



Syriza, Podemos, Left Front... May Capital's Far Left Die!



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"Communists supposed it... but Syriza surpassed their expectations..."

This joke could very well summarize the programmatic lessons to be drawn from the situation that proletarians in Greece, our brothers and sisters of misery and struggle, are subjected to. Indeed since always or at least since the great campaigns of Social Democracy in the early 20th century for the establishment of universal suffrage, which aimed at nothing else than the containment and the destruction of the proletariat's energy developed to put an end to misery and exploitation, the communist critique (whether the latter expressed itself under the "anarchist" label, the "revolutionary socialist" or another one is not what we are interested in here) has always denounced the electoral circus, parliamentarianism, governmentalism, collaboration with bourgeois institutions, and the almost religious belief that reforms could improve the lot of our class...

In this short contribution we will not further talk about the "Greek sovereign debt" or the rescue of the "euro zone", and even less about the "Grexit", so fashionable these last weeks in bourgeois media. We are not going to develop the different strategies of Syriza government to "defy" the financial institutions of the European Commission and the Troika. We leave all these "details" to the fervent followers of political economy. For our part, we consider that the communists do not have to wallow in the *biology of Capital*, while our task is fundamentally to participate in its *necrology*! We will also not turn our attention to the Prime Minister Tsipras' "psychology", to what he hoped or intended to do, we will not take into account the media show and the incredible statements of his Finance Minister the foppish playboy Varoufakis (self-proclaimed "*libertarian Marxist*") and his gang of leftists, just able to snivel about the "denial of democracy" vis-à-vis the July 5th referendum results and about the "diktat of the euro zone". What the communists are interested in is not what people say about themselves but what they do and assume in their social practices...

So what's going on in Greece is just the antepenultimate episode of the always sad and lamentable story of the historical Social Democracy, that is to say the bourgeois party for workers and proletarians, this social force in charge of emptying our movements of struggle from their subversive substance, of diverting their perspectives of radical transformation of the world onto a simple reform, and finally of making us falling back into ranks of social peace. The camp of Social Democracy materializes at two levels: by setting up a militant structure external to our class, a structure directly stemming from leftist and progressive factions of the bourgeois class on the one hand, and by development of a reformist ideological corpus generated within our class and based on the weaknesses, limitations and illusions of the struggle on the other hand, all that in a dialectical back-and-forth movement between both.

So what's going on in Greece is nothing very different from what the very "radical" Workers Party of Brazil (led by the reformist Lula da Silva and the former "guerrilla" Dilma Rousseff) achieved in recent years in terms of attacks on

proletarians' living conditions; what by the way provoked the June 2013 revolt against austerity and misery.

Historically we got used to the "betrayals" of Capital's left and far left (even if only gullible fools believing that any bourgeois alternative will solve the fundamental problems of our class, of humanity can consider themselves to be "betrayed")... Already in 1871, during the significant proletarian movement known as the "Paris Commune", the left and the far left took over its leadership and set up a government that had never taken any revolutionary measure to counter the bourgeois forces of Versailles or to internationally extend the militant efforts underway. All the measures of this "Paris Commune's government" had resulted to only one thing: disarming (both military and programmatic) of our class confronted with our historical enemy that could after it had been defeated for a short time, reconstruct itself...

Going back to 1914, we can notice the same phenomenon when leftists, who had declared to be openly opposed to war, changed the side before you could say knife. For example, the French "revolutionary socialist" militant Gustave Hervé who had originally written in the newspaper "*La Guerre Sociale*" ("The Social War") that we have to "plant the national flag on the dunghill" quickly joined the defense of "the country in danger"... Ditto for the French anarcho-syndicalist CGT which after years of antimilitarist propaganda joined in serried ranks of war supporters and sacred union, allowing thus the feasibility of general mobilization or at least contributing to its smooth course...

