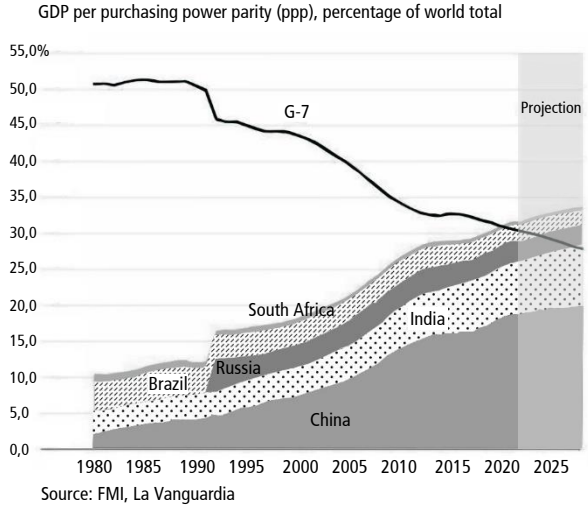
*"la **unidad y la centralización real** -reivindicada por nosotros más que por ningún otro- **en la acción y en el modo de organizarse del Partido es el producto, el punto de llegada, no la causa y el punto de partida, de la unidad y centralización de la doctrina, del programa y del sistema de las normas tácticas**: inútil buscar aquellas si faltan éstas; peor que inútil, destructivo y mortífero."* (La continuidad de acción del Partido sobre el hilo de la tradición de la Izquierda, 1966)

The BRICS summit

With the participation of 60 heads of state, the summit held in South Africa has decided on the expansion of the BRICS. With this expansion, large oil-producing countries (Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iran), food-producing countries (Argentina) and countries with geostrategic resources such as water, the possibility of electrification of an entire area or control of the Suez Canal (Ethiopia, Egypt) have joined the group.

The material basis for the formation of this group is the DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES in Asia, Africa and South America, which Western imperialism in general (and U.S. imperialism in particular) have not been able to stop. Before the expansion, the joint GDP by purchasing power parity already exceeded that of the G-7 countries (Germany, Canada, United States, France, Italy, Japan and United Kingdom) and *"The new members will increase the BRICS' share of global gross domestic product from 32 per cent to 37 per cent on a purchasing power parity basis."* (Financial Times, 24-08-2023).

The following graph shows the **general trend**, which is infinitely more important than the comparative static data.



Source: FMI, La Vanguardia

The war on means of payment

Despite the announcement of the intention to launch a common currency, the focus of the BRICS members is to reduce the use of the dollar and make payments in their currencies in their commercial relations. The Russian president, who participated telematically so as not to be arrested by his own South African partner, declared: *"(...) the percentage of the dollar in export and import transactions within the BRICS framework decreased. Last year it amounted to only 28.7%."* (Expansión, 23-08-23).

"The Argentine Government will pay this Friday to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) US$ 2.7 billion (...) 1.7 billion SDRs [Special Drawing Rights, the currency used by the IMF] *will be used and, the rest, will be paid in freely available yuan from the currency swap with the People's Bank of China. The IMF would receive the yuan, which it could exchange for SDRs to the Bank of China, or to another member country that needed yuan for transactions."* (América Economia, 20-06-2023).

"The African Export-Import Bank expects 15 to 20 countries to have joined the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System by the end of the year. (...) The system, known as PAPSS, is using dollar exchange rates for now, (...) "But we are working with central banks to develop an exchange-rate mechanism that would allow Africa's 42 currencies to be convertible among themselves. (...) The vast majority of Africa's intra-regional trade is done through conversions to the dollar. Initiatives like PAPSS and the African Continental Free Trade Agreement, which would create the world's largest free trade zone by area, seek to boost internal trade by reducing barriers, including the need for intermediaries such as the US dollar." (Bloomberg, 18-06-2023).

The dollar's dominance in trade provides the United States with significant economic and political advantages. Among other things it means that a huge proportion of cross-border financial flows must pass through US-chartered banks that are subject to the US regulations, sanctions regime and tax system.

" Settlement typically happens during US working hours and can be held up by a holiday in any of the involved countries, providing an opening for a platform like mBridge (...) developed by China, Thailand, Hong Kong and the United Arab Emirates, will likely have a basic product ready by the year-end (...). It's a joint effort with the Basel, Switzerland-based Bank for International Settlements (...) Using the system, a company in China could pay a vendor in the UAE by having its bank issue a digital e-yuan token through the People's Bank of China on the mBridge blockchain, or ledger. There, this token could then within mere seconds be credited to the vendor's bank in the UAE, which would in turn credit the vendor's account with dirham, the local currency" (Bloomberg, 09-08-2023).

It is convenient to compare the previous report with this one:

"Eight years of work and preparations have taken the U.S. Federal Reserve to develop FedNow, a new technological system that, as of yesterday, allows financial institutions across the country to guarantee instant payments. At the moment, only 57 banks, including a selection of entities of different sizes, will use the system (...) to make a transfer between banks it takes approximately two days (sometimes three), although the time is doubled if it involves a bank and a Fintech (...) In the EU, it rarely exceeds 24 hours when transfers are handled in an ordinary way". (Expansión, 21-07-23).

While some are trying to move from three days to 24 hours for intra-national transactions, others are experimenting with moving to seconds for international transactions...

And they do it with the base technology of digital currencies that will be more and more the order of the day: *"according to (...) the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), the so-called central bank of central banks, in 2030 there will be up to 24 virtual currencies in circulation".* (Expansión, 07-08-2023).

