

# ARGENTINA



Macri's government and bosses declare war  
on workers and the exploited

## The working class fight back, struggling as in 2001

**Everybody out, nobody left!**

**Open the road to socialist revolution!**

**Argentina will be Socialist or it will be colony of Wall Street**



**Before the crash of 2001 and  
recovered factories like Zanon...**

**Self-management and bourgeois  
cooperativism Vs Worker Control**

*A fully valid polemic*

See page 18

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## Editorial

DECEMBER 14, 18 y 19, 2017: THE ARGENTINEAN WORKING CLASS BEGAN TO FIGHT AS IN 2001...

# AN "INTIFADA" THAT MADE THE ARGENTINE OF THE ABOVE TREMBLE

On December 18 and 19, Buenos Aires was the scene of a **formidable mass political struggle** against the pension reform of the IMF and the government of the CEOs. The working class collided head-on with the parliament, the repressive forces of the State and the set of institutions of the arch-reactionary and Bonapartist Constitution of 1853-1994, facing the plan of imperialist looting of the nation imposed by the G-20.

On Monday 18, the working class staged a revolutionary general strike with pickets and barricades, a national strike imposed from below on the triumvirate of the CGT, which had agreed on the labor reform of the government and imperialism. **Tens of thousands of workers and young people surrounded the Parliament and unleashed their anger in a veritable "Intifada"**. At night, the impoverished middle classes, outraged by the repression and the government measures, went out to make **cacerolazos** (pan pounding) in Buenos Aires City and the main cities of the country until the wee hours of



Tuesday morning.

This irruption of the exploited brought 2001 to the Argentina ruling classes' memory. The CEOs, the big banks, the oligarchy of the Rural Society, did not expect such a response.

The workers broke any union bureaucracy policy of conciliation and submission to the bourgeoisie. With their actions, they divided the middle classes, whose lower layers, encouraged by the struggle of the

working class, spontaneously took to the streets. Chants of "*Unity of the workers!*" and "*Macri, motherfucker, go out!*" were combined with the "*Que se vayan todos*" ("All of them must go out forever!"), the class independence cry of the 2001 revolution, which for years the reformist leaders of the labor movement had kept well buried and on Dec 18 was heard again in the streets.

This shows that a **prerevolu-**

**tionary situation** is opening in Argentina. The working class has made the bourgeoisie tremble again. But this combat is not coming from the blue. It is part of huge mass revolutionary responses worldwide against the hard blows that imperialism, under the command of Trump, is unloading on the exploited.

The Argentine working class not only joins the struggle of their class brothers from Venezuela, Brazil, Peru and Honduras against the Wall Street plans on Latin America, but also the Palestinian intifada, the uprising of the exploited of Iran against the ayatollah billionaires and the Tunisian masses who take up the revolutionary path facing the bourgeois power.

Although the FIT and the rest of the Argentine left want to hide this character of the revolutionary days of 18 and 19, the truth is that these were enormous actions that **the workers and exploited must deepen, without stopping for a second in their combat, to prepare a true “hell” to defeat the Macri government and its reform plan; a “hell” like the one that made the working class and working youth of Germany and all of Europe against the G-20 in Hamburg last year.**

***the government, encouraged by a series of reactionary triumphs, collided head on with a huge mass response***

The Argentine bourgeoisie had arrived emboldened to December 2017. Trump’s and US imperialism offensive on Latin America and the world pushed the servile regimes and governments to launch very hard attacks on the exploited, such as the plans of “labor reforms” dictated by the G-20 that are being applied in France, Brazil, Peru and Argentina.

Since the beginning of 2017, Macri was imposing this labor flexibility, not only liquidating the collective bargaining agreement



of the oil workers, in the dairy industry, in metalworking, etc. -in agreement with the union bureaucracy of Pereyra and Ávila and the Kirchnerite bureaucrats of ATILRA (dairy workers union) and SMATA (autoworkers)-, but in the whole of the working class: 80% of the non registered workers earn less than \$ 10,000 (USD 500) monthly, while the average of the registered workers earn only \$ 17,000 (USD 850) monthly (according to state statics office INDEC data).

In turn, the anti-bureaucratic rebellion opened on March 7 - when the labor base of the unions controlled by the Peronist bureaucracy stoned the triumvirate of the CGT and took the box from it- had suffered severe setbacks with the workers defeats in AGR, the Unionized transit workers of Córdoba, Pepsico, teachers, etc., which thanks to the betrayal of the union bureaucracy, took the vanguard out of the scene and subjected the working class to the electoral farce of August and October. The FIT, with its electoral politics and its parliamentary cretinism, had played a fundamental role in this.

While the struggles of the working class were defeated one by one, the Macri government advanced in the Bonapartization of the regime by perfecting the repressive apparatus for the oncoming battles. The armed bands of the State assassinated

Santiago Maldonado and Rafael Nahuel at the request of the Rural Society, Benetton and the oil companies in Patagonia. The South Command of the Pentagon took the bases of the Argentine Navy under the pretext of the disappearance of the ARA San Juan submarine.

In these conditions, after obtaining an enormous reactionary triumph in the legislative elections and supported by a pact with the governors of the Justicialist Party and the Kirchnerites and with the triumvirate of the central union bureaucracy, the government launched a brutal (labor, tax and social security) **reform plan** pushed by the **G-20** and the **IMF**. Its objective is to bring the working class to the conditions of exploitation of the nineteenth century, loot the pension funds and deepen the theft of the nation. To prevent the economic crash from exploding, the government has borrowed heavily in dollars indebting Argentina to maintain a fictitious cycle of consumption for the rich middle classes. And this has to be paid for by the masses. The bosses must defeat the workers’ movement and deprive large sectors of the middle classes, their own social base, of their income with devaluation, skyrocketing prices of basic services and a hellish difficulty for the workers to make ends meet that does not give peace.