In 1917, while soldiers were getting increasingly angry on all fronts against the capitalist slaughter, the "Bolshevik Party" went at the head of the war refusal movement in order to better bring it in the dead end of a "radical" change of government, toppling the reign of the millennial Tsar, and it ultimately participated in the reconstruction of the capitalist State in Russia, roughly shaken by our class in struggle, what resulted in Stalinism and its "socialism in one country"...

In 1918 in Germany, after several years of open collaboration with the headquarters of the imperial army, which resulted in the mobilization on the front as well as in the participation of industrial workers in the war effort, a significant faction of Social Democracy (the SPD) was directly called to the political management (and thus set up a government), and it was militants of the left who directly participated in crushing of the proletarian struggle while forming of "Freikorps" under the aegis of the "worker" and "socialist deputy" Noske...

Finally, to conclude here this non-exhaustive list, in 1936 in Spain it was thanks to the "critical support" and the votes of the CNT militants that the Popular Front won the elections. It was thus able to develop an "antifascist" republican politics which practically opposed the proletariat's boosts in its struggle for social revolution, all that with an active help of the CNT-FAI's "comrades-ministers". Once again, the revolution was sacrificed on the altar of the defense of one bourgeois camp considered as a "lesser evil"!

Anyway we could fill up in this way dozens of pages with the horrors that our class has experienced in diversion of its struggles and in deepening of its weaknesses. As we can see, the left and the far left (all factions taken into account) have always been and will continue to be predominant elements in structuring and maintaining the capitalist dictatorship. The proletariat is historically forced and determined to fight against them in the same way as it fights all the other factions of the bourgeoisie if it wants to put once and for all an end to misery, exploitation and wars...

But let's come back to the present events and to how the current leftist managers of our misery claim to solve the problem... All those who criticized (rightly so moreover) the referendum organized by Tsipras' government missed the whole point: their critics did not go beyond the endless sniveling according to which the "Yes" would mean a tough austerity and the "No" a less harsh austerity. In fact, and what followed proved it, (anyway could it be otherwise?), the "No" has never meant anything else (as in every election) than giving to the government a "free hand" and letting it to develop an austerity even stronger than the one originally imposed by the European authorities and their capitalist gangsters. You would really have to be a first-rate "useful idiot" to believe for a single second that the election or referendum show can be anything else than a farce which the proletarians fool themselves with... Capital's far left historically accustomed us to its leftist policy, which is never anything else than a facelift more or less "radical" according to the circumstances and needs of the moment, the whole finally being only a red-painted version of the same capitalist dictatorship. In this case of Greece, there is an "originality" – a leftist party and government apply word for word the structural adjustment plan and the relentless austerity measures concocted in the headquarters of what people call decision-making centers of capitalism's liberal policies. But finally beyond the differences of forms and speeches, all that directly and intrinsically partakes in the very logic of the capitalist system. Or, better said, it is not Syriza which is the actor of history but the history of capitalism that finds in Syriza an actor up to the task, an actor able to perform its dirty work, that is to say to frontally attack the proletariat in its means of existence and struggle.

Because what is the principal point in the "Greek crisis" is not the "debt", which anyway amounts "only" to € 324 billion (more than three-quarters being repayable in only several years); for comparison the debt of France is € 2,089 billion, that of Italy 2,194 billion and 9,293 billion for the "euro zone", not to mention that of the largest debtor nation-state in the world and in history: the USA with a colossal and abyssal debt of \$ 18,152 billion! Capitalism clearly needs to produce the debt, anyway it cannot do anything else than to race out of control and to always more rest its expanded reproduction on fictitious capital, on a not yet produced value which will probably never be realized... No, what's really the point is the practical implementation of a program to contain the proletariat, not only in Greece but also in other parts of Europe where Capital needs to hit even harder and to discipline a surplus labor power, to always more divide proletarians into different categories, whites and "darkies", nationals and migrants, the good hard-working citizens who accept the austerity without too much fuss and those who raise their heads, those who show their teeth and organize, struggle, revolt... And in this sense, Greece is a social laboratory for the bourgeoisie and its far left servants!