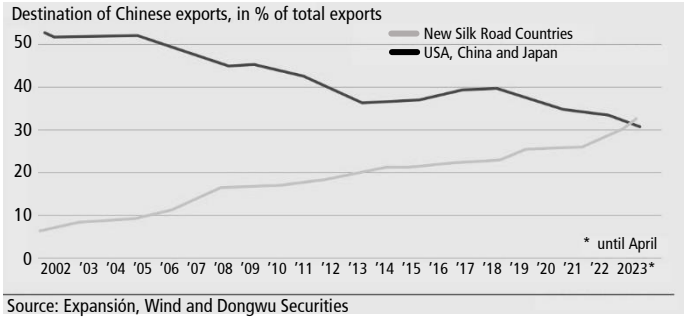
On the one hand, it is important not to confuse these currencies with the so-called "cryptocurrencies", which are experiencing a new bullish binge after their last big crash. On the other hand, the question that will have to be settled is which currencies, through which platforms, will prevail over the others.

The New Silk Road of Chinese imperialism

Since its launch ten years ago, Chinese imperialism has been expanding around the world on the basis of investments and agreements related to the New Silk Road: *"Until the middle of last February, China had signed collaboration agreements with 151 countries and 32 international organizations within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative. (...) During the first five months of this year, trade between the nation and the rest of the international partners participating in the initiative had a turnover of 5.78 trillion yuan (747 billion euros), an increase of 13.2% over the previous year. Between January and April, its non-financial foreign direct investment in these countries stood*

at $7.53 billion (€6.97 billion), 9% more than in the same period of 2022." (El País, 22-06-2023).

In fact, the share of China's total exports from the New Silk Road states is growing steadily, in general, and with the ASEAN states in particular:



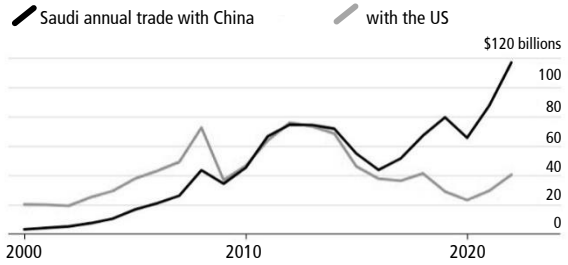
Source: Expansión, Wind and Dongwu Securities

"Shipments from China to the members of Association of Southeast Asian Nations have soared to nearly $600 billion a month (...) The shift has been helped by the Beijing-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, which took effect last year to become the world's largest free-trade bloc, said HSBC Chief Asia Economist Frederic Neumann. It's also a testament to the reworking of global supply chains: parts sourced from China are increasingly moving to Southeast Asia for final assembly before being exported to the rest of the world, he said. (...) "In short, one of the key trade corridors in Asia, and, indeed, in the world, is now that between Asean and mainland China"". (Bloomberg, 05-09-2023).

As we have seen in previous issues of the magazine, Chinese imperialism has paid special attention to Africa: *"(...) China has finished building or is in the process of improving 30,000 kilometers of roads and 2,000 of railways on the African continent, as well as infrastructures that will guarantee 85 million tons of annual port capacity and another 9 million tons of drinking water per day."* (El País, 25-08-2022).

The role (or roles) of Saudi Arabia

Under Chinese auspices, two of the newly admitted BRICS members, Saudi Arabia and Iran, have recently re-established relations.



Source: ONU, Bloomberg

A few days after the US Secretary of State's visit to Saudi Arabia, *" the Saudi capital has played host to the largest ever Chinese-Arab business gathering (...) Saudi officials spoke of integrating China into the Arab region and Chinese executives said they stood ready to "de-Americanize" the world's top oil exporter."* (Bloomberg, 13-06-2023).

But this does not mean that everything is developing to the liking of Chinese imperialism, nor that the other BRICS members are not trying to play their own game: *"India and Saudi Arabia yesterday reaffirmed their commitment to the India-Middle East-Europe economic corridor announced last weekend during the G20 summit, an ambitious project that aims to be an alternative to the Chinese Silk Road. (...) a project involving the United States, India, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Germany, France, Italy and the European Union (EU). (...) The idea of the mega-project is to establish railroads and maritime routes connecting India with Europe through the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Israel, reconfiguring trade between these countries and significantly reducing the time needed to transport goods."* (Expansión, 12-09-2023).

The plan also contemplates *"a trans-African corridor with a railroad between the port of Lobito in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia."* (El País, 10-09-2023).

The thrust of Indian imperialism

Thus, it should not be concluded that the BRICS are a "bloc" as such, given that they are neither completely homogeneous nor devoid of contradictions among themselves:

" The last Indian journalist in China has been asked to leave, as Beijing and New Delhi eject each other's reporters in a tit-for-tat row deepening a rift between the Asian economic powerhouses." (Bloomberg, 12-06-2023).

India, which in April 2023 surpassed China in population and is a major importer of Russian weaponry, has been intensely courted by both the US and the EU, with speeches to the US Congress and Senate, dinners with the presidents in office and military parade for the day of the storming of the Bastille in France.

From a speculative economic standpoint: *"Stocks in India have lured almost $10 billion in net foreign inflows since March, set to be the most in any quarter since the end of 2020. Rupee-denominated bonds are on track to witness the longest streak of monthly buying by overseas funds in almost four years, while the local currency is offering the second-best carry returns in Asia this year."* (Bloomberg, 21-06-2023) and from a productive investment standpoint: *"Amazon.com Inc. and Alphabet Inc.'s Google are committing to ramp up investments in India as the tech giants seek to spur growth in a key market. The move follows a meeting held by US President Joe Biden and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi held with top technology executives, including of Amazon and Google, at the White House Friday."* (Bloomberg, 24-06-2023).

It is necessary to take advantage of these occasions when the procession of businessmen accompanies its representative-puppet to recall the precise definition contained in the Manifesto of the Communist Party: *"The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."* (Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848).