In December Macri felt victorious and attacked harshly. He thought

he had won the battle beforehand. But on 18 and 19, the exploiters came face to face with a huge response from the working class and the lower layers of the middle classes that they were not expecting: **two huge days of political struggle with revolutionary methods** that hit the government and radically changed the situation.

***The working class gives a huge blow to the government with a general political strike, pickets and revolutionary combat***

The actions of December 18 and 19 against the pension reform were true **independent actions of the masses** that broke all the containment dams and **were not prepared or called by any union or party.**

The advance of 18 was the clashes on Thursday 14. That Thursday about 200 thousand exploited were concentrated in front of the Congress of the Nation, with strikes by trade and pickets. In the face of government repression, the workers confronted the Gendarmerie and succeeded in imposing the suspension of the Congress session, which was postponed until Monday, October 18. The brutal repression with rubber bullets and grenades to workers and retirees, the more than 40 detained, the provocative scene of the quorum attempt using a “fake deputy” to complete the number, etc., were seen by TV all over the country and aroused the indignation of the exploited.

That is why on Monday, Dec 18 the mood was different. There was hatred, anger, desire for revenge. The rebellion against the union bureaucracy of March 7 was resumed and taken to a higher level. The **workers’ rank and file** of the metal, state, Astillero Rio Santiago, telephone, etc. workers **imposed a**

**general strike on the triumvirate of the CGT**, which was forced to announce it at 10 am to avoid being thrown down, showing that **the union bureaucracy had lost control of the labor movement.** The transport workers guaranteed to take the workers to the Plaza, which began to arrive from the morning despite the fact that the triumvirate of the CGT had announced that it was not going to mobilize. By noon there were 300,000 workers, retired workers, students, exploited, etc. in front of Congress.

While the triumvirate of the CGT disappeared from the scene, the “opposition” bureaucrats Moyano and Palazzo, who did not know how to deactivate the bomb, begged the employers’ deputies to vote against the reform. In the parliament, the Kirchnerite deputies, who had agreed everything with the government, gave a quorum allowing to vote for the looting of the pension fund. The FIT, for its part, validated this session with the presence of its deputies.

But that day the workers, against the policy of all their leaders, no longer wanted to pressure any politician. **They knew that to defeat the pension reform it was necessary to defeat the government**, collide with the “democracy” of the oligarchy and Wall Street and enter into an **open political struggle.** That is why, after noon, the repressed hatred broke out and the workers of the Rio Santiago Shipyard, the metallurgists of the UOM (Metalworkers Union) of Quilmes, the movements of the unemployed, the base of the leftist parties, etc. began clashing with the police, which after 4 hours of fighting had to retreat momentarily under a shower of stones.

The bourgeoisie was divided around how to contain the masses. Frightened, the Kirchnerite deputies warned the ruling party “remember December 19 and 20, 2001!”. For that Monday 18, the government had even defined a more defensive poli-

cy than that of Thursday 14, hiding the hated gendarmerie and putting a smaller number of police. He knew that, under the conditions of Monday, a hard crash like that on Thursday could end with dead and open a real civil war, with workers even being able to disarm the Gendarmerie.

But while the bourgeoisie had prepared itself to the millimeter, **no workers’ union or party had prepared the workers for the political struggle on Monday.** Nobody had called to organize a political struggle in the streets, or to put in place the necessary organization for that combat. No one had called to throw down the triumvirate of the CGT. No one had organized unified self-defense committees. The “opposition” bureaucracy sought to control the workers’ rank and file and take it to the feet of the bourgeoisie and the parliament. The program of the FIT, opposed in 180° to the mass action on Dec 18, had been to “put more deputies of left in the Congress”, editing bills, pushing “do not buy Lays potatoes” campaigns, festivals.

The workers and combative youth outdid their leaderships, and rammed. Even in the worst conditions, and already in the combat, having 60 detainees and dozens of wounded, they improvised their self-defense and sent 88 policemen to the hospital.

Finally, the police managed to retake the square with a brutal repression. At dusk, when the day seemed to have ended, large sections of the middle classes, impacted by the workers’ fight in front of the Congress (who even aided them giving them water and shelter in their buildings before the brutal repression), took to the streets to make “cacerolazos”(pan pounding) as in 2001. At night, more than 20 thousand people gathered in front of the Congress after midnight. 10 thousand people protested in front of the presidential residence. In some neighborhoods there was looting, at-

tacking the property of supermarkets and distribution trucks. This scene was repeated in Rosario, Córdoba and other big urban centers of the country. The task was posed to weld the worker and popular alliance in the streets as in 2001. The general strike, even with the limits imposed by the leaderships, had already become **a general, political, revolutionary strike, an independent mass** action that dragged large layers of the exploited to a fight against the government, breaking the frames of professions and unions and unifying the different sectors of the working class. It was the first decisive political blow given to a government and the regime since 2001.

This mass action **changed the relationship of forces between the classes in Argentina**. What really stood out is **who commands in the country**: whether imperialism and its lackeys of the native bourgeoisie, or the proletariat. As Trotsky said about the France of the 1930s: *“Whatever the slogans and the reason why the general strike has arisen, if it really embraces the masses and if these masses are determined to fight, the general strike inevitably raises before all the classes of the nation the question: who is going to be the owner of the house?”* (L.T., *“Whither France?”*, our translation). This is what happened on December 18 and 19.