The proletariat all over the world is condemned to always get its face smashed...

If the law-abiding and pacified proletariat in Europe and North America, addicted to always more terrorist State campaigns of citizenship attitude development, believe to escape its fate without struggling, it is kidding itself as never before...

We will have to put an end to all these illusions about the parliamentary circus, about the game of political parties, but also that of trade unions which do nothing but saving social peace and negotiate the sale of our labor power to the highest bidder.

We have nothing to gain either in new beliefs that would guarantee the "purity" of our struggles against the scoria of bourgeois politics: self-management (that is to say the management of our own misery), "popular assemblies" open to all and where everyone can speak freely (including "scabs", strikebreakers, "moderates", good citizens...), production cooperatives where the essence of Capital (money, exchange and therefore the value!) is never eliminated...

In a declaration issued on July 1st an "Antiauthoritarian Movement" from Thessaloniki says seriously: "*We do not care about the currency that will be part of a national reawakening and we cannot support of course a currency that is part of the financial intrusion into every aspect of our lives. We prefer to think of the currency in its normal dimension as an instrument for exchange with its main function being social needs and facilities.*" Pitiful leftism and its lack of understanding of what capitalism is!

In short all this fashionable democratic jumble that has never ever been any guarantee for the development of our struggles and the deepening of our ruptures with the society of Capital and its staunch defenders.

Comrades, against the capitalist catastrophe made of more misery, austerity, repression and wars, against the environmental destruction of the planet generated by a social relation that does not care about humans, there is no other alternative but the revolutionary struggle to the death for the destruction of what destroys us...

The only alternative is as follows: either communism or the end of humanity! In between, there is nothing!

★ Class War – July 2015 ★

Download our materials in PDF format at:
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The image shows two PDF covers. The left cover is titled 'class war' and features a collage of images including a person with a gun and a person with a flag. The right cover is titled 'CLASS WAR' and features a collage of images including a person with a gun and a person with a flag. Both covers have text at the bottom: 'We are all hooligans, we are the mob! Let's destroy this capitalist society of misery!' and 'WAR PREPARATIONS BETWEEN UKRAINE AND RUSSIA SHOW OR REALITY?'.

CLASS WAR – PROGRAMMATICAL POSITIONS

This society offers us only a struggle for bare survival, in which we are nothing but labour force and consumers. Of course, it's all wrapped in beautiful speeches about decent citizen's values and needs of the country and economy, in fashion trends and spiritless lifestyles daily churned out to us by media, politicians, scientists, celebrities... Are branded clothes, new mobile phones and plasma TV sets, leased cars and mortgaged housing, Friday parties, TV shows and family idylls in shopping centres a sufficient substitute for a truly human life? Is it all what we really desire and what we really need?

1. NOT FOR US!

We have no grandiose properties and companies, which would make living for us, therefore we have to go to work. We sell our time and energy, our labour power, to the class of bourgeois, who own means of production. We exchange our labour for a wage, which allows us to buy what we need to survive and what was produced elsewhere by the same working people as we are. However much we earn, as soon as we have spent our pay, we have to rush back to work again. It's our labour what drives all the society and economy: factories, supermarkets, offices, hospitals, construction sites... We are the class of proletarians and we thus rebel!

2. AGAINST WAGE LABOUR

Labour is alienated from us, because the time, during which we are working, doesn't belong to us, it's not a complete part of us – above all it's a means how to obtain money. As we sell our labour as a commodity to individual bosses and also to the whole bourgeoisie, it's them who control it, who own it and who really benefit from it. We just have to work as long and as fast as it's demanded from us. Thus, we struggle against wage labour, which is the basis of our exploitation and of the whole capitalist system.

