

AUTOPSY OF THE MOVEMENT OF YELLOW VESTS

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Dedication

To my son Amayas Mesloub

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PREFACE

We will tackle all aspects of the Yellow Vest revolt by focusing on the vision and action of the proletarian class, distinguishing its attitudes, behavior and activities from those of the petty-bourgeois class, which is also very active in this populist movement that will never be transformed into a movement of popular insurrection.

Our goal is not to tell, describe or present events; we are neither historians nor reporters perched on the fence to discuss the news. Our goal is to learn from this innovative movement, lessons that the proletarian class will preserve as an enrichment of its class consciousness and as learning to reuse in the next rounds of this war to end between the proletarianized wage and financialized capital.

The revolt of the Yellow Vests proves it: the economy is the foundation and the ferment of all social movement. This vision of political economy and social reality has been opposed by left and right intellectuals entangled in their superficial analyzes of political, legal, diplomatic, media, ideological, sociological and military circumstances.

The economic crisis of capitalism has given rise to many social revolt movements, notably in Quebec (*Red Square*), Tunisia and Egypt (*Arab Spring*), Argentina (*Piqueteros*), Greece (*against the Troika*), Africa the South (miners' strikes), Iran, Italy (*Five Stars*), Haiti (general strike), Venezuela, Algeria (*dégagé Bouteflika*) and France (*Yellow Vest*), to name just a few. The Yellow Vest Movement presents, in a specific economic context, several of the sociological, political and ideological characteristics found scattered in one or the other of these movements, which gives it a thorough examination, since these characteristics point to the direction of the next popular uprisings that will mark the development of the class struggle in societies integrated into the globalized, robotic, and financialized capitalist mode of production.

Lenin wrote this about the 1905 Revolution in Russia:

"The socialist revolution in Europe can not be anything but the explosion of the mass struggle of the oppressed and the discontented of all kinds. Elements of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers will inevitably participate - without this participation, the mass struggle is not possible, no revolution is possible - and, just as inevitably, they will bring to the movement their prejudices, their fantasies reactionaries, their weaknesses and their mistakes. But, objectively, they will attack the capital, and the conscious avant-garde of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, which will express this objective truth of a disparate, discordant, variegated, at first sight unrelated mass struggle, will be able to to unite and direct it, to conquer the power, to seize the banks, to expropriate the hated trusts of all (albeit for different reasons!) and to carry out other dictatorial measures the whole of which will result in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which will not be purged from the outset, far from it, petty-bourgeois slags".¹

Lenin was right, the populist revolt spontaneous, disparate, discordant, and at first sight disoriented, will be the fact of classes and fractions of classes, that the possible hegemony of the proletarian class on the Movement will turn into a popular insurrection, then in a proletarian revolution, it will still be necessary for the objective and subjective conditions to be mature.

Ten striking features

The Yellow Vest Movement has taken unprecedented forms, which are partly explained by the evolution of its class composition. We will come back to it. We identify ten characteristics, often present in the different movements and popular uprisings:

- A spontaneous, unorganized and coherent populist revolt movement;
- Strong involvement of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie;
- Rejection of the state apparatus and its appendices, trade unions, NGOs;
- Skepticism about Left and Right parties;
- Refusal to participate in electoral masquerades;
- Rejection of the environmental and climate scam;
- Distrust of mainstream media;
- Use of digital means of communication;
- Mistrust of self-appointed spokespersons;
- Horizontal organization, direct democracy and consensus.

Movement class composition

The group *Robin Goodfellow* presented a portrait of the social composition of the movement. They write :

"The movement of yellow vests began at the initiative of representatives of the petty bourgeoisie (middle class) of the so-called "periurban" areas passionate about cars! The middle class, in the Marxist sense of the word, predominates in the direction of the movement. The same is true, and more importantly, of political alignment. Beyond the social composition of the direction of the movement, the proletariat is placed under the political leadership of the petty bourgeois in the generic sense of the term (middle class and capitalist petty bourgeoisie). But it is the proletariat, the class of wage labor subject to capital, which is largely majority in the movement. The traditional middle class (artisans, small traders who do not employ employees) and the (capitalist) petty bourgeoisie are overrepresented in yellow vests while they make up only 10% of the social workforce. The mass of workers (14%), employees (33%, they are overrepresented) - which also shows the importance of women in the movement since they are often in the category of employees - cadres (5%) to which should be added a majority of pensioners and unemployed who constitute a quarter of the social force, is a determining element of this movement and it is their action which made it evolve by making him bring class claims. What is poorly known is the proportion of wage earners who live on income (taxes, income from other classes) and therefore are not subject to capital (new salaried middle classes) just as the share of these self-employed workers who contradictory development of capitalist production".²

The ten characteristics were a source of friction and tension between militants from the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie and those from the working class and the proletariat, attesting to the vitality and popular support of this spontaneous movement. Through these internal struggles, each class testified to its social origins, its experiences and tactics of struggle, its demands, its interests and the ultimate strategic goal of its struggle. By their engagement the middle-class bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois protested against the fate reserved for them under the economic crisis of capitalism. Bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie did not seek to debunk the capitalist system, but

rather to use the revolt of the proletarians (flesh-to-manifest, flesh to boss, flesh-to-vote, before being cannon fodder) to shake the economic-political system, and threaten the oligarchy of capital and its political representatives, in order to renegotiate the sharing of surplus value between the various segments of capital.

We can characterize the engagement of the bourgeoisie as an effort to reform the capitalist system and thus consolidate it. The shambles of the French bourgeoisie marked its unconscious revolt against the economic laws of the mode of production, expressed by futile efforts to turn the laws of valorization, accumulation and concentration of capital. For each of the characteristics we have listed the position of the militant petty bourgeoisie evolved in the direction of compromise and accommodation with state power, hence the gap between this class fragment and proletarian and labor activists. The claims of the petty bourgeoisie will aim at the "*redistribution*" of the political power by the Referendum of Citizen Initiative (RIC), for more responsibilities and resources to the communes, and by the return to the presidential term of 7 years (sic); as well as the reduction of the social charges by the progressive tax, the support to the small trade, the overtaxation of the big companies, and the support to the police and to the army, which were obviously not claims proletarians (see the 42 appended claims).

The proletariat engaged in the movement did not share the same experiences of struggle nor pursued the same tactical and strategic objectives as the bourgeoisie in revolt. By his demands, the wage laborers demanded the valorization of the labor force: increase of the wages, the SMIC, indexation of the pensions, end of the detached work, more of CDI and the tax cuts to maintain the purchasing power and the market value of the labor force, a reduction of the portion of the expropriated surplus labor and the reduction of the accumulation of surplus value. So many demands aiming at the revalorization of the work force and the maintenance of its purchasing power. To which the government retorted by the concessions of December 10, modest, but real, concessions that the State hastened to recover by new fiscal measures from June 2019 (reform of employment insurance and pensions).

It should not be forgotten that the bourgeois state's mission is to support the people's purchasing power if it wants to maintain the flow of goods through which profit is realized. By these concessions the State fomented division in the camp of the mutineers (proletariat against entrepreneurs and commercial bourgeoisie). Indeed, the increase in the SMIC and the IDUs hit hard the small business.

This dichotomy between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat manifested itself not only at the level of claims, but also at the level of actions. The petty bourgeoisie favored hard-hitting actions, but with little impact on the economy and profits, such as parades, punctuated with futile urban "*breaks*", unnecessary petitions, ridiculous lawsuits, derisory international institutions, the press conferences, the calls to the mythical "*public opinion*" and the media of which they had yet so much to complain. The proletarian yellow vests, on the other hand, favored the blocking of roundabouts, the closing of the ports, the stop of the transport of the goods and the employees, the general strike and the paralysis of the economy, so many actions which attacked directly the surplus value and profits of capitalists, big and small. These are the reasons why the petty bourgeois did not defend the barricades, and the State of capital struck the roundabouts while tolerating the "Acts" of weekly stagings, not without taking advantage of it to kill, wound, disfigure, bludgeoning, fiddling, imprisoning and bringing to justice the most committed activists. It is not said that large segments of the petty-bourgeoisie would not have rallied to the leadership, tactics, demands and strategic goal of the proletariat if it had taken the lead of the Movement. Obviously, the French proletariat

felt that the objective and subjective conditions of the popular insurrection were not met and he declined the invitation. From that moment, he could only become anemic and decline in the futile and sterile violence against the caparisoned police auxiliaries. So many attitudes and behaviors that demonstrate the growing proletarian class consciousness. This "yellow" revolt can be seen as a test to verify the degree of resistance of the bourgeois state and test the cohesion and power of the proletarian class in action.

Apolitism and class consciousness

The bourgeois intellectuals said that they were apolitical because of their refusal to let themselves be restrained, regimented and exploited by the old left and right bourgeois political formations. By their refusal to be instrumentalised, the Yellow Vests initiated a new political path: the proletarian way of action having nothing in common with the classical left organized into sectarian and dogmatic small groups. In fact, the proletarian path has been almost completely abandoned by the left since *Marx, Engels, de Leon, Pannekoek, Luxemburg and Bordiga*.³ For lack of influential and experienced fighters, the proletarian way has never managed to ensure the direction of the Movement, causing its disintegration. It must be understood that this absence of influential fighters in the Movement is the consequence of the immaturity of the objective and subjective conditions of the popular insurrection. This absence reveals at the same time that it contributes to this immaturity. It is useless for revolutionary proletarian militants to self-criticize for not having imposed themselves on the rebels. The **populist uprising** - a prelude to the **popular uprising**; prologue to the **proletarian revolution** - does not order. Our revolutionary task is not to start the uprising, but to orient it strategically.

The Movement, abandoned in the hands of the reformist petty bourgeoisie, faced with the reactionary bourgeois state - a state with no room for maneuver to make substantial concessions. This state has managed to take control of the situation by implementing the bogus "*Great National Debate*", leading the populace to end the onslaught on its purchasing power and to support the profit margins of big capital. As was to be expected, big capital emerged victorious from the confrontation, escaping the governance of its steward. Indeed, in such clash class against class, no neighborhood: or the revolt triumphs and no return back is possible, or it is defeated, until the next revolt.

Proletarian class consciousness

On class consciousness and its impact on the spontaneous popular movement, *Kropotkin* writes in the aftermath of the 1918 Russian Revolution:

*"The revolution we have experienced is the sum total, not separate individual efforts, but it is a natural phenomenon, independent of the human will, similar to one of those typhoons that suddenly rises on the shores of Asia Eastern. Thousands of causes, among which the work of separate individuals and even entire parts were only grains of sand, every little breath of local wind contributed to form the great natural phenomenon, the great catastrophe which will renew or destroy, or both, will destroy and rebuild. Each of us has prepared this great inevitable change. But he was also prepared by all the preceding revolutions of 1793, 1848, 1871, by all the writings of the Jacobins, of the Socialists; by all the results of science, industry and technology, art, etc."*⁴

According to *Kropotkin*, revolutionary class consciousness is not brought from outside, but it springs up within the class in revolt. Class revolt is intrinsic to the very existence of the class in its contradictions and its struggle against nature in order to extract from it resources, means of production and consumer goods, and in its inevitable social struggle against the exploitative capitalist class, which it also fights against nature and against the proletarian class in order to force it to value capital, and thus to ensure the capitalist accumulation and reproduction of the human species. The social revolution will aim at solving the paradox between the means of production (including the productive forces) and the inadequate social relations of bourgeois production.

Reformism or revolution, socialism or communism?

In the 21st century, what the Left calls the "*Socialist Revolution*" is an anachronism of the last centuries (the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), the heroic era of progressive trade union movements and political organizations of the reformist and advocacy left, whose historical mission to extract democratic concessions, social reforms, better conditions for the exploitation of the labor force and the decolonization of populations living under the direct oppression of feudalism and the colonial powers, in order to make them access to capitalism. For the employees, the limits of these conquests are reached today, just as the economic and geographical limits of the expansion of the capitalist mode of production are reached since China, India and Africa are today integrated into the imperialist market economy. And since the capitalist mode of production is in a systemic crisis, it can only try to take back what it conceded at the time of prosperity.

The economic difficulties of the mode of production in crisis induce the resistance of the populations victims of economic austerity policies. Either these spontaneous resistances run out of steam and become entangled in the impasse of claims that power can not satisfy; either these spontaneous, violent and anarchic resistances are recovered by the power that instrumentalises them to justify new tax cuts and budget cuts. The class war of big capital is aimed primarily at the proletariat, but not only, because ultimately big capital leads these battles for survival in draconian conditions of global competition.

Under the capitalist mode of production, class war can be summarized as follows: each social class struggles to increase its share of the value produced by the salaried labor force, generating surplus value. The capitalist extorts surplus labor - surplus value - and concedes a portion of the value for the maintenance of the labor force of the employee and his family. In times of prosperity - when the productivity of wage labor is rising along with the relative surplus value - the capital is generous and it easily concedes salary increases, allowances, bonuses; it provides social services through its managing state of social capital, what the left calls "*social gains*". On the other hand, in times of economic crisis, capital imposes austerity. Also, he resumed the concessions he had granted, he dismantles the "*social gains*", which are never "*acquired*".

In doing so, big capital is capturing a growing share of state budgets, to the detriment of small national capital, thus burdening markets that depend on popular clientele for social benefits compressed by austerity policies. And so goes the infernal spiral of capital in disarray. All this explains why SME bosses took part in the revolt alongside petty bourgeois and proletarians. For a time, the trade union left tried to organize resistance to the effects of the systemic economic crisis, without success. Then the proletariat stopped following their actions. It was then that revolutionary proletarians should have taken over and explained that the only valid solution is to abolish the wage-earning, the surplus-value, the exploitation, and the mode of production of capital.

At the beginning of a resistance movement against the aggressions of capital and its state, it is normal that the petty-bourgeoisie and the proletariat through or beyond their class collaboration organizations (subsidized unions, stipended NGOs, parties and electoral political organizations) organize the resistance according to principles and methods of battle worn out: demonstrations of types processions, jeremiads, posturitas and bogus petitions, votations of "protest", until the demonstrators of the weekend are aware of the inefficiency of their actions, because they penalize only the populace and the merchant bourgeoisie. This way of fighting is the socialist, communist, Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyist, Maoist legacy of the past, the time of economic prosperity, the time when the capital came out of its sleeve some crumbs that he threw on the table of *Grenelle* to satisfy the union and oppositionist belts of transmission which had the task of selling this panacea to the workers.

But this time, the room for maneuver was not available. Indeed, the competition is so fierce between companies and their profit margins so narrow that there is nothing left to concede to the "hate crowd" of rabid roundpoints. Nevertheless, on the 10th of December, the government, by its minimal concessions, broke the "United front" of the middle bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At once, the small national capital withdrew from the reformist united front alliance as we had subdued it. The incident of *Fouquet's*, during the peak violence Act XVIII on the Champs-Elysees, was predictable. These events confirm the petty bourgeoisie's ascendancy over the *Yellow Vest* Movement, on which previously floated a wind of uncertainty and the struggle for influence between the petty-bourgeoisie and the proletariat. A proletariat that succeeded at the very beginning in imposing its will, without however imposing its strategic leadership and which quickly gave way later. Never has the petty bourgeoisie sought to overthrow the capitalist system, at most it wanted to paralyze it in order to make up for the slackness of the street against improvements in its status and income.

The first failure occurred in *Act I*, when the paralysis of the economy and the occupation of the barricaded roundabouts were replaced by the manifestations-processions punctuated with urban breaks. These few municipal places (Paris, Toulouse, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nice, Lyon, Lille, Rouen) proved to be the cemetery of militant groupings where the cops could verbalize and arrest the most committed. The worst being not in this chauvinism of the petty bourgeoisie and its "*Black bloc*", but in the tactical loss of effectiveness of the struggle and in the split it provoked among the rebels. This diversion prepared the liquidation of the Movement which, from that moment on, went into decline. It is because big capital has for a long time incorporated the tactics of the symbolic manifestations-processions, outlets of the populist frustrations, preferable for him to the strikes and blockages of the process of production and commercialization. Thus, if the militant action roundpoints penalized the capital of a few billion euros drawn from the profits, about - 0.2% of GDP according to the government (3 billion euros), the Saturday wrestling would have flamed that 170 million euros according to the police prefecture.⁵ These statistics show why the "interclass *united Front*" is impossible since it requires the middle and petty bourgeoisie sacrifice its interests for those of the proletariat. When the workers can not make ends meet or support their families, there will inevitably be a new spontaneous social uprising independent of the proletarian class. When a mode of production no longer allows a society to procreate and prosper, its end is announced.

The second failure came when the union bureaucrats proposed a mock general strike framed and organized to liquidate any insurgent strike. The proletariat did not mobilize around this call, knowing from experience that these trade union acts always lead to defeat. The rest is in keeping and now

that young environmental ecologists and climate emergency physicians are proposing to take the peaceful relay of populist maneuvers, we are witnessing the Final Act of dictatorial power announcing the end of the ceremonial Sunday processions.

The rest will be widely commented by analysts of the eclectic left who will see "*liberticide*" measures (always this petty-bourgeois mystique of democracy and freedom under wage slavery) and who will quibble over how to make these actions of prostration.

Until recent years, the state and the political parties that coveted government power could suggest that the reformist struggle provided a fairer distribution of the wealth generated by wage labor; and they tried to obtain concessions from the employers. The many reformist defeats and setbacks led them to reject the old tactics to question the strategic objective of these spontaneous actions of revolt. For the proletariat the alternative is: must we seek concessions and reforms of the mode of production or must we abolish this mode of production?

The interclass united front

The question of the "*interclass united Front*", which we differentiate from the "**united proletarian Front**", is not a subjective, ideological or metaphysical question. Like any other strategic and tactical issue, it is primarily an economic dilemma. Who controls the purse strings directs the social orchestra. Do not expect the middle-class business to sacrifice itself for the sake of the petty bourgeoisie or the proletariat. At the first opportunity, it will betray the so-called united front to preserve its benefits, even if they seem wobbly. It is the same with the petty-bourgeois always ready to take the powder off at the first serious obstacle. Under the permanent economic crisis of capitalism, the petty-bourgeoisie can not be rescued, and the proletariat must make no concession to it. The path of the petty bourgeoisie, precipitated in pauperization and precariousness, is all traced: it will unconditionally rally the army of proletarian revolutionaries in its class wars. This is the "*united proletarian Front*" that we propose.

The revolutionary organization: fruit of the social revolution

The evolution of the Movement informs us of this unprecedented orientation, illustrated by the radical rejection of the state apparatus, its organizational union appendices, NGOs and political parties. From the experience of Yellow Vests it must be deduced that the spontaneous populist uprising will be taken in charge by the revolutionary proletariat, this "*vanguard*" which will have sprung up in the fold of the prolonged class war. As *Kropotkin* wrote, and contrary to what *Lenin* claimed; the revolutionary class party does not pre-exist the revolutionary movement, it arises spontaneously as the crystallization of a slow fermentation of various militant groups and associations. **Insurrectionary action** will transform the **spontaneous populist movement** into an **organized popular insurrection**, no longer aiming to **reform**, but to **destroy the system, its bourgeois state apparatus**, and to **overthrow the capitalist mode of production, to call for the construction of the new proletarian communist mode of production**. Driven by events, the initial populist movement will be transformed into an organized revolutionary movement, always in the middle of ideological, political and economic tendencies, resulting from the divergent interests of the social classes struggling in and through the revolution. **The revolution will be proletarian** not because a leftist sect has taken control of it, but because the proletariat is the only class that will have an economic interest and the capacity to make it over. It is then that we will finally understand the true meaning of the expression "**dictatorship of the proletariat**", which will in no way be a

brutal, bloodthirsty, totalitarian dictatorship of a sectarian and dogmatic apparatchik caste, but the simple acceptance by all the revolutionary tendencies and forces that the return to capitalist exploitation and alienation is not an option. Nothing in common with the Bolshevik USSR, Maoist China, Castrism Cuba, Cambodian Khmer Rouge, Vietminh Vietnam, MPLA Angola, Korea of the Kim, these totalitarian countries under the domination of state capitalism fraudulently assimilated to communism. It is by design that we reaffirm this Marxist evidence: **the social revolution** is not only to overthrow the old government and destroy the old mode of production. This stage is called **the popular insurrection**. The social revolution also includes the stage of building a new mode of production. This stage implies that the revolutionary class has the understanding of the future mode of production whose seeds pre-exist in the current mode of production.

The consciousness of the revolutionary class, as well as its revolutionary organizations, are not preconstituted elements, enclosed in a cocoon that could be extirpated. Class consciousness can not be brought from outside the classroom as revealed truth - this Thomistic conception is religious mysticism. **Class consciousness is a construct - a production of class**, in the same way as a work of art, an object that is both concrete (the idea materialized in a project of society in progress) and abstract (the social relations of production) resulting from the activity of the class aspiring to emancipation, not as a mystical - theological desire - but as an imperative necessity not to disappear as an earthly species. During the revolutionary period, the consciousness of the class aspiring to emancipation reaches its full maturity. The social consciousness of the class, the theories and the organizations that express it and materialize it are productions like any other material or intellectual production and are subject to the principles and mechanisms of praxis, first economic, then political and then ideological. and social, according to the following articulation:

The movement consolidates the class and strengthens its consciousness;
Without spontaneous movement no revolutionary class;
Without revolutionary class no revolutionary consciousness;
Without revolutionary consciousness, no revolutionary theory;
Without revolutionary theory no revolutionary organizations;
Without revolutionary organizations no proletarian power;
Without proletarian power no proletarian revolution;
Without proletarian revolution no new mode of production.

From these principles, it follows that it is the objective economic and social conditions that will provoke the spontaneous insurrectional movement. It is not the class that creates the insurrectional movement, it is the spontaneous insurrectional movement that consolidates the class, from its most militant elements engaged in the movement. Conscious activists will advance the revolutionary consciousness to the elaboration of an articulated revolutionary theory (that is, a social project, which is very different from a reformist political agenda), which will serve from the base to the protean, open, inclusive and federative revolutionary organization. The exact opposite of a sectarian, dogmatic, dictatorial, repulsive, closed, exclusive party that leftist apparatchiks have imposed on the proletarian class for centuries, with the results that we know. Let us repeat it: the **dictatorship of the proletariat** is not a law of brass imposed by an organization centralized on the spontaneous revolutionary class and on the whole of society transformed into social gulag. The **dictatorship of the proletariat** is a general principle around which the revolutionary class rallies the whole community: *"no return to the mode of production and the alienating and debilitating*

capitalist relations of production". The construction of the new mode of production and the new social relations of communist proletarian production constitute the heart of the proletarian revolution. And everyone is invited to participate according to the principle: "*of each according to his abilities to each according to his needs*".

At the revolutionary stage of the movement, spontaneity fades away, the level of consciousness of the class matures and then becomes stronger in and through the revolutionary process, thus promoting the consolidation of the global revolutionary project. **From this it follows that the popular uprising is not the proletarian revolution, it is the necessary premise both objective and subjective.** In the course of history, spontaneous popular insurrections have aborted or they have been recovered by a social class to serve its aims and class interests. This was the case in Russia in 1917, in China in 1949, and in all the countries where the bourgeois national liberation struggles raged, often called "anti-colonial struggles".⁶ These socialist, reformist and necessary revolutions made it possible to liberate the industrial productive forces and to develop the capitalist social relations of production, but in no case were they communist proletarian revolutions. Everywhere, the spontaneous insurrectional movement preceded the objective and subjective conditions of the proletarian revolution, namely the total development of proletarian social productive forces. A great economic depression and possibly a murderous world war will prepare the objective and subjective conditions of this coming internationalist revolution.

Every popular revolt, whatever the country in which it takes place, is a wave launched against bourgeois power. A wave that often comes to die at the foot of the State Citadel of big capital. *The Commune* was the emblematic example par excellence. *The Commune* was a thunderclap - a challenge - that the proletarian class of Paris, still embryonic, launched into the bourgeois state power in full expansion. At that time, the obvious immaturity of the objective and subjective conditions of the world proletarian revolution (the immaturity of the revolutionary class) led to the inevitable defeat of this popular uprising. It will be the same fifty years later in the republic of soviets of all feudal Russia. Similarly with the waves of the so-called "*decolonization*", which was only "*neo-colonization*". And closer to us, with the waves of the "*Arab Spring*", and other popular uprisings that all share the same action to ensure the survival of the human species and whose seismic epicenter is within the confrontation between work and capital, between the salaried proletariat and financialized capital.

