



“Yellow vests”

[Gilets jaunes]

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“No, Majesty, it’s a revolution!”

(duke de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt to Louis XVI, king of France, July 15th, 1789, after the storming of the Bastille)



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We published recently on our blog, as we had access to them and they reached us, some documents produced by and around the “yellow vest” movement that has been shaking France since several weeks. The following is a kind of introduction to all of them (an introduction that we usually publish before, indeed).

We will not come back to the history of the movement, to particular events or expressions. We can refer interested readers to different websites and blogs that assume this task very well.

What we would like to deal with here is the way how we approach this movement, how we analyze it, how we evaluate its importance in the framework of class struggle. And we don’t want to hide that various articles spitting on this movement produced and reproduced by too many groups of ultra-left were a (negative) inspiration for this contribution that we can intimately call: “What’s NOT to be done”.

However we are aware of many weaknesses expressed by the movement and we are the first to criticize them, we can hardly agree with the methodology used by those groups – methodology that limits the movement only to those weaknesses, that general-

ize those weak points and illusions expressed only by a part of “yellow vests” like if it was the nature of the movement, an analysis grasping the class as something static, sociologic, mechanic...

We will not go through all the arguments used by the ultra-left against the “yellow vests”, but we have at least to mention the most absurd ones in order to reply to them, to put this movement into its right place in the class struggle, to put it back on its legs and make it not walking anymore on its head...

TWO CONCEPTIONS OF THE CLASS: PROLETARIAT AS A SOCIOLOGICAL ENTITY VERSUS PROLETARIAT AS A STRUGGLING FORCE

Many of those who despise the “yellow vest” movement pretend that it is an interclass movement, a mixture of bourgeoisie and proletariat, a multitude of interests and programmes historically opposed. Such a point of view is based on a sociological definition of the working class – proletarian = worker, or better a factory worker if possible.

For us the proletariat is not a static group of individuals defined by their payroll, but rather an entity that structures itself in the struggle and through the struggle, a force that exists only as a potential in the times of social peace and that turns into a real force only while fighting united by its historical programme that it partially expresses in every clash with Capital.

We of course define the proletariat as the exploited class, but we do not let ourselves be fooled with new forms of social statuses that capital invents to be more flexible, more profitable. All those little shop owners, freelancers and white collars that bother so much the ultra-left smarties share exactly the same living conditions (sometimes even worse), the same problems, the same misery as the "pure proletarians".

It is in fact a very successful strategy of Capital and its democracy to dissimulate different categories of proletariat under the mask of different strata of society in order to prevent the class to recognize itself, to unite. And to present others, formally indeed wage workers, like if they would be proletarians, even if they objectively stay on the other side of the barricade.

The very development of democracy sees to it that the present importance of the simplification/exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalism is being concealed by the permanent obliteration of class frontiers. This is affirmed by specific ideological forms which develop total confusion in this respect, mainly those based on a complicated set of juridical and formal statutes that supposedly divide society – not into two antagonistic classes – but into an indeterminate number of more or less vague and elastic categories.

This is how, for instance, at one pole of society, a whole of juridical forms conferring pseudo-waged status tends to camouflage the bourgeois nature of entire structures of the state. This is the case, for instance, for army and police officers or for high level officials in administration or in industry, for bureaucrats of all kinds... who, under this cover, are classified as neutral categories, without any class-belonging or worse still, are assimilated into "working class social groups".

At the other pole of society the same is happening: a whole of juridical forms of pseudo-owners – "peasant" cooperatives, agrarian reforms, artisans,... – which objectively camouflage the existence of huge masses of proletarians, associated by capital for the production of surplus-value (the wage character disguised). This and other ideological mechanisms tend to present us as being opposed to each other and as having different interests from those of other sections of the proletariat: urban/agricultural, active/unemployed, men/women, "workers"/employees, manual/intellectual workers... [GCI-ICG, Theses of Programmatical Orientation, thesis no.14]

Finally, the ultimate evidence of the social position of those that some leftists refuse to call proletarians (the list varies according to the group but we can find this approach applied on freelancers, little owners, unemployed, pensioners, etc.) is the fact that the presence of these social strata in the movement doesn't change anything on the programme of the movement. These groups of "impure" proletarians do not impose any agenda of petty bourgeoisie (as some would like to persuade us is their intention); on the contrary, they join and develop the proletarian critique, the proletarian programme.

Instead of these sociological pseudo-analysis that the leftists keep to be occupied with the movement is rather busy with defining itself as a class antagonistic to the bourgeois class, to the bourgeois society:

We, workers, unemployed, pensioners, we live on wages (including disguised as turnover for self-employed entrepreneurs) and on social welfare. This salary and social welfare are obtained by selling our labour force to a boss. And that's how he manages to make money, that's how the economy runs, at our expense. We can understand calls for unity within the yellow vests. But when this unity means walking with those who exploit us on a daily basis and with their political representatives, it is no longer unity, it is domestication. In reality, our interests are irreconcilable and this is also expressed at the level of demands. [Jaune – Le journal pour gagner]

Another common argument that some leftists use is that "yellow vests" is not a proletarian movement, because it represents a minority, because the majority of the class doesn't participate to it. But this logic is completely upside down. We can hardly reproach to those who struggle that the others do not do so. Yes, the movement has to spread and generalize, yes, the rest of the class has to stop to watch it on television or discuss it on Facebook and join it in practice. And the "yellow vests" are pretty aware of it as we can read new appeals to the rest of the class to join them.

However it is not the quantity that can be a measure of whether something is proletarian or not. The movement indeed since the beginning grew in number but especially in the content. The "yellow vests" overpassed through a flow of workers and unemployed that has been joining them the original form of a movement against taxes and continue to create a movement against our living conditions, turning into a tidal wave that shakes the whole society, at least in France.

Everything that has been experienced and continues to be experienced at roundabouts, blockades or riots has enabled a whole people to regain their political capacity, that is, their ability to act that even a RIC ["Référendum d'initiative citoyenne"] cannot contain. [Yellow vests. End of the first round?]

And it is this content (which forms part as a tendency of the process of practical and theoretical negation of bourgeois State, economy, ideology...) that defines it as a proletarian movement beyond its protagonists' consciousness, beyond the flags they wave.

The whole secret of the perpetuation of bourgeois domination can be summed up as being due to the proletariat's difficulty in recognizing itself for what it really is, in recognizing its own struggle in the struggle of its class brothers (in whatever part of the world, and whatever categories the bourgeoisie might be using to divide it). This recognition is an indispensable condition for its constitution as an historical force. [GCI-ICG, Theses of Programmatical Orientation, idem]

It is not by chance that those who have a problem with seeing proletariat in "yellow vests" are finally those who have difficulties to see our class in youngsters' revolts in suburbs or uprisings outside of Europe. As one of the texts we publish claims:

The majority of the comrades hostile to the yellow vest movement are in such a position because they chose not to make the distinction between what is said (the much mediatized legitimacy discourse) and what is done (the blockages and the kind of actions they announce). [Yellow Vest or not? We need fuel to burn it all down]

They limit the movement to its weaknesses and ideologies without seeing the process of their overpassing.

History of the struggles of our class shows us that many similar proletarian movements, especially when they originate outside of the workplace and therefore do not directly confront the production of commodities, tend to start with claims and demands relat-

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ed to our class interests in a confused way. As long as their dynamics is on the rising curve, as long as they attract proletarians across the sectoral and sociological boundaries imposed on us by Capital, as long as the confrontation with the State in its many incarnations intensifies, the class nature of the movement becomes clearer and clearer.

This leads to crystallization of two opposing currents in the movement. The proletarian one – which so far has an upper hand inside the movement – is pushing for always deeper ruptures with the capitalist society: no dialogue with the ruling class, explicit affirmation of the violent confrontation with the repressive forces, attempts to spread the struggle to the workplaces, attempts of internationalization of the struggle, etc. Another, Social Democratic one, is trying to pacify the struggle and bring it back under the democratic umbrella of citizenship – in this case represented by all those “media stars” from the ranks of “yellow vests”, all those little “leaders” trying to transform the movement into a political party or trade-union, or to hook it up with the existing ones, all those calls for referendum and patriotic exposés.

We want to underline that the constitution of the proletariat as a class is a process, a process of struggle, a process in which our class clarifies its position as a class with one and unique interest, a process of ruptures with the bourgeois ideology and its material forces:

This colossus no longer knows his name, no longer remembers his glorious history, and no longer knows the world where he’s opening his eyes. Yet, as he reactivates itself, he discovers the magnitude of his own power. Words are whispered to him by false friends, jailers of his dreams. He repeats them: “French”, “people”, and “citizen”! But by pronouncing them, the images that come back confusingly from the depths of his memory sow a doubt in his mind. These words have been used in the gutters of misery, on barricades, on battlefields, during strikes, in prisons. It’s because they are from the language of a redoubtable adversary, the enemy of humanity who, for two centuries, has masterfully handled fear, force and propaganda. This deadly parasite, this social vampire, is capitalism!