***In 18 and 19 we could not defeat macri because he was supported by a covenant with the justicialist (peronist) party, the kirchnerites, the frente renovador of massa, and the union bureaucracy***

Unlike December 2001, when the bourgeois regime was corroded, in December 2017 the working class faced a **regime and government that were stronger than the Alliance’s** (in 2001). The bourgeoisie learned



from 2001: it reconstituted its party regime and shielded its “democracy” with **600 thousand armed** men of the different police, Gendarmerie, Coastal Guard, Airport Security Police (PSA), Federal Police (PFA), etc. commanded by the government and the caste of judges, who have behind them the Pentagon, the CIA and the MOSSAD. The “house prison” to Etchecolatz and the promotion of the gendarme Echazú (killer of Maldonado) were an award for these murderers and a provocation for the people.

Second, Macri conquered, unlike De la Rúa, an anti-worker and reactionary social base in the rich middle classes that demand worker slavery to be imposed by blood and fire so that the merry-go-round of consumption and the financial “carry-trade” are not cut off.

But the government has another support: **a Bonapartist pact with the PJ governors and the Kirchnerites which also includes the CGT bureaucracy and the state-ized trade unions**. It is an extra-parliamentary co-government pact that the national Executive Power has sealed during and after the legislative elections with the Provincial Executives behind the back of the people, such a Bonapartist agreement that it is not even contemplated in the Argentine arch-reactionary Constitution. This shows that the

pension reform did not depend on the vote in Parliament, as it had been fully agreed in advance in the backstage. So much so that even Macri threatened to enact it by decree if the Congress could not sanction it.

This pact was expressed in Parliament on Dec 18. The government not only had a secure majority in the Chamber of Deputies to approve the pension law, guaranteed by the PJ, but also had the Frente Renovador and above all the Kirchnerites, who were responsible for giving quorum so the Chamber could meet. It was a real parliamentary circus to deceive the masses with the K parliamentarians posing as “opposition”, when they had already voted in favor of the pension reform in the Senate.

The Kirchnerite governors (those of Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego provinces) signed the Fiscal Pact to the government and apply the same IMF plans with the help of live bullets as Macri does (and yesterday Cristina did). The Ks are guaranteeing Macri’s governability from the first day he took office, including voting all his anti-worker laws in parliament. The Pension Reform was no exception. But the great role of the Kirchnerites was not only this; from the “opposition” trade union bureaucracy of Palazzo and the two CTAs, they sought to subject the exploited at the feet of parliamentarians and this armored “democracy” of the

Constitution of 1853-1994; although they did not succeed on 12/18, when the masses broke with this policy.

### ***The subordination of the FIT to the parliament amidst the combats of the Plaza del Congreso***

At no time did the FIT or the rest of the currents of the Argentine left prepare the vanguard for a political struggle that day, which was the most formidable combat of class independence since 2001.

They did not call for the establishment of any body of direct democracy or common self-defense of trade unions, piquetero movements or left-wing parties. Nor did they pose the physical struggle in the streets against the triumvirate of the CGT, or organize a march to the unions to drive out the hated bureaucracy - which they continue to support.

Their policy of "putting left deputies in the Congress" and organizing "non confrontational strikes" had disorganized the vanguard throughout the previous period. And during the days of Dec 14 and 18, they promoted openly a policy of class collaboration, subordinating themselves to the bourgeois pact that imposed the pension reform.

The FIT leadership called to pressure the "opposition" deputies to vote against the law. They sowed confidence in the bosses' parties when they knew perfectly well that the Kirchnerites had agreed over everything with Macri, that the government already had a parliamentary majority, that the law was going to be voted and that the session was a circus validated by all the employers' parties. But instead of denouncing this pact, the FIT concealed it from the workers, telling them together with the Kirchnerites, that the struggle was to get the PJ, Frente Renovador, etc., deputies to vote against the reform. That is to say, **they said that the reform could be**

**defeated in that den of bandits of the Parliament, within the framework of the institutions of the Constitution of 1853-1994.**

This policy was clearly seen in the "Open Letter" of Del Caño and Seligra to the employers' deputies: *"we urge the deputies that are not willing to contribute with the greater impoverishment of our retirees, not to follow the 'block disciplines' and instead, join in the rejection of this nefarious Law. Nothing and nobody can force you to carry out this 'ungrateful task' ("Open letter to the rest of the deputies", La Izquierda Diario, December 4).*

On Monday, the FIT deputies attended the session and legitimized it, while the masses were fighting in the streets against the police. That day, the duty of Del Caño, Del Pla, Seligra, etc., was -as the Third International Revolution affirmed that the parliamentary workers should act- to be at the forefront of the workers' combat, and if there were detainees, to be detained with them.

This would be as if a worker delegate in a factory finds out, while at a negotiation table with the employers, that the police are repressing his comrades on the front yard of the plant and nonetheless he continues to sit down negotiating as if nothing has happened. A delegate who really represents the workers would break the negotiation with the employers and would go out to fight and resist together with his comrades.

But this was not the attitude of the "worker deputies". (FIT deputies) Del Caño and Del Pla remained in the parliamentary session to demand a "popular consultation" (contemplated by the bourgeois Constitution) against the pension reform. The FIT opposed to a direct attack by the G-20 and the IMF, the proposition to bring the masses to decide with a ballot whether the retirees have to lose Ar. pesos 540 (USD 27) a month with the law of Macri or are to continue starving with the Ar. pesos

7,500 (USD 375) a month given by-Cristina Kirchner, as if the workers had not more than pronounced themselves in their magnificent political struggle in the streets!