On November 17, 2018, the first day of blocking rounds, an anonymous author, speaking on the webmagazine **Les7duQuébec.com**, characterizes the claims, in addition to slamming the reluctance of elites of the plural left sitting on the fence. We reproduce this article.

Defend the climate, it is very good!

The toothless are out, say the contemptuous media columnists. The Yellow Vests are a spontaneous movement of unequalled magnitude offering to occupy the favorite terrain of revolts and social protests: the street. The demystification of the electoral illusion has been growing for a long time across bourgeois and republican France. And this time, it's too much: the urns have long served as a tomb for illusions. The candidates of the "economic and ecological recovery" lied so much to the toothless, that they decided to express themselves by other ways and means.

Beyond the price of fuel, which all the media, politicians and union leaders try to confined November 17, it is a global awareness that the people of France are experiencing. Because far from the "*climate issue*", sex-trade of taxation policies that attack the purchasing power and the conditions of reproduction of the workforce, the people of France have had enough. Exasperated with paying taxes when the state scheduled the closure of hospitals, maternity homes, nursery, schools and services; enough, after a life of toil, to perceive a pension (of the saved and postponed salary) insufficient to live. We must end this myth of "*the climate challenge*". If tomorrow we pay more for fuel, will our cars be less polluting? Obviously no! So we are penalized for needing a car to bring the kids to school, we are penalized to go to work in the car, we are penalized for needing a utility to practice a trade or profession. Urban sprawl is imposed on us by real estate speculation, by the commercial policies of the merchants of capital, by urban development plans in the service of capital.

Too big as a snake

Everyone has a car and uses it! No need to be a genius of the tax scam to imagine pay all those people who pollute while driving. But the pretext is misleading. Despite the ideological blitz on the climate, we can not forget that:

Large container ships (over 93,000 on the seas) and planes (tens of thousands) pollute hundreds of times more than automobiles. The world price of oil flies away and carries with it taxes and royalties, we are told, which is doubtful.

Ecologism is smoke, pollution is mental

For years, green-ecologist politicians have made their way into government sinecures. Ecology is their daily livelihood. Listen to these leaders of the left, all more eco-friendly than others, saying they support the action of November 17, but do not want to question what they call "*efforts to ensure the energy transition*". They want to beg a drop in taxes at the pump, but spread the lie that justifies in advance all the tax robbery that we will have to undergo thereafter, it will only be part of the discount.

At the beginning of the Movement, *Mélenchon* dithered over whether he would march alongside the *Front National* on 17 November. The Trotskyists of *Besancenot* treated the Yellow Vests as "*Poujadistes*". All these people, former ministers, MEPs, deputies of the hemicycle, senators, elected

officials of the cities and county councils, so all these petty bourgeois are far from the proletariat and should stay there. The same is true of trade union leaders whose failures, compromises and resignations remain in the memory of every worker: the *El Khomri law*, the battle for pensions, the struggle to save the status of railway workers. The union leadership is just as effective at organizing burial demonstrations on a background of techno music. Just able to be "social partners" to benefit the largesse of the employers and the state, just useful to support a handful of permanent interested in the durability of our torments.

Contempt only lasts a short time

What characterizes all these cliques (powerful by the powers that they hold), members of the government, leaders of political parties of all persuasions and allegiances, trade union bureaucrats, organizers of subsidized NGOs, it is the contempt which they display for the people. Yet, in this Movement, there is only a struggle for dignity and survival. It is a massive popular uprising that can not be reduced to a shapeless and unconscious mass of disappointed voters, bitter people or fanatical supporters.

Throughout the history of the spontaneous movements of peoples, from 1789, through 1830, 1848, *La Commune, May 68*, providential men appeared to show us the way, it appeared from the donors of lessons who, once the storm passed, put their big sentences in their drawer with accessories. There is no question, in this 17/11, that to recapture what we have been taught to forget: solidarity in adversity, the realization that together we are strong and that they all, with their speeches, their Europe and their euros, they are weak.

We, communists, welcome this uprising as the first sign (after decades of servitude) of the awakening of a new collective feeling, carriers of the future. We, communists, greet all those who - and for many it's the first time - will show the rulers and their minions what a people can do. However, the French bourgeoisie has experience and more than one trick in their bag. The coming months will see how, with her collaborators on the left, she will try to bring down the Movement that is currently seeking itself.

Whatever the sequence of events, November 17, 2018 must be seen as a breach in which millions of people experience the class struggle on a large scale. To communists to be with them, among them, to explain that there is nothing definitive or inexorable in our misery. The causes of misery, precariousness, unemployment, junk food, pollution, war are known and remedies too. We have neither to bow down nor to submit to the powerful of this world.

CHAPTER TWO: Yellow Vests against climate humbug

Two social classes - two diaphasic visions

The petty bourgeois is concerned about the "*end of the world*," the proletarian is concerned about the "*end of the month*" announcing the end of the world. The expression, used by a protester, flourished. How to reconcile purchasing power requirements with ecological and climatic imperatives? The formula was repeated by Macron in his speech on the energy transition: "*We hear it*, he said, *they evoke the end of the world, we are talking about the end of the month. We will treat both*", he lied. The question being obviously: how will these two priorities be addressed, and to serve the interests of whom?

The ecological ideology

The capitalist state, by adopting green, ecologist ideology, seeks to face the social problem that it feeds elsewhere. It aims at transforming the environment sector into a source of income and stable jobs for the pauperized and precarious petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeois are hired at great expense as civil servants, as researchers, or as journalists, as administrators of NGOs, as lawyers, and as guardians of environmental laws; or to create reports on the impacts of investments and infrastructure. And what is no less important: the ecologist becomes the representative of the regimented nation, the state bourgeoisie effectively ruling the whole of the social body. This citizen ecological conscription is presented as an international movement through which the European capital hopes to get the support of the European populations to support the Union and the euro against its American and Chinese commercial competitors. It can be seen that it is the chaotic aggravation of commercial competition that motivates these sponsors of the climate emergency.

The *Nuevo Curso* webmagazine goes farther and more subdued than: "*The aftermath of these climate-friendly mobilizations is even more sinister. The passion with which Chancellor Merkel promotes the extension in Germany of eco-green youth mobilizations should light a red light. That the newspaper "Le Monde" asks in an editorial if "we can save the climate by preserving the civil liberties" must be understood as a statement of objectives. As we have already seen in the Bavarian elections, the European bourgeoisie interpreted the rise of the Greens not only as a way out of the German crisis, but also as the basis of a common battle for big continental capital in order to channel the rebellion of the embittered petty bourgeoisie. Hence the permanent comparisons with the "Yellow Vests", the counterexample that frightens the great European capital. Moreover, the latest IPCC report had already been used to open this debate on the need for a "global climate dictatorship", that is to say, on the desirability of a new universalist imperialist discourse, as was anti-fascism in 1939 and anti-communism until 1990. Climate change thus becomes a useful flag for the European imperialists against the United States and China. And what better than to concretize it by young people?"*⁷

Environmental and climatic emergency

Let's take the environmental problem by the root. The purpose of a species or a social community is to reproduce. The ecological, environmental or climatic issue must be tackled under the lens of this premise. This premise begs the question: how to ensure the social reproduction of the human species in contingent and unstable climatic conditions? Since the dawn of time, human societies have responded to this challenge by designing various modes of production, the most recent of which is the capitalist, industrial, urban mode of production, burdened by its oppressive, alienating production relations.

A mode of production is a set of processes, behaviors and interrelations by which human society reproduces itself by exploiting two fundamental resources: on the one hand **the nature** (ores, drinking water, energy, Arab land, rare earth, ocean, atmosphere, fauna and flora, etc.); on the other hand, **the human being**, his work force. The second resource works first to turn it into consumable goods. Under the capitalist mode of production, any factor of production represents a **cost** (an expenditure in variable capital or in constant capital) which will be accounted at the end to give the value of the production (of the commodity). The only source of value is the **labor force** (wage labor, shall we say). Incidentally, the labor force is itself a commodity, which by its activity transforms and values all other goods, and paradoxically, devalues itself (via technology and machine tools).

And the valuation-accumulation cycle continues like this in an endless spiral. Strange way, will you say, to tackle the "*energy and climate emergency*"? Yet we are at the heart of the problem. Since the dawn of time, the man, through his work, draws resources from nature to turn them into consumable products to ensure the reproduction of the species. Human society by its activities exploits nature, transforms it, pollutes it and contaminates it. It produces waste and modifies the environment, leaving an ecological footprint all the more striking as man spreads rapidly, thus increasing his social needs.

Economic vectors of escheat

The economy is the science that studies the modes of production and their evolutions. Two economic vectors are different today: **the first vector** concerns the quantity of waste and residues to be destroyed, buried, neutralized (greenhouse gas), impeded (polluting spills), or recycled. This problem is commensurate with the immense industrial production capacities (mechanical and digital robot, artificial intelligence, etc.) of our contemporary urbanized societies, whose medical progress and improvements in health have led to an increase in life expectancy. So much so that 8 billion humans are working today to reproduce by tapping into the vast resources of the planet. We are still far from having exhausted the resources of the planet, and human intelligence - an integral part of the workforce - daily imagines new processes, new methods and new techniques of depollution and recycling, of saving energy, remedying the ecological cataclysms.

The second vector differentiating modern societies is the singular capitalist economy, which is subject to a crisis of permanent overproduction, while the average real rate of profit is decreasing. However, for capital in crisis, natural disasters, commercial waste, mining residues, industrial effluents, agricultural waste, spills in the environment, toxic waste to be buried, destroyed, neutralized, dammed, or the studies and environmental precautions that must be taken, before and after the exploitation of resources, are all costs - as many debilitating factors of production - that weigh on corporate profits.

Under the capitalist mode of production, nothing is lost, nothing is created, everything is transformed into cost of production (constant capital - raw materials - energy - machinery - variable capital - social charges - wages - taxes and duties) or in profit. Reducing or erasing the ecological footprint of a production, transportation or marketing facility incurs costs. The company must bear these costs thus hindering its competitiveness and profitability. In particular, when its competitor is not imposed the same binding environmental rules, or if its competitor receives government aid to clean up, bury, eradicate, eliminate, contain or recycle its waste, fumes, residues and contaminants.

State assistance to maintain the rate of profit

Obviously, the recurrent government deficits and the over-indebtedness of the states do not make it possible both to increase the subsidies to polluting companies and to increase the budget of the public services, in particular the social budget allocated to the precarious populations. Choices are necessary. If the state taxes the institutional, entrepreneurial or commercial polluter-pays, it will cause unemployment and a drop in its revenues in taxes, further weakening the national budget balance. If the state taxes wage earners to support "green" enterprises and ecological programs of energy transition, it will affect the purchasing power of the proletariat and reduce consumption, and subsequently the valuation of capital, reducing the outlets for companies in overcapacity of production, thereby lowering their profit margins and their ability to invest to reduce their ecological footprint. As we can see, the cycle of capital has its immutable laws. Thus, neither the human will nor the reformist political parties can preserve us from it. Or we change the mode of production or we continue to sail from an economic crisis to an ecological emergency.

Young people mobilized to save the planet

Young people protesting in the streets of Western countries with cries of "climate emergency" and "Down with productivism" are mistaken targets when they condemn everyone - the proletarians and the working class - for environmental degradation, greenhouse gas emissions, pollutant spills and other ecological disasters. Breeding as a species involves an ecological footprint and pollution. Must we exterminate the human species or get rid of the military-industrial complex and capitalism, that is the dilemma. These populations, which alterglobalists and eco-socialists try to blame, have no decision-making power over the factors of production, the polluters who do not pay, the polluting companies that must first pay dividends and foam their assets at the stock market auction before to spend to clean up. Workers and lower classes do not have more control over civil servants and administrators. On the other hand, the politicians praise these students, *these useful idiots*, who propose to make pay the employees (yet unable to make ends meet) in order to stop the pollution on which they have no influence. Let's put all the economic, political, media and ideological powers back to the proletarians and then we can accuse them of procrastinating.

The democratic myth of "*public opinion*"

Let us mobilize the powerful "*citizen public opinion*", propose the ecologists, the leftists and the alterglobalists, these professional mourners who pour into tearful activism, and the hilarious "*citizenism*". **Public opinion is a construct**, the fruit of a work of manufacture, a commodity having a commercial value. Citizen public opinion is the product of the activity of the media, the property of the big business, which permanently conditions thoughts and mentalities. So much so that the one who wants to develop his understanding of events must select the sources consulted. As a result, more and more people are losing faith in mainstream media and turning to alternative digital media. The young environmental protesters claim to rally *public opinion* by their childish agitation. They assure of being able, by simple strikes, to force the bourgeois state to legislate for saving the planet rather than the profits of the companies. In particular, through the introduction of ecosocialist fiscal measures (sic). This is precisely what the bourgeois state demands: namely, to be forced by this smoky "*citizen public opinion*" that it conditioned to tax the proletariat, in order to subsidize the employers (subsidy to electric cars and carbon tax are two examples). But that will not work, because all that one withdraws in purchasing power from the proletariat reduces the sales, and correlatively the incomes of the employers.

So is the battle of the so-called citizen public opinion as electoral masquerades. In this game, to win, you have to control the media. For that, we must have a lot of money, the nerve of the war of public opinion. Students and young people serve as flesh-to-face in order to deceive the workers and make them pay for the ecological "crimes" of which they are victims. 8

CHAPTER THREE: Strategy and tactics of Yellow Vests

A spontaneous populist movement

In a previous chapter we elaborated on the practical links between the **tactical** development of the class struggle and the ultimate **strategic** goal of this struggle: to overthrow economic power first

and then the political power of capital, in other words, to destroy the bourgeois state. What about the ideological power of capital, will you ask? Let us take again this equation which links tactical objectives and strategic objective of the class struggle at each stage of its development. For more than a century, the proletarian class has been fighting daily struggles in the economic sphere for the defense of its living and working conditions, in defense of the economic value of its labor force, source of all value and all social wealth. **These class struggles on the economic front can only be reformist, in the sense that they aim only at ensuring the conditions of the reproduction of the labor force hired to value capital.** Until now, the proletarian class led these struggles according to an agreed pattern emerging from a century of experience accumulated and crystallized by different currents of the union and political left. The observation of the repeated failures of these reformist struggles, after May-68 in particular, and more specifically following the economic crisis of 2008, led the proletarian class to question some of the old methods and some of the old combat tactics. It has matured in the subconscious of the class, without the knowledge even of the union bureaucrats paralyzed and gurus of the dogmatized left. The spontaneous movement of Yellow Vests is the objective manifestation of this practical embodiment of deep class consciousness. The class struggle on the economic and political front has spilled over onto the ideological front in order to condense the progress of the struggle on the various fronts or instances of the class war. This volume aims to contribute to this struggle on the ideological front by taking stock of the learning acquired during this radical social revolt, so that at the next round of the confrontation we collectively benefit from this knowledge accumulated in the subconscious of the proletarian class. We repeat it tirelessly: the task of the proletarian "vanguard" is not to bring the consciousness to the class, but to contribute, from the inside of the popular movement, to the reinforcement of the revolutionary consciousness and its predominance.

Undoubtedly, the spontaneous populist movement marks, for France at least, the beginning of a new era in the class struggle. A capitalist antisystem revival transcending the reformist economic struggles. Certainly the yellow vests did not win this fight. But this does not mean that the experience is devoid of teaching and learning. On the contrary. This uprising is the most advanced experiment in reframing the fight against economic power first, and subordinating the fight against political and ideological power thereafter.

Reformism

Reformism, as a political orientation, is a current of thought that has contaminated both the left-wing and shameless leftist movements such as Los *Indignados*, *Nuit debout*, *Occupy Wall Street*, and the other reformist demonstrations of the petty-bourgeoisie. If the reformist social contract, which has punctuated labor relations and dominated politically for more than a century, is now repudiated by wage labor, it is that the employers, the first, denied it. The great international capital can no longer concede the real wages and the conditions of life and work granted during the years of expansion of Western imperialism (1945 - 1975). Worse, since the severe economic crisis of 2008, international capital has undertaken a vast global offensive for its survival. He is leading this offensive on two economic fronts at once. Inside the globalized capital, some factions come together and form alliance to capture the markets, resource sectors and spheres of exploitation of surplus value, source of market value. The US government is the most responsive in this field with its policies of tariff increases striking both its allies and competitors. The Chinese government is the most proactive in this area with its pharaonic investment projects. On the outside of globalized capital, the class struggle is engaged in all directions against the internationalized proletariat, in order to withdraw the concessions and make it pay the price of the economic recovery. Economic

recovery having no chance to materialize. This time, the workers must not agree to become the cannon fodder of the war in preparation.

They will have to take advantage of the difficulties of their class enemy to overthrow his state and destroy his moribund mode of production. This is our understanding of the concept of "*whistleblower*". The Yellow Vest Movement is the latest warning the French proletarian class has sent to the international proletariat. The revolutionary proletarians are the transmission belts of this resounding alert.

This current spontaneously emerging from the social base has instinctively rejected both the policies of the left and the bourgeois right, and it spontaneously rejected the buffoons who shared the political power, for more than a century, alternately (left / right) under the orders of the bosses, the true masters of economic power and therefore of political, legal, media, military and ideological power - these bodies subordinate to economic power. The realization of this articulation of powers was the novelty of this yellow France, which gives a clue to proletarian class consciousness. This immanent class consciousness is the fruit of the concrete experiences lived by the proletarians of the whole world since the beginnings of the workers' movement of the 1st and the 2nd International, then by those of the 3rd and the 4th International. These experiences of struggle were framed by the organizations of the left and / or the traditional right, which took care of arranging ways of exit, making it possible to negotiate an outcome favorable to the interests of the capital. As the class managed to survive with the concessions of the bosses, few militants balked and the class collaboration, carried out at the expense of the proletariat, satisfied the trade union business industry, that of the subsidized citizen NGOs and the politicians of the right and the reformist left.

The subconscious of the proletarian class is so imbued with these teachings and these learnings that the consensus was spontaneously established among the militants to refuse any formal organization (which they rightly perceived as potentially sectarian and dogmatic); to reject any representation (which they rightly perceived as elitist and dissociated from the militant base); to be wary of the delegation of power (which is the ferment of sectarianism and elitism), attitude and behavior that the regime of capital vehemently decried and what the infiltrated petty bourgeoisie tried to transform. The call of petty bourgeois and professional politicians to turn it into a permanent political organization, to dismiss Macron and dissolve the Assembly, to convene a Constituent Assembly or to initiate the Citizen Initiative Referendum (RIC), or to participate in Bourgeois electoral masquerades, so many mirrors with larks for petty bourgeois baited by a seat well paid to the assemblies and the committees, did not find any echo among the committed proletarian militants. These demagogic democratic proposals only appealed to the woes and their underlings who wanted to keep their hands on the Movement in order to put the stalemate.

The only strategic goal of the Movement

The uprising was born around a strategic goal that has gained consensus in his radical militant expression, although he seemed confused at first. This testifies that the movement was not controlled by the old organizations of the left or the right sectarian and dogmatic, who excels in the art of silencing any divergence and placing everyone under the ideological knout of their gurus. It is healthy that many activists have formulated their recriminations and thus participated in the development of the common advocacy which, despite the apparent cacophony, has become unified as the progress of the concrete struggle. Thus, the multiple reformist political demands were gradually swept away, leaving only one strategic objective. The mistake of the yellows - an error that caused them to sink - was not strategic, but tactical.

The strategic objective of the Yellow Vests was to defend the purchasing power of employees strangled by the anemic profit system. In other words, their reformist strategic economic goal was to maintain, if not increase, the value and the selling price of their labor power, and correspondingly to stop the onslaught of capital and its puppet state on the economic front. of the class struggle. It was from the outset a reformist demand for class resistance, even if the proletarians did not know how to express it in these terms. This matters little, except for the dogmatic leftists. **This reformist strategic goal was essentially insurrectional, since the systemic economic crisis of capitalism rendered its satisfaction impossible.**

Each euro of salary increase had to be taken from the fund of capital profits in the process of shipwreck. This explains the miserable concessions (SMIC slightly up, fictitious drop in taxes quickly offset by inflation and the depreciation of the euro, increases in tariffs for services and tax increases). **In these times of serious economic crisis when the capitalist system is about to implode, such a wage claim was potentially insurrectional**, because the capital does not benefit from any margin of maneuver, which the thurifer of the bankers confirmed a certain Tuesday to the French television by hollow and deceptive promises. If the French proletariat had perceived that the insurrectional moment was propitious, such fallacious promises would have led it to harden its positions and to maintain its legitimate claims since it was its physical survival, as an exploited social class, which depended on it. But in his immense wisdom, the French proletariat realized that the conditions of the insurrection were not met.

The militant workers said it squarely: "*We do not live with these wages of misery anymore, we barely survive*". But from the moment when the proletarian class (French section), subodorant of the immaturity of the insurrectional conjuncture, began to abandon the occupation of the roundpoints and renounce the unlimited general strike, the Movement has collapsed. Instead, the petty-bourgeois tactics of the processions and urban quagmires prevailed. And it was made of the popular movement of which the petty-bourgeoisie ensured the exclusive direction and that it liquidated little by little, against some false promises. This is a fundamental learning that proletarian activists must keep in their deep consciousness.

Petty bourgeois agitation

Obviously, throughout the events of many organizations, small groups, sects, committees and associations of petty bourgeois, angry to see themselves impoverished and proletarianized, agitated and tried to take the command to put it to their service for reformist purposes. Evidently, these same petty bourgeois controlling workers' organizations (trade unions, parties, mutuels, cooperatives, associations, NGOs, etc.) for a century have caused rage and ravage among the working class, which is now struggling to reorganize itself far the hegemony of the bobos, these belts of transmission of the big capital. But let us not be confused by this peripheral agitation and concentrate our attention on the essential: the fundamental interests of the proletarian class, the only revolutionary class under imperial capitalism, and the way of defending them until the popular uprising, the next strategic goal.

The so-called "*middle class*"

It should be noted that the petty bourgeois, guard dogs of capital, do not form a "*middle class*", a concept invented by the American School of Sociology. This sociological fantasy aims only to mask the class struggle between the workers and the proletarians against the petty bourgeois, the

bourgeois and the big international capital. A social class is not defined by its income, but by its function in the process of production. The present existential crisis of the petty bourgeoisie comes from the fact that it is expelled from the production process - just like the workers incidentally - and that it is worried about its individual and collective future. This economic process underway in the capitalist world is bringing workers and petty-bourgeois to cross more and more often on the barricades of the class struggle. The struggle of the revolutionary proletarians is aimed at preserving their class political autonomy so as not to fall back into the ruts of petty-bourgeois right-wing or left-wing reformism. Through strategic and tactical analysis, we will succeed in ensuring the hegemony of the proletariat. You will have noted that we have not written "*the party's hegemony over the class movement*," for the reason that the record of a century of working-class struggle under the tutelage of left-wing parties leads to the conclusion that this organizational path invariably leads to sectarian, dogmatic, opportunist, political reformist, class collaboration and chauvinistic nationalism, when not fascism.

A variety of struggling tactics

A strategic goal of this importance (to stop the onslaught of capital against our living and working conditions and to maintain the value of our work force) continues with a variety of combat tactics. Let's take a look at some of the class war tactics implemented spontaneously.

First unprecedented tactic: Blockage of traffic lanes in order to paralyze the economy, that is to say the circulation of capital, so, bleed and stop profitability. Contrary to the usual carnival parades where the suzerain of the rich state is condemned to pay attention to the grievances of his subjects, this tactic of confrontation was potentially insurrectional, because it directly attacked capital, its profits, the sap that keeps it alive, beyond a plant or a particular industrial sector. Remember this procession of Russian serfs going to implore the charity of the Tsar, the little father of the peoples of all the Russias, and who were massacred by the thousands. The reformist political myth to life lasts among the left. At the time, the Bolsheviks led the sacrificial ceremony. Today, it is the CGT / CFTD / FO / SUD who lead the timeless ball of the eternal processions of incantations.

Last summer, the railway workers, during their partial strike, tried this tactic of blocking the transport of workers and freight, indicating that the insurrectional tactic of blocking the economy was making its way into the subconscious of the French proletarian class, the most militant of the European continent.