3. AGAINST LEISURE-TIME FACTORY

We don't work in order to directly satisfy our needs as well as needs of the whole of humanity. Needs of life are mediated to us through wages – money, because products of our labour, which belongs to the bourgeoisie, is alienated from us too. All the society is alienated from us: relations, which it is based on, its structures, institutions, wealth and even knowledge. Therefore, the dictatorship of Capital reigns also outside of work. Leisure, which we are looking for, is its part. It's Capital, not us, that determines, how we eat, make love, dwell, travel, enjoy ourselves... Therefore, we struggle against the whole of capitalist social relations, which traps us in a gigantic factory, where we are like milch cows in every moment of our lives.

4. AGAINST CAPITALISM

Our labour is a commodity like no other: it's the only one able to create new value, bigger than its own. Bosses exploit all of us, as they pay us only for our labour power and the whole surplus, that we have produced, is their surplus value and profit. Profit is re-invested in means of production, in production of new Capital, which is all the property controlled, owned and sold by bourgeois. Capital is our dead labour embodied in things. It's our time and energy that we have killed at work not to satisfy human needs but to produce commodities. The only aim of the capitalist mode of production is to achieve profit and multiply Capital. Human needs are totally secondary and they are "satisfied" through production only in the extent and in the way, which serve Capital's expansion. And it is the reason why even "socialist" regimes, the USSR and its satellites, were capitalist and there is still nowadays capitalism in North Korea, China or Cuba. Where there's wage labour, there inevitably exists also Capital and it can't be otherwise just because there's also a "Marxist" ideology's garb, re-organisation of the bourgeoisie through a political party and state and its efforts (with no lasting chance to succeed) to deform capitalist laws of market, competition and value.

5. AGAINST DEMOCRACY, STATE AND BOURGEOIS POLITICS

Democracy is the capitalist society's own essence and not just one of its political forms. Atomised citizens, who achieve an artificial unity through a separated area of national politics, are a common characteristic of parliamentary, Stalinist, Fascist or for instance Islamist states. These are organisations of the bourgeoisie as a class, growing from social relations of the class society. That's why the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is anti-democratic and anti-state and has nothing in common with bourgeois politics, political parties (whether they are Left-wing or Right-wing, parliamentary or extra-parliamentary, legal or banned), elections and political coups.

6. AGAINST TRADE UNIONS AND LEFTISM

Class unions (in opposition to "scab" trade unions directly established by bourgeoisie) are not working class organisations for long time. They became a part of the capitalist State, an institution for an organised selling of labour power and keeping social peace. As such, they have to be destroyed, not reformed. Weaknesses and defeats of our class gave and still give rise to many currents of Leftism, which play the role of historical Social Democracy. In times of revolutions they have always been the Capital's last resort and bastion, because they don't strive for destruction of Capitalism, but for its radical reform. Therefore, communist proletarians struggle against all forms of Leftism: Stalinism, Trotskyism, Maoism, many varieties of Anarchism, Anti-Globalism, "Third-Worldist" Anti-Imperialist movements...

7. AGAINST UNITED FRONTS

We are opposed to all united fronts with "progressive" political factions of the bourgeoisie and to all counter-revolutionary ideologies emerging around such fronts: Anti-Fascism or for example National Liberation... All of them lead to the defence of one form of the capitalist dictatorship against another one, "lesser evil" against "worse" one, i.e. to the preservation of the capitalist dictatorship as a worldwide totality. These fronts lead to a struggle for Capitalism with a "human face", but always they undermine and defeat the revolutionary proletariat. Only class direct action can oppose destructive competition

between proletarians which is encouraged by racism, fascism and nationalism. Only the Communist Revolution is the alternative to all forms of Capitalism.

8. AGAINST OPPRESSION, NATIONALISM AND WAR

All forms of oppression older than Capitalism itself – for instance on the basis of gender, sexuality, ethnical or religious origin – were not destroyed but have become parts of capitalist exploitation and division of labour. No form of oppression exists outside of capitalist social relations and it can be abolished only alongside with them in the process of the Communist Revolution. Ideologies foisting an identity of worker, woman, native, foreigner, "privileged", "excluded" on us, the proletarians, serve making us to internally finally identify with the capitalist system. Only the struggling dynamics of the proletariat is the process of negation of all those obedient citizens' identities. Therefore, the proletariat opposes them in the same way as Nation, Country or Nationalism. Against social peace inside of national states and against a war among them, we claim the class war against our own bourgeoisie, i.e. revolutionary defeatism.