Reducing US dependence on China by way of increasing it with India is not a viable path to restoring US dominance in the world economy. Leaving aside the different orders of magnitude of infrastructure and investment volume, it would not change much in this respect if Asian goods were to flood European markets via India and the Middle East rather than via Russia and Belarus. However, a war between China and India could have a major impact, reducing the two main epicenters of the production volcano to ashes and allowing the imperialisms that are currently being put on the ropes to intervene from the outside and relaunch another new macabre cycle of reconstruction, even if the ultimate result would still be to arrive... back to square one. Therefore, the US will try to encircle as much as possible the relationship of the Chinese and Indian imperialisms with each other. In any case, it will not be the wishes of the US but the development of the economy that will determine whether or not the clash is triggered.

India is also extending its influence in Africa:

"Africa has become the second-largest recipient of credit

from India as the country tries to catch up with China in expanding its influence in the resource-rich continent.

Forty two African nations received about $12 billion or 38% of all credit extended by India in the last decade — just a few percentage points below its neighbors, (...) While China's loans to Africa have dipped since 2016, overall in the 10 years to 2020, it pledged $134.6 billion to African nations, according to data from Boston University's Global Development Policy Center. That's almost 11 times more than what India has offered. (…) In the last nine years, 18 of the 25 new Indian embassies or consulates were in Africa." (Bloomberg, 04-07-2023).

Imperialisms, older and younger

In this struggle between capitalist powers to dislodge each other from their positions, the situation, interests and material needs of each imperialist group will determine the appropriate rhetoric as a reflection of their will and consciousness of their social being.

The two world wars meant the gradual but inexorable dismantling of British and French imperialism, allowing the USA to obtain an overall dominant position never equaled in power by Stalinist Russia. This did not (and could not) however allow it to stop the spread of capitalism in the Asian and African areas or to prevent the DEVELOPMENT AND INTERCONNECTION of the productive forces in those areas, as well as in the US backyard: Latin America.

The bourgeoisies fighting in those areas (bourgeoisies that were revolutionary in Asia and Africa, but not in Latin America where the capitalist form of production was already hegemonic despite the low population density) against the capitalist metropolises and their local supporters, called themselves anti-imperialists and ideologically reflected their struggle for a part of the cake of the EXPLOITATION OF THE LOCAL AND WORLD PROLETARIAT as a struggle against the "empire".

At the present moment, in which the younger capitalisms run over the older ones, both will make use of this type of rhetoric to try to ideologically bind the proletariat to the defense of their bourgeoisie. This is the meaning of the declarations of the President of Brazil (Lula): *"We cannot accept a new colonialism"*, referring to the predominance of the dollar. These are the declarations of the first economic power of South America, at the summit of an economic bloc which controls 37% of the world GDP, which has amply surpassed the GDP of the G-7 (a mixture of victors and vanquished of World War II). We shall have to see the classic imperialisms also lamenting being reduced to the situation of a colony!

The working class must always remember that the First World War was justified by the theory of the liberation of the oppressed nations (each power pretended to be liberating those oppressed by the rest, while keeping its own under its boot) and that even in industrialized Germany assimilation to a colony could be propagated by the effect of the Treaty of Versailles. This was the theoretical basis of German national socialism and of the lurches of "national Bolshevism" which managed to settle in the 3rd International even in 1923 while the latter slipped down the slope of degeneration without being able to stop.

The text "Communism and the national question" (1924), besides summarizing with precision the need of the communist movement to have principles or, better, acquired **stable programmatic postulates** and their "codification" in clear tactical rules of action, denounced the tactical eclecticism that cut off any relation with the principles that had originated certain tactics (correct in a situation of anti-feudal revolution, treacherous in a situation of already prevailing capitalism):

"Here is how forgetting the principled origin of communist political solutions can lead to applying them where the conditions that suggested them are lacking, under the pretext that any complicated expedient can always be usefully employed. It cannot but be considered as a phenomenon which has a certain analogy with the enterprises of social-nationalism, the fact that comrade Radek, in order to sustain at an international meeting the tactic encouraged by him, "discovers" that the gesture of the nationalist self-sacrificing in the struggle against the French in the Ruhr has to be exalted by the communists in the name of the principle (new to us, and unheard of), that above the parties anyone who self-sacrifices for their idea should be sustained." (Communism and the National Question, 1924).

IMPERIALISM IS A HISTORICAL PHASE OF CAPITALISM, not a peculiar characteristic of certain national bourgeoisies: *" we must give a **definition of imperialism** that will include the following five of its basic features: (1) the **concentration of production and capital** has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the **merging of bank capital with industrial capital**, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital," of a financial oligarchy; (3) the **export of capital** as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the **formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves** and (5) the **territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.** "* (Imperialism: the Highest Stage of capitalism, Lenin, 1917).

At the heart of all "anti-imperialists" beats the ambition of a great imperialist because the economic (capitalist) impulse that moves them to get rid of the control of other powers is the same that pushes them to control the world market themselves.

In the same way, at the heart of all consolidated imperialism there survives the little candid and victimizing voice that appears when it is being run over by others or when it has to justify the greatest bestialities in its actions.

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ALTERNATIVA AL SISTEMA MERCANTIL CAPITALISTA
(documentary video)

TRADE WAR LEADS TO MILITARY WAR

General historical framework

The culmination of the bourgeois revolutions in the Asian and African area after World War II opened the door to a subsequent vertiginous development of capitalism, mainly in the Asian area, crowning **the extension of capitalism at world level**. The law of the **tendency of the rate of profit to fall** combined with the different moments in which capitalism erupts in the different geo-historical fields translates into the law by which the younger capitalisms accumulate at a faster rate than the older ones.

The capitalist development of the Asian area with industrial base supposed an enormous oxygen balloon for world capitalism, contributing enormous masses of extorted surplus value from the proletarianized masses and those being proletarianized in this process, contributing with a rejuvenation of the rate of profit to western capitalism that carried out its investments there. The great mass of exploited proletarians in the Asian area has translated into a great mass of surplus value which, in turn, has translated into a great accumulation of productive capital which, in turn, has translated into a great mass of commercial and financial capital. This has meant a **gradual displacement of the center of gravity of capitalism towards Asia**, dialectically stimulated by the need of the older capitalisms to bring up their rate of profit.