Resilient Resistance Events

A complementary tactic was quickly imposed to reinforce and radicalize the tactics of paralyzing the economy. Contrary to the demonstrations of parry-processions types debilitating spreading pessimism, the demonstrations of resistance, like those very militant Yellow Vests, in Paris and in the provinces, have the usefulness to demonstrate the pugnacity and determination of the militants, and especially of to galvanize the proletarian troops on the sealed circles after each spontaneous "Act". However, the blockage of the economy - of the circulation of goods and therefore of profits - remains the tactic of decisive struggle on the economic front of the class struggle. For this reason, it should have been strengthened and not abandoned. It is in this chapter of the struggle that the infiltrated petty bourgeoisie has committed its worst misdeeds. The petit-bourgeois falters in the face of the violence of the demonstrations and the potential violence that could arise from a complete blockage of roundabouts, trains, railway stations, ports and airports. If the left wanted to make a useful contribution in the conflict between capital, its state and the proletariat, it should

have reinforced the picket lines, because the blockage of the transport of goods and workers, as well as oil refineries, would have put a bourgeois state on its knees, at the same time as its patrons of big capital; thus the popular insurrection would have been on the agenda.

The general strike, the ultimate weapon of the proletariat

A reader of our webmagazine declared: "*The general strike is the ultimate weapon of the workers on the economic front of the class struggle*", which is true. The general strike stops the general circulation of capital and strangles valuation and therefore the accumulation of capital. But nowadays, where the economy is so dependent on the transportation of goods and the movement of wage-earners, there are different ways to start a general strike. By blocking the transport of goods and the movement of workers to the places of exploitation of the labor force, the same result is obtained as by the strike of workshops, factories and building sites. If the railway workers had not been paralyzed by their union bureaucracy, they would have relaunched their strike, but continuously and unlimited this time. No more innocence of beaded strikes.

While some shouted the litany of their reformist political demands and were thinking of participating in the next electoral masquerade, the ministers thought that their puppet government was on hold. Whoever does not know how to subdue the plebs does not deserve to govern the state of the rich, thought the oligarchy. Minister Penicaud, in an indescribable newspeak, threw oil on the fire, on LCI: "*A boost to SMIC, we know that it destroys jobs, so this is not the right method*". Everything is said by those who are responsible for maintaining the routed system. The capitalist economic system is incompatible with the survival of the proletarian class. Under this mode of production, says the lucid minister: "*if you increase wages and give workers enough to survive, you destroy their jobs and drive them into misery*". So, ladies and gentlemen from the left and the right together, the question boils down to this: "*Should we save the capitalist system or must we save the proletariat, which is going downhill?*» You can not do both at once. If the proletariat wants to be the architect of its emancipation, it will have to overturn not the regime, not the system, but the moribund capitalist mode of production.

When everything has been said and everything has been consumed, the proletariat will understand that the defense of purchasing power (the selling price of the labor force) leads directly to the antagonistic confrontation with capital, for individual and collective survival. of the human species. Having reached the height of this insurrectional confrontation, two paths will open up to the proletariat: that of petty-bourgeois political reformism to obtain some ephemeral advantages conceded in times of prosperity and that capital will resume immediately; or that of the proletarian revolution that will destroy this moribund mode of production, creating the conditions for the construction of a new mode of production without wages, without money, without profit and without proletariat.

CHAPTER FOUR: State, media and intellectuals against Yellow Vests

The "information" merchandise

The media produces and markets a unique commodity, information - entertainment and communication - that must bring revenue and profits to multinational communications companies. The petty bourgeoisie of the media works in this superstructure and its function is to regulate the functioning of this system of ideological indoctrination. For these scribes, it is a matter of formatting public opinion to ensure its submission by avoiding recriminations and revolts. If it was necessary to demonstrate their devotion to the bosses of capital, the treatment of Yellow Vests was the perfect

illustration. In France the majority of the media is owned by a small number of large financial groups as in other countries of the world.

The petty bourgeoisie about the so-called *freedom of information* tends to explain the submission of literary hacks by the concentration of media ownership: *"Ten billionaires have taken control of a large part of the French media. These oligarchs, from construction, armaments, the luxury industry and telephony, monopolized the major national dailies, television channels and radios, to squeeze their influence. On top, conflicts of interest, censures, pressures, dismissals, unhealthy interference ... This concentration of the means of production of information in the hands of some jeopardizes the independence of the press in our country . And thus undermines democratic functioning (sic). How to guarantee the freedom of information and the pluralism of the press? An indignant scribbler is indignant.*⁹

The media openly act as organs of financial and state power. As proof: during the revolt, the French media did not want to see the permanent violence imposed by the economic difficulties, the social violence, the violence of the bosses, nor the violence of the police on the lines of picketing nor the violence of the beleaguered state. For these media to orders, this violence did not exist. The literary hacks are conditioned to see only the circumstantial and residual violence expressed by the destruction of some windows of restaurants, shops or banks, the fires of cars, and the tags on the walls. This focus on this small-scale reactive violence is intended to hide state, political, economic and social violence, and correlatively to reverse the responsibilities and culpabilities of violence. It should be noted that this attitude and behavior of paid media officers is not controlled from above, from the billionaire owner to the banal literary hack. To get a job, if only as a clerk in these companies where you make the goods information, you must have the profile of employment and democratic faith, believe in electoral masquerades, share the bourgeois values and have the patriotic fiber. Assured to recruit agents formatted according to these dominant values, what need the billionaire owner would have to blow the futures or "fakes news" in the ear of his valets? It is of little interest to note that ten billionaires control 80% of the means of information-propaganda in France. Would they be fifty, the result would be the same and nothing would change in terms of self-censorship imposed by journalists and heads of desks to keep their jobs. What is important to observe is in which economic sector these billionaires have invested their capital. They are arms dealers, construction magnates, luxury goods merchants and mass marketers.

Loss of popular trust with the media

With the revolt of the Yellow Vests, the latest lies about the so-called freedom of the press have been unmasked. The people no longer believe in these professional liars. The media themselves have become aware of this reality. This is an important consequence of the revolt of the "yellows". This crisis of confidence is explained, according to the majority of the French, by the lack of independence of journalists vis-à-vis the political and economic power. About two-thirds of respondents believe that journalists are not independent, neither political power (69%) nor economic power (62%). Since when is an employee independent of his employer?

"Confidence in the media at its lowest historic in France", title BFMTV. The newspaper Le Monde, the unofficial body of the French state writes: *"According to three quarters of respondents, journalists are considered too dependent on political power. A critic frequently heard within the movement, who prefer the Lives on Facebook to control their comments and are wary of the spokespersons, as any mediation* ¹⁰. Even the television ratings are in free fall. Media previously

preferred by the French to learn, television collects a level of confidence of only 38% (-10 points in one year). The print media collapsed to 44% (-8 points). Similarly, social networks suffer the same erosion in terms of trust. Indeed, we could think that activists trusted the internet, Facebook, Google, the media of the net. But, the same suspicion of collusion with the powers of money is expressed with regard to the dominant organs of the Web.

The rabid media against Yellow Vests

Like all the French press, *Le Monde* has repeatedly repeated the myth that yellow vests are puppets of the far right. But this lie did not have the desired effect, the French media agitated the old story of anti-Semitism. *Le Monde* 20-21 January 2019 title: "*The Yellow Vests, a field of influence for the nebula conspiracy*". It reads: "*conspiracy figures of the ultra right use the movement*", "*the slippages have multiplied since the beginning of the movement*", "*the anger against democratic institutions is the result of an ideological enterprise*", "*these anti-Semitic conspiracy obsessions around Macron and the Rothschild bank now appear in the processions*", "*using the movement born on November 17 to increase their influence, conspiracy and anti-Semitism linked to the far right gain visibility since several weeks*". And to conclude: "*On the day of Act X, conspiracy and anti-Semitic and extreme right figures finally made an appointment*". Thus, because it bravely defies the ruling class, the Movement is slandered. To accredit the hoax of anti-Semitism, the media has shown images of a news item where a man named Finkelkraut is called a Zionist by a protester. Also, to present it as anti-Semitic, the French media claim that the designation of Zionist would be anti-Semitism.

Missions and activities of the bourgeois media

Let's unravel the political, ideological and social mission of mainstream media. The role of the bourgeois media, from left to right, is crucial in multiethnic - criminalized - urbanized - industrialized - stressed and densely populated societies, under strong economic (unemployment and poverty) and social tensions (reduction of local services, drugs, delinquency, theft and crimes against the person). In the midst of this confusion, the media is a source of insecurity and additional chaos, along with indoctrination and incoherence, one of these functions making the others possible and necessary.

Media activity is multi-faceted. On the one hand, the media broadcast a vision of the world - that of the ruling class - is their first vital activity. Through this activity, they condition the collective and individual consciousness to accept this capitalist world as it is, with its rich and adulated celebrities, imitated and jealous of the envious, anxious, embittered petty bourgeois, driven by the ambition to climb one day to paradise parvenus. The world according to the media counts millions of anonymous, needy and stressed pecnots, happy according to them of their miserable destiny provided they can satisfy their guilty passions such as sex, alcohol, drugs, violence, sport, games, religion, narcissism, etc. Finally, the media in the pay have the mission to lift the veil on a dark world, the reverse of the beautiful society normée, the world of the lumpenproletariat, the homeless, poverty and petty crime, the underworld of the world. large-scale theft, money laundering, organized crime, fueling passions. But do not worry, good people, the democratic and populist state, with its forces of repression, its courthouses and its prisons - its army - provide your protection (sic). The social table is drawn up and every day the media gorges us with this fetishistic vision of a world of insecurity and repression where each one seeks its bearings in the confusion that feeds the mediation and the misinformation in order to justify the repression.

The second vital activity of the liar media is to expose the repression of the state that is the object of the recalcitrant, those who oppose the system. This repression strikes the SDF, who bivouacs under a bridge, the migrants crammed into their makeshift encampment, the "dealer" of the staging of the landing (not the supplier of the dealer, however), the pickpocket, the star who does not pay his debts, the impresario, the officiant or the priest guilty of touching, the little ugly who defrauded the tax, the mobster who cheated at the casino, the businessman suspected of embezzlement, the thug accused of violence. And finally, of course, the media of the rich expose the full weight of the bourgeois law falling on the demonstrators, strikers, recalcitrant workers obstructing the movement of goods and preventing the development of capital and profits to defend their living and working conditions. On the other hand, the bourgeois media display their support and compassion for those who challenge the system (this is allowed and encouraged individually and as a social outlet), but in accordance with the rules and laws - that is to say the dictatorship of capital. The mainstream media display it every day, feminists, LGBTQ, trade unionists, environmentalists, ecologists, fascists and leftists, whines all whining against social injustices are received and encouraged by the power. And they sometimes get a nice law to reward their peaceful conduct, or a fuel tax on poor people.

The third activity of the media is to exhibit the sumptuous life of rich and famous people. It is a question of spreading their fortune, their ease and the abundance of the goods obtained thanks to their exceptional efforts, personal and professional, having allowed their social ascent and their integration in the capitalist system, this magnificent economic system which offers to everyone the chance to get rich, especially to the rich.

Fourth fundamental activity of the media of capital, to mystify the reality in order to make the reading confused, and to make the world (society, economy, politics, ideology) incomprehensible. The mystifying media accomplish this mission by presenting all human activity, especially economic, political, ideological, diplomatic, judicial, military activities as the fruit of chance, or of this or that temperamental individual (the unpredictable *Donald Trump* or the irascible *Kim Jong un*, or the doctrinaire *Khamenei*). But never as the product of the inevitable laws of political economy, sociology and the class struggle.

By the manipulative work done by the media subservient to capital, society is deliberately complicated, enveloped by a Machiavellian political opacity. This travesty of reality is intended to prevent activists from gaining an authentic understanding of the dialectical laws governing the whole of society torn apart by class antagonisms. Instead, the media offers rumors, allegations, "Fakes news" and Machiavellian plots, weaved in the antechamber of the rich, leading everyone to speculate, to chatter, to quibble about this or that leader (the arrogant *Jupiter*, *Theresa May* the tearful puddle, *Merkel* the Reich-Woman, *Stalin* the exterminator, *Mao* the Great Helmsman, etc.). The media enslaved to the capital propose to calculate the manias and the faults of the celebrities. These journalists apply to the world of politics, economics, ideology, the recipes of vulgar morality and idealism. Thus, *Macron* would be an arrogant, thus explaining his disdain for the toothless. Replace *Macron* with *Mélenchon* or *Marine Le Pen*, and you'll have changed everything, suggests the narrow-minded media of emptiness. This is what the political activity of the right and left media is reduced.

Three categories of bourgeois media

To accomplish this work of social decomposition, mystification and ideological enlistment, the bourgeois media are divided into three categories. First, there is the entertainment press. These

media "**peoples**" have the function of entertaining and lulling the public to allow it to escape in the dreams of a better world, which will probably be accessible in another life (sic). It is the new opium of the civilized world, this opium media that replaces religion.

In the second place, there is the information press in the service of capital. These media of "**formatting**" add to the function "*people*" claims to inform on the news and to interpret it. The role of these media is to shape public opinion and to obtain consent for the various policies of governments, but above all to obtain the resignation and even the acceptance of public opinion by citizens to their miserable living conditions. To do this, these media appeal to experts, analysts, academics, licensed to make a muddle the citizen opinion. Thus, the French executive launches the "*Great Debate*" to confuse the rebellious citizen. During the uprising, the press of formatting never stopped to guess the intentions of the president and to speculate on the decisions which could result from this consultation convoluted. However, the French government, almost bankrupt economic, has no room for maneuver, and can not get out of the budget crisis, his budget is devoured by the debt, and in the end it will bleed more the worker, here is the sad reality you will never hear on TV.

There is a third category of media. These rigorous media deserve to be read by revolutionary proletarians, as they conscientiously analyze the economic, political, legal, sociological, diplomatic and military conditions, in order to inform the capitalist class and its political clerks. These "**influential**" media set the tone for big bosses and guide their decisions. Big capital and its restrained political tools do not have much room for maneuver. It must be remembered that the imperative laws of capitalist political economy are binding on them as on everyone else. **But the powerful billionaires and their financial officials have the power to accelerate or slow down the evolution of the crisis and extend it, even deepen it.** One example among others, the President of the US Fed recently decided to lower interest rates on loans, causing the expansion of the money supply and consequently the increased indebtedness of individuals, businesses and governments. In this way, it only delays the stock market crash, but increasing the amplitude of the catastrophe, without deviating the crazy course. These are the limits of the discretionary power of billionaires and their solicitors.

Finally, there is another category of media that we have not incorporated into our media taxonomy, the revolutionary press. In radical rupture with the political categories of the dominant thought and the market values of the bourgeois society, this press is obviously, by its financial weakness, minority and very little visible. Because it does not comply with media rules, this revolutionary press is vilified, ostracized and boycotted by the mainstream media and the left and right parallel press. Despite this, this press, especially ours, published on the WebMagazine www.Les7duQuébec.com must persevere and stay the course, despite the adversity.

Bourgeois intellectuals in the service of capital

In general, this obsequious media stance reveals the total subjugation of ideological instruments to capital. From school, through cinema and literature, to audiovisual media, the internet and digital social media, all these ideological devices for shaping spirits have been totally enslaved by capital to serve as tools for propaganda and manipulation. And the intellectuals, these belts of transmission, do not escape this ideological recruitment in the service of the powers of money. In this historical phase, described by some authors as the end of ideologies, or even the end of history (implying that history has reached its unsurpassable horizon by the grace of capitalism), an Israeli historian has

driven the last nail to the coffin of this caste buried in the cemetery of the liberal intelligence, accompanying it with the eponymous epitaph of his book: "*The end of the French intellectual*". Title that could be modified: "*The end of the Western intellectual*". For the moral corruption and intellectual debasement identified by *Shlomo Sand* in the French intelligentsia have become the prerogative of all Western intellectuals.¹¹

In his book, *Shlomo Sand* shows that the French intellectual, intervening in the public, political and media spheres, as we have described, and as he is degenerating (notably through Islamophobia, decadentism peddled by *Houellebecq*, with *Charlie Hebdo*, *Zemmour* and *Finkelkraut* and *other reactionary surgeons*), was born with the Dreyfus affair. This case revealed the attitude of some intellectuals of the time against the antisemitism of the time - largely replaced today by Islamophobia. To read it, we say that the revolt of the yellow vests works as revealing a line of fracture between bourgeois conformists and petty-bourgeois thinkers. From this fresco about the French intellectuals, let us retain some passages concerning the present times, marked by a collective hysteria, mocked and deplored by the rest of the world, around a hijab of race: "*The Twilight of the intellectual of the beginning of the XXI century is marked by the rise of Islamophobia*".

"The new intellectual, media and consensual, is recognized by his conservatism, which celebrates the social hierarchy and the political culture of the room, while he confesses to all those who, from the outside or the inside, defy it and threaten it. (...) The collective memory that is built day after day, in France, feeds on a paranoid imagination, a kind of inverted mirror of the "bright future" to which the progressive circles of the previous generation clung. But, unlike the imagination of the future, the imaginary past is primarily intended to create and reinforce an identity that excludes the "other", and does not aim to understand and mix with it. The myths that came from the Enlightenment sources generally tended to integrate the "other", while the conservative myths more openly dismiss the one that appears as different".¹²

Intellectuals, watchdog of the established order

Decidedly, the story stutters. And the popular classes rage the intelligentsia. The latter always vomits with as much repulsion her hatred against the working classes, especially in this period of popular uprisings. In the end, the intellectuals, these parasites with the venal pen, have no other social utility than to weave laurels to their masters and to stand up against the people. With the uprising of the Yellow Vests, the media and intellectuals reveal their role as underlings by emphatic rhetorical barking and in a lexicon biting against the people and licked for the powerful. Their aversion of the people. Their Pavlovian propensity to serve the ruling classes now appears outrageously. During the months of the uprising, the journalists engaged in an outbidding of hate propaganda, competing with infamous and defamatory ingenuity to discredit it.

Last initiative carried by the wealthy *Bernard-Henri Lévy*, who published a tribune with the evocative title, "*Europe is in danger*", which we translate in less hypocritical terms by: capitalism at risk. As an inveterate defender of capital, this literary hack is alarmed by the emergence of populism, in other words social movements in struggle against the Europe of the rich, disdainfully labeled as racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic. In his crusade against the populace, Mr. BHL debauched about thirty writers to conduct his propaganda operation. Led by this calamitous philosopher to macabre thought, these thuriféraires affidés call to mobilize against the populist wave that threatens the outcome of the European elections. More recently, in a television show "*We are not lying down*", BHL blasted the Movement, described as mortifère and its defenders of "*populists who are the*

profiteers of despair, of misery, to break the Republic and to take the institutions». Thus, facing the conscience of France, the spokespersons of the bourgeoisie gathered in a united front to deny it, to call it racist, fascist, homophobic, factious. But also idiot: "*Yellow Vests: the stupidity will she win?*" asks *Sebastien Le Fol* in *Le Point* (January 10). Another intellectual declares on the chain of power BFM TV "*The real Yellow Vests fight without reflecting, without thinking*". His colleague du Figaro *Vincent Trémolet*, written on December 4: "*The low instincts impose themselves in defiance of the most basic civility*". Here are some other pearls journalists gleaned in their respective periodicals: "*Movement of handsome Poujadists and factious*" (*Jean Quatremer*), *led by a hateful minority* (*Denis Olivennes*), resembling a "*surge of rage and hatred*" (*Le Monde*) in which *hordes of minus, looters, gnawed by their resentment as fleas*" (*Franz-Olivier Giesbert*) and "*unleashing their unhealthy urges*" (*Hervé Gattegno*).

In the wake of this hatefully unbridled journalist, another intellectual, *Luc Ferry*, brother in arms of *Bernard Henri Levy*, professor of philosophy and former minister, made the headlines by asking the police to use his lethal weapons against the demonstrators. *Luc Ferry* asked the police to fire live ammunition at the demonstrations: "*That they use their weapons once, that's enough*", he said on a radio show called *Free spirits*. But also by urging the army to intervene. In other words, to crush in the blood "*We have the fourth army in the world, it is able to put an end to these crap*", he exclaimed in a furious tone. The denunciation of Yellow Vests by *Luc Ferry* is not the delirium of a misguided, psychopathic spirit, but the deep thought of these *free bourgeois minds*. The bourgeoisie, incapable of applying any other policy to protect its privileges, notably through the *redistribution of wealth*, is officially considering resorting to mass repression in order to stop the mass revolt. To do this, in an emergency, it has shielded its repressive regime by voting despotic laws. Moreover, the budget allocated to state repression has increased considerably in recent years. In fact, spending on equipment and materials by the police and gendarmerie "*grew by 181% between 2012 and 2017, from 132.4 million euros to more than 372 million euros*". The budget of the army and the police is the only one not to know the austerity, never to decrease.

Obviously, journalists and members of the ruling class have banded together to pound. Journalists, with insidiously anti-movement information projections, the power, with lethal ballistic projectiles, the intellectuals, with calls for the mobilization of the army and the incitement of the police to use their lethal weapons against barricades. In our opinion, this agitated intelligentsia is preferable to that of May-68, where it was very difficult to unmask the bourgeois intellectuals under their pretensions and their embalmed and pernicious progressive language. At that time, students in the streets were only asking for reforms to get them access to government jobs, which they got, as we have seen. This time, the Movement was immediately proletarian and threatened the system in its foundations. The bourgeois intellectuals had little space to infiltrate and mislead. This mission will be the work of petty bourgeois impoverishing. This hateful tone of the elite against the people is a striking reminder of the writers of the period of the **Commune**, at a time when almost all writers were enraged against the revolt of the Communards (see the quotations in the appendix).

CHAPTER FIVE: The Macron illusion

In tow of the bourgeois state

In 1914, the French colonial bourgeoisie, to justify the outbreak of the First World War against the proletarians sent to death or transformed into wage earners exploited in the factories of armies, presented the argument of the defense of civilization against German barbarism. For four years, the French people had to pay the blood tax and the sacrifice of their living conditions to save the capitalist fatherland in danger. So that, in the end, these same capitalist leaders signed the armistice on November 11, 1918, in order to join forces to face the new "*danger against humanity*": the new Soviet Socialist Republic, a new form of dirigiste capitalism born in agrarian and feudal Russia, become industrialist and socialist.

Relentlessly, the French ruling class is draped in the flag of national interest to legitimize the worst turpitudes, its criminal policies, its anti-social measures. The people have always paid a heavy price by going behind the convoy of the state, compromising themselves in an interclass union led by the ruling classes. Today, after praising the use of diesel fuel considered more economical and environmentally friendly, the industry lobby, to solve the crisis of the automotive sector to highly saturated markets, invents the ecological alibi in order to force workers to renew the fleet of cars by acquiring new vehicles that are considered "ecological" (sic), costly and highly subsidized.

It is clear that in the absence of a deliberately underdeveloped public transport network to allow automobile manufacturers to sell their coffins, the car has nowadays become an indispensable means of transport (the entire urban space has been adapted to the automobile). Especially in our time when the place of work has moved far away from the homes of workers, now forced to pay a heavy price to get to their place of work.

Paid the tribute

Clearly, the government, in the pay of financial capital, has joined forces with this mafia of the automobile industry to enact accompanying measures to the "*energy transition*" to racket workers by the introduction of new taxes. The invocation of the ecological alibi is not innocent. It aims at making all citizens feel guilty in order to persuade them to accept the multiple taxes imposed by the government. It also makes it possible to justify the obligation to renew the car fleet, for the benefit of capital in crisis. In truth, this ecological alibi is a sham, because capitalism pollutes much more with its war industries, planes, ocean ships and rockets.

For the past thirty years, against the backdrop of apocalyptic propaganda, climatologists at the service of capital have alarmed us with their catastrophic reports. These propagandists have integrated the apocalyptic ecology ideology to divert the attention of the people from the real catastrophe that falls on them: the general degradation of their living and working conditions, their means of subsistence and medical care. Through its fables on global warming, capital invents every day new stratospheric disturbances to impose new fiscal burdens. These are financial rackets operated by mafia power in the name of the alleged safeguard of the planet. As a result, the bourgeois class uses the ecological alibi not only to mislead the people into sterile struggles, by making them pay the ecological tax, but also by dispossessing it of its project of social emancipation (emancipation of the humanity of wage exploitation, cessation of wars, the cessation of the destruction of nature by the industrialists in search of profits). As if there could be a green and clean capitalism: without ecological destruction, without human destruction, without physical and psychic destruction (by exploitation, oppression, alienation).