*We are not this “community of destiny”, proud of its “identity”, full of national myths, which has not been able to resist social history. **We are not French.***

*We are not this mass of “small people” ready to close ranks with their masters as long as they are “well governed”. **We are not the people.***

*We are not this aggregate of individuals who owe their existence only to the recognition of the State and for its perpetuation. **We are not citizens.***

*We are the ones who are forced to sell their labour force to survive, those from whom the bourgeoisie makes most of its profits by dominating and exploiting them. We are the ones who are trampled, sacrificed and condemned by capital, in its survival strategy. We are this collective force that will abolish all social classes. **We are the proletariat.** [Call of “Yellow Vests” from Paris east side]*

“BLOCKADE OF ECONOMY” VERSUS ITS DESTRUCTION _____

Many reproach to the movement also the fact that it doesn’t make any real harm to the economy; it doesn’t block the flow of capital. And another argument logically follows – it doesn’t develop at work places, therefore it has nothing in common with how the workers get organized.

Let’s recall first of all, that the movement is not as toothless as for the danger for the capitalist economy. Friendly blockades of roundabouts, all these people sleeping and freezing in tents, will surely not change anything. But let’s not forget that there were also successful occupations and blockades of depots of gasoline that (for a too short time unfortunately) provoked a shortage of oil and therefore a panic on the market. Let’s not forget that “yellow vests” have been occupying also many points of toll collect, letting the people using highways for free, they also destroyed thousands of radars on roads all over France. And let’s forget neither the riots nor the spectacular destruction in city centres and various cases of looting that also represent a certain level of a direct attack against capital, *and thus re-appropriation of a small*



part of the social wealth produced by our class, by us proletarians, just a tiny and minuscule moment in the general process of expropriating the expropriators, of negating the private property of capitalists ["Yellow vests" – *The struggle continues*]. Put this way, the "yellow vests" made to the economy much more harm than any unionist general strike negotiated and prepared together with the bosses long ahead.

But of course all this is not enough. If the movement wants to survive, to strengthen itself, to generalize and to develop its critique in practice until the final consequences; it has to go further. And indeed to do so it has to get organized also on work places. So far it was not easy:

The yellow vest movement ends at the workplace gates, i.e. where the totalitarian rule of employers begins. This phenomenon is the result of various factors. Let's remember three of them: 1) The atomization of production, which sees a large number of employees working in (very) small companies where closeness with the employer makes it very difficult to strike. 2) The social insecurity of a large proportion of employees, which seriously deteriorates their ability to deal with conflict in the workplace. 3) Exclusion and unemployment, which put many proletarians out of production. A large proportion of yellow vests are directly affected by at least one of these three determinations.

The other component of the wage-earners, the one that works in large corporations and has better job security (permanent contracts and status), seems to be cosseted, on which the powerful force of the movement breaks like the wave on the rock. A special treatment, consisting of managerial efficiency and shameful trade-union collaboration, is reserved for this segment of the working population. The bourgeoisie has understood that this category of workers has the power to strike at the very heart of capitalist production, through the indefinite general strike. This is why it consolidates pacification by giving lollipops in the form of "exceptional end-of-year bonuses". [Call of "Yellow Vests" from Paris east side]

But the question is even more complicated. An action "in the factory" is not a guarantee of anything and strike is not a synonym of a revolutionary action as it is its content that determines it. Union-like strikes for crumbs held "when the situation of the company allows it" would not change anything even if they were run out of control of unions, organized by workers themselves or presented a step towards the mysterious "workers autonomy" (within capitalism) that its partisans want to build through escalating series of demands.

Organization at work places cannot be put in opposition to the need to get organized on the class basis also outside, throughout all the society. To do so means to follow the same logic as the bourgeoisie applies in order to divide the movement into good workers (in factories) and bad rioters (in the streets). The following quote about this could easily be labelled as a genuine pearl of the bourgeoisie though coming from a group that claims to represent "communism":

City centres are a tremendous backdrop for television and the internet but they are totally opaque and disembodied when it is a matter of hitting the value chain of capital. The looting and damage caused to these opulent town centres are acts foreign to and sometimes even hostile to the hundreds of thousands of workers, most often poor, who are exploited there. The protagonists of these violent actions act as warriors against the future offensive struggles of the proletariat, against its autonomy, against its struggle against exploitation and oppression. They must be considered as auxiliaries of the armed forces of the bourgeoisie and

the objective props of capital's order and its state. [Mouvement Communiste/Kolektivně proti Kapitálu, GILETS JAUNES: the first attempts at mobilising "the people" for a strong state against the proletariat]

When the abhorrent vies with the vile!!! Let's also emphasize that we could give hundreds of such quotes *ad nauseam* from ultra-leftists self-proclaiming to be the "vanguard" of the revolutionary proletariat but which are just able to show what and where objectively they stand for in face of a movement of struggle that doesn't fit to their ideological and rhetorical screen of smoke... We don't call them for grasping more dialectically the social matter and the processes of class war developing right in front of our eyes, not at all! We just say that their obscene stances locate them on the other side of the social barricade, with our enemies, and that the proletariat while rising up globally will have to pass over their corpses...

But let's now continue what we said above, the action at work places is necessary, not in order to negotiate little something for this or that company workers or this or that industrial branch but in order to put forward radical content. Therefore it is not about a strike, not even about a general strike, the question is not only to block economy, but to take control over the production and to transform it in order to satisfy the needs of the movement and destroy the logic of the market and value that is at the basis of this movement.

We must use the extraordinary as well as determined force developed by this movement to achieve what millions of exploited people have wanted for so many years, without ever having succeeded doing so: to paralyse production from inside, to decide on strikes and their coordination in general assemblies, to unite all categories of workers, with the same objective of overthrowing the capitalist system and re-appropriating the production apparatus. [Call of "Yellow Vests" from Paris east side]

But we are not that far yet and it is not sure that the movement will be able to go that far.

"YELLOW VESTS" IS A CONTRADICTION, BUT HARDLY A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Sooner in this text we talked about constitution of the proletariat as a class as about a process of ruptures. This process necessarily includes eternal series of clashes between the class in the process of re-birth, its re-emerging consciousness obtained in and through the practical struggle and the false consciousness deeply rooted in the mind of every individual, false consciousness that is a foundation stone of every false community of "citizens", "people" or "nation". It would be crazy to expect that any movement can skip this process of developing ruptures and have a clear class consciousness since the beginning, and it would be also crazy to condemn a movement because it doesn't have it at a certain phase of its existence. What is important is the fact that this dynamic of clarification exists, that the proletarian program is appearing always more explicit in opposition to all attempts of political and trade-union recuperation. If the result of this clash is far from being clear at this stage, it is obvious that this conflict exists, continues and develops inside of the "yellow vest" movement, as it always appears in every proletarian movement.

We can already see some very important ruptures with traditional unionists' actions. As summarizes one of the texts we publish:

The movement has developed outside and in some sort also against traditional structures (parties, trade unions, media...) that

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capitalism equipped itself with in order to make any practical critique inoffensive. (...) Even if the media try to enclose the demonstrators in the framework of “struggle against taxes”, the universal motto is rather “fight against the poverty in general” in all its complexity (low wages, high prices, wasting our lives at work, alienation...) and therefore, in final consequences, it puts into question the capitalist order as such. The movement is organised regionally and it is overcoming the usual trade-unionists’ divisions according to production branches. (...) The movement, or its big part, is radical and therefore violent and it assumes it (...) what makes the usual tactics of the bourgeoisie to divide the movement in “good demonstrators” and “bad vandals” difficult to use. (...) Nothing is sacred for the movement, no symbols, no legends, no identity, no ideology that could not be burnt down, destroyed, rooted out. [“Gilets jaunes”... “Communards”... “Sans-culottes”... “Va-nu-pieds”... “Wretched of the earth”...]

We are indeed also very critical towards the “yellow vest” movement. It is not very difficult to describe the most evident weaknesses of the movement. What gives us hope is that none of these weaknesses is expressed by the movement as a whole, not even by its majority and any time that this or that version of bourgeois ideology appears, it is confronted with a critique coming from the movement itself. Every issue expressed by the movement is an object of contradictions, of discussions of critique and of a more or less violent conflict between rejection and acceptance of the bourgeois ideology. That is the process we mentioned above – the breaking line with the state doesn’t exist only in the street confrontations, it expresses itself also inside of the movement.