Not only they were kilometers behind the battles of the masses, but with the plebiscite that they proclaimed they liquidated the fight for 82% mobile (the demand for the retirees to receive a monthly wage an 82% of the active workers wages and not of the minimum wage as the government says, NT), which is the program that must be imposed to win a dignified retirement for workers.

After the days of December, which as is more than clear, were in spite and against the policy of the FIT and other leftist groups, the reformist currents have dedicated themselves to talking about them and acting as if nothing had happened. The PTS, already uncontrolled, has written that there was "a confrontation with stones with the Police" that could not "defeat this paquetazo (packet of evil measures, NT)". **The FIT leaders keep concealing the true character of these revolutionary days**, so that the masses do not conclude that **they gave a hard blow to the government and that there are more than enough conditions to organize a superior fight to defeat Macri and his reforms.**

That is why, after Dec 18, the FIT deputies used their parliamentary rostrum not to vindicate the struggle of the masses and call for deepening, developing and extending it, but to reprimand the workers of the Provincia Bank for having insulted Lousteau (former ambassador in the USA and former president of that bank) and cowardly excuse themselves before the bourgeoisie, as Del Caño did when affirming *"we do not support what happened to (National) Deputy Lousteau"*.

Meanwhile, these currents - like the PO - invent the fable that the judges of the bourgeoisie can be "im-

partial” when it comes to judging the militants and activists of the working class, who are actually being brutally persecuted and imprisoned by the bourgeois state.

The FIT wants to make the “**democracy**” of the exploiters more “**generous**” with reforms to the regime of the Constitution of 1853-1994, Greek Syriza-style, or as Podemos of the Spanish State and other liars of the New Left. That is why they say, as the PTS does, that on Dec 18 there was a confrontation between “republic” and “democracy”, trying to hide that we are facing a real war of class against class, of the oppressed against the oppressors.

Today it is more than clear that the masses in their spontaneity had a million times more insight and class instinct than the entire direction of the FIT. The working class and the exploited, in a matter of hours, demonstrated the course to follow to defeat the attack of Macri and the IMF against all the impotent recipes of the reformist staffs of the Argentine left that are in London with the SWP English or hanging on the skirts of the Spanish Bourbons like Podemos.

Against the preachers of the struggle for a “real democracy”, we Trotskyists affirm that in capitalism the only possible democracy

for the workers is that of their own self-determination organizations, that of their self-defense against the fire-weapons of the murderous police; their defense of “democratic liberties” with their own methods of revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the road to conquer this “generous democracy” is the one that we must open now, which is the one that was proposed on December 20, 2001: to put on foot the power of the exploited to demolish the regime and its institutions, and take the power.

***The war between classes is sharpening: the government, wounded, intensifies its attack  
the workers respond to the offensive of the capitalists***

*The working class leaders pour water over the December 18 fire*

A phase of mass political struggle has been opened against the Macri government, which puts the entire bourgeoisie on alert, including the Kirchnerites. The government has been wounded. Broad layers of the working class and a fringe of the middle classes have already broken with the government.

The working class has put itself in a position of counter-offensive. Macri has to push it back and kneel it down if he does not want to end up

like De la Rúa. The situation is polarized to an extreme degree and the class war does not give peace. It is an Argentina that has nothing to do with the world of “peace and democracy” painted by the FIT.

After the fighting of Dec 18 and 19, the working class has entered a state of **rebellion against the government and disrespect to the bureaucracy**. Here and there it responds to the dismissals with takeovers of factories like the metallurgists of Stockl, Rapi Estant and Envases del Plata; by thousands, the state workers occupy municipalities and public dependencies; with pickets and roadblocks such as the oil workers of Santa Cruz; with puebladas (popular uprisings) like in Azul.

The workers know that they are no longer alone. The **lower middle classes** are in solidarity with these struggles and seek a leadership against the attack of the government and the IMF, a question that poses the necessity of welding the **workers’ and popular alliance**.

In this scenario, the government is deepening its attack. A brutal devaluation pushes inflation upward. Newly increased fees and prices of basic services were announced. Layoffs in the state offices and enterprises, dozens of factories and also among oil workers.

The Fiscal Pact with the governors and the 2018 budget meant a brutal offensive on the state workers, with dismissals and job flexibility to guarantee the payment of the external debt.

The repression has been redoubled with the imprisonment of Arakaki and Ponce and the arrest warrant of Romero, while Facundo Jones Huala, the anarchists Diego and Pablo and the comrades detained on December 14 remain in prison. In Jujuy province the authorities unleashed a brutal repression with the arrest of the workers of the La Esperanza sugar mill. On Thursday



12/29 state workers, teachers and retirees in Rio Gallegos, Santa Cruz province were brutally repressed by the government of Alicia Kirchner. In Tierra del Fuego, Kirchnerite governor Bertone froze state workers' salaries.

On Dec 27 at the COFCO oil mill (ex-Nidera), a fire caused by the negligence and thirst for profit of the employers' claimed the lives of two workers and more than 20 injured. The response of the workers was a national oil-mill strike in mourning, as it had not been seen for years.

The state workers made a national strike against dismissals and multiplied the occupation of municipalities and dependencies in Quilmes, La Plata, etc. In Azul, there was a pueblada in solidarity with the dismissals in Fabricaciones Militares and pickets are presently made on Route 3. In Mar del Plata 10 thousand people were mobilized against murderer Etchecolatz's "house arrest" in that city. The oil workers of Santa Cruz were on strike against the dismissals. In the Great Buenos Aires, the metallurgists of Stockl, Rapi Estant and other factories are facing layoffs by taking the plants. Chicken processor Cresta Roja has been on strike.