Thus, in France, the new mercenary power, under the fallacious pretext of safeguarding the planet, has taken measures to considerably increase various taxes, and particularly the tax on fuel. This last decision provoked a real uproar among the French people. Immediately, thanks to social networks, the proletarians decided to fight against this umpteenth measure of tax racketeering. Apart from the bourgeois structures of reformist political reform, subsidized trade unions and subsidized NGOs, precarious and impoverished workers have resolved to take action by blocking roads to paralyze the economy, bleed profits and thus push back the economy. government of companies. In contrast to petty-bourgeois agglomerations, the proletariat of the twenty-first century immediately placed its struggle on the ground of the direct struggle against bourgeois power.

Despite its imperfections, its inadequacies, its amateurism decreed by the left, this popular movement, supported by the ordinary population, has been able to impose itself by the force of its exemplary determination. By his brave fight that blocked the flow of goods and therefore the surplus value, he was able to force respect. Today, all over the world, like the chauvinist imperialist war slogan "*Je suis Charlie*", all proletarians can now shout "*Je suis Yellow Vest*", the watchword of internationalist struggle against capitalism.

This Movement, neither trade union nor corporately captive, by its spontaneous character, is one of the first class struggle events of its kind in the 21st century. Indocile to the slogan of partisan national union or the alibi of the sacrifice for the fatherland, this movement refuses to pay the tax of social indignity, in other words of the further deterioration of the conditions of existence already amply deteriorated by capital, since the entry of the economy into crisis. Be that as it may, in spite of state and media propaganda, they took to the streets. More than 300,000 protesters have occupied strategic places to express their anger, to paralyze the economy, the production of surplus value, the profits; more than 2,000 gatherings and blockades of refineries and supply of supermarkets, and stop tolls at the entrance of motorways.

Beyond the denunciation of the increase in fuel prices, these protesters expressed their anger against the increase in the CSG, the decline of deindexed pensions, and generally against all policies led by the government of the rich since the enthronement of Macron at the Élysée. It is important to note that the election of another president would have resulted in the same anti-social measures demanded by big capital in difficulty. Obviously, faced with the protests, the bourgeois state was not willing to give in. Capital prefers to sacrifice a few small bankers and entrepreneurs to let the proletariat hope that it will retreat. In any case, the fall in profits and the difficulty of capital appreciation in the anemic world economy do not allow employers to concede anything substantial. Anyway, every crumb given to the revolted workers will have to be recovered in the years to come.

This posture is an admission of capital weakness

In an article published on the webmagazine **Les7duQuébec.com** the day after the election of Macron as president, we wrote that the French capital had shot itself in the foot, by betting on this horse, at the cost of destruction the classic political landscape, bipartite, animated and administered for more than a century by the right and the left. French capital took a risky gamble in a flawed political project. Indeed, it risks paralyzing its antisocial policy faced with the resistance of the working people of France. The French proletariat is not in the desperate situation of the Greek proletariat. French workers will not let the social fleece mow without rebelling. France has a long tradition of struggles for social demands. In fact, the Macron illusion is of the same nature as the *Sarkozy and Holland* illusions because there are no solutions to the systemic crisis of capitalism. So big capital is resigned to sacrifice a canasson every five years, each time taking the show of the jester providential, just as disappointing as the previous ones.

State terrorism

The media, to create a feeling of insecurity, regularly stir up the fear of terrorism, work of idle delinquents shot to suburban Islamism or prison, when it is not cocaine, these well-known lone wolves collectively manipulated by occult state pharmacies. In fact, real terrorism is perpetrated daily by the French state, by its policy of social insecurity imposed on the entire proletariat reduced to live in fear of the degradation of its living conditions, increasingly precarious and attacked

relentlessly by the capital. In fact, social terrorism is rampant in all countries of capital. This social terrorism is more dangerous than the residual terrorism that has been pinned down by the established powers, to justify police supervision and the judicial inquisition of the popular classes, the official mode of criminalization of social struggles. Every proletarian is today likely to see his life hindered, dynamited by anti-social terrorist policies imposed by governments, these political bodies working in the service of global capital. *Daesh and its few thousand dead* are derisory in comparison with financial capital, which is determined to destroy the living conditions of billions of human beings, to terrorize them with its genocidal anti-social policies and to break down their basic rights of resistance by police, even military repression.

Social insubordination, the knell of political subordination

Certainly, the Yellow Vest Movement is unorganized, but that's what makes it so powerful, you might say. No trade union cacique, no stipendiate NGO, nor any political party of the left can betray him for a few dollars. Unlike media propaganda, it is not apolitical, but bourgeois and anti-capitalist antipolitical. The difference is size. It is fundamentally opposed to all the traditional political parties subordinated to power, allies of capital. The same is true of political organizations of extreme left and extreme right that scorn it. And it's healthy. In reality, the Yellow Vests Movement rejects all the political categories of the bourgeois mode of thought, respectful of the established order. Even the fierce repression on the Champs-Élysées and the media slander campaigns failed to break his unity: a first in the annals of social movements in France. The Movement positions itself from the outset beyond classical bourgeois political and electoral preoccupations and places its struggle in the arena antipolitical of offensive street fighting, and not in the perspective of the palaver in the futile parliamentary chamber. Moreover, there are still no leaders who stand out, and this is an encouraging sign. Its cohesion and its strength, it holds them from the clarity of its essential demands (forget the sluts promoted by the petty bourgeoisie eager for social promotion). The challenge is the economic front of the class struggle for the defense of living and working conditions - the only claims that can be agreed upon. This cohesion in the main claims has ensured consistency in the action and rejection of any formal representation, conducive to the concentration of power far from the masses who are firmly attached to the policy of collegiality.

In any case, the ability to coordinate at the national level, on the basis of the designation of spokespersons, without power of decision, eligible and revocable at any time, depended on its success. Its resolution to extend its fight by opening a general assembly of regional assemblies allowing all militants to democratically debate emancipation projects stemmed from its organizational success. The Yellow Vest Movement understood the need to fight and the utility of debating. He has not managed to avoid abstract discussions on ecological measures, referendums, the length of the presidential term and other politician balls. The slow agony of the Movement does not find its source in the choice of its fundamental demands nor in its mode of decentralized organization, but in the unpreparedness of the proletarian class, in its inability to impose its class direction. Hence the proliferation of claims of childish political reforms, hence also the wrong choice of tactics of struggle and the inability to spread outside the hexagon.

Moreover, during their numerous demonstrations organized on Saturdays on the Champs-Élysées, the demonstrators suffered a cart of slanders from the government and the media. The government has tried to discredit them by accusations of manipulation allegedly carried out by the ultra-right; the journalists have shamelessly poured their hatred on demonstrators accused of rioters. Thus, in

the eyes of these pest reporters, breaking a window of a restaurant is more serious than breaking the lives of millions of people reduced to frequent the *Restos du Coeur*.

Social insubordination has sounded the death knell for political, union and civic abuse.¹³ The spontaneous uprising of yellow vests completes the process of permanent disqualification of political, trade union and citizen republican bodies. These bourgeois institutions of the framing of the proletariat are seriously discredited. Today we can argue that, in the face of spontaneous social eruption, the French government is shaking. Armed with his bare arms, braving an army of broken arms of policemen paid by their taxes to break the proletariat, this mass of people burned with rage to defend their living and working conditions, but especially to overcome this class enemy belonging to the financial body at the feet of clay.

The difficult end of the month

Certainly, thanks to the return of the class struggle in the street, the era of resignation is over, but not the time of the end of difficult months. But it must be seen as an experiment, an essay, a warning shot, that the class has led to develop its class consciousness and its knowledge of the enemy and its tactics of combat. Let us be clear: the final end of the economic recession and the state austerity that accompanies it will come only with the overthrow of the state and the capitalist mode of production. The Epoch is no longer in the struggles for a few concessions, the capital is engaged in a war to end between imperialist factions worldwide. But before that, he must subdue the proletariat so that he accepts his fate and puts on the boots for the war parade. All political parties have banded together to denature, disqualify and discredit their fight. Some, especially the extreme left, have lashed out at the Movement, disdainfully described as an interclassist rally, an enemy of the working class. To answer them, let us summon to the tribune of history the great advocate of the socialist cause, the denominated Lenin, author in 1916 of a proclamation still relevant:

"Whoever expects a" pure "social revolution will never live long enough to see it. He is only a revolutionary in words who understands nothing of what a true revolution is. (...) The socialist revolution (in Europe) can not be anything but the explosion of the mass struggle of the oppressed and the discontented of all kinds. Elements of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers will inevitably participate: without this participation, the mass struggle is not possible, no revolution is possible. And, just as inevitably, they will bring to the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and their errors. But objectively, they will attack the capital, and the conscious avant-garde of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, which will express this objective truth of a disparate, discordant, variegated, at first sight unrelated mass struggle, will be able to to unite and direct it, to conquer the power, to seize the banks, to expropriate the hated trusts of all (albeit for different reasons!) and to carry out other dictatorial measures the whole of which will result in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism". 14

Macron, the reactionary

Ironically, *Macron* was the source of the uprising. This revolution, which he so vaunted in his eponymous book massively in the bookstores, his "*Revolution*" as magnified, was summed up in the destruction of the Social Democrat "model welfare state" obtained at the price of secular labor struggles. His "*Revolution*" is the first of its kind to be initiated by the state, which makes her suspect. His "*Revolution*" has the bitter taste of reaction.

Paradoxically, it is draped in a phraseology long used by the trade unions that adhere to reformism. This political concept enemy of the revolution and aimed at countering the revolution. This ideological weapon devoid of real revolutionary bullets. There is no question of attacking the life of capital, but only to point it with artificial weapons (parliamentary democracy, electoral cretinism, public opinion) to steal some ephemeral crumbs. The reality proves it to us, these reforms conceded by the State within the framework of the capitalism never had a perennial character.

Today, this political forger has managed to falsify these two fundamental concepts: economic and political revolution and social reform. Both terms had fundamentally progressive conceptions and positive political connotations. Under his pen and his governance, these two proletarian ideals metamorphose into their opposite: political reaction and social destruction.

Here is what power refers as reform: the increase of indirect taxes and the abolition of the ISF, the accelerated transfer of public money to the private sector through the policy of aid to trusts and banks, austerity and the accentuation of anti-social measures, the reduction of wages and incomes, the elimination of social benefits, the drain on pensions, the dismantling of health services, the demolition of public transport and school deskilling public. All these reforms claim to save the planet. Would it be to save the planet or to save the capital?

Let us be clear, however, Macron and his government are not masters of their destiny. The mandarin magician is indebted to its sponsors who have granted him this honorary position accompanied by a very strict specifications, which the swordsman can not escape. This stooge governs for an oligarchy of billionaires ready to sacrifice it without hesitation as it did *Holland and Sarkozy* before him.

Citizens' Initiative Referendum (RIC)

"No RIC, the only referendum we accept is the one we will hold and which will decide to remove the state of the billionaires. Any other vote would be a parody of populist power!" Comment from an activist

During its journey, the Movement has many surprises. We have moved from the Reform Mi'kmaq Claimant to the Consensual Political Ric-Rac. From the populist confusion in the struggle to the citizen fusion within capitalism. From the mistrust of state institutions to the ecstatic trust of government institutions. From the struggle against all the vices of traditional political ideologies to the traditional debate over the virtues of *citizen* ideology outside the class struggle. From the expression of the liberated collective speech to the vote of the atomized, unconnected citizen. From the hatred of the official political class to the temptation to integrate the political filth.

CHAPTER SIX: The Great Debate, institutional outlet of revolt

Marginalizing the rebels

To counter the mobilization, the government tried various trickery. Initially, the state has relied on the strategy of intimidation through the terrorizing violence materialized by the disproportionate use of the police force, including lethal weapons. Moreover, the repression was supported by a military device ambushed. In a second time, the executive counted on the division between moderate militants and radicals, supported by the media propaganda against the "*breakers*", to better pin down the *pacifists*. Thirdly, while continuing its policy of bloody repression, the regime made the decision to organize a Great Debate of diversion. Announced in December, the day after the first emblematic events, called **Act**, on Saturdays 1 and 8 December 2018, the Great National Debate was organized in the panic and rush by a government paralyzed, eager to channel the Movement to harmless deviation trails. However, this attempt to frame and suppress the popular uprising, carried out by the intermediary bodies, did not have the desired effect. On the contrary, it instantly aroused mistrust, even rejection. Rejection accentuated by the opacity of the Great specious debate with politically oriented content, restrictive and biased by the appointment of mayors animators or spokesmen subordinate to power. In addition, a debate organized without the participation of the first interested parties, the majority of whom refused to accredit this

masquerade. Also, the deception has been unmasked and denounced by the vast majority, so that they have advocated the boycott of the Great Debate, a first in the French annals of the dispute.

Obviously, by the introduction of this Great Debate, the government hoped to marginalize the rebels through the populist participation of citizens in search of political reforms, thus making illegitimate the modes of action and especially the claims expressed outside the legal and institutional state framework. However, this avoidance strategy did not demobilize the rebels or mobilize the citizen crowd, on the contrary. In order to thwart the government's maneuvers, the activists took the initiative to organize counter-debates via social media platforms.

Distracting until the groins are scattered

In fact, the challenge for the executive was to divert, to oppose, to the ritual acts of Saturday (become demobilizers, because without perspective), its own spectacular animations, all equally puerile. In short, the challenge for the executive was to gain time until the revolted run out, without means to pay rent or food. A strategy assumed by a minister in the pages of *Le Figaro* "*From now on, every weekend, media attention will no longer be limited to Yellow Vests, but to the question of who will take part in the Great debate. It shifts the attention.*" In summary, this Great debate put on orbit by the Jupiterian Astre was light years away from the concerns of the yellow vests. What's more, a debate marked with the seal of condescension, this Macronian touch, enamelled of little sentences dripping with contempt.

Before the launch, in his *Letter to the French*, Macron had opened the ball of the national babbling on a well-known bourgeois symphony, the eternal refrain played by the dominant classes to lull the citizens to sleep and anesthetize their fight. But precisely, if the Yellow Vests were so successful and support, it is because they expressed by their militant attitude the demands of the employees. Claims recorded in a manifesto since the beginning of the blockades (see the 42 appended claims).

Generosity for the rich, austerity for the poor

In addition, in its missive, dictated by big capital, on the four carefully preselected themes aiming at circumscribing the national debate, public expenditure occupied the main place, that which appeared not in the section public support to the enterprises of the capital, but those of social support rubric. By focusing on this theme, the government was surreptitiously directing the debate towards the bourgeoisie's obsessive obsession with reducing social spending to encourage increased public spending on support for capital, the only challenge for which the executive has tried to mobilize public opinion. However, the Yellow Vests, like all workers, opposed the reduction of social spending, in other words the destruction of services intended for the population. To which, it was answered: "*We can not continue the tax cuts without lowering the overall level of our public expenditure*". In other words, resolved to stay the course, the government was forced by the capital to continue its antisocial policy of repayment of the debt to the bankers, which will never be reimbursed, whatever he says, pension reform that will eventually to be dried up, whatever he may say, from an increase in unemployment despite statistical manipulation, whatever he may say, from a reduction in social assistance and more generally of public services intended for the population, with a reduction in the workforce, even though they say, and job insecurity and flexibilisation of working conditions, as they say.

Thus, there were no prohibited issues except that the policy themes discussed were carefully selected and imposed by the government to clamp down on the debate. Also, the Great National Debate was thus limited to the following themes:

taxation and public spending;
the organization of the state and public services;
the ecological transition;
democracy and citizenship.

The ordinary citizen was invited to talk about these subjects, removing the real motive of social exasperation, the erosion of purchasing power. In other words, the steady decline in the sales price of the workforce of employees in order to favor the constant increase of the dividends paid to the shareholders. The aim of the scam is to bring the working population to resign themselves and accept the inevitable laws of capital.

The great soliloquy

In any case, on January 15, 2019, the first *Great Debate* took place under a state of siege, in a real atmosphere of civil war. Inaugurated in the town of *Grand-Bourgtheroulde*, in a climate of terrorizing security: center cordoned off, market canceled, demonstrations prohibited from 8 am to 11 pm, prohibition of wearing the Yellow Vest under penalty of fine of 135 euros. Royal way of keeping the first interested, the commoners, away from the democratic masquerade of quibbling. Obviously, by the institutional dimension of the places where only the municipal notabilities were invited, as well as by the restrictive choice of the treated subjects, it was like a social reception prohibited to the populace held militarily at a distance. Moreover, in the early morning of this inaugural debate, the police proceeded to the arrest of two young people for brandishing a banner with a highly symbolic inscription: "*Manu stop your macronnerie, you will not manage to fall asleep with your big debate*".

A few days later, in Besançon held the Great Debate, organized by *Stanislas Guérini* the delegate general of LREM (the government political party). This time too, the yellow vests were banned from participating in the debate. In response, about fifty yellow activists forced the entrance of the room to question the boss of LREM. One person denounced the trickery of this discussion "*There is anger and you do not even open the door to the working class, the people who fight and work every day!*". Be that as it may, in spite of the permanent occupation of the media space by the political, intellectual and journalistic size value to denigrate and discredit the Movement, its popularity has not weakened, on the contrary. For a long time he enjoyed massive support in public opinion. According to polls, approval has peaked at 67%. This massive support forced union apparatchiks, especially those of the CGT, to reconsider their attitude. By calculation rather than by conviction, in the face of a movement that they did not control and could not manipulate or bargain for asphyxiation, the trade union bureaucracies *called for demonstrations alongside Yellow Vests*. Thus, in a press release issued on January 18, 2019, the Seine-Maritime CGT regional union called for *protesting alongside Yellow Vests* for Act 10. In addition, this local CGT said it *will not participate in the great debate*, at whatever level, testifying to the tensions within the union apparatus between the base and the upper management.

The talkshow

In terms of communication, the media operation proved disastrous. Indeed, at the time of launch on January 15, 2019, covered by the various news channels continuously, less than a million viewers followed the mundane performance animated by the star of the political talkshow, the singer with the inexhaustible voice and to the exhausted political path. BFM and LCI shared the audience, and consequently the advertising revenues generated by the broadcast of this first Grand debate of the 5th Republic. The second debate, broadcast live on January 18, 2019, was also watched by approximately one million viewers. But the following debates were marked by a fall in the audience. Less than three weeks after the launch, on February 4, the audience on both TV channels collapsed, dropping to 270,000 viewers on BFM and 140,000 on LCI. Last rebound "people" in the communication chapter the sensational defection of *Chantal Jouanno*, President of the National Commission of Public Debate. This former minister of Sarkozy, just appointed to lead the organization, had to abandon the wrecked government ship, following the controversy over his staggering salary. At a time when among the many petty-bourgeois demands, the demand to lower the salaries of politicians at the level of the average salary, the press revealed the shimmering cachet of *Chantal Jouanno*. Nevertheless, the day after his resignation, on an information channel, the resigned accused the president to offer a *communication operation* by organizing a convoluted debate. A debate locked by questions and answers dictated directly by the government.

In addition, to complete its arsenal of propaganda mobilized to asphyxiate the Yellow Movement, in addition to the organization of the debate and the implementation of supposed *Cahiers de grievances*, the bourgeois state has opened a dedicated government site. On this site, the government has published a series of *educational propaganda sheets* related to the above themes. These cards were primarily intended to support the executive's budget choices, in other words the government's social austerity policy. Indeed, all the questions addressed on this computer site guided the discussion towards government policies. Thus, the goal of the government was primarily to clamp down on the debate under the neoliberal model of austerity. The other objective is to ridicule the blooming ideal on the roundabouts and on the street as being reformist utopianism.

Proletarian vision of this praetorian staging

We think it was a good idea for the government to disassociate itself from reformist demands, suppressing hopes and cutting off moorings with the petty-bourgeois claiming the leadership. This behavior of the bourgeois executive forced the licensed leaders to either unmask - claiming to be listened to by the government - or to radicalize - multiplying urban breaks in desperate protests. This evolution of the real public debate - in the street and on roundabouts - between the government and the street could only be resolved in one of two opposite directions: the Movement, under the hegemony of the embittered petty bourgeoisie, bogged down in the swamp of class collaboration and died out after a slow agony; either the most conscious elements of the proletarian class took the direction of the Movement to make it the basis of the insurrectional general strike. Obviously, the French proletariat judged that objective and subjective conditions were not conducive to such an insurrection.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Heavy report on government repression

Statistical review

Initially the Movement was not prepared to withdraw from the street before having shaken the financial system of which Macron is a pawn. The government, seized with panic since the beginning of the action driven by the economic and political crisis, appalled by the weakening of trade union ideology, petty-bourgeois and capitalist media, preferred to establish a climate of terror by the imposition of the police violence in the hope of circumscribing social revolt. Throughout France, the militarization of the repression spread, in particular by the use of armored vehicles, the grid of the populations subjected to a state of permanent siege.

As an indication, we draw here a non exhaustive account of the serious injuries caused since November 17, 2018 during the demonstrations. In just three weeks the toll is horrifying: hundreds injured, some severely crippled, at least 3,000 arrested, hundreds of activists sentenced, some with stiff prison terms.¹⁵ Other figures were provided by the Ministry of the Interior, often tempted by the data reduction, especially in the census of the number of demonstrators, injured and verbalized. As of 7 February 2018, the Ministry of the Interior reports to *Check News* the following figures: since the beginning of the action, there have been 2,000 injured. These figures include both injuries due to clashes between the police and some demonstrators, those suffered around the blocking points and those caused by the demonstrations themselves, shots in the procession. According to the

census conducted by [Mediapart](#), 208 demonstrators were reportedly wounded in the head, 22 were reportedly wounded and 5 had a hand torn between 17 November 2018 and 12 February 2019.

To the 2,000 injured, we must add eleven dead. Indeed, in total, during the first three months of events, eleven people died. Eight deaths were caused by road accidents on the margins of dams. During a demonstration in Marseille, an octogenarian who closed his shutters received a grenade in his face and succumbed the next day on the operating table. Two other deaths are due to malaise and cardiac arrest. The number of arrests, convictions and incarcerations is a record. The figures provided by the Ministry of the Interior, published by the newspaper *Le Monde* on February 14, 2019, are as follows: from the beginning, in the space of three months, between November 17, 2018 and February 14, 2019, it there were 8,400 arrests throughout the country; 7,500 of those arrested were placed in police custody; 1,800 convictions, and 1,500 cases are still pending; more than 1,300 immediate appearances were carried out and 316 persons were placed under arrest warrant, others were sentenced to community service, suspended prison, or to wear an electronic bracelet, or even to be forbidden to go to this or that city to protest. And the government remained opposed to any amnesty.

Collapse of high school students from Mantes-la-Jolie

This ignominy in *Mantes-la-Jolie* has a name, it is called a "*police and political raid*", the repressive stage where the power of the rich vacillates and where the police of the bourgeois state of law provokes the resistant militants. All that remains is to denounce this nameless infamy against teenagers. We were then approaching the turning point where the bourgeois power, entangled in its insoluble contradictions, could have tipped into savage counter-insurgency repression. The left, instead of playing the game of power and focusing on insignificant fascist groups, would have done better to understand that it will be the police and paramilitary militias of the wealthy state that will establish fascism, whose political cults do not are that sting. All the efforts of the revolutionary proletariat should have been on the radical denunciation of the terrorist state until its eradication. All this made a comrade say that the time had come after so many reactionary raids, arbitrary detentions and political arrests, to demand the release of political prisoners: "*No meeting or discussion with the government until our comrades are in prison!*"¹⁶

It will be understandable why the mainstream media focus on violence in demonstrations, yet the work of a tiny minority of vandals, rather than focusing on the demands. This maneuver allows the government to shift the debate on the security aspect, and to put the claims in the ministerial drawers of the cases that are closed. The result is a total reversal in which the victims are guilty. To hear these media specializing in the distillation of subliminal messages: people should not have rebelled to claim the means to live decently and should not have manifested to express their fuss. Thus, the forces of order would not have had to repress them. And the partisans react to the violence of the system, thus becoming crippled, verbalized, stuck and imprisoned rioters.