The **division of the world** carried out at Yalta and Potsdam no longer corresponds to the reality of the different imperialist powers in conflict: Germany forced its reunification, the formation of the EU and the absorption of Eastern Europe; Russian imperialism was resurrected from its collapse thanks to the high prices of oil and gas; the productive power of Japan could have been confined within its borders but Chinese capitalism has taken over the leading positions in industrial and financial capital and is expanding throughout the world; other powers such as Turkey, India, Brazil and South Africa play a leading role in the capitalist world.

The rupture of world division and crises of overproduction lead to trade and military wars by *"enforced **destruction** of a mass of productive forces (…), by the **conquest** of new markets, and by the more thorough **exploitation** of the old ones"* (Manifesto of the Communist Party). In these wars, the working class must reject any alliance with its own bourgeoisie: ***"The working men have no country"*** (Manifesto of the Communist Party).

The characterization of all wars in the present phase of capitalism and which must serve as a reference for the world working class is found in Lenin's following stance: ***"picture to yourselves a slave-owner who owned 100 slaves warring against a slave-owner who owned 200 slaves for a more "just" distribution of slaves.*** *Clearly, the application of the term "defensive" war, or war "for the defence of the fatherland" in such a case would be historically false, and in practice would be **sheer deception** of the common people, of philistines, of ignorant people, **by the astute slaveowners**. (…) It is not the business of Socialists to help the younger and stronger robber to rob the older and overgorged robbers. **Socialists must take advantage of the struggle between the robbers to overthrow them all."*** (Socialism and war, Lenin, 1915).

The war for Africa

In "The Internationalist Proletarian" No.10 (page 21) and in "The Internationalist Proletarian" No.11 (page 23) we analyzed the growing importance of the development of the productive forces in Africa. From the reading of this very issue of the magazine it is clear the growing importance of Africa in the commercial war between capitalist powers and as an **area of development of capitalism**. It can be seen by the incorporation of Ethiopia and Egypt to the BRICS (page 20), together with South Africa, and by the investments and credits that both China and India (page 21) and the different Western powers are trying to develop. The African Union has been incorporated as a member of the G-20.

The development of productive forces in Africa, with massive investment of Asian capital, translates into a growing INTERCONNECTION that is accompanied by the creation of the world's largest free trade area by surface and a system of payments in local currencies that aims to displace the dollar in intra-African trade (p. 20).

The stability of the zone is in the interests of Chinese, Turkish, Emirati, etc. imperialisms, while the instability of a zone from which they have been expelled is in the interests of the USA and European imperialism, whose integration they are unable to avoid or take advantage of. This economic conflict manifests itself in a series of military clashes.

In the far west of the Sahel, the expulsion of European capitalism continues on the basis of Russian military support in the struggle for the control of the raw materials of the area. The 11,600 UN soldiers and 1,500 UN policemen deployed in Mali have had to leave early in the face of military pressure from the government, supported by Russian mercenary troops. Mali and Burkina Faso have now been joined by Niger which, following the military coup, has ordered the withdrawal of the 1,500 French soldiers and even the French ambassador. The French soldiers are still on the bases while demonstrations with Russian flags are taking place demanding their withdrawal. After a series of comings and goings, the countries in the area seem to have ruled out military intervention against the military government.

In the far east of the Sahel, an armed conflict has begun in Sudan between the army and the Rapid Support Forces (which have been active in Libya and Yemen) in which UAE investments in ports, Chinese investments in railroads, pipelines taking oil out of South Sudan, Arabic gum production and gold mining are all at stake. *"Sudan officially exported 34.5 tons of gold worth over $2 billion last year."* (Bloomberg, 17-05-2023), whose extraction is exploited by Russian mercenaries, Moroccan companies and both warring factions.

The existence of paramilitary groups and militias ("states within the state") is something that the states of the zone will be pushed to dismantle in order to fulfill their capitalist function in a more unitary way. In this process, which only an international communist revolution can quickly overcome, the most diverse atrocities by the various contending sides can be expected.

In Ethiopia, the attempt to disarm the ethnic Amhara (Fano) armed volunteer groups has led to a series of clashes, assaults on army bases, assaults on police stations and a prison and the seizure of control of several cities. Let us recall that Ethiopia has just been invited to join the BRICS and has completed the filling of the Renaissance Dam (despite opposition from Egypt and Sudan).

The military shadow play in Asia-Pacific

In the Asia-Pacific region, the macabre game of shadows and military feints continues.

The AP4 (Australia, South Korea, Japan and New Zealand) has made declarations in favor of "joining forces" with NATO. The US announced a package of $345 million that would be delivered without having to wait for them to be manufactured, go through the whole authorization process, etc. This contrasts in volume and, if fulfilled, in speed with the weapons the US has so far been promising Taiwan, worth billions of dollars, but with delivery times for the Greek calends.

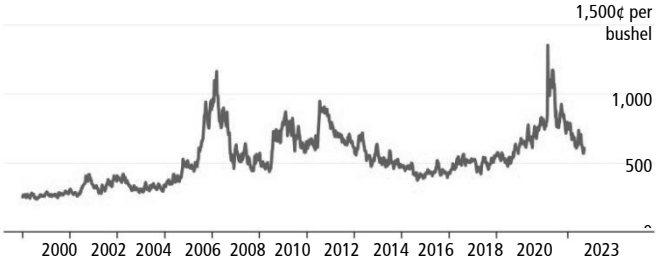
And, while North Korea's compulsive launching of missiles into the sea continues, *"China and the armed forces of Vladimir Putin conducted six joint military exercises together last year, the most in data going back two decades. That accounted for two-thirds of all China's drills with foreign militaries in 2022."* (Bloomberg, 15-7-2023). North Korea and Russia have also held talks recently, regarding mutual support in the military field over the prolongation of the war in Ukraine.

