Contribution of the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR) of Argentina

The Argentinazo on December 19 and 20th, 2001 produced a turn in Argentine political situation. It makes part of the facts through which South America has transformed itself in one of the more active revolutionary storm points and anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world.

People of Bolivia has lead journeys of struggle that started with the "War of the water", in 2000, followed by the historic revolt on February 12 and 13, 2003 that ended in the uprising and general strike with insurgent features that threw out Sanchez de Lozada from the government hitting with a big blow yankee imperialism that was his main support. Sanchez de Lozada was rescued by the yankees, who finance senior officers of the Armed Forces under the pretext of the struggle against drug traffic.

The heroic joint popular revolt of miners, peasants, students, with participation of women, quechuas, aymaras and cambas (the three native nationalities of Bolivia) managed to unify other popular Through several days sectors. confronted repressive forces with marches, road blockades and the miners' traditional use of dynamite. They suffered more than seventy deaths and thousands of wounded people.

The Bolivian uprising has became a big worry for the imperialists and the ruling classes in South America due that it outlines a way of struggle for the future of Bolivia and the whole area.

The unity of the majority of the Bolivarian Armed Forces with the organized popular masses managed to defeat: the stoppage of the traitor trade union leaders who worked for the oligarchy and yankee imperialism and the coup d'état prepared in order to eliminate president Chávez and to close with bloodshed the liberating process in Venezuela. Since that experience, a more

important mass peak process and popular organization that includes the occupation of lands and factories was developed.

The fascist policies of Uribe in Colombia has neither defeated the guerrilla yet nor the combat of workers and people in that country and has suffered a big blow with the failure of the plebiscite that intended to legalize those policies.

The proletarian, "Sin Tierra" and popular struggle has been intensified in Brazil despite Lula's policies who has betrayed his electoral promises. A big struggle of the state workers took place against social security reform that intensified contradictions within the government parliamentary blocs belonging to the PT (Partido de los Trabajadores) and PC do B (Partido Comunista do Brasil).

The combat of the working class, peasants and people of Paraguay goes on and in great journeys of struggle, led by the National Federation of Peasants (NFP) and the National Central of Workers has managed to avoid the privatizations pushed by the IMF and the imperialism. The formation of popular assemblies is spreading in peasant and urban communities in order to get a social price for electricity. Through a national struggle plan the NFP has achieved deliverv bν the government subsidized cottonseeds. Teachers, through a fight, have defeated the attempt of the new government for increasing the years of work needed to retire and some other reactionary measures.

Popular struggle is increasing in Peru. Toledo's pro-yankee government is more and more unpopular every day. He had to repress struggle with the Armed Forces and had to declare the state of siege in order to survive due to the popular uprisings against him, specially the one in Puno. Armed

actions of PC of Perú (Partido Comunista del Perú- Sendero Luminoso) keep going on.

The uprisings of native peoples and other popular sectors of Ecuador also got insurrectional features managing to overthrow reactionary governments. Huge demonstrations of teachers, students, petrol workers, etc. have been developed.

In Uruguay there have been important worker strikes. The one carried out by health workers received the support of the whole community.

The participation of miners in the "Bolivianazo" and the combat of the proletarian masses in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay show the growing role – decisive for the victory- of the working class in the liberating struggle of our peoples.

Late struggles in Latin America and the Caribbean outlined the strategic unity of the broad peasant masses, most of them natives, with the proletariat of the big urban centers. This is an essential unity for the triumph of the revolutionary process.



In this frame we analyze the Argentinazo: it was a gigantic effort of struggle waged by hundred of thousands women, men and youth. For the first time in the national history people gained the streets and overthrew a government who surrendered our wealth to the imperialism and blocked the state of siege enforced by the government of De la Rúa and forced the default of the external debt. Hundreds of thousands people from Jujuy to Tierra del Fuego play a leading role during the popular uprising that ended in Plaza de Mayo in

Buenos Aires City. Our party, the RCP, has been struggling since 1996 for this Argentinazo in the first place for overthrowing Menem's government and afterwards De la Rúa's government and to put and end to the policies of hunger and surrendering of the national wealth that took millions of Argentines to the extreme poverty.

Factory workers converged in this fight with unemployed and retirees along with broad masses of self-employed, small and median rural and urban producers and median bank savers who had been expropriated.

The Argentinazo made the **objective revolutionary situation** that had been incubating since a while before to rise. We define an objective revolutionary situation as Lenin did:

- "1) The impossibility for the ruling class of keeping their ruling in immutable way, a crisis in the "heights", a political crisis of the ruling classes opens a crack through which discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst into. In order revolution can break out is not enough that "those down below do not want" to live like before, it is necessary that "those on the top can not live" as they did up to the present time.
- 2) A worsening, higher than the usual one, of the miseries and extreme poverty of the oppressed classes.
- 3) An important intensification, due above mentioned causes, of mass activity that in "peaceful" times leave upper classes to plunder them quietly but that in troubled times are pushed, either by the crisis situations as the "heights" themselves to an historically independent action." (Lenin, The bankruptcy of the IInd International, May/June 1915.)

To have an objective revolutionary situation does not mean that revolution is going to succeed. Because, in order to have a direct revolutionary situation is needed a social force capable to take it to the triumph and a party that can lead that social force.

The political crisis produced the fracture of the ruling bloc in two camps: One that defended "convertibility" (\$1=U\$1) and the other that operated for devaluation.

Taking advantage of this fracture discontent and indignation of the oppressed classes burst in.