The rioters

The militant Movement was entitled to the bluster of the "*Black Bloc*", well-born petty bourgeois, frustrated at not being treated at the height of their aspirations. Do not be fooled by this police propaganda about the so-called "rioters". The rioters are workers who are exhausted as evidenced by the identification of people incarcerated following police raids. The rioters came from many social backgrounds, one of them exasperated proletarians who had had enough and resisted the

repressive blitz of the terrorist state. That the frightened bobos stop to argue that the French proletariat rejects the rabid who resist the bludgeoning, because it is false. Proletos support those who fight the police state. The violence of the employers, the proletariat lives it every day in factories, in workshops and on construction sites.

The anti-rioter law

The hypocrisy of the government has no limit. In fact, at the same time that the bourgeois state was organizing its debate, presented as the most democratic citizen consultation in modern history, the government pursued its policy of police and judicial repression, but above all he had the National Assembly vote in accordance with his devotion to despotic laws. The National Assembly voted by a very large majority the anti-rioter law. In reality, this terrorist law, hindering the right to protest and move freely, legalized the repression already initiated. In this text, voted on February 5, 2019, Article 2 stipulates that "*the representative of the State in the department or, in Paris, the prefect of police may, by reasoned decree, prohibit participation in a declared event (...) to any person in respect of whom there are serious reasons to believe that his or her behavior constitutes a threat of particular gravity to public order*".

Recurrently, all the media broadcast images of hooded hooligans ransacking the stores. But these same media never broadcast images of hidden financial vandals destroying the lives of millions of workers reduced to survive in precariousness, destroying social infrastructure, devastating production tools and closing hundreds of factories and businesses. These same media constantly broadcast the images of activists blocking roads, but these media never broadcast images of these crooks of the Elysee and Parliament destroying the lives of millions of workers by their laws that sack social services; instituting by Article 49-3 reforms of massive destruction of social programs, in order to finance their sponsors.

The people despised by the caciques

Despite repression and media manipulation, the action has not weakened. On the other hand, the police and municipal political institutions have seen their prestige enhanced with big capital. The former obtained a substantial increase in their emoluments. The latter saw their honorary powers redoubled by the presidential pardon. After two months of protest, the two winning bodies are the local police and elected representatives. But what else could one expect, or one breaks the power of the rich, or one undergoes the totalitarian power of caciques.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Do not commit suicide to save capital!

Beyond the slogan "*Suicide!*», uttered in a provocative manner by a groupuscule fringe of Yellow Vests, this sinister phrase expresses the slogan of the French bourgeois state, subliminally distilled from the forces of order in its pay: "*Kill you at the task to preserve the privileges of the bourgeois class*".

This oukase is the equivalent, in times of imperialist war, of the slogan addressed to the alienated proletariat: "*sacrifice to defend the capitalist fatherland in danger*". Also, if it is necessary to testify of an obviousness, it is contained in this sentence: "*cops, die for the safety of the rich*". Today, with the worsening of the economic crisis and the proliferation of popular uprisings, the tranquility of the bourgeoisie is ensured only at the cost of the death of the police and the price of the physical agony and psychic overworked workers. Moreover, the police no longer fulfill its mission of combating delinquency, petty crime, and organized crime (inherent to the class society), it is now reduced to ensuring the sole mission of safeguarding the interests of the bourgeoisie in the social sling. Ironically, the police, the force supposed to secure the social order, will never have lived so much in a state of physical and psychological insecurity, and, at the same time, it will never have made the terror of State on the citizens.

This paradox is only apparent, because the police work in and out of terror. The policeman's professional life is laced with verbal and physical aggression, sometimes lethal. He feels nowhere safe, he, whose function is to impose on the working classes the system of property owners. The

policeman is not respected at all, not even by the privileged class he protects. Neither by his employer, this terrorist state exposing the life of the workers by deadly antisocial measures. Moreover, today, the cities plagued by poverty and insecurity, due to the economic crisis, are delivered to multiple mafias, transforming the lives of residents into nightmares. While the bourgeois districts, become ghettos bunkerized, are overprotected not only by a plethoric public police, but also by private security agencies.

In general, most police officers are under double pressure and double punishment, which is reflected in the exponential increase in the consumption of psychotropic drugs. The contemporary policeman is as crippled with pathological diseases as the population victim of his repression, of his hysterical, uncontrolled violence. A significant proportion of police officers have psychiatric illnesses. The profession is witnessing a real hecatomb. Within it, long-term sick leave is increasing, as in the rest of the insecure society. Families are falling apart. Divorce figures are exploding. Resignations multiply. And of course, the number of suicides increases, caused by the policy of repression instituted by the governments to violently repress the social movements.

Clearly, the management of the crisis by violence has become the sole means of governance of the decadent bourgeoisie. His political line of negotiation is summed up in the alignment of police forces posted on the nerve centers in order to stifle violently in the urgency any social protest. The police became the sole road map of political leaders, their only political program. Today, the state leviathan reveals its true repressive, totalitarian and reactionary nature.

Yet, especially through the speech of unions, no voice rises to denounce those responsible for the deterioration of working conditions of these police transformed into private militias, responsible for the protection of privileged classes. A screed of lead fell on the recriminations of the police silenced. Are not they forced to the right of reserve? This omnia summarized by this sententious motto dictated by the state of the rich: "*work to repress and shut up!*".

Never mind ! The last protrusion of a handful of demonstrators, expressed by a slogan in the shape of a joke, must be seized as a call to order by these police forces crushed by a despotic state machine. The police must understand which side of the barricade are its allies. All the more, this joke sounds like an alarm bell for these policemen reduced to repressing their brothers to save a senile capitalist system.

Thus, "*Suicide for the bourgeoisie and its system*" is the subliminal slogan that the bourgeois state assumes to the police. As proof, the day after the slogan uttered by a handful of protesters, the Minister of the Interior and all unions to orders rushed to mount the niche to file a complaint against the anonymous authors of the incriminated slogan. But police suicides date well before this slogan. In truth, this hasty hypocritical reaction aims at exonerating the responsibility of the bourgeois state and the mode of production that it defends, guilty of the explosion of the number of suicides and the deterioration of the health of the police and other professions. Moreover, with the worsening of the economic crisis, social revolts will multiply and become more radical. But the bourgeoisie is unable to give in to the social demands of workers in struggle. Which means that the repression policy will intensify. For several months now repression has been the only answer given by the Macron government to the legitimate demands of the proletariat in revolt. Cynically, all the lively debates on all the propaganda media channels focus on the question of securing public places, but they never address the problem of the precariousness and impoverishment of the working classes.

Anyway, to avoid the accentuation of the suicidal police slaughter, it remains to the majority of the police officers, enlisted in this social war, only the disobedience, the resignation, or even better, their rallying in the fight of the people in struggle against the bourgeois state and its capitalist system in agony. Today, the people in struggle launch this cry of warning to the police: *do not commit suicide for this capitalist deliquescent state! Join our ranks on social barricades!* As some people chanted during the demonstrations: "You are poor in blue, we are poor in yellow".

CHAPTER NINE: Democratic Chimera

Panic in the government

The paid media exposed the feeling of fear that had seized the ruling class. A clutch of power exclaimed in a Paris newspaper: "Saturday, we had the feeling of a kind of vacancy of power", said to the newspaper *Le Parisien* the centrist Hervé Morin. The leader of the Normandy region expressed a sentiment widely shared by the bourgeois saying that "the president must speak quickly" to the French. Another, dazed, wondered: "How could we get here? The question was on everyone's lips the day after a riot day that left 133 injured in Paris and resulted in more than 400 arrests, it was the utmost misunderstanding".¹⁷

The prefecture in panic even came to position heavily armed snipers on the Arc de Triomphe, that these swordsmen had transformed into a watchtower for the defense of the established order. Let it be said: the French state was on the teeth and ready to fire on the protesters. As usual, faced with the undermined authority, the opposition proposed solutions to diversion: "I never saw in my life a movement supported by 84% of French", said philosopher Luc Ferry. The former minister believes that the crisis is such that it justifies the dissolution of the National Assembly (...). Marginalized by this spontaneous movement which defies the traditional frameworks, the opposition reacted in scattered ranks. Presidents of the *Rassemblement national*, Marine Le Pen, and of *la France insoumise* Jean-Luc Mélenchon, both called for legislative elections. Republican President Laurent Wauquiez proposed a referendum on the ecological transition plan and tax increases presented last week.»¹⁸ Ridiculous indeed, since three weeks the referendum is permanent on the roads of France

and in Paris occupied by the people, and this referendum rejects the impoverishment of the proletarians by the state of the rich. The people have spoken and he rejects this false flag of the eco-bobo transition to support green capitalism.

The Movement is the vivid expression of the rejection of bourgeois democracy and parliamentary cretinism, while these political mountebanks propose to put an electoral layer. The past of all these leftists - centrists - rightists is guarantor of their future. But their attempt to liquidate it by election, as in 1968 and 2005, is doomed to failure. For this school of action, though helpless, is sufficiently conscious to understand that all these professional politicians are the gravediggers of their legitimate anger. These collaborators of big capital in crisis, leftists as rightists, by their slogan "*Macron resignation*", are willing to share the governance of the State in case of vacancy of power.

Staying in the antechamber of power, gentlemen, ladies, wicked politicians, the time that activists without illusions end up with the bankers who administer the state of the rich. Activists defeat political intrigues to divide them, even refusing to discard their responsibility for the benefit of pseudo-representatives who are always ready to accumulate political capital at the expense of the partisans. It is normal that such a large popular movement bringing together hundreds of thousands of activists, of diverse social and professional origin, seeks its brands.

Media disillusion and democratic illusion

Thus, the petty bourgeois with the bombastic rhetoric brought to the Movement their frustration of declassed of the system of which they waited for handsomely paid jobs. The petty bourgeois see themselves as the spokespersons and strategists strong themes of the populist movement. By their reformist slogan *Macron resignation* and their hope of a neutral neutrality of the press to orders, they bring to the Movement their illusions about bourgeois democracy. Do not be surprised to hear the petty bourgeois take offense at the bias of the liars: "*Yellow Vests: Michel Onfray denounces the misinformation of the media and government support to the thugs*".¹⁹ It is a long time ago that the proletariat gives no credit to these spokesmen of big employers.

Should we be concerned about the support of the regional bourgeoisie and the infiltration of the local petty bourgeoisie? Not at all. The social crises, consequences of the economic crises, are revealing of the heavy tendencies upsetting the society. During the economic crises, turning into political and social crises, the media on the pay - properties of the billionaires of the communications - are unmasked and on this occasion expose themselves to the anger of the masses in revolt. Who can believe that the bourgeois state and the big bosses would tolerate that their media spread the ideas of the rebels, if they endanger the established order?

What makes an observer of the French political scene say that: "*If the conflict sharpens, the Yellow vests will see the true face of the ruling class, this hideous face that it hid during the "peaceful" periods. They will then discover that his speech on the right to strike, demonstration, free movement, etc. is hypocrisy and lies. Intendant and Government will not hesitate to exercise the fiercest repression to break the Movement. They may become aware that the longer the struggle lasts and becomes a political struggle, the more brutal, arrogant and odious the ruling class becomes*". (...) And the author continues: "*For now the Movement only highlights economic claims (tax on fuel, purchasing power, expensive life). Political demands are almost absent. If the economic demands are just and legitimate, we must fight to achieve them, however, the Movement must not forget that it fights against the effects and not against the causes of these effects. The struggle for immediate*

demands, which remains indispensable, does not however eliminate the roots that give rise to the disastrous situation in which a growing part of the population is found".20

Transforming spontaneous revolt into organized combat

The petty bourgeois believe they are invested with a mission to raise awareness of the militants they consider ignorant: *"Such an interclassist protest movement, initially initiated by small bosses, does not arouse the hostility of the media and inevitably attracts forces from the extreme right; even when it manifests a virulent opposition to government policy and big capitalist enterprises, it can only have a bourgeois orientation (sic). The proletarians who participate in the movement do so only individually; Since they are not organized on an independent basis, they can not defend their specific interests as exploited - that is to say, against capitalist exploitation: they find themselves drowned in a common struggle with small bosses, tradesmen, artisans, liberals, etc., who, of course, defend capitalism!"21*

And these leftists recite the communist catechism: *"An inter-class struggle, in which proletarians are inevitably subject to the interests of other classes, can indeed obtain success; it can succeed in thousands of ad hoc blockages, it will never succeed in blocking capitalism. Only the independent class struggle, the struggle for the class interests of the proletarians can achieve this. Indeed it is the proletarians who alone have the potential strength to defeat capitalism, because it only lives on their exploitation. To fight against this exploitation is to fight against capitalism, to put an end to it, it is to put an end to capitalism! 22* Let it be said, these leftists are right. Where they are mistaken is when they claim that class consciousness will be brought from the outside, as a gift from communists, Trotskyists, Marxist-Leninists, Maoists, leftists to unconscious militants. This revolutionary proletarian class consciousness can only arise from the experience of the practical struggle of the class to which the left is invited.

Thus, a leftist activist states that: *"The Yellow Vests must fight against the political power, source of their misfortunes. They must not be limited to economic demands that even satisfy absolutely do not eliminate the conditions under which class injustices recur".* Despite his good will, this activist goes astray completely. The proletariat must not attempt to reform the bourgeois political power and it must not hope to mitigate the injustices of the system. This concept of *"injustice"* in the distribution of the fruits of production is a whim of petty-bourgeois moralizing aspirant to a fair world in the midst of unbridled social inequity. Distributive injustice is not a distortion of the system that could be reformed, it is the foundation. The contradiction of capitalism is unveiled when the system no longer allows work or capital to be remunerated, that is, to reproduce. **The rebels must fight against the economic power of capital first, which will then lead them to fight the political power, with the aim not of mitigating the injustices of the system, nor of reforming it, but with the objective of reverse. The proletarian class does not wish to conquer bourgeois state power, it wants to destroy it as well as private property and capitalist relations of production, not to curb social injustices, not to establish a direct populist democracy or to restore "Freedom of expression under exploitation", but to survive as a species.** It is the entire human race that is threatened with extinction if we continue on the path of financial globalization. Following this destruction of the old mode of production, the construction of the new proletarian communist mode of production will ensure the economic, political, sociological and ideological bases of the extinction of the social classes, the end of the exploitation which accompanies them. the eradication of the foundations of injustice and the establishment of true freedom in equity and dignity. It is futile to criticize the proletarian class for not putting this strategic objective at the beginning of the populist uprising,

whereas it is expressly the role of the popular insurrection to ripen class consciousness that will express itself through the evolution of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

CHAPTER TEN: Popular support and electoral masquerades

Popular support

As of February 8, 2019, in France, popular support for Yellow Vests was 65%, according to an IFOP survey, and even 75% for the most prominent claims such as the SMIC and the RIC. Support to March 4, 2019: nearly two in three French (64%) continue to support the Movement, two points more in a month, and 77% (+3) consider their mobilization justified, according to a survey *YouGov*. Respondents are 32% (-2) not to support it. For 52% (+4) of respondents, protesters should not stop their mobilization during the big debate, against 36% (2) who are of a contrary opinion, according to this survey for *HuffPost* and *CNews*.²³

Ironically, only the street managed to change the political climate in a perspective of reformist economic transition, to purify the political debate long polluted by the elitist demagogy, to ideologically revitalize the political atmosphere paralyzed, anxiously parasitized by the an apocalyptic, electoralist and mercantile ecological discourse, ridiculing the traditional official bodies of the political and financial seraglio.

Electoral masquerades

Thanks to the weakening of the Movement, exhausted and discouraged by several weeks of unsuccessful struggles, struggles deserted by many militant workers, some members of the Yellow Vests decided to present a list of candidates for the European electoral masquerade. In doing so, this unprecedented and original uprising threatened political suicide. Indeed, building a list of candidates for electoral representation means creating a party and establishing a program. It is to formulate candidates in anticipation of the parliamentary circus, collect piles of money, the

yardstick by which the success is measured and is won this political carnival animated by the rich and their media. If there are elected officials, they will have to integrate quickly into the bourgeois representative apparatus. Because, through the powers conferred by the bourgeois parliamentary system, they will be absorbed by the capitalist state apparatus, as has happened with Social Democracy, Socialists, Communists, Trotskyists and other leftists. What militants in Yellow Vests have been constantly condemning since the outbreak of the revolt.

Given the opportunity that this yellow list represents for the government, the problem of raising money will not be a problem. No doubt it will be easy to find generous donors, especially as this yellow list will be able to tear voters from the *Rassemblement national*, the scarecrow brandished by the bourgeois left, and the party of *La France insoumise*, another specter agitated by the right bourgeois. The moral and ideological damage will be the same, if this yellow list was only a mediocre score, which will be counterproductive and the bourgeois power will be able to say: "*You see that the Yellow Vests represent nobody*". In fact, in this electoral masquerade by and for the rich, their victory is already gained with 60% of abstention particularly high among the workers who have seen some of the Members of Parliament who have been hanged.

And if there had been elected yellow?

We can understand that, like so many others before her, Madame Levavasseur, the face of the first yellow vests, succumbs to the "*song of the sirens of Brussels*", relying on its media aura. She said, on several media, repent of having voted LREM. So why does she want to give them a hand today? Especially since Europe is absolutely not a subject of demand. A movement that declares itself apolitical loses all credibility if it embarks on what the political marigot counts more glaucous, the European institutions. And even more, if he counts in his ranks a henchman of the infiltrated power and if he takes like director of campaign a former militant of the Jeunesses socialistes honnies. This opportunist political group will give the impression of "*going to the soup*," like the other side. Thus, the movement would annihilate itself. This may make a lot of disappointed, dissatisfied and violent. But above all to fracture the Movement. Here is an example where the underprivileged petty-bourgeois must be framed or expelled in the name of the unit. Let us reassure ourselves, however, that the base does not eat this soup and will not participate in this reactionary electoral masquerade.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: The organization is not the issue, but the way to win the stake

Organization and unorganization of Yellow Vests?

The comrades raise the problem in the sense that they ask the alternative question, whereas they should present the fundamental question, namely, after months of turmoil and trampling, where is the fight going and how to give him a second breath? Would the Movement's organization be the vehicle of its resilience? We do not think so, here's why.

The question of organization has been imposed since the taking over by personalities from the petty bourgeoisie. These personalities, suitably accoutrées their flamboyant vest, began parading in front of the cameras and strutting on TV sets, too happy to promote them in order to manipulate them with the aim of creating dissension within the movement immobilized at the frame of the resistance roundpoints.

*"We must not organize the movement of Yellow Vests. It would make him lose his spontaneity. It would be him choosing leaders equipped with police services, necessarily composed of selfmade cops, which would lead him directly into the police traps and thus to failure. Above all, if the structuring is done by the unions, that is to say by the trade union bureaucracies. Remember this famous Saturday when the Yellow Vests, refusing the trap trap, attacked it from the outside! It would become impossible if the movement was structured».*²⁴

First crossroads for resistance

There were two crossroads. The first crossing occurred when the terrorist state attacked the barricades erected on some 150 road roundabouts. During this attack on the state of the rich against

the militant heart of the action of paralysis of the economy (where it hurts the capital), many militants were deceived by their muses advocating the weekly organization of demonstrations - promades, highly publicized, in Paris and some provincial towns, events immediately dominated by the shattering omnipresence of the "*Black block*". The bourgeois state did not ask for anything better. Goodbye the emancipatory and welcome barricades to the sterile rioters on the Champs-Elysées, where the bourgeois media gathered every Saturday to show the degradation of some windows and especially the violent police repression against the demonstrators. The state bastard father likes to expose the beating reserved for the rebels. Be that as it may, it is certainly not on the Champs-Elysees that the class economic war was to be fought, but in front of paralyzed companies, at road roundabouts, at railway switches, at airports and at ports of entry. sea, wherever the precious goods filled with surplus value circulate, in order to cut off the circulation of capital less and less profitable, to the bleeding of the infamous beast. The exhibition on the Champs-Elysees was only reality show to frighten the quibbled petty bourgeois.

Second crossroads for resistance

The second crossroads occurred on February 5, 2019. And it went very badly. Here's how and why. That the trade union bureaucracy has tried to recover the popular revolt in order to stifle it, this does not surprise us at all. Their jobs are subject to their provision of capitalist social maintenance service. The venal syndicalist aristocracy thus fulfills the contract for which capital remunerates it. That the puerile syndical agitation materialized in the form of the eternal carnivalesque parade, against the backdrop of electronic music, to attract the bourgeois media and to look good on TV, we had to anticipate. The petty bourgeoisie loves these masquerades, especially if there is some damage with little consequence (the *Fouquet's* or the mausoleum of the Unknown Soldier).

The question remained, was the action going to wither away from Act-manifestation stoning into Act-manifestation stoning without end? The petty-bourgeois appreciate that proletarians are terrorizing big business and their intellectual watchdogs, provided that once the windows are broken, they return to their homes to eat the hormone chicken and watch TV. The crucial question then was, could they organize an unlimited general strike, the only way to deepen their action? **It was at the door of the factories, at the entrance of building sites and at the roundabouts that the workers had to ask themselves the question of the organization and solve it, not in order to perpetuate bureaucratically a movement by nature evolutionary, but to win a new round of class war, valiantly engaged.**

The question of organization in the class struggle

For the proletarian class, materialist and pragmatic, it is through the practical response to the imperatives of the class resistance struggle that the movement is organized and takes on an insurrectional dimension. Only the proletariat can wage such a general strike, which disqualifies the petty bourgeoisie. In the course of the development of the insurrectional general strike (wild and spontaneous), the question of organization will arise objectively and will require a practical, non-bureaucratic solution. During the next popular uprising, this question will find its practical answer in order to serve the development of the action which, from populist resistance, will turn into a popular insurrection. Outside of this practical scheme of concrete resistance struggle, debating the organization is the favorite activity of the crazy petty bourgeoisie.

CHAPTER TWELVE: United Front of Racism and Anti-Racism, of Fascism and Anti-fascism

Infiltrated antisemitic mole

Sometimes, racism is hidden under the guise of anti-racism, and from this singular position, it activates the tandem, racism - anti-racism. During the battle of the Yellow Vests, a crypto-anti-Semitic mole infiltrated within the Movement via the reformist left, its favored vector of propagation. Relying on media terrorism, orchestrated by the rich state, a propaganda campaign attempted to paralyze the militants on the roundabouts.

Racism, whose anti-Semitism and its anti-racism partner form a theology promoted for decades by the bourgeoisie and its state of trusteeship. The crypto-*anti-Semitic* French atavism took root in the **Dreyfus Affair**, then flourished during the inter-war period, at the time of the fineries of the **United Front** (Patriotic People's Front of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat) promoted by the socialist and communist left in the face of Nazism, fascism, corporatism and Francoism, these totalitarian variants of state capitalism. France was then encircled at its borders by the totalitarian right-wing countries, while it was infiltrated internally by the communists of the totalitarian Stalinist fraction on the left and by the Petainist phalanges on the right. All these organizations defended the interests of capital and not the interests of the proletariat. The big French capital, on its decline, was the stake of the big alliances of the international capital (powers of the totalitarian Axis against liberal allied powers). It was almost time that the great French capital rocked body and property in the camp of the Axis. Only the alliance of the Communist, Socialist and Trotskyist Left and the Gaullist Right allowed to maintain part of the great French capital in the Allied war camp, that is to say in the camp of liberal big capital.

Within these alliances, the fiction, "racism, anti-Semitism against *anti-racism*" became the dividing line that set the terms for the separation between the Petainist-friendly capital camp and the capital

clan acquired from the economic interests of the Allies and Gaullists. The fiction: "*communism - socialist camp against anticommunism - liberal camp*" will only appear after the war. After 1945, the Allied camp, winner, imposed its interpretation of the causes of this second murderous butchery. From this day on, the **Second World War** was no longer presented as an imperialist war for the sharing of markets between murderous thirst-stricken thirsty but as a racist-antisemitic war aimed at the extermination of the followers of the Jewish religion, -million victims according to the official doxa among the 55 million dead and the 100 million wounded sacrificed by the capital during this genocidal war against the international proletariat. Bourgeois historiography evades this gruesome reality, the main victims of World War II were the proletarians, who were forced to kill their homeland in the most barbarous war in history. The Second World War was not the work of Nazi madness or National Socialist ideology (NAZI), but was a direct consequence of a capitalist, genetically belligerent, colonialist, slave, imperialist, exploitative, oppressive and racist system.