9. FOR PROLETARIAN ASSOCIATIONISM

Today, despite their limits real struggles of the proletariat contain seeds of Communism, i.e. the movement destroying the present state of things. Therefore, today we support class struggles and formation of proletarian nuclei, circles and networks on a subversive basis – i.e. struggling and associating outside and against trade unions, political parties and other structures of the bourgeois State. Precisely from struggles of this kind, a massive proletarian movement is coming into existence and setting itself on the journey of articulating the proletariat – the exploited class in the present society – with the future state of the things.

10. FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

Only in the process of revolutionary proletariat's dynamics, a change in the balance of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will take place. Only this opens a space for a qualitative leap in class consciousness, paving the way for violent overthrowing of the ruling class and for decisive resolution of class antagonisms. But only if the proletarian movement immediately, practically and consciously sets on the journey towards real human community achieved through the revolution. The revolution not to die, has to authoritatively oppose counter-revolution which will instantly use weaknesses within our class against us.

11. FOR PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

For more and more proletarians the process of combative dynamics of revolutionary proletariat to violent insurrections and class revolution imposes a conscious choice between Communism and capitalist barbarism: exploitation, crisis, wars, and environmental catastrophe. The clearer this choice gets, the more capable the proletariat is to realise in the revolution its social dictatorship against wage labour, value, exchange, money, state. This means a worldwide dictatorship of human needs against Capital and revolutionary terror against bourgeois forces.

The proletarian dictatorship means abolishment of existing social relations: abolition of wage labour, abolition of useless professions and productions, elimination of exchange relations from all aspects of our lives, abolition of economy and production for profit and subordination of all productive forces to human needs and needs of the world revolution, disappearance of the difference between work and leisure, city and countryside and all other separations, violent destruction of the State and its replacing with organs of proletarian revolutionary self-organisation, all of that which the triumph of the revolution turns into a global human community. Through this historical revolutionary process the proletariat (as last existing class) abolishes itself and thus the whole class society and fully develops worldwide human community.

12. ON REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION

The revolutionary organisation grows and gains specific forms directly from class struggle, because the proletariat is historically forced to do so. The revolutionary organisation with its militant activity creates conditions for centralisation of revolutionary elements, which are small and insignificant in times of unfavourable balance of forces, and the most conscious and radical sections of the proletariat. The revolutionary organisation is neither prefiguration of future social organisation nor a rigid eternal structure. It just takes an essential part in the process of historical centralization of revolutionary dynamics which embodies itself as the party of the proletariat, i.e. the communist party. What marks this party off various self-proclaimed vanguards, is that it has no other program than its class as a historical subject, thus as it is a centralization of this program, it is a direction of the whole class revolutionary struggle.

13. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

To deepen, defend and propagate the historical programme of the proletariat for overthrowing ruling class with an insurrection in order to spark revolution abolishing class society. On the basis of lessons from past and present proletarian struggles to clarify the content of the revolutionary transition, the communist revolution. Through propaganda, agitation and active involvement, to highlight, support and spur all tendencies in contemporary struggles, which could aid to the development of revolutionary consciousness and militant spirit in our class, an emergence of radical proletarian associations. To reveal and critically identify obstacles, either ideological or practical, in present-day class struggles that block the way to an emergence of an open class confrontation, i.e. open revolutionary conflict between both classes. To centralise militant proletarians, who try to organise on the basis of the revolutionary programme, and to make an effective combative structure for communist militants. From fertile ground of social antagonisms and class struggle dynamics, to effectively push forward, promote, organize and coordinate an execution of future violent insurrection as a decisive moment in whole upcoming communist revolution.