But while the class war is turning red-white, the leadership of the working class tries to disorganize everything the base conquers. The triumvirate of the CGT supports Macri and has agreed to the labor reform with (Labor Minister) Triacca.

Meanwhile, the "piquetera" bureaucracy keeps the unemployed and sub-employed workers of the cooperatives, subject to the misery crumbs of the Ministry of Social Action and the state.

The FIT, which directs a minority but combative sector of the working class, has refused to call for the establishment of a Coordinating Committee or the conquest of a National Workers' Congress to face the brutal flexibilization that has al-

ready been imposed on the working class, when the only way to defeat it is to prepare a superior fight for this time to give Macri the decisive blow he deserves.

**THEY DESERVE HELL!  
WE HAVE TO PREPARE A  
NEW, TRIUMPHANT 2001!  
IT IS NECESSARY TO UNITE  
THOSE WHO ARE FIGHTING!  
NATIONAL COMMAND OF  
STRUGGLE!  
PICKETS, ASSEMBLIES AND  
GENERAL STRIKE UNTIL ALL  
OF THE EXPLOITERS AND  
THEIR POLITICIANS ARE  
LEAVING AND NOT EVEN ONE  
REMAINS!**

**OUT WITH MACRI AND  
THE REGIME OF THE PJ,  
THE KIRCHNERITES, THE  
BOSSSES' POLITICIANS AND  
THE JUDGES, AGENTS OF  
IMPERIALISM!  
DOWN WITH THE  
TRIUNVIRATE OF THE CGT!**

To defeat the reforms of the IMF and the Macri and bosses' attack, the working class must defeat the government and its pact with the PJ, the Kirchnerites and the trade union bureaucracy. The fight is already on the streets. But it will not be peaceful. The capitalists have been armed with 600,000 armed men. It will be necessary to **fight higher than in 2001**, putting in place the organizations where the working class and the exploited in struggle weld their unity and decide their future. It is about preparing the actions capable of defeating the government and the regime, and the organizations capable of opening the struggle for power. The programs of the Argentine left are far from responding to these tasks of the working class.

The road is that shown by the working class and the exploit-

ed of **Iran and Tunisia**, who won the streets against the government and the regime, carrying out enormous revolutionary actions. To put down the reforms of imperialism in Argentina, Macri has to end as (ousted former president, NT) De la Rúa. As the workers shout: **Macri, Go Out!**

We have to climb a new step in our battle: **we must prepare a centralized revolutionary action to defeat the government and the bourgeois power.** That is, we must organize **the revolutionary general strike**, a combat superior to the one of 12/18, organized and centralized, until Macri leaves and we defeat the regime of the Constitution of 1853/1994, of the bosses' parties and the videlista-peronista-radical caste of judges, all agents of the IMF and imperialism.

**We have to prepare a new victorious 2001 so that everyone of the exploiters and their politicians leaves for good and not a single one remains!**

**Let's open the way to the puebladas, the pickets and the factory takeovers!** They must go on!

For this, the first task is to defeat the union bureaucracy. **Down with the (CGT Central Union leading) triumvirate and businessman Calo (The sellout that is head of the metalworkers union, NT)!**

The unions are the workers', not the government or the IMF's organizations. Rank and file assemblies in each factory and establishment to repeal these traitors! We have to take the CGT and throw the bureaucrats out of the windows!

In order to advance along this path, it is necessary to put on foot the organizations of the working class and the exploited that are capable of deepening the political struggle that has been opened. As Trotsky affirmed in France in 1936, "*The organization cannot coincide anymore*

with the unions, because the unions only cover a significant part of the class and are subject to an arch-reactionary bureaucracy. The new organization must respond to the nature of the movement itself, reflect the struggling masses, express their firmest will. It is a direct government of the revolutionary class. There is no need to invent new forms here: there are historical precedents. The workshops and the factories choose their deputies, who meet to elaborate the plans of the struggle in common and to direct it. It is not even necessary to invent the name of such organization: they are the soviets of worker deputies. "(L.T., op.cit., our translation)

That is to say, the self-determination, direct democracy and coordination organizations of all the workers and exploited who fought on Dec 18 and 19 must be built, above the divisions imposed by the unions. **The Factory and Company Committees** must be set up to unite the forces of registered, black-economy, full-time, part-time, temporary, outsourced, native, immigrants, laid-off and unemployed workers! We have to put the zonal **coordinators** back on their feet! For Committees of retired workers!

Let the **revolutionary piquetero movement** of 2001 return! Down with the union bureaucracy!

Let the **Popular Assemblies** return!

The Argentine left, again at 180° of the tasks of the working class, does not propose any course of immediate action. It seems that for them it is necessary to wait until the parliamentary sessions are resumed in March and the labor reform is debated. No! The combat is now! **We have to unite those who are fighting!** We must set up a true **National Struggle Command of all workers' organizations and sectors that are facing the attack of the government** as the workers of Stockl, Rapi Estant, Envases del Plata, Cresta

Roja, UOM de Quilmes, Astillero Río Santiago, Oil Mill workers, oil workers of Santa Cruz, the print workers of Morvillo, the workers of Ingenio (sugar mill) La Esperanza, the state workers all across the country, the dismissed in Fabricaciones Militares state factories and all the rebellious people of Azul city! They have all the authority to call to put it on its feet right now to defeat labor flexibilization, stop the dismissals and conquer our just demands for better wages, jobs and decent pensions, against imperialism and the slave-owner bosses.