The question of nationalism, so much promoted by media, is an example of this process. Yes, indeed, we also saw some national or regional flags on demonstrations and blockades. Yes, indeed, we also read the story of some demonstrators who handed over refugees to the police. But we saw others helping to immigrants, expressing solidarity with struggling proletariat in other countries, calling for a unity not on the basis of community of ID cards or skin colour, but on classist basis. What is important for us as communists is not what this or that individual “yellow vest” thinks, but what the movement as a whole brings to the class struggle, in which the rupture with nationalism is an important part of. That means to be in opposition to the nationalist position, to fight against it inside of the movement, to impose this rupture to the movement. Many expressions written or unwritten of this struggle inside of “yellow vests” exist:

But this list [the first list of 42 demands written by the reformist part of the movement in December 2018, note of CW], is also a clear expression of a nationalist tendency, with four measures against foreigners, far from our problems and much further from their solution. You must be stubborn to believe that the problems in France come from elsewhere. That leaving Europe would allow us to live well or that hunting for undocumented migrants will increase our salary. It is precisely the opposite that would happen. (...) The fascists just want to make a bigger place for themselves at the exploiters’ table while doing like Trump. And we have absolutely no reason to help them do that.

“In the days of slavery, the trade unions would negotiate the length of the chain” ⇨

In reality, no one cares about this list of demands. Only politicians can hope to get anything out of it, and of course the media and the government, which will not miss the opportunity to make us look like far-right thugs. But, as when someone is called by a first name that is not his own, we don’t pay attention. [Jaune – Le journal pour gagner]

The same goes for illusions about democracy (direct or participative), referendums, the president, elections etc., the critique appears always stronger:

(...) another initiative, supported by many political organisations from the far left to the far right, was soon to give us a hard time: the RIC [Citizens’ initiative referendum] in the name of the people and democracy. (...) It is bourgeois propaganda that makes us believe that before we are proles, we are citizens; that the life of ideas comes before that of material conditions. Yet the Republic does not fill up the fridge. And the RIC has surfed on this illusion. It must be said that at first sight, the proposal was attractive. We were told that with this, we would finally be able to be heard directly, that we could regain power over our lives. We would decide everything. And even without struggling, without risking our lives on the roundabouts and in demonstrations, just by voting, on our computers in our living rooms, with slippers near a cosy crackling fireplace! But in business, when you have a product to sell, you lie: “Yes, once you have the RIC, it’s possible to get everything through!” That’s wrong. How the hell to ask the bourgeois for their opinion on whether they agree to increase our wages? [Jaune – Le journal pour gagner]

This democratic arrangement would not solve anything, even if it was adopted. It would just stretch the electoral elastic while maintaining the relation between social classes – its conditions as well as its stakes – with an extra strengthening of legal reformism, that poor relation of the already illusory economic reformism. It would be tantamount to a more direct endorsement of ordinary enslavement. [Call of “Yellow Vests” from Paris east side]

The same for the motto “Macron resign”:

To counter the RIC, some of us have said: no need for RIC to

A l’époque de l’esclavage, les syndicats auraient négocié la longueur de la chaîne



win, we quite simply want Macron to resign. This demand has the good idea to highlight our action, to refocus the debate on our collective force. Indeed, it's the street that will make Macron to leave, not the polls. But, right after saying that, everyone is asking the question: who will replace him? That's precisely where the problem lies. Macron, as arrogant as he may be, is replaceable and his successor will do exactly the same to defend profit. The baby must clearly be thrown out with the bath water. The institutions that exist are there to defend the logic of money and exploitation. [Jaune – Le journal pour gagner]

OUTSIDE AND AGAINST TRADE UNIONS _____

As we have said, the "yellow vest" movement has developed from its rejection of the traditional bourgeois framework structures like political parties and trade unions. Since early December, the trade unions (regardless of their tendencies) have, as usual, toed the line before the government, which is looking for a way to defuse a social movement that might spread to other sectors of the proletariat: denunciations of interclassism are launched in a desperate attempt by the unions to discourage its members from joining the "yellow vests".

Today, we are witnessing attempts at "convergence of struggles" and once again the movement is divided and hesitant: some "yellow vests" call for direct collaboration with the central structures of the trade unions; others on the contrary refuse this collaboration but call the proletarians in enterprises for also struggling, and that's deeply right. Calls were made to prolong the "national day of [in]action" on February 5th (called by the trade unions and mainly the CGT) and to transform it into an "indefinite general strike". We would like to warn, if necessary, the "yellow vest" comrades about the very essence of trade unions and trade unionism.

The role of trade unions has always been openly revealed in moments of struggle, by their willingness to put out the social fire. The unions, whose role is normally and precisely to prevent this kind of explosion, to act as a buffer and, if necessary, to frame any autonomous expression of our class, try to slow down the struggle by making believe they organize what's beyond them. If, after decades of undermining our struggles, trade unions are no longer highly rated, the "yellow vest" movement taking place outside of them is one more evidence of this.

But a more subtle form is unfolding to restore control over our subversive struggles and it is to be found in all current struggles, which is what we could globally call workers' parliamentarianism. Even when struggles break out on the basis of a formal rupture with the trade unions, even if a certain level of violence is assumed by the proletarians, this rupture is never complete, pushed until its ultimate consequences: that is, not only to get organized outside of trade unions, but also against them. This means to radically break up not only with the organisations, but above all with the practice: trade unionism, which is nothing else than negotiating the sale of our labour force with our exploiters...

FROM "PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLIES" TO ASSEMBLYISM!? _____

From the very beginning of the "yellow vest" movement, many idealistic and ideological ultra-left sects have been denouncing it because it didn't get organized into "general assemblies", considered as the holy Grail. Since then, news on the establishment of assemblies in Commercy, Saint-Nazaire, Montreuil, etc., have

appeared, not to mention the "informal" assemblies organized around occupied roundabouts and various blockades.

On the one hand, the proletariat has historically always structured its struggle around assemblies, coordinations, councils, soviets, communes, committees, etc. We can only welcome the fact that proletarians are reclaiming control over their struggle, that they are meeting each other, that they are discussing together, that they are getting organized, that they are making plans for the future, that they are re-appropriating thousand and one aspects of life, that they develop conviviality, comradeship, that they participate in "liberating the speech",... on the other hand, we would like to emphasize that no structure, whatever it may be, will never be a guarantee as to the development and content of our struggles.

On the contrary, the practice of democratism, of assemblyism, of fetishizing the massiveness in structures of struggle often hinders the extension and radicalization of struggles. If proletarians reject trade unions, they would yet be at risk of reproducing the same trade union and reformist practice within their "assemblies". The emergence of "roundabouts' direct democracy", of large "general assemblies" open to everyone, often means the practice of trade unionism without a union. The "assemblies" and their "magic" of the delegates "elected and revocable at any time" have never provided any formal guarantee. Historically, our only guarantee has been our social practice. It is never the form that prevails, but always the content...

Moreover, the prevailing democratism in these "assemblies" means that everyone can express themselves "freely", strikers as well as strike-breakers, radicals as well as moderated: rather than "liberating the speech" (and it is obvious here that we don't claim "freedom of speech" that our enemy the democracy is so much praising in order to better make us talk, to silence us), they often also liberate the chitchat at the expense of direct action. What's the point of voting for very "radical" great resolutions if the proletariat does not break the forces of inertia that block the extension and development of the struggle!?



VIDEO: "Yellow Vests respond to the call from Commercy" _____

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AND FURTHER?

We tried to show here that the “yellow vest” movement, as every proletarian movement in the past, is contradictory. For the moment there are expressions of both, the bourgeois society ideology in the form of the false consciousness of our class, but also the proletarian interests, the final goal to destroy capitalism. And its proletarian content is facing two dangers – reaction and reformism.

But the false consciousness can and has to be overpassed only in and through the struggle, in experience of our class born and reborn in every new open class conflict. The task of the communists is not to spit on a movement because it is not pure enough, because it doesn’t refer to good sources or because it is missing this or that aspect that we consider important.

For those who still toy with this wish, how can we imagine that the revolution could break out? Do we really think that it will be the work of a convergence of social movements, all endowed with their just demands, driven by decisions taken unanimously during assemblies where the most radical idea would win the fight? And so with a scenario of this kind: a movement with a great cause is born, at its head are the most enlightened militants who lead it from battle to battle while obtaining exciting victories; its ranks grow, its reputation grows, its example spreads in a contagious way, other similar movements emerge, their power meets, they feed and multiply each other, until reaching the final confrontation during which the State is finally killed... What a beautiful story! Who produced it, Netflix? What episode are we on? If you don’t want to laugh about it, you can always be serious. (...)

Because throughout history, the spark of riots, insurrections and revolutions has almost always arisen not for deep reasons but simply because of pretexts (e.g. the relocation of a battery of cannons triggered the Paris Commune, a protest against the grub in the military navy ignited the Spartakist revolution, the suicide of a street vendor launched the so-called Arab Spring, the removal of a few trees led to the Gezi Park revolt in Turkey), we find it really embarrassing those who, faced with what is happening with the yellow vests (...), only sharpen their eyes to find traces of the communist programme, or anarchist thought, or radical theory, or anti-industrial criticism, or... Thereafter, following the disappointment of not having discerned enough subversive content in the street, of not having counted masses large enough, of not having noticed enough proletarian origins, of not having noticed enough parity in female presence, of not having heard enough correct

language – the list could be extended to the infinite – it only remains to be horrified and ask who can benefit from all this social agitation. [Finimondo, Di che colore è la tua Mesa?]