The Argentinazo unveiled the existence of a hegemony crisis of the ruling classes that was expressed in daily facts. For instance: contempt for the laws of the system. Practice of direct democracy. Spreading of masses self-defense. Workers who started broken factories to produce.

Also, an ideological break of the so called "unquestionable truths" of the neo-liberal economic model that have brought confusion to the masses for years, took place: the "goodness" of free market, and the "benefits" of privatizations, the "advantages" of being USA partners.

The Argentinazo opened a new situation. We could not advance more in the first place, because the working class movement was split and led mainly by forces that in the decisive journeys demobilized organizations. This experience gives rise again, as main task for the stage opened with the Argentinazo, to the need of regaining for the class-consciousness the delegate corps and domestic committees of factories of proletarian bia concentration.

In second place, there was no coordinator center. The majority of the leaderships of the main left popular forces rejected the way of the Argentinazo and their main concern was to participate in the elections while the majority of the people had decided "the punishing vote", this is to say, blank vote, nullifying the vote or not to vote.

In the third place, although the Armed Forces were neutralized and did not participate in repression, their patriotic sections did not joint the people.

In forth place, the urgent need for growth of the working class movement's classconscious and militant forces, specially the growth of the RCP.

With this situation, after the changes of five presidents in ten days Duhalde assumed the presidency who expressed, from the economic point of view, sections of a bourgeoisie intermediary (compradora) of big monopolies, banks and landlords. A group of monopolies historically belonging to or associated with the Russian imperialism who has strong bonds of interests, interlaces and unity with some European groups and relations of struggle and unity with Spanish

enterprises and European privatized enterprises.

This group is opposed, within the bloc of the ruling classes, to the group of the yankee imperialism enterprises and banks and to the section of intermediary bourgeoisie and landlords associated to the yankee imperialism (with exception of the yankee enterprises related with the domestic market). German monopolies as Siemens and English groups are also opposed to this group.

Duhalde's government liquefied the debts of the big monopoly groups it defended and continued with the confiscation of deposits to the median and small bank savers.

With devaluation Duhalde made the biggest transference of funds in Argentine history in favor of the big economic groups, banks and exporters, landlords and has massively expropriated those who has fix incomes, in the first place wage earners, retirees and pensioners, whose incomes were reduced in one third.

Duhalde was willing to make the budget cuts the yankees asked for but he did not foresee the big punishment that he would receive from the United States and the IMF. Due



that Bush's government decided to make of Argentina a "leading case" of what would happened to any Third World country if it dares to default its external debt. Following this line of action the IMF launched the operation "infinite punishment".

During Duhalde's government the peak of popular struggle continued for different demands.

He had to hold elections in advance due to the huge united demonstration repudiating the murders of two piqueters carried out by the repressive forces in a frustrated attempt to put and end to road blockades and with the bank savers demonstrations.

These elections, which were negotiated with the American Embassy, had as main purpose to split the popular masses that had played a leading role in the Argentinazo and to look for an agreement in order to unify, even in a precarious way, the ruling classes.

They wanted to extinguish the live coals of the Argentinazo.

The elections on April 2003, were tricky ones. There was a brutal media campaigns against the "protest vote" and the leftist reformist forces supported it. They managed to split the forces that were united in the Argentinazo. Government's propaganda placed a part of the masses facing the choice of "elections or civil war". Nevertheless, there were two millions of "protest votes" against the political and mass media apparatus.

Menem won the first turn and this fact easily led to a polarization from which a broad anti-menemist and anti-yankee coalition rose up and made that Menem finally quit the polls before the second turn because he knew he was walking towards a big defeat. This was the way that President Kirchner arrived to the government with only 17% of the votes. This is the main reason why it is the most fragile government in our history.

Fidel Castro's, Chávez's and Lula's visits the day Kirchner assumed the presidency generated a great expectation, particularly in those masses who have foreseen the danger of a civil war very close during the year 2001 and on and that still dreams with the possibility of a pacific way in order to solve their problems.

Kirchner knocked off a big portion of the military chiefs hitting the circle that during the year 2002 conspired to appoint a provisory government backed by the USA Department of State. He proceeded against the Supreme Court and against other corrupt sectors. In the democratic field the absolute nullity of laws that allowed impunity to the main leaders of the military dictatorship. He denied total immunity to yankee troops for the military operation Aguila III that had to be suspended and he

declared that our country would not participate in Iraq's occupation.

He made an approach to the unemployed organizations, particularly to the CCC, because he could not unknown the extraordinary power this force has achieved. Unemployed organizations gained several demands.

This political situation can not be explained apart from the situation opened by the Argentinazo.

He signed a very bad agreement with the IMF. This agreement legitimates the external debt and he accepted to pay the whole debt with the IMF and the WB formulating a partial acquittance of the 75% to the private creditors. He accepted to have a budget surplus of 3% of the DGP (Domestic Gross Product) for the payment of the external debt in 2004. The core of Kirchner's program attack neither the large estate property nor the dependency and so can not work out the crisis on behalf the people. Kirchner threatens to make some finishing touches to the "neo-liberal model".

In the first place the problem of Argentina will not be solved changing the model. In second place, even if they make some finishing touches to the model what is predominant in the economic field is the continuity of the policy applied by Duhalde.

Since the beginning of the Argentinazo up to date, popular forces and our party had advanced a great deal. This is not enough yet. We need a larger advance, to strengthen our own forces and mainly, that the working class plays its role of vanguard and can unify the other sectors of the popular field. \$\frac{1}{2}\$