Attack of the State against the wavering intellectuals

The fight against racism and anti-Semitism is based on the possibility, even the need for an utopian Holy Alliance between the proletariat and the democratic sectors of the bourgeoisie, supported by their states (left and right), to fight against a *universal enemy* that transcends social classes, racism and anti-Semitism. In other words, there is a common ground - the fight against racism and anti-Semitism - on which class collaboration would be possible. **The alternative "capitalism-proletarian revolution" is thus replaced by the alternative "out-of-class racism-anti-racism", concealing the fact that racism is a product of the left and right bourgeoisie.** This Holy Alliance was developed as a complement to the *Holocaust*, erected into a new religion enclosing the stooges in the class collaboration pact, from which they can not extricate themselves, watching each other, the left and right entwined, to make sure that the faltering bourgeois intellectuals are kept on a leash, away from the proletariat.

From the beginning of the activities, the "remake" of this confrontation racism out of class against anti-racism out of class began with a media campaign scaffolded by the French state to terrify intellectuals tempted to support the Yellow Vests. The Movement then clustered petty bourgeois, intellectuals, workers and proletarians, civil servants, retirees, students, feminists, LGBTQ, ecologist, and the rest of the Court of Miracles in revolt, a bit like the Spanish Inn where everyone finds what he brings it. Nevertheless, class warfare was still rife and directed the external class war between wage labor and capital. The great French capital was favorable to this opportunist alliance, provided that it was the petty-bourgeoisie who maintained hegemony over these Augian Stables. This terrorist blackmail to *anti-Semitism* was the same adulterated water as the allegations of fascist inclinations of the French proletariat. **The French proletariat is neither anti-Semitic, nor racist, nor fascist because these bourgeois deficiencies run counter to its class interests.**

Anti-fascism in support of fascism

"Among all forms of struggle against fascism, there is one that always leads to the defeat of the workers: it is **antifascism**. Why?"²⁵

Fascism is the transformation of the revolutionaryism of the petty bourgeoisie into the new conditions open to capitalism by the First World War. This is a trend common to all political organizations of the *revolutionary*, nationalist and populist petty bourgeoisie. National capitalism is disappearing as capital merges globally and concentrates. Thus the residual national capital (sub-

contracting SMEs) is clustered around the national state, its unifying agent. Fascism, and its corollary socialist totalitarianism, are means of consolidating state capitalism, which has become today the general form of political organization of capital. Neofascist and pseudo-socialist-communist-leftist are therefore fighting over the same petty-bourgeois electoral clientele and, in the alternative, fragments of the unconscious proletarian class. This is why leftist hysteria against the **Front National** is less and less successful among proletarians. Segments of the proletariat do not understand why the fascism of the *Rassemblement national* is more stigmatized than that of the State in the pay of big capital. This ubiquitous political hotchpotch provoking the disinterestedness of the proletarian class of bourgeois electoralism, attesting to the high level of political consciousness of the French working class.

Another important consequence of the monopolistic concentration of capital is the integration of trade unions into the bourgeois state apparatus, which goes hand in hand with the imposition of homogeneous working conditions for all workers in all national states via political and administrative superstructures like the European Union (labor code, minimum wage, employment insurance, taxation and withholding tax, standardized retirement program, etc.). Fascism has made the acceleration of this process of unification one of his arguments in favor of *social justice*, that is to say in favor of a reconciliation of social classes. It is not difficult to see the homogeneity of the demands of the Communist and Socialist Left and the Lepenist Right, which explains the attraction of the *Rassemblement national* to chloroformed workers by fifty years of social and trade unionist leftism.

But the reconciliation of classes in a capitalism where the tendency to systemic crises has become the norm is increasingly difficult. In this context of declining capitalism, unlike the ascendant capitalism of the 1950s, capital can not tolerate the proletarian masses organizing and possessing their own independent political expression. After bribing parties, unions, and left-wing organizations, big capital claims that politicians are incorporating everything into the state. Fascism (National Socialism, Sovietism) openly expresses this totalitarian tendency: "**Everything in the state, nothing against the state, nothing out of the state**", which was the profession of faith of *Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, Stalin, Mao*. The slogan adopted by the bosses and the bourgeois parties of right and left, starting with social democracy, socialism and communism. For the average worker, it is impossible to differentiate the communist homily from fascist preaching, which explains why so many activists and PCF voters now adhere to the *Rassemblement national*.

Conditions of the rise of fascism

In this general historical context, we have witnessed the rise of fascism in two contexts. In a situation of hardening of the class struggle in which the revolutionary perspective was open, but also in the context where the revolutionary movement of the proletarians weakened or stagnated. Why? In advanced societies, the petty bourgeoisie abandoned the back of the proletarian train and presented fascism as its own revolutionary path. Big capital saw in it the possibility of converting the petty-bourgeoisie into a shock force to launch against the working class, supporting its development and lending it the keys to the bourgeois state, with the consequences that we know. The task of Fascism (or National Socialism) was above all to defeat the proletariat by force, to destroy, bribe or absorb its organizations and to prepare the whole society for conscription and war, Italy, Germany and Japan are the most illustrious examples of it. In less industrialized capitalist societies, with strong oligarchies of land, linked to the sectors of primary production and commodity exports, without independent class politics, fascism has been used to *modernize* the capital (means

of production) in order to direct a shift towards industrial and commercial capitalism, coupled with the strengthening of the unions that frame the proletariat in accordance with the interests of the national capital, during the war years - when exports increase and finance the modernization of the means of production, improving wages and working conditions -, subjecting the resistance of the old rural classes and affirming the imperialist interests of the national capital. Franco's Spain, the Stalinist Soviet Union and Maoist China are the most illustrious examples.

What is antifascism?

Anti-fascism is based on the idea of an alliance between the proletariat, the democratic sectors of the bourgeoisie and the state to fight the *fascist threat* (of which the state itself is the promoter). In other words, there is a terrain - the struggle against fascism - on which class conciliation is possible, hence the **Anti-fascist united Front**. The real alternative *proletarian revolution or capitalism* is thus evaded by the alternative *fascism or antifascism*, often presented as "*democratic freedom or dictatorship*", as if freedom was an option offered to wage slaves in bourgeois capitalist society. As *Amadeo Bordiga* said: "*The worst consequence of fascism was anti-fascism!*"

For the bourgeoisie, the usefulness and the expediency of fascism are dictated by the weakness and reluctance of the proletarian class. Weakness due to insufficient objective development of the class still in formation or changing in many parts of the world gradually opening up to modern capitalist industrial, robotic, computerized, urbanized, financialized and globalized development. At the time of imperialist expansion, antifascism encouraged the mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie in the service of the fetish state, the butler and steward of big capital, in which the petty bourgeois, left and right, place all their hopes. Most of the time, the petty bourgeois is an employee of the fetish state. This explains its sensitivity to cuts in social and environmental budgets, and subsequently its repulsion for the privatization of state-owned companies, and its aversion to the transfer of state budgets to industrialists, energy companies real estate and the financial sector. The fascist or national-socialist or antifascist petty bourgeois does not want to overthrow the capitalist state, he just wants to continue to be an employee of the rich state.

In a period of retreat from the struggles of the proletarian class, fascism and antifascism serve to frame workers in revolt and to mobilize them in favor of the state, presenting the fetish state as the only unsurpassable horizon of economic, political and social development. In fact, fascism and anti-fascism form a reactionary couple whose vocation is to deflect and paralyze the anti-capitalist struggle of the proletariat. In any case, the fascist-anti-fascist couple prepares the conditions for the belligerent evolution of inter-imperialist tensions, and for the transposition of these tensions among the proletariat so that it marries the interests of one faction or another of global capital. Thus we observe leftists (National Socialist) advocating to oppose US imperialism by rallying the imperialist alliance *China-Russia*. Other leftists claim that the European Union stands as an imperialist anti-NATO and / or anti-Chinese wall as the third bellicose imperialist alliance. Any aspiration to reconcile classes opens up the possibility of resorting to fascism and correlatively to anti-fascist socialist mimicry. It is the function of anti-fascism to make the fascist tendency credible by stigmatizing it as a valid option against which the proletariat should mobilize in order to preserve the great capital of its fascist suicidal leanings. This is how the French and European bourgeoisies operate in these times of systemic crisis of capitalism.

Has antifascism liberated the proletariat?

*"In Spain, the result of the revolutionary strike of 1934, especially in Catalonia and Madrid, opened a fascist exit to the Spanish bourgeoisie, clearly showing the incapacity of the working class movement to overcome the subordination to the defense of the Bourgeois democratic state, exercised by the nationalist parties and the PSOE. The most reactionary sectors of the Spanish state bourgeoisie could then opt for the military coup, which was however defeated on 19 July 1936 by the workers' insurrection. The republican bourgeois state collapsed and immediately began to rebuild under the anti-fascist slogan of the Generalitat until it was powerful enough to disarm and defeat the workers. At this time (1937-1938), when the revolutionary war became an imperialist war, the Spanish national capital was "saved", the fate of the workers on both sides of the front was sealed. In 1934, the defense of the democratic state and the subordination to Catalan nationalism opened the door to the "fascist solution" of 1936, which, although defeated by the workers, would be imposed after the anti-fascist reconstruction of the republican state. After the victory of Franco in 1939, the conditions of the general defeat of the proletariat in Western countries were met. The war, the bloody expression and outcome of counterrevolution could begin. Stalinist Russia replaces anti-fascism by collaborating with Hitler who shares Poland and gets a safe route to invade Finland and the Baltic states. But two years later, on June 22, 1941, Hitler decided to attack Russia. The old glories of the "**Popular Front**" and **anti-fascism** came out of the closet to create a common flag with the "democratic" allies that served as ideological bait for the massive enlistment of workers and vaccine against resistance to the War total imperialist. However, the class movement reappeared after 1943 with massive strikes in Italy, Greece, and Spain. It remains in the memory of the revolutionary minorities that Spain and Italy fought alongside other workers, against the fascists and anti-fascists, and against all proletarian folklore on the democratic repression of antifascists and socialists of the forces who in fact had dubbed the reaction".²⁶*

When the arrogant bourgeoisie proudly celebrates its "*triumph over fascism and national-socialism*", it ennoble the Second World War, the greatest carnage in the history of mankind. In other words, it covers with a shroud our bloody class defeat.

Can fascism and antifascism come back?

For half a century and more, the weakness of the struggles of the proletarian class outside the state and union framework, has rendered useless the fascist option to support the national state and the large financialized and globalized capital. On the other hand, **state capitalism** has become the universal form of organization of national and international capital. However, after many years of crisis, the petty bourgeoisie has rebelled since capital no longer provides any special advantages. On the contrary, big global capital tends to precarious economic and social conditions. The petty bourgeoisie, particularly numerous in advanced capitalist societies providing coverage of social services, proposes to develop **militarism**, an ideal condition under global competition. The petty bourgeoisie gesticulates about the technological Revolution, which engenders only economic stagnation, overproduction and sluggishness of the production apparatus. We see it with *Brexit* and *Trump's triumph*, with the Catalan, Scottish and Flemish separatist movements, through the strikes of the truckers in Brazil, with the Yellow Vests, and with the chauvinistic liberalism in Italy which thwart the hegemonic aims of the Franco-German axis. The bourgeoisie found in the angry protests of the rebellious petty bourgeoisie an important obstacle to the reform of the capitalist system. However, the big European capital is forced to transform the political organization of the State in order to face its competitors and allies worldwide (United States and China-Russia alliance, without counting some big emerging countries like India and Brazil). Today, capital needs, to revive the valuation and accumulation of productive capital, a new wave of economic, stock market,

commercial, monetary, political, military and social crises at the center of an imperialist scenario of more in addition tense that will emphasize the need to "*restore the chaotic world situation*", and use the petty-bourgeois populists as batons against the struggles of the proletarians in defense of their living and working conditions.

This is what part of the French bourgeoisie wanted to make yellow, this is what the German bourgeoisie seeks to consolidate with the *Greens* and ecology, and the Italian bourgeoisie with *Salvini* and the national chauvinism, what the British bourgeoisie tried to do with *Brexit* and what the great French capital is preparing with the *Rassemblement national* and the Chinese bourgeoisie with the Hong Kong demonstrations. It is within this framework that populist movements claim to offer an alternative with their interclass flags of the *Uni-populist Front* type ranging from xenophobia, to feminism, to the climate emergency, through anti-racism, anti-fascism and fight for democratic freedoms (sic). Big capital tries to lead an authoritarian rearmament of state capitalism concealed by false *social gains to be protected* which will precede the general attack against the systems of insurance at work, the pension plans, the working conditions and the wages of the workers. proletarians. Will the petty-bourgeoisie deliver the goods promised to its masters of big capital?

Under current conditions, the movements that perpetuate the interclassist, pro-capitalist and authoritarian tradition of fascism wish to fulfill the functions of framing the proletariat while disciplining it and endowing it with new patriotic and progressive symbols. But patriotism and petit-bourgeois progressivism are becoming less and less popular. It is not these folk vestiges nor their adjacent tendencies, on the far right of the political spectrum, that interest big capital. It is not the *neoliberal United Fronts*, openly repressive, macho and neo-conservative either. On the contrary, the new republican-style fascism is now agitated against *the elites and caciques* representative of the most obsolete sectors of the state bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois pauperization. But he will want, like the old man, to wrap himself in popular flags, because that would not seem *revolutionary* from an interclass group supposedly *democratic, egalitarian*, and of course patriotic and progressive. That is to say, the current **state fascism** is the first candidate who will put on the jacket and seize the banner of **antifascism** against the hysterical reaction of his own bourgeois class, because it generates the conditions of its progression. And Donald Trump to denounce the white supremacists (sic).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: Minimum wage to reduce wages to the maximum

Let's focus on a lighthouse claim: The increase in the minimum wage (SMIC) to 1,300 euros net per month. And let's see why this battle won unanimous support among the left, the right, the unions, the big bosses and the bourgeois politicians. Their only dissension was the extent and frequency of SMIC increases. This is an example of the so-called *acquired rights* that the charitable left is stubbornly defending.

Raising the minimum wage to stabilize the average wage

At the stage where the economic crisis of capitalism is present, we could consider the agony of the "free" market. There is no promising novelty that can hope for a revival of the globalized economy. The last veil to fall is the alms of the minimum wage, *the SMIC*, it is said in France, as a panacea to encourage business automation, technological innovation and increases in productivity. Recall the recent history. Since 2016, the disaffection of labor activists in front of the speeches of the reformist left is obvious. This is the year that *Donald Trump* and *Brexit* began to influence the most vulnerable sectors of the poor pauperized petty bourgeois and precarious proletariat, the year when mainstream media polls suggested that American youth had become *socialist* (sic), while the Democratic Party in the United States has recovered *Bernie Sanders* the *Socialist*. In recent US elections, the minimum wage has been a hot topic for the Democratic Party primaries. And economists have begun to produce a whole literature of raising the minimum wage as an alternative to neo-protectionism and the austerity policies advocated by *Donald Trump et al.* The petty bourgeois recovered this Trojan horse from the hands of the Western intelligentsia and the Yellow Vests claimed a SMIC net of 1,300 € per month. Remember that 12% of French employees are paid at this minimum rate, which is the median wage in France. Thus, in 2018 the net SMIC was around € 1,200, the gross SMIC around € 1,500, and the salary cost including the social security contributions amounted to nearly € 1,600 per month. It should be noted that the SMIC increased by only 1.5% as of January 1, 2019, which is a little less than inflation, offset by the increase in the activity premium, which is paid by taxpayers. In other words, it is the proletarian taxpayer who has bailed out the proletarian paid the minimum wage.

In order to avoid the increase of the average wage extended to new sectors of employment, in particular low-value-added (labor-intensive) jobs, the large industrial groups entrust certain activities to subcontracting SMEs, which use posted workers, precarious workers and even undeclared workers (illegal migrants). This is as true in the parapublic sector as the cleaners of the metro. From this observation, it follows that the median wage is finally very close to the SMIC, which brings together at each of its statutory increases (without strikes or social conflicts), workers whose incomes are just above the minimum wage which no longer becomes a minimum wage. minimum, but ultimately a maximum salary for the working poor who will soon be the majority of the workforce in many countries.

Two factors lead to reducing the gap between the median wage and the minimum wage, on the one hand, because of the existence of many workers with incomes below the SMIC (partial, precarious, small farmers, unemployed, illegal immigrant workers, poor workers); on the other hand, because of a certain fall in wages, a consequence of competition between employees. In addition, for decades the SMIC, part of which is paid by the state (and therefore by the employees), has been revalued more than the average wage. Hence the very high proportion of employees who never take off from the SMIC, which is precisely the effect sought by the state policy strongly supported by the left charity. Now, everyone will understand why all the supporters of capital, of all allegiances (parties of left and right, unions, employers, NGOs) favor the extension of the SMIC.

And poor workers - underpaid - to argue about the sauce they will eat. Increase in the SMIC in percentage or increase according to a fixed amount? This is indeed what advocates the left charity that does not seek to destroy the capitalist mode of production, but to make it fairer and more equitable in its exploitation of wage slaves. What we must remember is that a SMIC policy benefits only very few employees, and above all, it helps to keep all salaries as low as possible. In December 2018, in full yellow uprising, the government dropped a bone of 100 € per month to the poor hungry employees to break the unity of the rebels. This is where the pursuit of social justice, citizen equity, union fraternity and other petty bourgeois idioms leads to the obtaining of crumbs granted to a minority that is used to deceive the entire community of workers. This is why the proletariat is calling for a general and substantial increase in all wages that favor all workers.

The battle of the SMIC is struggling on the economic (wage) front what are the reformist political struggles for the nationalization of companies and against the privatization of public services 27. An economic vector by which the capitalist state regulates the balance of power between the two antagonistic poles of capitalist economic activity: **wages against surplus value**. Thus, the capitalist state agrees to support the petty-bourgeois claims for tax and wage equity, because these reformist demands help to divert the attention of proletarians from the fundamental questions of their systemic exploitation. Correlatively, these claims draw attention to the equity and distribution of wealth (a consequence of exploitation) rather than the production and expropriation of these social riches. By this polarization of the debate on the supposed tax and wage equity, the antagonism between the wages granted to the workers and the surplus-value monopolized by the capital is concealed. True equity would be that all the fruits of labor and overwork (from each according to his abilities) go back to society as a whole in order to satisfy the basic human needs of each (to each according to his needs). In the context of the capitalist mode of production, the proletariat calls for wage increases in percentage so that the return on the expenditure of energy and working time (reorganization of the labor force) is equivalent for all, workers with high productivity and low productivity workers. This is proletarian equity under modern capitalism, while waiting for the proletariat to impose equity and communist equality.

Socialist utopia of the minimum wage

The *socialist* utopia of the SMIC is as follows: a rising minimum wage would supposedly reduce the spread of wages and the indebtedness of employees. It is that a higher minimum wage would change the distribution of capital by directing technological investments towards sectors with higher wages (in order to mechanize and reduce the number of expensive wage earners). Research, innovation, mechanization and robotization would increase overall social productivity. Empirical evidence refutes this theory. Why does the increase in the minimum wage inflate the number of beneficiaries (the SMIC becomes the median wage) without raising the real average wage or the overall social productivity?

It is that with a dislocated and weak working class, in a situation of systemic economic crisis and falling real wages, a company prefers to hire new precarious workers at the minimum wage rather than invest in new machinery and new technologies to reduce unit production costs. This reasoning of capitalist economic common sense applies not only to large corporations, but to all investors, SMEs and small entrepreneurs.

"Why would a chain of restaurants buy a delivery van if they could hire workers who use their own bikes and are willing to charge almost nothing and only for what is actually delivered? It can be seen that the spiral of precariousness and impoverishment is endless. To solve this problem legally, said the left, it would be interesting to invest socially".²⁸

The Marxist criticism of this socialist-capitalist mysticism is well known. In the face of the crisis, capital strives to increase the exploitation of the labor force in absolute value, that is to say, to increase the **absolute surplus value** (lengthening of the day or the work week, speeding up, piece rate reduction, etc.), **which means on average fewer hours worked for the same quantity of goods produced**. By increasing the productivity of the labor force - the number of hours worked remaining equal - the surplus value decreases and the rate of profit tends to fall, because the same value in labor power is extracted thanks to a greater amount of fixed capital (machinery, raw materials and energy). The way to compensate for this decline in relative profitability is to increase the mass of goods produced, ie to produce, transport and sell in larger quantities - at a lower price - to increase the total profit in terms of absolute, but not in relative terms.

What about emerging countries?

It would be the secret of capitalist development in China that would reinvest its profits in production and in improving its productivity, leading to a rise in wages reinforcing domestic demand. It must be understood that China is one of the few highly developed countries still to have an underdeveloped hinterland that serves as an inland colony, allowing it to realize some of its surplus value at the expense of leftovers of his peasantry in the process of proletarianization. With China, India and Africa are the last continents still presenting this type of economic characteristics.

Of course, it is easy to see that, on the whole, this unbridled run for productivity is fueling the hunt for new markets by all the big capitalized conglomerates forced to sell heaps of goods, hence the commercial wars that we can observe and are not the result of the anger of *Donald Trump, Xi Jinping, Putin, or Emmanuel Macron*, but the consequence of the inevitable laws of the capitalist mode of production.

The charitable left and the bourgeois economists omit this fundamental fact inherent in the capitalist mode of production: it is not enough to produce more, it is still necessary to sell more in order to gain surplus value. The surplus value must be realized, said Marx, and the very existence of a profit on the commodity implies an external demand to the workers. Because these workers do not have the purchasing power to absorb this additional production, otherwise where would be the surplus value resulting from the surplus labor expropriated? In other words, without new markets to be conquered to absorb the increase of production, the improvement of the productivity generates the overproduction. Overproduction generating new problems for the capital incapable of valorising itself, because impotent to be realized. That is why, all things being equal, mechanization, robotization, and the digitization of production are usually implemented at the beginning of the development cycle of a new industrial sector, when the conjunction of easy credit and access to new markets allows for increasing production. After this phase, technological investments mainly concern sophisticated goods (aircraft, aerospace, armaments, computers, artificial intelligence). That is why we can say that capitalism is permanent war, commercial first and then military.

Imperialism final economic stage of capitalism

Imperialism can be defined as the impossibility for national capital to realize all the surplus value produced in its internal market, where the workers constitute the vast majority of consumers and are financially unable to buy all the goods that they produce. Big capital then reacts by embarking on the conquest of new markets (commercial war). And, in the end, an imperial economic, political and military power is led to destroy productive capacities (means of production and labor power) in a deadly military war aimed at seizing markets and destroying its competitors within belligerent trade alliances. Let us specify that the capitalist class does not wish such a total nuclear war, it is driven by the laws of the forced expansion of the markets.

Thus, Lenin approached the understanding of the notion of modern imperialism when he suggested that direct territorial conquest is not the dominant feature of modern imperialism. This tactic of territorial conquest prevailed under the mode of feudal production, because the land constituted the fundamental means of production. It is financial domination (hence the importance of money, stock markets and banks) that is the dominant feature of modern imperialism. Military intervention only helps and complements imperialist economic and financial domination. It is not the military nature, more or less violent foreign intervention nor the occupation of a territory that characterizes imperialism under capitalism, these diplomatic, legal or military events occur if necessary for the purpose of provide the essential, that is, the flow of capital, which may take the form of money, shares and dividends, goods, including labor. Capital can take the form of raw materials and energy, machine tools, etc. Finally, a state's trade balance and its financial balance are indicators of the extent of control of an alliance on global capital flows in the circulation cycle aimed at realizing surplus value. **And so we understand better than imperialism is not a policy of conquest, control, invasion or military aggression, which are all empirical political manifestations of economic imperialism which is basically the ultimate (final) stage of economic development of the capitalist mode of production,** a stage characterized by the total and global imbrication of capital into a single international financial mass. The advantages that an imperialist alliance obtains, it necessarily pulls it from its competitors, is what feeds the permanent imperialist war. *Lenin* was right, imperialism is the commercial and military war. Only the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production will bring humanity out of this permanent torment.