The task of the communists is neither to approve anything what the movement does. The task of the communists is to grasp the movement on the basis of its radical dynamic and to encourage this dynamic to develop as a revolutionary praxis, in favour of the revolutionary project of the proletariat. We as communists should accompany the class in its struggle of clarification of this project against both – reaction and reform, to represent the connection between the current and the past struggle of our class while sharing the experience we have obtained in it as a class and also between the current and the future struggle in order to draw lessons from the first one, briefly to represent the historical struggle of our class.

We are aware of the fact that it is not easy. The “yellow vests” are a contradictory movement like every other proletarian movement in history. And maybe nothing will come of it for the moment, except a strong experience of struggle and ruptures, consolidating our “class memory”. But it is difficult to grasp a movement through the prism of what it becomes when it is defeated (especially if the defeat is far from being finished).

On the other hand a part of the movement already opened a rupture with bourgeois society, its ideology and its institutions – trade unions, left or right wing parties, national antiterrorist unity, etc. And the proletarian content of the movement can open the way towards wider class struggles.

Finally, although it might seem provocative, we affirm that all the media hype around the “yellow vest” movement can in no way make us forget this essential thing that there is no such thing as a “yellow vest” movement, that it has never existed and cannot exist. And this is for a simple, fundamental, unavoidable reason: because there is no “yellow vest” class or social project...

Here and now, everywhere and always, it is proletariat against bourgeoisie, two social classes with resolutely antagonistic projects...

Indeed, there are only two projects facing each other for the future of humanity: on the one hand, the historical process of abolishing capitalist social relations and its State, which are the cause of misery, war, exploitation, alienation, oppression and domination... On the other hand, the forces for the conservation of this nightmare...

★ Class War – winter 2018/19 ★



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YELLOW VESTS. END OF THE FIRST ROUND?

by "Rouen dans la rue"

Since Act III, the moment of the movement's peak intensity in terms of blockade and riot, the government has deployed its counter-insurgency machinery as never before. It had to bring out the old manuals on the art of waging war on its people as well as those on the art of deceiving them.

If the government has indeed succeeded to contain Act V, this didn't happen without weakening (maybe once for all) its "democratic" facade. It is not without repercussions, in terms of loyalty between the people and their rulers, to lie openly, to fake photos and figures, to arrest and wound so many demonstrators or simply to ban them massively from demonstrating.

The use of force

89,000 police officers deployed throughout France two weekends in a row. 9,000 for the city of Paris alone. It should be recalled, this is the first time in its history that France has used armoured vehicles in the capital. In Act IV alone, more than 2,000 people were arrested. A large part of them was arrested preventively for a simple possession of defensive materials such as dust masks. Hundreds of people were injured. Dozens of images will remain engraved, those of plainclothes police officers shooting without respite all over the place at demonstrators and journalists hiding behind a wall, or simply those of torn-off hands.

We cannot help ourselves to see in such violence the assumed political will to intimidate demonstrators, to frighten them, to dissuade them from taking to the streets. However, thousands of people converged on the capital again for Act V. In addition to this vast dissuasion operation, which was widely reported by the media, 50 metro stations were closed, with access to Paris being closed within the walls, literally forbidding thousands of people who came by bus from to simply demonstrate. Those who managed to overcome all barriers of this obstacle course were even confiscated the yellow vests.

Media manipulation

Macron's speech, although widely criticized, was not without a pacifying effect. On all the headlines, we could read "the SMIC increased by 100 euros", "major progress achieved". It is difficult to go back point by point over each of these announcements, but the one over the SMIC is probably the most absurd.

It is indeed the "employment bonus" (and not the SMIC) which has been increased by 100 euros (a large part of this increase was already planned anyway) and it concerns only 25% of the SMICards [minimum-wage earners] (those whose tax household is below a certain quota and who can actually benefit from this bonus). Other tricks were knowingly broadcasted by a number of major channels. It is only a matter of time before all the deceived get upset about, and who knows how.

The sad event that took place in Strasbourg last week was also the subject of indecent manipulation against the movement. In addition to the debates that may have marked the Facebook groups of Yellow Vests around the conspiracy theory, the government has recovered from this affair not only in order to reinforce the usual stigmatization of the Muslim

population, to intensify its law-and-order headlong rush but also to place on the Yellow Vests the over-solicitation of the police which may have indirectly favoured such an attack. Thus, in addition to widely spread fear among the demonstrators, they added the guilt of a murderous attack. From then on, they justified in advance the possible violence and all-out beatings by exhausted police officers on those who did to go to protest.

End of the first round?

Although once again the figures for the mobilization of Act V were largely underestimated, it can be said that the movement recorded one of its first decrease in intensity. The approach of the Christmas period coupled with the counter-insurgency techniques we have explained here above inevitably impact the mobilization. The roundabouts try to resist the evacuation threats. It is a phenomenon of asphyxia that has fallen on the Yellow Vest movement whose anger has not dissipated at all. It is undeniable that the latter will continue to rumble underground until its next start (New Year's Eve?). At the next government misstep, it is not uncertain that the common experience of the Yellow Vests will bring them this time until Macron's resignation. **Everything that has been experienced and continues to be experienced at roundabouts, blockades or riots has enabled a whole people to regain their political capacity, that is, their ability to act that even a RIC ["Référendum d'initiative citoyenne"] cannot contain.**

<https://rouendanslarue.net/gilets-jaunes-fin-de-premiere-manche/>
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VIDEO: "Act IV – We take Paris!"

YOU WERE SAYING? SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS ARE OVER, ANACHRONISTIC, IMPOSSIBLE?!!!

by "Matière et Révolution"

Who are the yellow vests, the government, journalists and politicians wonder hypocritically. Bosses, professionals, petty bourgeois, they said! Ultra-left or far-right, adventurers, professional rioters, troublemakers?!!! Ridiculous attempts to discredit the yellow vests: pathetic means against a mass movement!!!!

The main slogan of the yellow vests: "We're fed up with poverty!" is clear: they are those who are starting to no longer bear having to live in deprivation...

It is already an insurrection of the miserable, the oppressed, the exploited!

What is "en marche" is the social revolution!!!

There was nothing that the united forces of repression, of reform, of negotiation, of base compromises and of opportunism could do: when necessary, the proletarian masses take back control of their own future, starting with gathering, talking to each other, deciding to act by themselves, without the political and social supervisors that the ruling classes had strived to put in their way.

We will never forget, for instance, that the heads of all the unions have done everything they could to make people believe that the yellow vests was a fascist movement, of enraged petit bourgeois, hostile to the working class!!! While this is failing, while this movement is the largest proletarian movement for a long time, they will have done their best to prevent it, to break it from the onset and throughout!

What bothers the unions in the yellow vests movement is the self-organising and the insurrection, and it is unmistakable after a common day of action like last Saturday, where the CGT central bureaucracy remained hostile, while local unionists often joined the yellow vests movement, and where the CGT refuses to link the strikes and the movement, or to instigate workers committees in companies. The CGT is absolutely opposed to self-organising and to insurrection. This must be remembered for what comes next: those reformist leftist or unionist organisations are not friends of the growing social revolution...

Yes, the insurrectional quality of the yellow vests is really departs from the mundane and short-lived movements initiated by the union bureaucracies for years, both multi-union- and solely CGT-led. Indeed, the unionist days of inaction were the exact opposite of this movement: neither inter-professional nor self-organised nor uncontrollable nor threatening to the power and the ruling classes, nor radical in their goals and their perspectives, nor explosive and extensive, nor dangerous in any way for our enemies.

The union bureaucracies have never wanted struggles to be controlled by its participants. They have never wanted for the whole country to be blocked, barricaded, in revolt. They have never wanted for the whole ruling class, all the profiteers to be called out. They have never wanted to make social revolts global, unite them in a single movement and throw it against the rich, the exploiters, the profiteers!!! They have never accepted the struggle's spontaneity or acknowledged the capacity of workers to decide for themselves, to organise themselves and

to lead their own social fights outside the union headquarters, specialists in worker defeats.

And they have never allowed for worker struggles, however large, to be feared by the ruling classes, whereas the yellow vests today are feared by the ruling classes even outside French borders! Because their example is spreading beyond borders!!!

In the struggle's social content, the yellow vests are much more radical than the reformist lefts ever were, including the left's left, the unions and the opportunistic far-left. Those respectable people had never called out taxes! Or banks either! Macron outright dismissed the demands of the Gilets for more social services and less taxes, which he called childish and unreasonable: "We need to explain to people what their taxes are used for... If no one does it, everyone will believe that school being free or society paying for end of life care is normal." In actual fact, the demands for less taxes and more public services are not childish; they require expropriating the capitalist ruling class...