Grain and the war in Ukraine

In the case of grain and the war in Ukraine, the trade war and the military war completely overlap: *"Russia, already the world's largest wheat exporter, produced a record grain crop in 2022-23, generating 23% more volume than the average of the previous five years. Although everything points to a slightly smaller crop next year, it will still be a bumper harvest."* (Expansión, 11-8-2023).

Russia had agreed to the grain export agreement from Ukraine under pressure from third countries, especially in Africa, but with this harvest it can afford to break the agreement, get rid of a competitor, create an internal problem in the EU and ensure even free grain supplies to certain countries.

"The price of wheat has been pushed to a near three-year low by an exceptionally strong crop in Russia (…) Prices have fallen more than a fifth since the end of July, even as the Russian invasion continues to disrupt exports from Ukraine, one of the world's top exporters." (Financial Times, 21-9-2023). And it is not only from Russia that the grain surplus comes from, *"Brazil has had a record crop and its product will arrive in August. And something similar is happening with the United States and the leftovers from other European countries, where production has been vast."* (El País, 19-7-2023).



Source: Bloomberg

At the meeting held between Russia and 49 of the 54 African states, the Russian president stated: *"We will be ready to supply Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe, Mali, Somalia, Central African Republic and Eritrea with 25,000 to 50,000 tons of free grain each in the next three to four months," Putin told the summit, whose participants reacted with applause."* (La Vanguardia, 28-7-2023). At the same meeting, Russian imperialism *"assured yesterday on the closing day of the Russia-Africa summit that Moscow had signed "military-technical cooperation" contracts with more than 40 countries of the continent."* (El País, 29-7-2023).

For this reason, Russia has not renewed the agreement and has started bombarding Ukrainian port and cargo infrastructures, including river ports located on the Danube in front of the Romanian shore, NATO and EU territory.

Although testimonial, there have been boardings by the Russian army of wheat cargo ships. In view of this, the Ukrainian navy is not in a position to escort the departing cargo ships and, in addition, Turkey has established a ban on the passage of military vessels for all parties.

Russia's strategy is to scare off insurers and make it impossible or more expensive and difficult for Ukrainian grain to leave the country: *"According to the Commission, about 60% of Ukraine's grain exports now pass through (...) the European Union."* (La Vanguardia, 19-7-2023). *"Romania has announced that it will double its capacity to re-export Ukrainian grain, while the Sulina Canal has so far handled almost half of the total grain flowing through the European Union's so-called solidarity lines. The United States will provide technical assistance to keep the canal running day and night. The capacity of the port of Constantsa, where many cargo ships return from the Danube, will be expanded, new border crossings with Ukraine will be opened and a railway connection will be reactivated. (...) it means that the Ukrainians will take their cargo to the Romanian port of Galatsi instead of their own ports of Izmail and Reni: Russia is not expected to attack a port of a NATO member country."* (La Vanguardia, 21-8-2023).

The EU has lifted export restrictions on grain exports from Ukraine, followed by Hungary and Poland automatically imposing their bans and increasing them to other products: *"Hungary (…) signed an executive order that bars Ukraine from selling 24 products including wine, beef, corn, sunflower seed and barley. The previous restrictions applied only to four products.*

The restrictions don't apply to Ukrainian products that are in transit to third countries as long as they leave Hungary within 15 days." (Bloomberg, 15-9-2023).

Development of the war in Ukraine

The US has approved providing cluster bombs to the Ukrainian military while Russia has raised the military age to increase the cannon fodder available for war. Ukraine has intensified its drone and missile attacks inside Russia, as well as against a Russian military ships or oil tankers in the Black Sea. Russia has responded in turn with indiscriminate bombings. In this BLOODBATH and destruction, the victims are the working class - with or without of uniform - of the two belligerent countries.

In parallel, Turkey has accepted Sweden's accession to NATO. And, speaking of NATO, a NATO high command let slip that *"a solution could be that Ukraine renounces territory and, in exchange, achieves NATO membership*" (El País, 17-8-2023). In spite of all the subsequent rectifications, there are two elements which clearly show: 1) when the moment of truth arrives, the US and its allies will leave the Ukrainian bourgeoisie behind in its territorial claim and 2) it is an admission of NATO's incapacity: the entry into this criminal organization should serve to avoid territorial loss, but territorial loss is made a precondition for this entry...

In August a meeting with the participation of 40 countries was held in Saudi Arabia, including China, Brazil, South Africa and India. The meeting was described by Russia as a *"futile*

attempt to mobilize the Global South behind Zelensky" (La Vanguardia, 07-8-2023) and the Ukrainian representatives admitted that they had been told that Russia had to be given security guarantees against NATO expansion.

The basic question is: who can present itself as the guarantor of a future with some expectation for Ukrainian capitalism when the war is over, the USA and the EU, or rather China and another combination of countries? If the unfolding of events makes it evident that the first option does not exist or is insufficient, Ukrainian capitalism will be pushed to admit dealings with the states that are currently Russian footholds.

Regardless of the outcome of the above question, any pacifist illusion in a capitalism without wars is a social stupefacient that delivers the proletariat bound hand and foot to its bourgeoisie at the moment of truth: *"6th (…)* ***without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no talk about a reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganisation of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars****."* (Terms of Admission, II Congress of the Communist International, 1920).

In the words of the Statutes of the Communist International, approved at its Second Congress in 1920: ***"Remember the imperialist war!*** *This is the first appeal of the Communist International to every toiler wherever he may live and whatever language he may speak. Remember that owing to the existence of the capitalist system a small group of imperialists had the opportunity during four long years of compelling the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. Remember that this imperialist war had reduced Europe and the whole world to a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Remember that* ***unless the capitalist system is overthrown a repetition of this criminal war is not only possible but is inevitable****! (…) The imperialist war (…) emphasised once again what was pointed out in the Statutes of the First International: that* ***the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national problem, but one of a social and international character****."* (Statutes of the Communist International, II Congress, 1920).