The workers' organizations taken from the bureaucracy like SUTNA (tires workers union), Rail workers union Local Haedo, BusLine 60, the SUTEBA (teachers union) locals in the hands of the opposition to the bureaucracy, together with the militant student federations and centers (student unions) must put themselves at the service of this fight!

The Moyanos, the Palazzos and the leaders of the two CTAs ("opposition" central unions) say they are of the opposition but they still do not call the sectors they lead to win the streets to defeat the attack and the labor flexibilization of the government and the bosses. If they are really against the anti-worker reforms, then, break with the PJ, the Frente Renovador of Massa and the Kirchnerites and call this National Struggle Command to organize the General Strike!

The FIT cannot continue to subject the workers' vanguard to the capitalist Parliament. They should break with that notary of Wall Street that is the Congress and put their forces at the disposal of this perspective.

This is the way to conquer a National Worker Congress, that is, the **III National Piquetero Assembly** with rank and file delegates of the employed and unemployed workers. Let's make reality the cry of "*unity of the workers, and who does not like it, is screwed*"!

In order to face the repression of the state, **a unified self-defense committee of workers' organizations** must be formed. Enough of comrades wounded and killed! Dissolution of the police, the gendarmerie and all the repressive apparatus! Dissolution of the videlista-peronista-radical judge caste!

Freedom to all the prisoners for fighting! Labor and popular tribunals to judge and punish all the assassins of Santiago, Rafael and all the dead comrades!

We must re-forge the **worker and popular alliance!** As we shouted in 2001: "*Piquete y cacerola(workers' pickets and middle class pan pounding, NT), the fight is one!*". For this the working class must lead the impoverished middle classes that are being attacked by the government of the CEOs, with an anti-imperialist program that attacks the property of the capitalists.

The future of the working class and the exploited masses cannot remain in the hands of the capitalists and their politicians. Enough of this democracy for the rich! The workers must prepare the struggle to seize power and establish a **workers' and people's government, based on the direct democracy and armed organizations of the exploited**, on the ruins of this oligarchic regime of the Constitution of 1853-1994. Open the way to the revolution of the working class and the exploited!

**British pirates, out of the Malvinas! US imperialists, out of Latin America!**

**ARGENTINA WILL BE SOCIALIST OR IT WILL BE A WALL STREET'S COLONY!**

EDITORIAL BOARD  
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## - SPANISH VERSION -

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√ *Con los combates de diciembre, la clase obrera dejó debilitado al gobierno de Macri y las transnacionales*

√ *El PJ, Massa, el kirchnerismo y la burocracia sindical, lo sostuvieron y este, con hambre y represión, redobló su ataque:*

**WALL STREET Y EL GOBIERNO DE MACRI VIENEN POR TODO  
¡HAY QUE IR POR ELLOS!**

**¡ABAJO EL PACTO DE GOBERNABILIDAD DEL PJ,  
MASSA Y LOS K CON EL GOBIERNO!**

**¡ANDATE MACRI!**

**¡FUERA EL FMI!**

**¡Que se vayan todos!**



Christine Lagarde (Directora del FMI) y Mauricio Macri



Combates del 18D en Congreso

Como el 7 de marzo de 2017...

**¡Paso a la rebelión de la base obrera!**

**¡Fuera la burocracia sindical!**

¡Asambleas de base para desconocer el techo del 15% y todos los acuerdos de entrega de las conquistas obreras!

Coordinando a los que luchan...

Hay que retomar el combate del 18 y 19 de diciembre

**¡Huelga General!**

La vorágine desatada alrededor de las Lebac y la devaluación del peso muestra que Argentina ha chocado con las rocas submarinas de la crisis económica mundial. El agua ya inunda los camarotes de la parte de abajo del barco.

La burbuja de las Lebac, alimentada por Sturzenegger, Dujovne y los hombres de JP Morgan en el gobierno, casi estalla en la mano de Macri.

Lo que hemos visto estas semanas es un chantaje a gran escala del capital financiero. No solo se garantizó fabulosas ganancias en la bicicleta de las Lebac sino que, bajo amenaza de una huida masiva, se consiguió que Sturzenegger le aumente el pago de intereses ¡de 28% a 40% anual!

La fiesta seguirá con redoblado parasitismo y saqueo. El costo lo pagará el pueblo con una devaluación del 27% del peso desde diciembre hasta hoy -un nuevo robo al salario- y con un nuevo acuerdo de coloniaje con el FMI, que significará más deuda por más de US\$ 20 mil millones para garantizar la continuidad de la bicicleta de las Lebac.

Detrás de todo esto está **el brutal saqueo de la nación por un puñado de superbancos de Wall Street**, que

en las últimas semanas fue no menos de US\$ 10 mil millones. Especulación financiera, endeudamiento sin fin, burbujas para robar a gran escala. Eso es lo único que puede darle el 1% de parásitos de Wall Street a las naciones sometidas y expoliadas como Argentina.

Nada de lo que sucede aquí se resuelve en Argentina sino en la Bolsa de Nueva York y los directorios de las transnacionales. El gobierno de Macri es un gobierno directo del imperialismo, que viene a continuar la obra de entrega de la nación de los Kirchner.

El imperialismo yanqui, cruzado por una feroz guerra comercial fundamentalmente con Alemania por los mercados y zonas de influencia del planeta, necesita dar un **salto en la colonización** de su patio trasero y quedarse con los recursos naturales e imponer la flexibilización laboral. Su consigna es "América para los americanos".