Macron is certainly using the violent parts of these protests and blockades to denounce the movement and morally undermine it. But isn't the true violence the one exerted by the rich and their government? Didn't they drive peaceful fathers, pushed into poverty, to revolt? Didn't they drive mothers, including single mothers, who can no longer afford the minimum expenses for their obligations, to take the streets, and to risk being beaten with sticks, gazed and even arrested!

Violence is the ruling classes proclaiming: we always need more, more billions in profit on the back of all those who work to survive!

It is no coincidence if everyone is starting to compare the political and social situation to the Ancient Regime, with a ruling class and its power so discredited that the oppressed and exploited masses only count on insurrection to impose the necessary change!

Throughout the country, connections are being created between all the exploited, oppressed, crushed, pushed over the edge. And now, the only real perspective is that the working class organises itself in workers committees, gathers in the companies, debates and decides on its demands and its program of action. Where this is beginning to happen, the unions' reluctance is quickly challenged...

If Macron and his mandates, the exploiters, ended up sparking things off with their endless abuses, corruption, embezzlements, thefts and malpractice, the social revolution will be the one thing that they will have legitimately earned!!!

During the yellow vests movement, the bourgeoisie leads its repressive forces to suppress insurrections and accustoms the population to it... But it is also surely leading the workers to social insurrection!

We will soon rediscover the Parisian proletarian slogan from 1871: "Long live the Commune!"

<https://www.matierevolution.fr/spip.php?article5171>
<https://proudlynegative.wordpress.com/2018/12/02/you-were-saying-social-revolutions-are-over-anachronistic-impossible/>

YELLOW VEST OR NOT? WE NEED FUEL TO BURN IT ALL DOWN

by "19h17.info"

It's been a week now that a movement against the unbearable living costs is shaping up nationwide in France, but also in several other European countries. This movement doesn't look like anything we have encountered before. If the first observations were not uplifting, the materialization of the movement should allow us to reevaluate our position towards it.

In a world trapped under capitalism, in which the working class identity has been repressed for so long, it is logical that the traditional political landmarks of the working class movement are not represented anymore in the social uprisings of our period. Still, we all observed the subversive force of movements such as the LKP (*Liyannaj Kont Pwofitasyon or Stand up against exploitation*) in Guadeloupe or the recent Guyanese turmoil against the living costs. In this yellow vest movement, there are two very distinct steps: appearance and materialization.

The majority of the comrades hostile to the yellow vest movement are in such a position because they chose not to

make the distinction between what is said (the much media-tized legitimacy discourse) and what is done (the blockages and the kind of actions they announce). This is, especially nowadays, a mistake. We cannot criticize the apathy of the traditional social movements and at the same time reject the new contestation spaces that, despite lacking clear political landmarks, are tackling the unbearable living costs of the proletarians. The objective of this article is to offer an alternative point of view concerning these events and to show why, if the movement orients itself towards the issue of the living costs, the presence of the leftist revolutionaries in this movement is logical.

Appearance

The petition that led to the mobilization was written in May 2018. The petition didn't went viral until the new increase in fuel prices. After that, the petition took a massive proportion and became the starting point of a concrete mobilization, in the streets and on the roads, against the increase in fuel prices. It is true that in a year, diesel oil prices rose up by 24% and gas prices by 14%. Of all French citizens, it is the proletarians that felt the most this increase in prices and saw their living standard lower. Confronted to the fatality of the fluctuating fuel market, the people quickly turned to the state that can use its taxes as a lever on prices, to try and reduce the fuel prices, specifically diesel oil prices. A fight against a new tax offers two major initial determinants: we address the state and we address the state in the most legitimate form possible for said state: the citizen. That's where all this logorrhea about France, the French people, the French citizens, the police, the taxes, the state, those who pay everything and get nothing, those who get everything when they do nothing, comes from. This is typically a situation that far-right activists will try to use to claim political power, only possible outcome of their program. This is also the case of the France Insoumise party led by Mélenchon. The France Insoumise militants are the ones insisting on the person of Macron. They want to kill the King, but not the Kings. So we couldn't be anything else than suspicious in front of such an explosive cocktail mixing borderline fascism, nationalism, populism and of course interclassism, in the not very appealing form of virtual actions on social networks. This feeling was reinforced by the benevolent treatment given by the government, the state and the medias to the movement. On the other hand, we cannot reject everything about something that has no finitude, no unity. We had to wait. Where others saw a vulgar power display of car lobbies, we analyzed fuel prices as a measure of the daily struggle of the proletarians. We already had hints that the yellow vest movement was opening a breach around a simple complaint: we are dying here. From the denunciation of the tax, we moved to the causes of the denunciation: the lowering of our living conditions. That's when the 17th of November occurred.

Materialization: November 17

This day, thousands of people left their computer keyboards to meet up. There is no doubt that numerous far-right militants were there, notably Debout La France, but in reality most were undercover, as their solutions to the increase of the



"Yellow vests" [Gilets jaunes]
"Is it a revolt?" – "No, Majesty, it's a revolution!"



fuel prices could only appear as far-fetched. In pubs, parks, parking lots of mall, yellow vests started to gather. Not to discuss their program, but to discuss how they were going to block the roads. This self-organized "citizen" movement was already structurally different than *Nuit Debout*. At *Nuit Debout*, people were discussing. The yellow vests, they act. They block. More than 2,000 blockages, 280,000 people holding them, that's something, despite what some commenters would tell you (all of that without the union apparatus nor the help of professional militants). We are not talking about a syndicalist march, we are talking about actions. Of course the benevolence of the police greatly improved the efficiency of the blockages, and the yellow vests only stopped to applaud the police when it started beating them. Blockage locations were meticulously chosen to paralyze traffic, to force the population to pick a side. On blockage locations, tolls stations and malls, permanent assemblies were set up to decide what actions to put in practice next to maintain the movement. No spokesman appeared, no centralization shaped up. At this point, the government and the medias abruptly changed their attitude. Benevolence was abandoned and replaced by threats. Fascist actions became heavily mediatised. Countless images of "unrest" at different blockage points were exposed and a necessary responsibility was asked of the yellow vests. But unlike at the direction board of the union CGT (Confédération Général du Travail), nobody is there to say "Mister Philippe (the prime minister), this is not the yellow vest movement". If we go on the blockage points, we systematically heard a critique going much deeper than just the fuel prices. Everything is too expensive when you earn 1,000 euros per month. The yellow vest movement is not uniform, there are a lot of concrete disparities due to different areas, presence of far-right activists and social composition. But the determination is indisputable. To increase their strength and numbers, they waited for the truckers and the farmers, corporations deemed legitimate by the government, to join them. People were looking for support where they believe it to be, all the while calling for everyone to join the blockages.

Materialization: the follow-up

Blockages were maintained around the highways but a fraction of the yellow vests chose to throttle the economy on more concentrated points. Oil depots, logistical centers, food depots were blocked by protesters. And with a formidable efficiency compared to the repeated failures of the protests against the first anti-social policies of Macron. The police was ordered to temporize the situation the following Sunday and Monday, but the truckers bosses' announce changed the perspective of the movement. The bosses promised to the gov-

ernment that they will not get involved in the yellow vest movement. "We want the truckers, not theirs bosses". The movement, confronted to the rejection of the interclassist alliance, leaned more and more towards a proletariat-based movement. The yellow vests looked for ways to allow the truckers to join the movement, with the bosses' trucks, by blocking the trucks on a common agreement. The FO (Force Ouvrière) transport union called for a strike against the decreasing purchasing power. At the same time, the CGT called for supporting the movement on the 1st of December, but without calling for a strike and the union carefully kept its distance from the movement (nevertheless, some local CGT sections fully embraced the movement: St Nazaire, Le Havre, Meuse). Calls to gather at Paris the 24th of November were multiplying and the panicking government hastily rounded up 90% of the CRS units (riot police) in the capital. In the meantime, the blockages were still holding strong. Policemen intervened, arrested, harassed. Convictions were applied. And people kept coming back. The government tried to divide the people by creating deterrent representations of the movement, but it didn't hold up. A self-proclaimed Belgian yellow vest spokesman even called "freedom fighters" the very persons that a journalist described as thugs. On the Réunion Island, where the living costs are the highest, the blockages were followed by looting and large-scale redistribution. And the announce of the government that no more fuel taxes would be set up for the next three years has little impact of the mobilization.