Militarist uproar in Russia and its end

In Russia, the internal contradictions within the different militarist currents due to the development of the war and the accumulated attrition were sublimated in the military attempt led by the mercenaries of the Wagner group against the Russian military leadership. The coup d'état was not practically fought, except for a few clashes, but it did not have any great support either.

In the background was the decision of the Russian state to eliminate the existence of a number of private armies by merging them with the army in order to minimize the risk of uprisings and independent actions on the part of these private armies.

The Russian government quickly received the support of Turkey, China, Saudi Arabia, as well as Belarus and the Chechens, the coup being defused by its protagonists themselves, with the promise not to try the coup plotters and to move their units to Belarus.

LIFE OF THE PARTY

In August a general meeting of the Party was held for two weeks with the international participation of the militants of its different sections and an appreciable number of sympathizers.

The main focus of the meeting was the **study of the degeneration of the Communist International** through a selection of texts which, although obviously not including many equally important texts, illustrates:

- The previous experiences of the Left in its struggle within the PSI*: For the intransigence of thought* (1913), *Socialist Party and workers' organization* (1913), *From the principle to the method* (1913), *For the theoretical conception of socialism* (1913), *Meridional socialism and moral questions* (1912), *Organization and party* (1913), *Democracy and socialism* (1914) and *Humanitas* (1917).
- The international platform of rupture with opportunism defended by the Left: *Theses of the Abstentionist Communist Fraction of the PSI* (1920).
- The adherence and deepening of the Left regarding the theses of the II congress: *Party and class* (1921) and *Party and class action* (1921).
- The first complete position against the beginning of the series of tactical errors: *Theses on the tactics of the Communist Party of Italy, of Rome* (1922).
- The internal and external manifestations of the degeneration of the International: *The opportunist danger and the International* (1925) and *The politics of the International* (1925).
- The balance of this degeneration at the moment of its culmination: *letter to Korsch* (1926) and the *Speech in the VI Enlarged Executive* (1926).
- The defense of the lessons of this balance forty years later: *The organic structure of the party is the other face of its unity of doctrine and program* (1965) and *The continuity of action of the Party on the thread of the tradition of the Left* (1966).

For the part of the **study of Marxist economic theory**, the following parts of Capital were faced:

- A general introduction to the three volumes and their structure of sections and chapters, as well as the reading of the prefaces.
- A detailed study of the first chapter of Volume I, dedicated to the commodity.
- Study of Section III of Volume III, dedicated to the decreasing tendency of the rate of profit.

In the part of the **study of the course of capitalism**, the exposition of the monitoring of the bourgeois press and the main economic data was carried out, whose entire process involves the whole network of the Party as part of the international work of collective study and reading, translation of fundamental texts and their republication, preparation and publication of the review, intervention in the immediate struggle of the working class assuming its organization and coordination, etc. forming the network whose function of collective organizer Lenin assigned to the newspaper: *"The role of a newspaper, however, is not limited solely, …*

(continues page 26)

After staging the pardon and reintegration of the mercenary leadership, the Russian state apparatus began the purge of the currents close to the organization of the coup with the dismissal and disappearance of military personnel, the arrest of some elements and the "accident" of the plane where the leadership of the mercenary group was traveling.

A revolutionary reaction to the imperialist bloodshed will never come out of uproars like these, but only an internal reinforcement of militarism will.

Revolutionary defeatism

News is coming in, although isolated, of episodes of refusal to fight both on the Ukrainian side and on the Russian side. It is very important that these isolated episodes become generalized and that we reach the **CONFRATERNIZATION AT THE FRONT**, the refusal to continue with the bloodbath for the profit of the capitalist powers that are behind this imperialist war, towards **REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM**, the only proletarian and internationalist tactic: *"**A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war** (…) **Socialists must explain to the masses that they have no other road of salvation except the revolutionary overthrow of "their" governments**."* (Socialism and war, Lenin, 1915).

For the international communist revolution

The present conflicts are the prelude to a greater conflict that executes the destruction that capitalism needs. In this situation, for the world proletariat the only alternative road to being immolated as cannon fodder in the world slaughter is to recover the slogans of **revolutionary defeatism**, of **class internationalism**, its organization in **International Communist Party** for the **transformation of the imperialist war into revolutionary civil war**, the **overthrow of its own bourgeoisie** and the transitory establishment of the **dictatorship of the proletariat** towards a society without classes, without private property, without wage labor, without mercantile and corporate regime.

The watchword of revolutionaries worldwide must be uncompromisingly and without exception:

- Rejection of all nationalism: "the workers have no country".
- Rejection of solidarity with the company economy and with the "national" economy.
- Revolutionary defeatism against each "own's" bourgeoisie in times of commercial or military war.
- Joint and international organization of the proletarians of all languages in the International Communist Party for the communist revolution on a world scale.

To be able to carry out this task, the working class needs a Party with a scientific understanding of history and a program that is not one of reform or conservation of the present society: **this party is the International Communist Party that must gather the most advanced and determined part of the proletariat, unifying the efforts of the working masses by directing them from the struggle for contingent interests and results to the general struggle for the REVOLUTIONARY EMANCIPATION OF THE PROLETARIAT**.

FOR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!
DOWN WITH CRIMINAL AND MURDEROUS CAPITALISM!

(Life of the Party, from page 25)

… to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. ***A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer.*** *In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labor.* ***With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organization will naturally lake shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully,*** *appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence these events.* ***The mere technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party, who will maintain constant contact with one another, know the general state of affairs, get accustomed to performing regularly their detailed functions in the All-Russian work, and test their strength in the organization of various revolutionary actions. This network of agents will form the skeleton of precisely the kind of organization we need*** *(…)".* (Lenin, Where to begin?, 1901).