*Rosa Luxemburg defined imperialism as follows: "We do not care who attacked first, who is «the aggressor» or «the reasons» for each national capital involved. Because the underlying question is that imperialism is not the policy of a particular state or group of states, it is a phase of world capitalist development, a stage of development of capitalism as a whole. And the whole determines the parties: **there is no state or bourgeoisie that is not imperialist, because none of them can ignore the general conditions.** No national capital can develop freely within the borders of its states. It must "go out" - and therefore play and collide in the imperialist world game - to ensure the conditions for its own reproduction and accumulation".29*

Absolute surplus value and relative surplus value

We can take the example of *Korea* and *Taiwan*, emerging countries that have developed a lot in the last sixty years. For reasons of cold war against the Soviet capitalist bloc, the United States granted them free access to their domestic market. The same applies to China (1.3 billion people), which has benefited from the global reduction of customs barriers allowing Western companies to relocate their factories to China, from where these companies supply their national markets. This is what bourgeois economists call the "*delocalization engendered by globalization*" that has allowed these practices of production and commerce to spread throughout the planet. Now that it has been under pressure from US protectionism, China's productive machine finds it difficult to maintain double-digit growth rates. China has set out to conquer world markets with its "**New Silk Roads**" project, an ambitious \$1 trillion investment in transportation and marketing infrastructure, a plan a hundred times more ambitious than the 1948 *Marshal Plan*.

The valuation of capital through the production of **relative surplus value**, which is the source of **productivism**, only works when there are new markets for the sale of goods. This is why the American and European protectionist threat is hampering Chinese growth, forcing China to invest in Europe in order to strengthen demand there. In the end, the capitalist industrial-urbanized and financialized mode of production has completed its ascending phase, characterized by the constant growth of the productive forces. This decadence is accentuated by the insufficient development of the markets of emerging countries. As we can see, the question of the distribution of income between the different social strata is central to maintaining the economic dynamics of a country. But hoping to boost investment by concentrating money in the hands of the rich, is to ignore this old truth as the capitalist economy: there is profitable investment only if companies anticipate an increase in consumption, gold rich countries have reached a ceiling of mass consumption while the laws of capitalist development entail the concentration of capital and not its percolation. As for the government ogre, this over-indebted super consumer, he pulls at the end of the leash

that strangles him and he can not consider increasing his consumption when it already accounts for more than half of the national GDP.³⁰

Contemporary capitalism can not be escaped for a very long time, and it is to be expected that this desperate world will naturally engage in massive destruction in order to eradicate the overflow of goods. Understand, this world war in preparation will not be the result of a plot hatched by bankrupt bankers, but the fruit of the inevitable laws of the capitalist mode of production. There is no point in trying to change the government hitch in the middle of the ford. It's the whole system that needs to be eradicated.

Conditions of self-destruction

"The current liberals are no longer the champions of free trade and the rising capital they were in the nineteenth century. They became the representatives of nineteenth-century rhetoric and the most reactionary monopolistic interests within the dominant state capitalism. Their mission goes always and unambiguously in the direction of the direct attack against the conditions of life and work of the working class. "What do the liberals (left and right) say about all this? They make their calculations and come to the conclusion that setting a minimum wage (SMIC) close to the poverty line can only create more poverty and unemployment. In addition, confirming that, as we had foreseen, the increase in the minimum wage will increase the number of workers with lower wages, the Bank of Spain estimates that the 22% increase in the SMIC will increase the average wage by 0, 8%".³¹

As this excerpt demonstrates, the profit capitalist mechanics is so broken, so dysfunctional, and empathic to humanity, that the famous equilibrium that allowed the reproduction of flow-through capital can no longer value capital enough to offset additional labour force expenditures. By paying less than it costs to ensure the reproduction of the labor force, the capital puts his chicken in the golden eggs at risk and puts his own survival in danger. In other words, the survival of the world economy necessarily involves the impoverishment of the proletariat and the reduction of social purchasing power, and this will not change with the "charitable and equitable" left. The minimum wage (SMIC) is the beacon around which the General Staff of capital suggests to agglutinate the largest number of employees. The minimum wage sets the minimum below which the survival of the working class is endangered and capitalism is endangered. To fight for a reasonable increase in the minimum wage is to fight for the survival of the capitalist mode of production.

Yellow Vests and the Battle of Wages

What can we conclude from all this? There is no way for capital to «restart» the valuation of capital without going through the imperialist war. It is time for the proletariat to rise up and impose its collective needs without worrying about the survival of capital. We don't have to fight to make capital profitable, as the unions say. We must fight for the reduction of working time and for wage increases for all, including the better paid who will push all wages up. Similarly, we must fight for the hiring of all the unemployed, against any plant closures and for the enhancement of pensions. If capital cannot satisfy these reasonable demands, it means that capitalism has become inadequate for human society and must be replaced by a new mode of production.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: Situation of systemic economic crisis

The social and political crisis is rooted in the economic crisis. It was no different for the social and political crisis in France. What was the state of the French, European and global national economy on November 17, 2018, at the opening of hostilities?

The world economy is sinking into the wall and is slowing down, despite the monetary laxity of central banks, the hyperindebtedness and the titanic accumulation of public deficits, not counting the trade balance deficits of the major industrialized countries. At the end of its meeting on 7 March 2019, the European Central Bank (ECB) has just left its policy rates unchanged at 0% until the end of 2019. It also undertakes to reinvest in the bond market all repayments of maturing securities, already on the assets side of its balance sheet: "*for an extended period after the date on which it begins to raise rates*". Which, in plain language, means: not until 2021. It even says "*for as long as necessary to maintain favourable liquidity and a high level of monetary support*".

In fact, the economic crisis of 2008 saw a resurgence in 2015, when China last slowed down. As a result of global debt overload, the triggering black swan can appear at any time. The OECD has just seen, for example, that corporate debt around the world has doubled in 10 years and jeopardizes their ability to repay their obligations. The global debt ratio is 318% of GDP, 49% higher than before the peak of the *Lehman Brothers* Bank bankruptcy. According to some experts, global savings are drying up.

According to *Martin Tarlie*, manager of the US fund *GMO LLC* and specialist of the speculative bubble: «*the volatility we know is consistent with the explosion of a financial bubble*», although the correction in the last quarter of 2018 may be a false start before the swelling of a new bubble, as was the case in 1998-2000. The stock price speculation of the last three months of 2018 can be compared, by its duration and magnitude, to what was experienced during the 1929 crash.

France is facing structural problems with public debt which has soared from 20% to 100% of GDP since 1980. The Yellow Vests have the wrong target by wanting to take money from the rich investors, via the abominable centralizing state that will distribute it to the rich, which will be unable to value it because of the surplus of financial capital on the stock markets and the overproduction of goods. That alterglobalists, ecologists and greens stop gesticulating about waste, frugality becomes the daily life of all the working classes, all the more so since the economic depression is threatening the state with each of its astronomical deficits.

According to the liberal economists, what is most important, to improve the fate of the citizen-taxpayer, is to reform and degrease the mammoth, that is to say the capitalist state, which is pure illusion.

Revenue from energy taxation will rise from €50 billion in 2018 to €67 billion in 2022, a phenomenal increase of €17 billion. France is now the most taxed country in Europe, with compulsory levies of 45.6% of GDP, compared with an average of 40% in the euro area. Public expenditure of 55% of GDP is also 5% higher than the EU average.

The French State, obese and dispossessed, employed 5,666,000 civil servants at 31 December 2017, an increase of 47% since 1980, while population growth has been only 24%. Public spending is at a staggering 57% of GDP. France accounts for 1% of the world's population and 3% of world production, but 15% of world social assistance. It is the welfare state which big capital has given to the times of prosperity and which it can no longer tolerate in these times of systemic economic crisis.³²

As for the United States, it is a **Potemkin village** of hyper-indebted and sterilized economic prosperity (unproductive and parasitic). The labour market is officially very tense, but it should be noted that the Labour Department counts two part-time jobs held by the same person as two separate jobs. American statistics are as reliable as Chinese statistics. The total student debt has just exceeded 1.500 billion dollars, with an average student debt of 26.600 US dollars. The result is a paralysis of the economy and the financial situation of millions of borrowers.³³

The United States, despite rising tariffs, has a trade imbalance of \$621 billion in 2018, while its trade deficit with China has worsened to \$419.2 billion. Chinese growth, which was 14.2% in 1992, will be 6.2% in 2019 (four times US growth). Chinese domestic loans exceed 230% of GDP, as a result of the deployment of the «**New Silk Roads**».

The Chinese capitalist state uses the same financial schemes as its imperialist competitors. Indeed, economists too often forget that international development assistance is primarily domestic investment. The United States economy is slowing down as the Middle Kingdom runs out of steam and piling up debt, with 50 million unoccupied apartments, or 22% of China's national real estate stock. Japanese exports of components and robots to China decreased by 17.4%.

The US Fed is capitulating and backing down in the face of the imminent risk of crash, hence the media's triumphant cocoricos on the recent rise of *Wall Street*, which is actually resting on sand. The Fed is putting an end to the announced policy of raising interest rates to 2.25-2.50% and is even planning to lower interest rates next year, which will drive capital out. The Fed bought hundreds of billions of bonds between 2008 and 2015, to the point of having quintupled its balance sheet, to 4.500 billion US dollars. Faced with the possible countercurrents mentioned by *Jerome Powell*, the Fed, like Japan, will not hesitate to weaken the global reserve currency (USD), and to reduce interest rates to prolong the life of the system and avoid a stock market crash.

Japan continues, slowly but surely, to head straight for depression, with no hope of getting out of the vicious circle in which it has become trapped. The policy of quantitative easing (EQ) continues to be more beautiful, with absolute impossibility of reversing. Very low inflation prevents the devaluation of public debt and the Japanese archipelago, faced with global protectionism, recorded a trade deficit for the first time in 2018. Japan is gradually settling into the empty bed of Yankee imperialism. In Japan, *GPIF*, the largest pension fund in the world (that of Japanese civil servants, whose market capitalization is more than 10,000 billion dollars), lost, at the end of 2018, the modest sum of 136 billion dollars, following equity investments on the Tokyo Stock Exchange. We can imagine what would happen in the world in the event of a Japanese stock market crash.³⁴

In Europe, *Mario Draghi* continues the policy of fleeing ahead, promising not to increase the cost of credit in 2019, to reinvest at maturity the 2,600 billion euros already accumulated by the ECB during the takeovers of fictitious assets. Draghi announced, on March 7, a new wave of "LTRO" refinancing of banks, which allows them to obtain guaranteed capital at a low fixed rate over four years, regardless of the vagaries of the markets.

The electoral and lax economic policies of the Italian populists only aggravate the recession, making furious the Italian employers *Confindustria*. The *Monte dei Paschi* Bank needed €8 billion, but the Italian State had to find another €400 million to save *Carige* Bank. Until the end of 2018, Italy could only count on the ECB to buy its bonds, hence the need for Italy to now issue dollar-denominated bonds, while foreign investors have sold, since May 2018, for 70 billion net Italian bonds. This is what should inspire modesty and restraint in the exuberant *Salvini*. Some investors predict that gold could soon reach \$1,500 an ounce and replace the US dollar as a reserve currency. It is significant that bills to invest in gold and

silver 10% of public funds reserves have just been tabled in the American states of Arizona and Wyoming.³⁵

The central banks, by their lax monetary policy, know only to prolong the life of sick states whose indebtedness becomes more and more incurable. In 1958, the American debt was \$280 billion. Since that time, it has increased by 75 (by 31 since 1981) while tax revenues have only increased by 6 to reach \$22 trillion today. Debt is, in reality, a global disease, including the virtual bomb of derivatives. In China, total debt rose from \$2 trillion in 2000 to \$40 trillion as a result of its extensive global investment program. Around the world, the banking system, with a leverage effect of equity of 10 to 50, will be unable to repay depositors in the event of a stock market crash. As for the French State, its debt of 2,000 billion euros represents more than twice the value of its public assets and assets.

Since 2008, a total of \$250 trillion, global debt has doubled and the risk of stock market crash is very high. It has increased exponentially with the lax issuance of no real currency, and Brussels is predicting a slowdown in euro area growth from 1.9% in 2018 to 1.3% in 2019. In France, the announced public deficit of 2.04% will be impossible to maintain. The Brussels Commission is likely to initiate an excessive deficit procedure, by the Brussels Commission is likely. Brussels urges Rome to raise the bar "*with a worsening economic outlook*" and "*a public debt that is not expected to decline in the years to come*", while *the 5-Star Movement's **Universal Citizen Income*** project is underway. The measure is expected to benefit 1.3 million people with a monthly income of 421 euros. The risk is to divert from the work of many beneficiaries, to fuel the underground work and to enrich the mafia, which is very involved in overexploited labour activities.

Germany came as a surprise with a drop in growth from 1.8% to 1.1% due to weak exports, lower consumption (despite more than a million immigrants last year) and the slowdown in car production. Germany is very sensitive to the industrial cycle, the global slowdown, new environmental standards, rising wages and increasing precautionary savings of households. The whole world has fallen into the trap of low rates and free money. When money is priceless, everyone goes into debt! Growth is now based only on debt and currency issuance to inject liquidity. Without central banks, savings would not be enough to finance government deficits and business investment needs.³⁶

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: Decline of the Yellow Vest Movement

Spontaneously appearing on a disaggregated social terrain, in a lethargic France, the Movement has undoubtedly upset the French political landscape. In fact, if, with the last election, the traditional political panorama has been dislocated in order to induce a so-called Revolution to the Élysée (sic), the eruption has, for its part, accentuated the phenomenon of political putrefaction by the disqualification of all parties, including the new formation (En marche), which was supposed to establish itself sustainably in the French political firmament. On the other hand, if, in the beginning, it made the government tremble by its assertive radicalism and its subversive combat, quickly, began to run out of steam because of his deceit on narrow paths of petty-bourgeois demands from citizens, reformists, populists, voters and referendums.

The main flaw of the Movement was its cruel absence of a proletarian strategic objective and consequently of tactics of proletarian struggles. This explains the progressive disengagement of the proletariat. Its road map is punctuated with disjointed, improvised demands, elaborated in the heat of battle by women and men without proletarian political formation and militant workers' experience. Moreover, it was influenced by a petty-bourgeoisie who was angry and greedy for social recognition, and who assumed the role of chaotic mastermind. These claims could not galvanize the masses. In reality, at the beginning, the Movement did not aspire at all to take the path of social revolt, even less that of revolution.

In any case, emancipatory orientations are never the initial driving force of a populist uprising of resistance and defence of living and working conditions. These orientations are clarified as the struggle develops, according to the balance of power between the different classes engaged in the fight, according to the repression triggered by the reaction to crush it and according to the maturation of the popular counter-power. However, the objective and subjective conditions of the proletarian revolution had to be mature. Clearly, that was not the case.

In any case, carried by a raging, precarious and impoverished petty-bourgeoisie, bowled to the myth of the State-This segment of the class claimed in vain the resurrection of social capitalism, which had assured it a privileged existence at the time of prosperity. In fact, he aspired to the establishment of a populist power erected on a utopian capitalism, renovated, ensuring a fair redistribution of wealth, guaranteeing the flattening of social divisions and the eradication of economic crises. A moralized capitalism, humanized, revegetated, directed by politicians and honest and altruistic bosses. In a word, a chimerical, utopian, impossible, capitalism, because this mode of production was not designed for this purpose. Obviously, the enchantment provoked, especially among many revolutionary militants, is due to its subversive radicalism, objectified by its frontal attacks on the State of the rich, The European Union is also committed to the fight against racism and xenophobia. But the illusion was of short duration, because this combat radicalism destroyed, certainly, some symbols of the rich, but had no intention of destroying capitalism.

Today, its decline is obvious, but by no means frightening. Some, out of nostalgia, are determined to perpetuate it, and for good reason. Some, especially the famous leaders, propelled to the forefront by the bourgeois media, now accustomed now accustomed to the lights of the projectors, apprehend with dismay their relegation into the shadows, their return to anonymity. Others, accustomed to the bonds of solidarity and friendship forged during the struggle, fear the renunciation of this fraternal life, the renewal of social solitude. So, to justify its sustainability, they propose to launch spectacular actions. Thus, in their minutes voted at the [2nd Assembly of Assemblies held in Saint-Nazaire on 6 April 2019](#), they announced a series of actions spread over several months.³⁷ Actions based on the same petty-bourgeois citizenry dreams of social justice, fiscal justice, ecological green capitalism, cheap and economical government, parliamentary and referendum electoral democracy. We had the revolutionaries of the weekend, we will now have the calendar revolutionaries, determined to fight, but according to an agenda arranged according to a political calendar respecting family and professional planning, taking into account the availability of everyone, because our revolutionary calendars have career imperatives to respect and

leisure to consume. When one wants to attack the capital society, one does not appear by the solemn disclosure of a calendar of struggle in which are recorded the subversive actions to be carried out for the conquest of this chimerical public opinion. Otherwise ineffective actions, because without economic consequences.

They fought against the government, while it is against the state and against capital that class war must be waged. The Movement fosters the hope of electing another more democratic power, but within the framework of the maintenance of capitalism and the defence of the interests of the French bourgeois nation, in the spirit of the Bourgeois Revolution of 1789. In fact, the same claims of illusory power of the alienated people are always expressed, direct democracy through the electoral process locked by the bourgeoisie, impossible to close the national borders that no longer exist, chauvinistic defense of the country in decline against the alleged invasion and the so-called domination of disempowered, smokeful workers against cosmopolitan finance and globalized capitalism. The struggle must not be aimed at denouncing, but at bringing down concretely the whole of the moribund bourgeois superstructure. This emancipatory mission will not be accomplished by the liturgical parades of the weekend. **Only the unlimited spontaneous general strike can suffocate capital** – depriving it of the blood of surplus-value – to the point of destroying it. This time, the proletariat considered that the conditions of this insurrectionary strike were not met. We take note of this verdict.

One thing is certain: the Movement is fading and perishing. It is doomed to disappear without having been recovered by the parties of the left or those of the right. No fraudulently *yellow* candidate has survived the reactionary wave of the European elections, and so it is. And to think that the left is proposing to block the extreme right! What a sham, what an infamy! The extreme right already leads the National Assembly, the government executive and the bourgeois state apparatus, which the proletariat has understood, but not the jobard vanguard.

POSTFACE

From tax revolt to wage scam

Initially, the Movement set out to protest against fuel tax increases, but very soon, under the impetus of the proletariat, the challenge took on a powerful social dimension. Protests against the taxation of gasoline, formulated by the small and medium-sized suburban and rural bourgeoisie, were grafted with multiple economic demands, including the increase of the SMIC and the defense of the purchasing power, in other words for the defense of the value of the labor force. In spite of the proletariat's combat intervention, the interclass movement, of the informal united-front type, remained under the ideological and political direction of the petty-bourgeoisie, which once again managed to monopolize its influence against the proletariat. A few derisory concessions that the power will take him back quickly. If one observes this populist movement by the nationalist prism common to the opportunist right and left, it is impossible to grasp its singularity, which is part of the continuity of the most recent international developments of the proletarian class struggle. Indeed, left and right political organizations, accustomed to reasoning with prefabricated, dogmatic, sectarian and anachronistic thought patterns, failed to detect the proletarian dimension of this resistance on the economic front of the class struggle.

It is true that with its uncertainties, its inconsistencies, its disheveled spontaneity, its iconoclastic rhetoric, the antipodes of the classic leftist phraseology, the Yellow Vests have disconcerted the reformist organizations. Bourgeois intellectuals, belts of the transmission of capital, with a sharper flair than the gurus of the reformist organizations, knew how to perceive the social threat. This is the reason why they have furiously stood up to defend their masters by calling for bloody repression against the revolted proletariat. Admittedly, the unofficial political leadership was dominated by the petty bourgeoisie, but the militant base was proletarian (employed, retired, unemployed, construction workers, immigrants), at least during the initial period dominated by occupation of roundabouts. Passing this radical phase, marked by the blockage of the economy, the Movement turned into a small group piloting weekly outpatient parades and progressively moving away from its militant base. The proletarian class understood that it had missed the train at the station of the roundabouts (dismantled barricades) and the station of the unlimited general strike aborted. However, because of its strong presence, the proletariat was able to protect the Movement from opportunistic political wanderings, including electioneering, but failed to influence the action of resistance in defense of wages, pensions and living and working conditions. In fact, the workers' militants have been unable to impose a proletarian class character, in its strategic objective as in its combat tactics.

Then, it borrowed a reformist political orientation whose economic determinants were not sufficiently supported, consequence of the weakness of the unorganized proletariat. Thus, the defense of purchasing power (resistance to the depreciation of the value of the labor force) was drowned in a salmigundi of ubiquitous reformist demands, an illustration of the control of the petty-bourgeoisie. The second moment of the class confrontation saw a proliferation of puerile actions, reformist political demands, electoral tendencies and riotous agitation under the direction of the petty bourgeois, to whom the proletarians definitively abandoned the leadership. As a reward for this service, the government has promised them a few crumbs that the petty bourgeois are not sure of pocketing. Thus, in June 2019, the executive presented its program of reform of employment insurance and retirement plans, two major attacks against the purchasing power of all workers.

Under the capitalist mode of production, employers and their state leave workers with a narrow margin of maneuver, particularly with regard to the selling price of their labor power, which trade union organizations call legitimate claims and "*acquired rights*". This doxa is taken up by the bourgeois media, the union corporations and their committees, by the NGO industry and by the charitable left. It is agreed between employers and labor agencies that working conditions are negotiated by company and industry sector by industry sector. Corporate bargaining that all parties - unions, employers and the state - accept, subject to benefit-sharing. Thus, no demand from the union agency for the sale of labor should threaten the profitability

of the company nor reduce the dividend of the shareholders, including the capitalist or socialist state shareholder.

However, what gives power to workers' strikes is precisely the release of this shackle of corporate bargaining expressed by the submission of human needs to the dividends of companies (private or public). However, the success of the resistance can not be complete in an isolated corporate strike, because capitalism is a systemic, global and global system of exploitation. The subordination of the proletarian class to the interests of the great international capital can only be overcome by the cessation of divisions between workers of enterprises, between industrial sectors, between liberal and socialist states. It is the mode of struggle by which a strike becomes radicalized, transforms itself into a wild general strike, controlled by the militant base and extends through the class which is determining. And this *strike contagion to break profits* is totally different from sterile gesticulations, and childish walks of stoning and urban looting.

Moreover, this strike contagion strongly depends on the development of consensus among the revolting class and therefore assumes a constantly growing level of class consciousness. This development from the stage of the populist revolt to the popular uprising through the general class strike is not an abstract model, it is a practical experience that marked the working class minds of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

"That's what we saw in Mexico and Iran. The strikes which are today the object of substantial gains are those which extend from one company to another on a territory, coordinating between them and assembling assemblies through committees of delegates elected and revocable by them. Self-organized strikes, mass strikes, have nothing to do with a general strike convened by the corporatist unions (these companies selling the goods "labor force"). And in fact, they only happen when workers get fed up with unions, override them and organize themselves".³⁸

Originality of the Yellow Vest Movement

Clearly, beyond the distorted schema of leftist analysis, the Movement was surprised by its originality, its spontaneity, its mass scale, its intransigence, its radical rejection of political and trade union leadership, but also by his refusal to participate in electoral masquerades. He shook the usual paradigms of reformist economic struggles. This action is the continuation of recent uprisings in several countries (Argentina, Egypt, Greece, Spain, Iran, Mexico, Tunisia, Algeria, Brazil, Haiti). The continuation of the radicalization of the class struggle, heralding a new period of struggle. It foreshadows the imminent confrontations between proletarianized wage labor and financialized employers. Unfortunately, once again, the petty bourgeoisie managed to mislead the Movement. However, let's admit it, it could not be otherwise. As with every populist revolt, the frustrated petty bourgeoisie took the risk of opening the Pandora's box, and it would have been enough for the proletariat to rush into the open breach. The French proletariat did not do this, because, in his great wisdom, it understood that the objective and subjective conditions of the **popular uprising** and the **international proletarian revolution** were not met, neither in France nor in the rest of Europe. In order to reach this final phase of the revolutionary proletarian conflagration, we must at the same time rely on the economic crisis and its share of calamities, on the intensification of the war preparations of the big capital, on the radicalization of the struggles of the different proletarian contingents. national institutions, and on the growth of world-class consciousness.

Among the original aspects, we must mention its exceptional duration. Never in France a social revolt of this magnitude experienced such a longevity. Its durability is partly explained by its horizontal organization based on a form of *direct democracy* devoid of delegation of power. Thanks to social networks, it has been able to organize itself outside the *intermediary bodies*, the deplorable "*civil society citizen*", its paid NGOs, and especially away from established political parties and sclerotic unions. This affirmation of independence allowed him at the beginning to take unprecedented actions, at the antipodes of the sterile union parades.