A breach is opened

We are undoubtedly at a high time of the class struggle. But we can already see the signs of resorption here and there: centralization of the Parisian protest, calls to target local power centers, march on the Elysée, blockages of state buildings. The movement tries to maintain at all cost the figure of the citizen against the state because that's the only form deemed legitimate. It's a step back for a movement so full of potential. The following period will most likely see the appearance of counter-revolutionary political forms, interclassist compositions and far-right incursion. But it is certainly the burden of our time and it doesn't make any sense to contemplate it whining. As supporters of the revolution, our duty is to fight these right-wing divergences and propose new orientation lines to expand the movement. Make this movement a movement against the too high living costs. But it doesn't consists in simply joining the blockage picket lines. The social protest must be spread to other areas of daily life, with political slogans against the living costs, the degrading living conditions of the proletariat. Seeking high school and university students, unemployed, workers but not for their immediate individual interests. To extend the movement to fight the increasing living costs, not just as "yellow vest". The panel of possible actions is large and it would be wrong to limit ourselves. Occupation, autoreduction, demonstrations, blockages, free transportations, and always towards the final push. The week following November 24th will be decisive for the pursuit and the quality of the movement.

So, yellow vest or not?

<https://www.19h17.info/2018/11/23/yellow-vest-or-not-we-need-fuel-to-burn-it-all-down/>

"GILETS JAUNES" ... "COMMUNARDS" ... "SANS-CULOTTES" ... "VA-NU-PIEDS" ... "WRETCHED OF THE EARTH" ...

BEHIND FLOWERY LABELS STAND OUR STRUGGLES AGAINST MISERY!

by "nosotros.proletarios"

Barricades in fire on the Champs Elysées, luxury cars of set ablaze, luxury shops wrecked and looted, "the most beautiful avenue of the world" was burning from our desire to live and not survive anymore. "The City of Light" was much lighter than its masters ever wanted. And the fires of revolt have been burning since three weeks also in other places – in France and also in Belgium – warming up our hearts and minds.

Haven't we just found a cure for the burn out at work? For the autumn blues? For this feeling that our lives are fading out wasted at work for a lousy pay or at school to become another unemployed? That we will never live anything else than this misery of life under the dictatorship of money?

These are the most important points that aroused our hope that all this is not a fatality, that a radical change of the society is possible:

- The movement has developed outside and in some sort also against traditional structures (parties, trade unions, media...) that capitalism equipped itself with in order to make any practical critique inoffensive.
- So far there were no "positive" demands, no speakers, no spokespersons, no negotiators, or they represented only a tiny (and sometimes not very appreciated, or even threatened by the most radicals) minority of the movement. Even if the media try to enclose the demonstrators in the framework of "struggle against taxes", the universal motto is rather "fight against the poverty in general" in all its complexity (low wages, high prices, wasting our lives at work, alienation...) and therefore, in final consequences, it puts into question the capitalist order as such.
- The movement is organized regionally and it is overcoming the usual trade-unionists' divisions according to production branches. It's neighbors, friends or colleagues that meet each other on the blockades or barricades and what they have in common is not a particular interest of this or that professional branch but a general fed up with the misery of our lives that is implicitly shared by all the working class.

Attempts to restructure the movement so that it fits into the framework of capitalist structures of course exist – callings for making "clear and positive demands", discussing with authorities, staying reasonable... But so far they didn't have a lot of success. On the contrary the movement is not afraid to show to the so called moderates that this is no way, that they won't give up their radicalism and that they will not let do those who want to divide the movement on this axe in order to destroy it.

- The movement, or its big part, is radical and therefore violent and it assumes it. It is not only that the "Gilets Jaunes" are not afraid of confrontation with police, many are not afraid to break, to burn, to root out; they have no respect for private property, they loot... But more important, they also claim it – some implicitly others openly, what makes the usual tac-

tics of the bourgeoisie to divide the movement in "good demonstrators" and "bad vandals" difficult to use. Not everybody feels like to participate to the riots, but many consider the riot as a legitimate expression of the movement.

- Not only that the movement doesn't stop to appeal the rest of the working class to join it and it is trying to spread and generalize (the protests develop in the "lycéen" sector). More and more callings for fraternization with repressive forces appear as well. There are people who reply to the CRS (antiriot police) complaining about their hard work that they can simply put down their guns and join the demonstrators. There are those who invite them to think about who is their real enemy. And there are others who call the soldiers to disobey to their masters in a case they would be deployed against the movement.
- Nothing is sacred for the movement, no symbols, no legends, no identity, no ideology that could not be burnt down, destroyed, rooted out. The best example from last weekend – the Arc de Triumph, the symbol of their bourgeois republic and its warlike omnipotence, was tagged, its museum ransacked and proletarians were dancing of joy on its roof.

These are the points to be developed and overcome in the continuing struggle. Let's struggle together to avoid any recuperation of the movement by political parties or trade unions, let's fight together against the frameworks of elections, reforms and demands that some would like to impose on us.

**Let's go until the final consequences of our critique!
Let's organize, let's discuss, and let's feed together the fire of the revolt!**

We are impatient to see, to live the next...

<https://libcom.org/news/gilets-jaunes-communards-sans-culottes-va-nu-pieds-wrecked-earth-07122018>
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"We wanna cash before communism"

"Yellow vests" [Gilets jaunes]
"Is it a revolt?" – "No, Majesty, it's a revolution!"

"YELLOW VESTS" – THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

"MAY THE FORCE BE WITH US"

by "nosotros.proletarios"

Since what some have called Act IV, the central apparatuses of repression of bourgeois order and capitalist State are really aware of the magnitude of the ongoing social movement taking place before our eyes. On that day (December 8th), they went in a big way and pretended not to let "misbehaviour" of the previous weekend to develop: 89,000 cops, gendarmes, CRS [antiriot units] were deployed throughout France, including 10,000 in Paris, tightly controlling the country's main cities, mass and preventive arrests, armoured vehicles to break down barricades, direct laying fires of thousands of grenades, "sting-ball grenades", "stun grenades", "GLI-F4 grenades" (presented as a "non-lethal weapon" containing an explosive charge consisting of 25 grams of TNT)...

Facing this impressive arsenal, the "yellow vests", or at least the most radical of them, fought back and reacted with strength and determination. And other segments and sectors of the population are joining them, those who blow up and find themselves engulfed in this breath of fresh air represented by this commendable movement, this process of struggle, this momentum for refusal of poverty and misery, in short those that "the powerful" of this world and "the rich" have always disdainfully called "the vile populace", "the plebs", "the scum", "the rabble"... And this time, it was not only Paris that was burning but the anger spread like wildfire to Bordeaux, Toulouse, Lyon, Marseille, Saint-Etienne, etc.: barricades and burning cars, very violent direct clashes with the militias of the capitalist order, looting of luxury shops, and thus re-appropriation of a small part of the social wealth produced by our class, by us proletarians, just a tiny and minuscule moment in the general process of expropriating the expropriators, of negating the private property of capitalists that the social revolution movement will have to assume in the next and future confrontations...

More than ever, we are right to refuse poverty, dehumanization and permanent war, which are our constant companions, we are right to confront all the combined forces of the social

dictatorship of capitalism (government, police, militias, army, political parties, trade unions, churches, media under control, charity associations...) that seek only one thing: to bring us back into the fold, to submit us, either by the brutal police and military force, or by dissuasion, discussion, negotiation, disinformation...

We are absolutely right to want to take our lives and struggles in hand. Let's continue to refuse any "representative" who will only represent himself and the economic and political interests of his class, his clique of gangsters. All our class enemies ask us to become "structured", "organized", to "raise demands", to "negotiate", etc. We just spit on them: our spontaneity and our movement, we will structure them and organize them in our own way...

More than ever, we are right to refuse to negotiate with our masters, with our exploiters, with our oppressors, with the rulers, because we proletarians have NOTHING to negotiate at the risk of getting lost in the whirlwind of renunciation: we only have to lose our chains (certainly somewhat gilded ones, as bourgeoisie pretends in its posh lounges!) and we have a whole (new) world to win; we are fed up to survive, we want to LIVE! To negotiate? That smells like dying! So let's continue to firmly drive our radicalism because the history that passed and the history to come, the past and future generations are watching us and count on us to ensure that humankind finally triumphs over the sordid...

Facing the watchdogs of "the haves", "the rich", "the pleasure-seekers", facing their militias armed to the teeth, facing the media and peacemakers, let's continue to oppose our rage and our determination, and let's push them to break ranks. Let them desert if they don't want to remain bastards. We don't want our blood to spill; we just want the end of their privileges...

We are absolutely right to continue to radicalize, to shake up their world made of wealth for them (wealth that we proletarians produce) and of misery, of "low wages", of difficulty "making ends meet" for us, "the toothless"...

Let's continue to refuse the crumbs "generously" granted by Macron and his clique ("*de la poudre de perlimpinpin*" – "snake oil") as we refused to be fooled by the instrumentalisation of the "Strasbourg attack" and all the calls to stop demonstrating; let's continue to resist evacuations by the police and military forces of our road block points: roundabouts, shopping centres...