During the meeting experiences of **intervention in the immediate struggle** of the working class were exchanged, with an analysis of the strikes organized - not in words but in deeds - by Party militants in Europe and America.

The meeting concluded with a **balance and plan of the activity of the Party**, with an exposition of the activity of the different sections of the Party, establishing a program of work and coordination until the next general meeting.

During the course of the meeting, the participants kept with *"(…) the more and more firm formation* ***of the method of work that, through an effort neither brief nor easy, aims*** *– with the irrevocable liquidation of every residue of manias for the maneuvers, the intrigues and the alternate alignments of false political groupings that divorce and pact in chain and that in no circumstance will find us in their way –* ***to reconcile the convinced work of all, none excluded, with the absolute homogeneity of direction and of ideological and political position and the maximum uniformity of terminology,*** *having put for anyone, known and unknown, the sepulchral stone on the old unhealthy right to throw incautiously to the circulation without control, improvised nonsense, fished in disorders of nervous association, when not in the bottom of the bottle.*

Our work is ***an organic construction and reconstruction with materials taken from tested and ancient verifications, subjected to the hard test of continuity and cohesion****."* (Report of the Florence Meeting, January 25-26, 1958).

THE ONLY MENTAL HEALTH UNDER CAPITALISM: A PERMANENT INTERNAL REBELLION AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE

Class for capital

Capitalism murders more than 2.7 million workers a year in the so-called labor "accidents". The medical butchers at the service of capital send thousands of sick proletarians to work every day. The working class has to wait months and even years to be visited by specialists and, when this happens, it is not given the necessary examinations and treatments in order to save the bourgeois state from the general costs of labor. The illnesses the workers suffer due to the exhausting rhythms of work that accelerate the deterioration of their muscles, tendons, bones and vital organs are not recognized as caused by work; the bourgeoisie thus shortens the life of millions of proletarians while raising the retirement age in order to make their slaves die before they become an unproductive cost. The bourgeoisie squeezes the proletariat in exchange for miserable wages in the working centers, real prisons where it is subjugated and humiliated by the despotism of the whole hierarchy of commandments. The bourgeoisie throws the proletariat into unemployment when it does not serve them anymore, imposing a life of precariousness, oppression and frustration, keeping it in a **constant insecurity and incomprehension of its very conditions of existence** that leads to the consumption of all the drugs that the bourgeoisie itself puts at its disposal. And while the bourgeoisie and its paid servants impose these living conditions and **treat the working class worse than beasts of burden**, one hears everywhere the great concern the bourgeoisie has for the "mental health" of its slaves.

What class interest is behind the much vaunted "mental health"?

"People always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and ***they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises.***" (The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism, Lenin, 1913). The campaign carried out by the bourgeoisie to safeguard the "mental health" of its slaves is aimed at having a mass of tame beasts easily exploitable. **For the bourgeoisie workers are mentally healthy only if they are subdued.**

The formation of a docile and submissive working class was a task that the rising bourgeoisie imposed by blood and fire. This process was described by K. Marx in Chapter XXVI of the First Book of Capital: the primitive accumulation. After centuries of domination, the current bourgeoisie does not even need to exercise a direct, kinetic, daily violence on the working masses for them to act directly against their own class interests and in favor of the interests of the exploiting class, the bourgeoisie.

This is how the bourgeoisie has woven the ideological cobweb of "mental health" to trap the working class: first, athletes, artists, and other well-fed servants of capital cried in front of the cameras confessing having problems of stress and anxiety. Afterwards, journalists and hacks *opened debate* on the little importance given to "mental health". Thus, they managed to fix the expression "mental health" in all the brains (in the well-fed ones of the bourgeoisie and the working aristocracy; and in the badly fed and smashed ones of the proletariat). Then, the theatrics were taken from the journalistic terrain to that of parliamentary cretinism, whose resolution was clear before the beginning of the campaign: more psychologists and psychiatrists are of vital importance for the protection of the workers' state of mind. Finally, the doctors at the service of capital are the ones in charge of diagnosing the workers and their children with "mental health" problems, who after the whole campaign accept without opposition or resistance the diagnosis and treatment.

The workers are then sent to the modern bourgeois confessional, where instead of priests there are psychologists and psychiatrists. The priest defends that everything happens by divine design, and that in order to achieve a better life in heaven one must resign oneself on earth. The modern priest, the psychologist or psychiatrist trained in the Universities of the bourgeoisie, has the function of **preventing the proletariat from recognizing in the present institutions and relations of capitalist production the obstacle to overcome all the miseries and contradictions in which it lives**; to suppress the rage and internal rebellion against the present social order. For this, in case of pharmacological treatment, it is narcotized with pills that are supposed to regulate and improve the state of mind and, in general, are addictive. In this way the workers are **drugged and anesthetized until they become addicts** as a powerful tool of **social control** by the bourgeoisie.

In 1817, bourgeois pharmacology began to market a medicine called "Morphine" (in reference to the Greek god of dreams, Morpheus, because of the sleepiness it caused); it was prescribed both as an analgesic, antitussive or antidiarrheal and against alcohol addiction. In the USA it was the most commonly administered analgesic to soldiers in the American Civil War, so that its addiction came to be called "the soldier's disease". In 1895 the German chemical company Bayer claimed to have synthesized a drug that caused less addiction than morphine and with benefits they considered "heroic". They patented it under the name of... "Heroin". In 1937 a German laboratory synthesized "Methadone" which was administered both during and after World War II as an analgesic and antidepressant so that proletarians returning from the war could be exploited in the reconstruction of Germany. Current year: *"esketamine, derived from ketamine, is already administered as a spray for people with resistant depression (...) the journal Science recognized as one of the great findings of 2021 a work that confirmed the effectiveness of MDMA to reduce the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (...) In practice, psychedelic therapy is like a trip (...) they live mystical experiences (...) of disconnection from the world."* (El País, 08-07-2023).