La IV Flota de la marina yanqui ha vuelto al Atlántico Sur. Río de Janeiro ya está bajo el mando de los generales de las FF.AA. de ese país. En Argentina, esta ofensiva se expresó en el asesinato de Maldonado y en la penetración del Pentágono en la Patagonia y la Triple Frontera.

Los choques entre las clases ya han comenzado en Argentina, Nicaragua, Brasil, Honduras. **El imperialismo y la clase obrera**, las dos clases fundamentales en todo país semicolonial, **quedaron cara a cara**. El kirchnerismo y la burguesía nativa, al igual que Lula, demostraron ser lacayos de los yanquis y el FMI contra el pueblo. Luego de enterrar la revolución latinoamericana de comienzos de siglo XXI, entregaron Cuba al capitalismo mundial. Los bolivarianos se retiran de la escena histórica dejando hambre y masacres al servicio del imperialismo, como Maduro y Ortega (Nicaragua). Se acabó el verso de las burguesías bolivarianas "antiimperialistas". La suerte de Latinoamérica se definirá en la guerra de clases que ha comenzado.

***El pacto de gobernabilidad con el PJ y el kirchnerismo y el pacto social con la burocracia sindical y piquetera sostienen el ataque de Macri***

El capital financiero obligó a su sirviente Macri a acelerar el ataque

contra el pueblo. Al techo de 15% de aumento salarial firmado por la burocracia, se le suma la devaluación del peso y una escalada de la carestía de la vida que no cesa, que con los tarifazos golpea incluso a las clases medias. No hay sector de las clases explotadas que no esté afectado por el ataque de Macri.

¿De dónde sacó fuerzas este gobierno odiado para atacar así después de los combates del 18 y 19 de diciembre, que lo habían dejado debilitado y malherido? Esas jornadas revivieron el fantasma del 2001 y pusieron en alerta a toda la burguesía, que fortaleció el **pacto de gobernabilidad** entre Cambiemos, el PJ, Massa y el kirchnerismo, una verdadera conspiración contra los explotados. Cuando estaba para tirarlo, los de arriba cerraron filas y la burocracia sindical se encargó de impedir un segundo embate.

Por eso, decir que el kirchnerismo y la “oposición” burguesa enfrentan a Macri es una estafa a los trabajadores. El PJ, el kirchnerismo y Massa votaron todas las leyes fundamentales que pedía el gobierno, los presupuestos 2017 y 2018, el pago a los fondos buitres, etc. Desde las gobernaciones y municipios aplicaron directamente el mismo plan de Cambiemos. En estos días, Macri y los gobernadores acordaron los pasos a seguir, lo que demuestra que el Congreso es una maqueta donde nada se decide.

Frente al último tarifazo, montaron un circo en el parlamento con un proyecto de ley que solo retrotrae las

tarifas a noviembre del 2017 y legitima todos los aumentos anteriores. Apenas terminó esa votación fantoche, diputados “oficialistas” y “oposidores” votaron juntos la Ley de Mercados de Capitales que exigían los bancos y los fondos de inversión.

El llamado del gobierno a la “oposición” a hacer un “gran acuerdo nacional” blanquea el pacto de gobernabilidad que viene funcionando.

Ha quedado claro que **en Argentina manda Wall Street**. Todas las pandillas patronales están bajo las órdenes del “Grupo de los 6”: la banca extranjera, la UIA, la patronal de la construcción y del comercio, la Sociedad Rural y la Bolsa de Valores.

Durante 12 años, el kirchnerismo gobernó al servicio de las transnacionales imperialistas y Wall Street. Le pagaron al FMI la deuda ilegítima contraída por los milicos genocidas y encima llevaron la deuda de US\$ 178 a 250 mil millones y se sometieron a un juez de quinto orden de Nueva York como Griesa en la cuestión de los “fondos buitres”.

El **kirchnerismo** es tan **agente del imperialismo** como Macri. Como se vio con Lula en Brasil, la burguesía nacional es incapaz de enfrentar al imperialismo hasta el final, porque le teme más al movimiento de masas que a la ofensiva del imperialismo. Cuando el kirchnerismo y la burocracia llaman a enfrentar a Macri en las elecciones del 2019 en realidad están garantizando que Macri se quede pasando el ataque de las transnacionales y Wall Street hasta 2019.

La diferencia de los K con Macri es sobre cómo controlar al movimiento de masas. El kirchnerismo le aconseja al gobierno que regule un poco más al capital financiero. Pero ambos acuerdan en que el pueblo pague la fiesta de la timba financiera.

Visto esto es evidente que es imposible responder a semejante ataque con luchas económicas aisladas como plantea la izquierda argentina. Para parar el ataque hay que derrotar a Macri y su pacto de gobernabilidad con la “oposición”. Hace falta una **lucha política revolucionaria** en las calles, **superior al 18 y 19 de diciembre**, organizada. Pero eso jamás se podrá hacer sin romper todo sometimiento de las organizaciones obreras a la burguesía kirchnerista y “opositora” rastrera, sirvienta del imperialismo.

### ***El pacto social del gobierno, la patronal y la burocracia sindical y la piquetera***

La burocracia sindical -el triunvirato de la CGT y los “oposidores” Moyano y las CTA's- fue una parte fundamental de la conspiración que sostuvo al gobierno de Macri. Mientras el triunvirato no podía salir a la calle, Moyano y toda la burocracia “opositora” lograron **cerrar el camino a la huelga general** planteado desde diciembre.