Some have blasted the Movement for its alleged acquaintances with the extreme right or because of its *interclassist* character. We reject this leftist criticism based on obsolete paradigms, especially on this obsolete political categorization, from left wing to right wing of the capitalist political chessboard, categorization that

has become obsolete. Today, there is on the one hand the capital and its political organizations of left and right, and on the other hand, the proletariat and its proletarian organizations.

The furious petty bourgeoisie

The new economic, political and social situation has led to the splitting up of social classes and the significant increase of the petty-bourgeois contingent, whose main mission is to ensure the conditions of the reproduction of the labor force (health services, social security education, leisure, culture, sport, and local commerce). Inevitably, because of its social role, the petty bourgeoisie knows an ephemeral prosperity dependent on the proletarians and their production of surplus value. Also, it is more and more involved in the proletariat's struggles, which it contaminates with its bourgeois ideas, its anarchist practices of struggle, its nihilistic modes of action, its narcissistic behavior and its reformist political demands. The petty bourgeoisie is obsessed by its aspirations to share the lives of the rich and powerful, while its economic future is precariousness, impoverishment and proletarianization. Strangled by the economic crisis, the petty bourgeoisie realizes that the money is reserved for the rich, who accumulate it more and more quickly and it can not be otherwise because of the laws of the capitalist economy. This does not prevent the petty bourgeoisie from expressing its spite and envy, and proposing that the state of the rich overtax the billionaires. Be that as it may, the imposing and impotent mass of these decommissioned petty bourgeois is incorporated into the proletariat, especially during social revolts. Hence, the frequent presence of these disillusioned, frustrated and enraged activists such as the "*Black Block*". The task of the revolutionary proletariat is not to imprison these catechumens of bankrupt capital, but to make them understand that whatever they do, the capitalist mode of production continues its mad course towards inevitable war. It is the capitalist system that must be broken, not the windows of the Champs-Élysées. We must explain to them that it is impossible to reform capitalism or force it to a fair share of the wealth of society, because the capitalist mode of production rests on the satisfaction of the needs of capital, at the expense of satisfying needs. fundamentals of the human species.

Another originality brocarded by political organizations, its political heterogeneity that so disappoints the leftists. Thus, because of the refusal to be commanded by a dogmatic sect, it was discredited and despised by leftists and rightists, accusing it of not being organized and having at its head charismatic gurus. He has been accused of being a movement of small Pougadist bosses, infiltrated by anti-Semitic and fascist elements. In truth, these petty-bourgeois societal themes are indifferent to the working class that is waging its class war against big international capital and not against its marginal outgrowths.

The proletarian revolution

In conclusion, through the revolutionary process in three **stages: spontaneous populist uprising - chaotic popular insurrection - conscious and organized proletarian revolution**, it is up to the revolutionary class, engaged in the struggle for the survival of the human race, to direct the destruction the capitalist mode of production and its decadent bourgeois production relations. It is during the very process of the revolutionary process that the proletariat will bring out its revolutionary class organizations, its slogans of transition and its project of an inclusive, internationalist human society, without the exploitation of man by man, the foundation of new proletarian communist mode of production. The emancipation of humanity will not be done on the moralistic grounds that capitalist exploitation is wrong and alienation detrimental, but because the exploitation and alienation of the human species is leading humanity to its ruin. Putting an end is the condition for the survival of the species. These characteristics are not prerequisites for the populist uprising, then for the popular revolt, and finally for the proletarian revolution. It is in the very course of the *proletarian revolution* that all social strata will reveal their deep ideological perspectives, and some of their counterrevolutionary tendencies, which will not be Machiavellian

and conspiracy, but which will flow from their class interests. It is the balance of power between the proletariat and the other classes which will determine the direction of the struggle, and which will make it possible to print a proletarian perspective.

The proletarian revolution will not be accomplished under the leadership of a pure, immaculate proletariat, devoid of any ideological contamination of the bourgeoisie, of any political or social stigma and psychological depravity. In a society, the dominant ideas are those of the dominant class of the dominant mode of production. To fight them and extirpate them from living consciousness is part of the permanent proletarian revolutionary war. In addition, the proletarian revolution will not be accomplished in a context of demobilization of other social classes. All classes will compete. Each class will try to seize the direction of the revolution to orient it in the sense of the interests which are dictated by its position in the process of production. The role of revolutionary proletarians will always be to invest the popular movement in order to steer it in the right direction and to counter the reactionary, sectarian and dogmatic ideas of the left and right bourgeoisie.

APPENDIX I: Appeal of the first assembly of assemblies

We, Yellow Vests of roundpoints, parking, places, assemblies, demonstrations, we are gathered on January 26 and 27, 2019 on Assembly of assemblies, bringing together a hundred delegations, answering the call of Vests Yellow Commercy. Since November 17, from the smallest village, from the rural world to the largest city, we have risen up against this deeply violent, unjust and unbearable society.

We will not let ourselves go! We revolt against the dear life, precariousness and misery. We want our loved ones, our families and our children to live in dignity. 26 billionaires own as much as half of humanity, it is unacceptable. Let's share the wealth and not the misery! Let's finish with social inequalities! We demand the immediate increase of wages, social minima, allowances and pensions, the unconditional right to housing and health, to education, free public services and for all.

It is for all these rights that we take daily rounds, that we organize actions, demonstrations and that we discuss everywhere. With us Yellow Vests, we speak again, we who never have. And what is the government's response? Repression, contempt, denigration. The dead and thousands of wounded, the massive use of weapons by tense fire that mutilate, erode, injure and traumatize. More than 1,000 people were arbitrarily sentenced and imprisoned. And now the new so-called *anti-rioter* law is simply aimed at preventing us from demonstrating. We condemn all the violence against protesters that they come from the forces of order or violent groups. None of this will stop us!

To manifest is a fundamental right. End impunity for the police!

Amnesty for all the victims of repression! And what a circle that this Great National Debate is actually a communication campaign of the government, which instrumentalizes our will to debate and decide!

True democracy, we practice it in our assemblies, on our roundpoints, it is neither on the TV sets nor in the pseudo round tables. After having insulted and treated us less than nothing, now he introduces us as a hateful fascist and xenophobic crowd. But we are the complete opposite: neither racist, nor sexist, nor homophobic. We are proud to be together with our differences to build a caring society. We are strong in the diversity of our discussions, and right now hundreds of assemblies are developing and proposing their own demands. They concern real democracy, social and fiscal justice, working conditions, ecological and climatic justice, the end of discrimination. Among the most discussed demands and strategic proposals, we find: the eradication of misery in all its forms, the transformation of institutions (RIC, constituent, end of the privileges of elected officials ...), the ecological transition (fuel poverty, industrial pollution ...), equality and the taking into account of all and all regardless of nationality (people with disabilities, equality between men and women, the end of the abandonment of working class neighborhoods, the rural world and overseas ...).

We, Yellow Vests, invite everyone with his means, to his measure, to join us. We call for continuing the acts (act 12 against the police violence before the commissariats acts 13, 14 ...), to continue the occupations of the roundpoints and the blockage of the economy, to build a massive strike and renewable from the 5 February. We call for committees to be formed at workplaces, at school and everywhere else so that this strike can be built at the base by the strikers themselves. Let's take our business in hand! Do not stay alone, join us! Let's organize ourselves in a democratic, autonomous and independent way! This Assembly of Assemblies is an important step that allows us to discuss our demands and our means of action. Let us federate to transform society!

We offer all Yellow Vests to circulate this call. If, as a group, yellow vests, it suits you, send your signature to Commercy (assembleofassemblies@gmail.com). Do not hesitate to discuss and formulate proposals for the next "Assemblies of the Assemblies", which we are preparing right now.

Macron Resignation! Long live power to the people, for the people and by the people.

Appeal proposed by the Assembly of Assemblies of Commercy. It will then be proposed for adoption in each of the local assemblies.

The **Commune** is this historical uprising in which the Parisian people seized power. Indeed, from March 18 to May 21, 1871, the power was concentrated in the hands of the Communards. During this revolutionary phase, the Commune ruled the city of Paris. The Commune organized society in the sole interest of the people. It was the first workers state, the first real experience of the "**dictatorship of the proletariat**". During this ephemeral period of power-taking by the people, the ruling class, having taken refuge in Versailles, deployed all the deadly means to recover the reins of its power. Until collaborating with the Germany of *Bismarck*, the day before still fought on the battlefields.

As soon as it arose, the **Paris Commune** immediately gave rise to extremely virulent reactions. All that mattered in France of writers and intellectuals has manifested for the movement and its actors a murderous hatred (any resemblance to the contemporary intelligentsia unleashed against the Yellow Vests is not fortuitous). Against the Paris Commune, the bourgeoisie, frightened by the mischief of the social order, immediately found an ally of weight: the literary intelligentsia, who put his pen in the service of the ruling classes. In a burst of sacred class union, the majority of writers joined the bourgeoisie to lambaste the Commune and slaughter the revolutionaries. The Commune immediately unleashed, among these writers, a truck of insults and falsifications. With the notable exception of *Jules Vallès*, *Arthur Rimbaud*, *Paul Verlaine*, *Villiers de L'Isle Adam*, supporters of the Commune, and partially of *Victor Hugo* who has maintained a certain neutrality, all the writers of the time were united in an inexpiable hatred against the Communards. These writers vehemently defeated the Paris revolution: "*the government of crime and madness*" (*Anatole France*). Beyond their political divergences, all these writers dipped their poisonous feathers in the bloody inkwell of Versailles to eructe their bellicose murderous hostility against the Commune, to call for the massacre of the Communards. They turned their feathers into bayonets. From all social backgrounds, from conservative writers, like *Maxime Du Camp* and *Gustave Flaubert*, to royalists like *Alphonse Daudet*, *Count Gobineau*, *Ernest Renan*, *Countess de Segur*, *Taine* and many others to the reactionaries *Leconte de Lisle* and *Théophile Gautier*, all these writers exchanged their salon costume for the mercenary uniform at the service of Versailles.

In addition to these writers of the old regime, came to the cannonade against the Commune the plumitives of republican obedience, as *François Coppée*, *Anatole France*, *George Sand*, *Emile Zola*, to name only the most famous. In spite of some nuances in their hysterical diatribes, the denunciation of the Communards was unanimously shared by all these writers (today still published, published and taught to the pupils of the schools). Among the most virulent propagandists zealous, some joined the leader of the executive power *Thiers* at Versailles to assist him in his preparations for repression. In their violent anti-communist campaigns, these writers have poured into a hatefully murderous verbal excess, filled with class prejudices. All this literary genius shared in an aristocratic aversion of the working classes. For these intellectual parasites, the working classes were above all "*dangerous classes*". For these reactionary plumitives, the Commune was the work of the "*rabble*", the "*populace*", "*driven by envy*". Moreover, they compared the proletariat to a "*harmful race*", the workers to "*rabid beasts*", to "*new barbarians*" threatening "*civilization*". The worthy Communards were decked out with all the frightening qualifiers: "*brigands*", "*barbarians*", "*Redskins*", and "*cannibals!*"

Undoubtedly, it is of the highest historical importance to recall the bloody outcome of the Paris Commune. Within a week, from 22 to 28 May 1871, the Commune was repressed in blood by the troops of Versailles. Review of this "bloody week": nearly 30 000 deaths, 42 000 arrests and 10 000 deportations (among the deportees sent to the prisons of New Caledonia is the famous revolutionary *Louise Michel*, who will befriend many Algerian Kabyles also interned in these New Caledonian prisons, following the *Mokrani* rebellion, a monumental insurrection against the French colonial power, which occurred in Algeria on March 16, 1871, two days before the outbreak of the Paris Commune). The bourgeoisie, scarred by the fear of its probable disappearance, scandalized by the audacity of the people for having seized power, of having broken the foundations of the system, paid dearly for the example of this revolutionary heresy to the Communards. *Edmond de Goncourt* was not deceived in his villainous apologetic verdict when he wrote: "*Bloodletting, like*

this one, by killing the warring part of a population, adjourns the new revolution with a conscription. It is twenty years of rest that the old society has before it." For Gustave Flaubert the repression was not cruel enough, because he felt *"that we should have condemned to the galleys the whole Commune and force these bloody idiots to clear the ruins of Paris, chain neck, in simple convicts . But that would have hurt humanity. One is tender for mad dogs, and not for those whom they have bitten"*. Words that could have been written or uttered by Bernard Henry Levy or Luc Ferry and by the majority of intellectuals and contemporary journalists.

Thus, all the writers have lent their support to the bloody regime of Versailles. For the majority of these writers, the Commune is the expression of a congenital biological imperfection, of moral depravity. The Commune is the illustration of: *"the struggle of Good against Evil, civilization against barbarism, order against anarchy, intelligence against stupidity, head against stomach, duty against selfishness, from work against laziness, from the elite against the popular breed"*.

Here is an anthology of the texts of these rabid writers engaged against the Commune:

"That humanity is a dirty and disgusting brood! That the people are stupid! It is an eternal race of slaves who can not live without a pack and without a yoke. So it will not be for him that we will fight again, but for our sacred ideal. Let him die of hunger and cold, this easy-to-deceive people who will soon begin to slaughter his true friends!", asserts Leconte de L'Isle. Elsewhere, about the Communards, Leconte de l'Isle denounces: *"this league of all the declassed, all the incapable, all the envious, all the murderers, all the thieves, bad poets, missed journalists, novelists low floor"*. While Alphonse Daudet sees rather: *"heads of pawns, filthy collars, shiny hair"*. For Anatole France, the Communards are *"only a committee of assassins, a gang of rascals, a government of crime and dementia"*. Ernest Feydeau specifies that: *"it is no longer barbarism that threatens us, it is not even the savagery that invades us, it is pure bestiality"*. Theophile Gautier agrees: *"Communards are" ferocious animals"*, "hyenas" and "gorillas", who *"spread through the terrified city with savage howls"*. With medical metaphors, the Commune was according to Maxime Du Camp: *"an attack of furious envy and social epilepsy"*, and according to Émile Zola: *"a crisis of nervous nervousness", "an epidemic fever exaggerating fear as trust , releasing the unbridled human beast, at the slightest breath"*. In a paternalistic tone, another writer, Maurice Montégut, pours out with concern on the poor *"Peace and harmony must come from above, down, unable to climb. It is the duty of the understanding, the strong, to reach out to the weak, to the dark. How can one be angry at the crowd - since one does nothing to enlighten, to instruct - to have kept the atavistic instinct of the prehistoric brutes, at the time when the cannibal ancestors, in the monstrous forests, did not meet only to devour on the threshold of the caves? With a little sweetness, a lot of charity, soothes the rough animals that stretch their backs, submits under the astonishment of a caress"*. For some writers, the egalitarian spirit of the Commune offended their elitist conception of society. Thus, Taine writes sarcastically, in a mocking tone: *"The boss, the bourgeois, exploits us, we must suppress him. I am a worker, I am capable, if I wish, of being a manager, a magistrate, a general. By good luck, we have guns, let us use them and establish a Republic where workers like us are ministers and presidents"*. Renan, for whom Germany is a model, believes that *"the essential thing is less to produce enlightened masses than to produce great geniuses and an audience capable of understanding them"*.

In the same way, the "communard" women were not spared by the verbal excesses of these bloody Versailles writers. These women, also called the oil companies (women who, during the Commune, would have ignited fires with oil), are often compared to "wolves" or "hyenas". Thus, Arthur de Gobineau writes: *"I am deeply convinced that there is not an example in the history of any time and any people of the furious madness, of the fanatical frenzy of these women."* Another less famous writer, Ernest Houssaye, says: *"Not one of these women had a human figure: it was the image of crime or vice. They were soulless bodies that had deserved death a thousand times, even before touching oil. There is only one word for punishment: the "hideousness"*.

At the time of the bloody repression of the Communards, Anatole France jubilant: *"Finally, the government of crime and dementia rots at the time he is in the field of execution! Emile Zola, described as close to the people, shows himself indulgent towards the versaillais: "The bloodshed that the people of Paris have just*

taken was perhaps a horrible necessity to calm some of their fevers. You will see it grow in wisdom and splendor." Decidedly, under the reign of class rule, the class abomination still reigns. As soon as the people lift their heads, the hatred of the ruling class falls on them. Followed then by the repression, then the massacres.

"And for the proletarians who allow themselves to be amused by ridiculous walks in the streets, by plantations of trees of freedom, by sound phrases of lawyers, there will be holy water first, then insults. finally, grape shot and misery always».(Auguste Blanqui, 1850)

APPENDIX III: The 42 claims of the yellows addressed to the National Assembly

1. Zero SDF: URGENT.

2. More progressive income tax (more slices).
3. SMIC at 1300 euros net.
4. Promote small businesses + free parking.
5. Large Housing Isolation Plan (make ecology saving money).
6. That big (MacDo, Google, Amazon, Carrefour ...) pay more and that small (artisans, small businesses, small businesses) pay small.
7. Same social security system for all. End of RSI.
8. The pension system must remain in solidarity and therefore socialized (no point of retirement).
9. End of the increase in fuel taxes.
10. No retirement below 1,200 euros.
11. Any elected representative will be entitled to the median salary. Its transportation costs will be monitored and reimbursed if they are justified. Right to the ticket restaurant and checks holidays.
12. The wages of all French people as well as pensions and allowances must be indexed to inflation.
13. Protect French industry: prohibit relocation.
14. End of detached work. It is abnormal that a person who works on French territory does not benefit from the same salary and the same rights. Anyone who is authorized to work on French territory must be on a par with a French citizen and his employer must contribute at the same level as a French employer.
15. For job security: further limit the number of fixed-term contracts for large companies. More CDIs
16. End of the CICE. Use this money for the launch of a French hydrogen car industry (which is truly ecological, unlike the electric car.)
17. End of the austerity policy. We are ceasing to repay interest on debt that is declared illegitimate and we are starting to pay off the debt without taking money from the poor and the poorest, but by going after the \$ 80 billion in tax fraud.
18. That the causes of forced migration be addressed.
19. That asylum seekers be well treated. We owe them housing, security, food and education for minors.
20. That rejected asylum seekers be returned to their country of origin.
21. That a real integration policy be implemented.
22. Maximum salary fixed at 15,000 euros [monthly, Ed].
23. That jobs be created for the unemployed.
24. Increase in disability benefits.
25. Limitation of rents. + moderate rent housing.
26. Prohibition to sell property belonging to France (dam, airport ...)

27. Substantial means granted to the justice system, the police, the gendarmerie and the army. That police overtime be paid or recovered.
28. All the money earned by motorway tolls must be used for the maintenance of highways and roads.
29. Since gas and electricity prices have risen since privatization, we want them to become public again and prices to fall significantly.
30. Immediate closure of small lines, post offices, schools and maternity wards.
31. Let's bring wellness to our elderly people.
32. Maximum 25 students per school class.
33. Substantial means brought to psychiatry.
34. The Citizen's Initiative Referendum (RIC) must enter into the Constitution.
35. Return to a 7-year term for the President of the Republic.
36. Retirement at age 60 and for all persons having worked in a trade using the body, right to retire at 55 years.
37. A 6-year-old child not keeping himself alone, continuation of the PAJEMPLOI support system.
38. Promote the transport of goods by rail.
39. No withholding tax.
40. End of presidential allowances for life.
41. Prohibition of charging merchants a tax when their customers use the credit card.
42. Tax on marine fuel oil and kerosene.

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<https://www.agoravox.fr/culture-loisirs/extraits-d-ouvrages/article/la-fin-de-l-intellectuel-francais-213067> And Shlomo Sand. *How the Jewish people were invented*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0yjxkHXFJU&fbclid=IwAR1d_DaA88JYyFjz81zdek_k7tUSyvvk5bkFI4CcJntOFZ0XWdk2eOZlj4
12. <https://www.agoravox.fr/culture-loisirs/extraits-d-ouvrages/article/la-fin-de-l-intellectuel-francais-213067>
13. Subornation: a maneuver by which one strives to divert someone from his duty. This is the main function of the political and trade union organizations: to maneuver the people with a view to diverting them from their authentic struggles, truthful debates.
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16. <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-dailleurs/liberez-nos-camarades/>
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18. Source: The snipers: <https://www.algeriepatriotique.com/2018/12/03/gilets-jaunes-des-snipers-en-position- of-tir-on-larc-de-triomphe-en-france/> and https://www.agoravox.fr/tribune-libre/article/gilets-jaunes-michel-onfray-209960?fbclid=IwAR3EtAB5ix9Yo_45vlvvCNhxJnowYu8tHNZE0C3bAmsRHYDTUoYesZRjCjg and <https://www.agoravox.fr/actualites/medias/article/gilets-jaunes- and-journalists-210142>
19. Source: https://www.agoravox.fr/tribune-libre/article/gilets-jaunes-michel-onfray-209960?fbclid=IwAR3EtAB5ix9Yo_45vlvvCNhxJnowYu8tHNZE0C3bAmsRHYDTUoYesZRjCjg
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21. Source: <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-dailleurs/gilets-jaunes-interclassisme-is-contraire-aux-prets-proletaires-interests/>
22. Source: <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-dailleurs/gilets-jaunes-interclassisme-is-contraire-aux-prets-proletaires-interests/>
23. Source: https://www.europe1.fr/societe/le-soutien-aux-gilets-jaunes-en-legere-hausse-selon-un-sondage-3853172?fbclid=IwAR0SziA8CMU6eYaCbwsIMYQng457CrJpYPCfEe_nUIGb_uUddxmtYkdoCAg
24. Source: <http://mai68.org/spip2/spip.php?article2995>
25. This chapter is inspired by the article of the Spanish group Nuevo Curso on: <https://nuevocurso.org/que-es-el-fascismo/> And that we translated into French on: <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-guard-2/lantifascisme-is-a-trap/>
26. <https://nuevocurso.org/que-es-el-fascismo/> that we translated into French on: <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-de-garde-2/lantifascisme-est-un-piege/>
27. The historical function of the proletariat is not to transform individual property into state property. The simple disappearance of the class-rich bourgeoisie also validates the orientation of the economy towards communism and the alienation of man. As Marx said, "the abolition of private property and communism are not the same in any way". In fact, the socialization of the economy and the abolition of the wage-earning system that will enable the proletarian revolution to be accomplished are not two different or successive tasks, but two aspects of the same transformation, which must therefore be adapted. What must disappear before one can speak of communism is **the** property as a means of subjecting men to wage labor. It must begin with the organization of production by and for the producers and their families, or the working tools are the responsibility of society as a whole». <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-au-front/can-plan-the-development-capitalist-or-socialist/>
28. <https://nuevocurso.org/por-que-no-funciona-la-subida-del-salario-minimo/>
29. <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7dailleurs/limperialisme-et-les-taches-du-proletariat/>
30. https://fr.sputniknews.com/points_de_vue/201902021039882397-croissance-economie-france-espoirs/?utm_source=push&utm_medium=browser_notification&utm_campaign=sputnik_fr
31. <https://nuevocurso.org/por-que-no-funciona-la-subida-del-salario-minimo/>
32. The growth of the French economy in 2018. https://fr.sputniknews.com/points_de_vue/201902021039882397-croissance-economie-france-espoirs/?utm_source=push&utm_medium=browser_notification&utm_campaign=sputnik_fr
33. https://fr.sputniknews.com/points_de_vue/201902021039882397-croissance-economie-france-espoirs/?utm_source=push&utm_medium=browser_notification&utm_campaign=sputnik_fr And <http://www.les7duquebec.com/actualites-des-7/rebond-boursier-dans-lattente-de-lexplosion-a-venir/>
34. <http://www.les7duquebec.com/actualites-des-7/la-monnaie-ou-la-bourse/>
35. <http://www.les7duquebec.com/actualites-des-7/la-crise-economique-en-attente-au-purgatoire/> and <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-dailleurs-invites/les-indices-que-la-crise-economique-a-commence/>
36. <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-dailleurs-invites/les-indices-que-la-crise-economique-a-commence/>
37. Source: <http://www.les7duquebec.com/7-dailleurs/compte-rendu-de-la-seconde-assemblee-des-assemblee-des-gilets-jaunes-st-nazaire-avril-2019/>
38. https://nuevocurso.org/por-que-no-funciona-la-subida-del-salario-minimo/?utm_medium=push&utm_source=suscriptores&utm_campaign=onesignal