The connection with the material reality

This is the most important scientific discovery for the working class: the only source of profit is **surplus value**, obtained through the exploitation of the working class.

The bourgeois option is the disconnection from the reality of this exploitation by using all kinds of drugs, prescribed and non-prescribed, also including television, religion and psychological consultation. The proletarian alternative is the understanding of the causes of this exploitation and all the miseries it entails in order to confront and combat them.

The first way turns the working class physically and mentally into mere beasts of burden. The second way feeds the **HATE**

against the bourgeois relations of production: *"There is, therefore, no cause for surprise if the workers, treated as brutes, actually become such;* ***or if they can maintain their consciousness of manhood only by cherishing the most glowing hatred, the most unbroken inward rebellion against the bourgeoisie in power****. They are men so long only as they* ***burn with wrath against the reigning class.*** *They become brutes the moment they bend in patience under the yoke, and merely strive to make life endurable while abandoning the effort to break the yoke."* (The condition of the Working Class in England, F. Engels, 1844).

Certainly, the mass of the potentially revolutionary class, the working class, is today depressed and stressed, it lacks its own vitality, it is submitted to the designs of capital and in most cases when it takes action it is for the defense of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie rather than its own. The terrible consequences of the degeneration of the III International that culminated in the Stalinist counterrevolution broke the back of the workers' movement that has to make enormous efforts to rise again.

This was the diagnosis of 1952, still prevailing in many work centers: *"Here is how the bourgeois world presents itself, current year: The dominant class has managed, maneuvering the levers of opportunism, to crush to the marrow the revolutionary movement, in a damn war that concluded the process of counterrevolutionary involution of the worker parties. A state machine of unprecedented proportions and repressive capacities keeps the masses chained to exploitation, worse than the rack to the body of the condemned to torture. The chaotic confusion and the sufferings of the masses are such and so many that the working class is transformed into a bleeding trunk that moves unconsciously: its brain is obscured and intoxicated, its sensibility narcotized, the eyes do not see, the hands writhe on themselves. In the place of the class struggle, there is the horrifying ravage of the intestine struggle, typical of castaways on the life raft at the mercy of the waves. In the factories prevails, and this is not a new thing in history, the spying, the snitching, the rancor, the mean and mischievous revenge, the most stupid and bestial opportunism, the arrogance, the neurasthenic abuse, but in the masses oppressed by the consequences of thirty years of tremendous defeats, there is not even the strength to feel genuine nausea, because this is expressed in the miasmatic exhalations of corporate trade unionism, of corporatism and, on the political plane, of social conciliationism and impotent pacifism. "* (Activism, 1952).

But will the vitality and vigor needed by the working class be given to it by the *honoris causa* dealers of the bourgeoisie? On the contrary, they will lead it to prostration and collapse. The bourgeoisie *"has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage labourers."* (Manifesto of the Communist Party, K. Marx, 1848). Morphine, Heroin, Methadone... and to prepare the cannon fodder for the third world imperialist slaughter: Ketamine, Fentanyl and MDMA.

The vitality and vigor needed by the working class can only come from a fiercely **ANTI-BOURGEOUS** atmosphere in which **HATE** to the existing relations of production is cultivated. Only this atmosphere, **which must necessarily be one of real struggle and not of empty chatter,** will allow the proletarian **to forge a character of rebellion in the heat of struggle.** The daily combat against the usurpations of capital, in the class worker union, is a first school in which the proletarians come out of the isolation, selfishness and self-absorption imposed on them by this society in order to better exploit them. Through the clashes against capital, they verify in their own skin and in that of their comrades the class antagonisms, the repressive role of the bourgeois state in all its ramifications: police, judges, functionaries, labor inspectors, medical inspectors, subsidized trade unionism. **Through their organization in the class worker union, not integrated into the state, they can see that their individual interest is linked to the collective interest of their class.**

Class for itself: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie

The **function of the communists** is to stimulate this immediate struggle without ceasing to show its limitations, to elevate politically the workers who undertake it, to link it with the higher objective of the abolition of wage labor, of the communist revolution. Only with the party and with the action of the party does the proletariat become a class for itself and for the revolution: *"It will be enough to remember that, if the consciousness of human beings is the result and not the cause of the characteristics of the environment in which they are obliged to live and act, the rule will never be that the exploited, the starving, the malnourished, can self-convince of the need to overthrow and replace the exploiter well-nourished and provided with all the resources and powers. This can only be the exception. "* (Party and Class, 1921).

The real elevation of the material and, therefore, mental life standard of the proletariat will only be possible **after overthrowing capitalism:** *"12. The process of transformation of the relations of production will be accompanied by a vast series of social measures****, founded on the principle that the collectivity will take charge of the material and intellectual existence of all its members. Thus, all the degenerative defects which the proletariat inherits from the capitalist world will be successively eliminated*** *and, in the words of the Manifesto, the old society divided into classes which clash with each other will be followed by* ***an association in which the free development of each will be the condition for the free development of all****. "* (Theses of the Abstentionist Communist Faction of the PSI, 1920).

The historical mission of the proletariat is the abolition of social classes, of private property, of wage labor, of mercantile exchange and of the anarchy of production. Through this ***"organisation of the proletarians into a class, and, consequently into a political party"*** (Manifesto of the Communist Party), it must violently overthrow the bourgeoisie, take power and exercise **the dictatorship of the proletariat** to prevent the restoration of social privilege and implement all measures leading to **the abolition of social classes and the extinction of the State.**

To carry it out, it is a necessity for every worker who gets organized for fighting and for communist militants **to reject the ideological and pharmacological narcotization** that the bourgeoisie administers to the working class for the purpose of idiotizing numbness: ***"The revolutionary can only be someone desintoxicated"*** (Trajectory and catastrophe of the capitalist form, 1957).

FOR THE ANTICAPITALIST SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

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