Every day we can see this obvious fact: violence is all about capitalism and its State, what we do is only to defend ourselves. It's the capitalist society, where "the rich" crush "the poor", which as a whole is brutal, which breaks and destroys our lives. All of us, we



☪ "Without representative and without demand, we are determined
Let's struggle and block, let's make our decisions by ourselves
Some Enraged Yellow Vests"



merely react by a healthy and vigorous violence that expresses our humanity. So, rise and shine comrades, friends, brothers and sisters in the struggle, let's destroy the fortresses of our masters...

Many of the "yellow vests" call for Macron's resignation, and even if we understand the class hatred that this "buffoon" can catalyze in the movement, this is not enough but it also constitutes a false alternative, a diversion by which "the power" intends to neutralize our energies. The problem with Macron's resignation (or even better if through our struggles we make him resigning) is that at the very moment the ruling class, the national and international bourgeoisie, will immediately find a successor, more "clean", more "honest", more "close" to our concerns, to us, "the rednecks", the "scum of humanity", "the hungry", "the wretched of the earth", we proletarians who have only our arms and our heads to sell every day to the boss, who only have to go to work every day for a miserable wage. The real problem is that the whole of this capitalist society must be destroyed so that we can finally establish genuine human relations without never again dominating and dominated, without oppressors and oppressed, without exploiters and exploited...

Among the "yellow vests", many are still calling for legality (RIC, etc.). Let's simply say this: bourgeois "Law" is only the legal codification of the relations of production, of the relations of domination of a social class (the bourgeoisie, the owners of the means of production of life, or better said the class of capitalists) against another social class (we, the dispossessed of the means of existence). This bourgeois Law is ultimately only the fierce exercise of their class violence under the guise of more or less passive participation by the dominated in their own domination. But more and more, it's tearing apart at the seams and the movement of "yellow vests" is only one of the expressions of this saving and renewing process...

**Let's go until the final consequences of our critique!
Let's organize, let's discuss, and let's feed together the fire of the revolt!
Friend, do you hear in the distance the revolution rising?**

"Merry CRISIS and Happy New FEAR" (Athens, 2008)

<https://libcom.org/news/yellow-vests-struggle-continues-10012019>
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↑ "NEVER GIVE UP"

The newspaper

"Jaune" is a state of mind. That of determination. After two months of struggle, we felt the need to clearly present the positions of victory within a movement that does not lack traveling salesmen ["VRP"] of all kinds to sell us the turnkey solutions of defeat. These people have forces, they have cash, they have means of propaganda, and we sometimes find ourselves seduced by their mirage, often suffocated in their proposal. This observation concerns several cities in France and it is from the sharing of experiences that the newspaper was launched. We wanted to bring into being the positions of victory, to assume them and to allow them to be discussed. In addition to the paper journal, whose publication depends on our logically meagre financial capacities, we created an online journal jaune.noblogs.org in which we will publish various contributions that go in the direction of extending and deepening the movement. We will then publish them in the next edition. To send us your impressions, stories, analyses, to support us financially, to order newspapers, you can write to lisezjaune@riseup.net



"Jaune" [Yellow] – The newspaper to win

<https://jaune.noblogs.org/>

WE FIGHT FOR EVERYONE

by "Jaune – Le journal pour gagner"

"But what are your demands?" It is always the first thing that the media and people opposed to the movement spit in our faces. Through this boring question, they don't ask us how we landed up [and got together] in the street but how we could leave it. And that's why we're in so much trouble. We don't want to leave these streets we reclaimed, these roundabouts we adorned, and this collective force we found. We know that our situation will not improve with a few crumbs, what makes things completely unmanageable for all power. In addition, we have this wonderful reflex to refuse to be represented, which means that they have no head to buy or to cut to damage the movement. They tell us: "You are asking too much". Facing this accusation of political amateurism, we could simply say them "fuck off". Negotiating kills and politicians are our grave-diggers.

Who wants to lose?

Except that not everyone within the movement agrees with this. Because maybe we're not all in the same suffering situation. We, workers, unemployed, pensioners, we live on wages (including disguised as turnover for self-employed entrepreneurs) and on social welfare. This salary and social welfare are obtained by selling our labour force to a boss. And that's how he manages to make money, that's how the economy runs, at our expense. We can understand calls for unity within the yellow vests. But when this unity means walking with those who exploit us on a daily basis and with their political representatives, it is no longer unity, it is domestication. In reality, our interests are irreconcilable and this is also expressed at the level of demands. If there is superficial reconciliation as it stands, it will simply mean that we have lost, that we have gone back to the grind and that they have got preferential treatments and restricted intakes in global economic competition by worsening the situation of some of us. It is this faction

of the movement that most politicians come from. Just look at groups like the "Gilets Jaunes Libres" or "La France en Colère". These are the platforms that regularly put forward so-called official demands where traditional political parties' lobbying attempts are rampant.

42 demands for restoring order

Let's mention the first list of demands of the Yellow Vests: it's a piece of abstract artwork, a patchwork of interests. It is asking for anything and everything, from retiring at the age of 60 to increasing the resources for the police and promoting small businesses. And a minimum wage ["SMIC"] at 1,300 euros and jobs for the unemployed, Great Lords!

But this list is also a clear expression of a nationalist tendency, with four measures against foreigners, far from our problems and much further from their solution. You must be stubborn to believe that the problems in France come from elsewhere. That leaving Europe would allow us to live well or that hunting for undocumented migrants will increase our salary. It is precisely the opposite that would happen. We are told: the borders must be closed and it will get better. Look at the United States, Brazil, Hungary, Burma, and Israel: everywhere the different powers are trying to promote the war between the poor to avoid war against the rich while they knowingly continue their war against us. The fascists just want to make a bigger place for themselves at the exploiters' table while doing like Trump. And we have absolutely no reason to help them do that.

In reality, no one cares about this list of demands. Only politicians can hope to get anything out of it, and of course the media and the government, which will not miss the opportunity to make us look like far-right thugs. But, as when someone is called by a first name that is not his own, we don't pay attention.

RIC? RIP! RIP-off!

Some politicians have left, particularly from the traditional far right such as Marine Le Pen, but another initiative, supported by many political organisations from the far left to the far right, was soon to give us a hard time: the RIC [Citizens' initiative referendum] in the name of the people and democracy. As stated above, our political system is based on an illusion, that of the absence of social and economic inequality. We are being told about nations, free and equal citizens in a world where the only real rule is that of exploitation of one class by another. It is bourgeois propaganda that makes us believe that before we are proles, we are citizens; that the life of ideas comes before that of material conditions. Yet the Republic does not fill up the fridge. And the RIC has surfed on this illusion. It must be said that at



first sight, the proposal was attractive. We were told that with this, we would finally be able to be heard directly, that we could regain power over our lives. We would decide everything. And even without struggling, without risking our lives on the roundabouts and in demonstrations, just by voting, on our computers in our living rooms, with slippers near a cosy crackling fireplace! But in business, when you have a product to sell, you lie: "Yes, once you have the RIC, it's possible to get everything through!" That's wrong. How the hell to ask the bourgeois for their opinion on whether they agree to increase our wages! A vote against the interest of the capitalists, for example the increase in the SMIC hourly rate, would be quite simply rejected. Just remember the 2005 referendum. And this is not to mention the intense propaganda we would suffer to vote against it, alone in front of our screens.

Macron resign

Because that's the strength of yellow vests. It's that we're not alone. We have escaped from the individualism which the social order locks us up into, especially in the polling booth. The reality is that in two months of struggle, the government has never given us so much without being asked for anything. And glasses of water which it used to put out a fire didn't change anything. The president's national debate is like a moral lesson. Now Macron makes the choice to throw oil. We are ready.

To counter the RIC, some of us have said: no need for RIC to win, we quite simply want Macron to resign. This demand has the good idea to highlight our action, to refocus the debate on our collective force. Indeed, it's the street that will make Macron to leave, not the polls. But, right after saying that, everyone is asking the question: who will replace him? That's precisely where the problem lies. Macron, as arrogant as he may be, is replaceable and his successor will do exactly the same to defend profit. The baby must clearly be thrown out with the bath water. The institutions that exist are there to defend the logic of money and exploitation.

Towards infinity and beyond

To continue, we must strengthen the movement, extend it in accordance with our principles of solidarity, and deepen it so that our common logic, that of rejecting current living conditions, really upsets this world. There's no need to have a plan for that. It is often by feel that the first steps are being taken, as it has been demonstrated over the past two months. We will have to assume the conflict with everything that stands in our way. Work prevents us from struggling; we respond with a strike. Repression is trying to terrorize us; we are organizing ourselves so that none of us fall into their clutches. Money is tight now; we are setting up solidarity networks with agricultural producers. We can't pay the rent and bills anymore; we don't pay them anymore. They shut our electricity off; some yellow vests who work at EDF [French electric utility company] turn it back on. We are hungry; we are going to take the goods from the stores and we are organizing large free distributions for everyone. These are examples among many others, but they all tend towards a single goal: to turn our movement into a rallying point, which everyone can hold on tight to, in order to find in it the strength, mutual aid and ways to live in spite of the crisis, thus in complete contrast with our daily life of suffering. The yellow vests will upset this world. No one can anticipate this upheaval. This is what is called a Revolution.

<https://jaune.noblogs.org/post/2019/01/06/on-se-bat-pour-tout-le-monde/>

Editorial of "Jaune" N°1:

To win. This may seem ambitious for those who have not participated in the Yellow Vests movement. Cars run on gasoline, we are driven by ambition. Since November 17th, hundreds of thousands of us have been taking action. We meet at roundabouts, we get organized to shut down the economy, and we present a united front against the police in demonstrations. We have not seen such a determination of "people out of nothing" for ages. And we don't intend to stop there. That's why we are issuing this journal. It's for continuing the struggle. And above all, it's about winning. But winning what? Or rather how far? No one is able to answer, but we take the attitude not to hold back our ambitions. We are in favour of extending and deepening the movement, against a life too expensive to be lived. May it become a part of the daily life of all the people who are suffering in this country. May it grow across the borders of France without any moderation, as it is already the case in Belgium, Germany, Spain, Iraq, Sudan, etc.

For this, the movement does not need a leadership. On the contrary, what politicians call "orientation", whether nationalist, confusionist, citizenist or racist, is a way to channel the revolt, to crush some before crushing everyone, so that the bourgeois continue to line their pockets. In this journal, we are trying to find out how we can make this movement less controllable and stronger than it already is. How do we develop solidarity with all the proles without exception to stand together against this miserable life? Strategies of struggle are discussed in this paper, such as strikes or blockades, but also enemy manoeuvres, in particular the repression that targets us and the practical response we must provide so that nobody is left out in the cold.

We see the press, the political class and the bosses huffing and puffing to divide the movement. They shout "thugs", "violence", and "terrorists". That's all they ever talk about in order to dissuade us from struggling, and one of the great thing is the fact that their trick doesn't work. However, we have to say that what we have been going through for the past two months was no walk in the park. The commitment is demanding, the vultures are lying in wait, our end-of-month difficulties are still there and the horizon we are promised looks like an apocalyptic film. We refuse this future and that's why we are tinkering with means to put an end to all this. Some of them are proposed in the following pages. "Jaune", the newspaper to win.



"Yellow vests" [Gilets jaunes]
"Is it a revolt?" – "No, Majesty, it's a revolution!"

CALL OF "YELLOW VESTS" FROM PARIS EAST SIDE

by "gilets-jaunes-revolutionnaires"

Our vests are no longer road safety suits; they have become a rallying sign to the movement that globally challenges the established order. The reason why they twinkle is not to alert the authorities on any emergency or social distress. We didn't put them to demand something from the Power. The yellow of our vests is not the yellow that the workers' movement usually attributes to treachery. The colour of this garment is that of the lava of anger that the volcano of social revolution, dormant for too long, is beginning to spew out again. It is yellow only because it embraces red.

Under this name "yellow vests", a titan barely wakes up, still groggy from the coma in which he was plunged for more than forty years. This colossus no longer knows his name, no longer remembers his glorious history, and no longer knows the world where he's opening his eyes. Yet, as he reactivates itself, he discovers the magnitude of his own power. Words are whispered to him by false friends, jailers of his dreams. He repeats them: "French", "people", and "citizen"! But by pronouncing them, the images that come back confusingly from the depths of his memory sow a doubt in his mind. These words have been used in the gutters of misery, on barricades, on battlefields, during strikes, in prisons. It's because they are from the language of a redoubtable adversary, the enemy of humanity who, for two centuries, has masterfully handled fear, force and propaganda. This deadly parasite, this social vampire, is capitalism!

We are not this "community of destiny", proud of its "identity", full of national myths, which has not been able to resist social history. **We are not French.**

We are not this mass of "small people" ready to close ranks with their masters as long as they are "well governed". **We are not the people.**

We are not this aggregate of individuals who owe their existence only to the recognition of the State and for its perpetuation. **We are not citizens.**

We are the ones who are forced to sell their labour force to survive, those from whom the bourgeoisie makes most of its profits by dominating and exploiting them. We are the ones who are trampled, sacrificed and condemned by capital, in its survival strategy. We are this collective force that will abolish all social classes. **We are the proletariat.**

Aware of our historical interests, we warn that:

• **The yellow vest movement will be defeated if it persists in believing that the interests of workers are compatible with those of the bosses.** This illusion is already producing damage because Macron is using it to turn the protest against the exploited. The poor capitalists – opportunely portrayed as poor capitalists: small entrepreneurs, craftsmen and other self-employed entrepreneurs – victims of social "costs", would share the same fate as their employees. They should therefore be generally spared and we should merely demand charity from the richest and most powerful of them. This allows the Power to insult us while pretending to respond to the demands. The alleged increase in the minimum wage ["SMIC"] will only be paid by wage workers. The decision to cancel the increase in the "CSG" ["Generalised Social Contribution"] masks the maintenance of the reduction in retirement pensions for the poorest.

• Based on this biased approach, a faction of yellow vests argues that a State spending less would reduce the tax burden on businesses, boosting economic activity and providing a win-win situation for everyone... This is a bad fairy tale. Because it is not the State that stifles small capitalists, but first and foremost the law of competition that makes them exist and thanks to which they can take market share, i.e. to develop. The social problem is thus wrongly presented by the movement so that the "badly governed State" is targeted instead of the capitalist system, and as a result the government's programme to dismantle the "social welfare State" in the name of "optimizing public action" is consolidated. The social predation policies of removing the redistribution from the rich to the poor, hitherto carried out through social security and public services, are ironically strengthened. Similarly, measures to reduce the overall wage by reducing deferred wages (retirement, unemployment benefits, etc.) are therefore justified. **It's to make a rod for one's own back.**

• In this context, which puts the emphasis on the economic balance as long as it is well managed, what is wrong with the economy comes only from the outside: the tax State, the European Union, the "cosmopolitan" "Finance" (and behind that, it is sometimes the "Jews" and the "illuminati" who are referred to), the immigrants. The misunderstanding or the refusal to admit this glaring truth that capitalism – as a system producing wealth from the exploitation of human labour – is in crisis, leaves ample space for reactionary forms of safeguarding the prevailing order. **Ten years of far right activism on the Internet put a lot of pressure on this suicidal state of confusion in which many yellow vests believe they can see a solution to their suffering.**



• Among these “solutions”, the **Citizens’ Initiative Referendum**, promoted for a long time by the “*fachosphère*” [“extreme-right influence groups, mostly on internet and social networks”] and that ended up bringing together Mélenchon’s followers, **is a hoax that allows the social question to be suppressed under an institutional grub**. This democratic arrangement would not solve anything, even if it was adopted. It would just stretch the electoral elastic while maintaining the relation between social classes – its conditions as well as its stakes – with an extra strengthening of legal reformism, that poor relation of the already illusory economic reformism. It would be tantamount to a more direct endorsement of ordinary enslavement.

Aware of our tasks, we note that:

• **The yellow vest movement ends at the workplace gates, i.e. where the totalitarian rule of employers begins.** This phenomenon is the result of various factors. Let’s remember three of them: 1) The atomization of production, which sees a large number of employees working in (very) small companies where closeness with the employer makes it very difficult to strike. 2) The social insecurity of a large proportion of employees, which seriously deteriorates their ability to deal with conflict in the workplace. 3) Exclusion and unemployment, which put many proletarians out of production. A large proportion of yellow vests are directly affected by at least one of these three determinations.

• **The other component of the wage-earners, the one that works in large corporations and has better job security (permanent contracts and status), seems to be cosseted, on which the powerful force of the movement breaks like**

the wave on the rock. A special treatment, consisting of managerial efficiency and shameful trade-union collaboration, is reserved for this segment of the working population. **The bourgeoisie has understood that this category of workers has the power to strike at the very heart of capitalist production, through the indefinite general strike.** This is why it consolidates pacification by giving lollipops in the form of “exceptional end-of-year bonuses”.

Aware of our goal, we affirm:

• **To recognize ourselves in the calls of the yellow vests of Alès, Commercy and Saint Nazaire**, whose concern to refuse any hierarchical organization, any representation, and to target the capitalists, is for us the sign of the way to go.

• **To want to break the ideological, managerial and trade-union shackles keeping the yellow vest movement out of the production process.** We must use the extraordinary as well as determined force developed by this movement to achieve what millions of exploited people have wanted for so many years, without ever having succeeded doing so: to paralyse production from inside, to decide on strikes and their coordination in general assemblies, to unite all categories of workers, with the same objective of overthrowing the capitalist system and re-appropriating the production apparatus. Let’s put an end to hierarchical, capitalist and State oppression.

• **To want to discuss right now on the strike, on its initiating, its extension and coordination. Contact us, Join us!**

<https://paris-luttes.info/appele-de-gilets-jaunes-de-l-est-11521>
gilets-jaunes-revolutionnaires@protonmail.com



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.