Hoy, en una verdadera política de “pacto social”, vienen de firmar el techo salarial del 15% y están garantizando los despidos, la liquidación de los Convenios Colectivos por sector y allanando el camino para que Macri y la patronal vuelvan a la ofensiva en su intento de imponer la Reforma Laboral. El triunvirato de la CGT odiado está totalmente integrado al Ministerio de Trabajo de Triaca.

Moyano, la burocracia sindical afín al kirchnerismo, Yasky y Michelli (la pata sindical de la burguesía “opositora”), cumplen el rol de subordinar al PJ y la Iglesia la lucha de los sectores que resisten el ataque del gobierno, para apagar el fuego de la lucha revolucionaria de la clase obrera del 18 y 19 de diciembre y garantizar la paz social.



Gobernadores del PJ junto a Macri y su Gabinete

El 21 de febrero pusieron en pie el frente anti-Macri (un frente político y social de colaboración de clases) con los intendentes del PJ, el kirchnerismo y la Iglesia que impidió, como dijimos arriba, la huelga general latente en grandes sectores del movimiento obrero, como Río Turbio, el INTI, el Hospital Posadas, azucareros, etc.

Ante el nuevo tarifazo del gobierno, su política es subordinar las acciones de lucha de los trabajadores al parlamento, como ocurrió el miércoles 9 de mayo, cuando organizaron una movilización en apoyo al proyecto de ley de Massa y el kirchnerismo.

La **burocracia piquetera** de la CCC, Barrios de Pie y la CTEP, bendecida por Bergoglio, es la otra pata de este “pacto social”. Ellos están para impedir que, en medio de los despidos y la crisis social, millones de hambrientos retomen la lucha del movimiento piquetero revolucionario por trabajo genuino junto a la clase obrera ocupada, como en Cutralcú ('96) y Mosconi (2000).

Estamos ante un verdadero “pacto social” para sostener a un gobierno que se salvó de terminar como De la Rúa. La base obrera salió al combate. La burocracia sindical y piquetera la traicionó.

Por eso toda política de exigencia pasiva al “paro nacional” es criminal. Es someter a la clase obrera a la burocracia carnera de los sindicatos estatizados. El camino ya lo marcó la base el **7 de marzo de 2017**, cuando la base obrera echó del palco a la burocracia de la CGT, o el 18 y 19 de diciembre, cuando se impuso la huelga general en las calles: sin derrotar a la burocracia es imposible derrotar a Macri.

### ***El FIT, furgón de cola del “frente opositor”, legítima por izquierda el pacto de gobernabilidad***

El 9 de mayo pasado, cuando la Cámara de Diputados trató la cuestión del tarifazo de los servicios públicos, los parlamentarios del FIT votaron a favor del proyecto de ley burgués de **Massa y el kirchnerismo**, que retrotrae las tarifas a 2017 y legítima todo el



Río Turbio. Piquete en la boca de la mina

robo previo al bolsillo obrero.

El programa del FIT fue claro: “paliar los aumentos”, morigerar el ataque de los capitalistas. Es un programa burgués, totalmente hostil a los intereses de los trabajadores, usado, por ejemplo, por la burocracia sindical stalinista y socialdemócrata de Europa para impedir todo combate revolucionario continental de la clase obrera en 2009-10 contra Maastricht.

El FIT abandonó todo atisbo la independencia de clases y **entró de forma abierta al “frente opositor”** de colaboración de clases del 21 de febrero con el PJ, el kirchnerismo, la Iglesia y la burocracia sindical de Moyano y las CTA's.

La raquítica concentración de Moyano, las CTA's y el FIT el 9 de mayo en Plaza Congreso fue lo opuesto al combate anticapitalista contra el estado del 18 y 19 de diciembre. En esas jornadas, los obreros y la juventud chocaron en las calles con la policía para impedir la reforma previsional del G20 al grito de “¡Andate Macri! ¡Que se vayan todos!”. El 9 de mayo, en cambio, el FIT (los “anticapitalistas” que el 18D pedían una “consulta popular”) llamó a presionar al parlamento para morigerar el tarifazo.

Está claro que el FIT no tiene nada que ver con la lucha del 18 y 19D. Su programa no es “Fuera Macri” sino atemperar el ataque de los capitalistas,

Su política de frente único con Moyano, Yasky & Cia., cuando éstos están traicionando la lucha contra los despidos y por el salario, es una política de sostenimiento de la

burocracia, opuesta a organizar la rebelión de la base obrera contra la burocracia sindical, al surgimiento de los organismos de democracia directa para la lucha política, para romper con la burguesía y preparar una lucha en las calles contra el gobierno. Así es como el FIT termina de espaldas a los heroicos docentes de Neuquén.

La política del FIT se ha vuelto un escollo más a superar por la clase obrera en su combate. Es parte de un frente de colaboración de clases con sectores de la burguesía, que desorganiza a la clase obrera frente al ataque de los capitalistas. Cuando el ataque del imperialismo no da lugar a concesiones a los trabajadores y se bonapartizan los regímenes burgueses para imponer la esclavitud obrera, el programa del FIT es luchar por más democracia con la “oposición” burguesa.

### ***Para frenar el ataque de los capitalistas, hay que derrotar al gobierno de Macri y el pacto de gobernabilidad de Cambiemos con el PJ y el kirchnerismo...***

### ***Hay que retomar el camino del 18 y 19 de diciembre y conquistar la Huelga General revolucionaria***

No hay medias tintas en esta guerra de clases. El imperialismo quiere todo. No vamos a parar a Macri con leyes en

el parlamento de los explotadores.

Es necesario retomar el camino revolucionario del 18 y 19 de diciembre. Los obreros de Francia y Sudáfrica, con sus paros, sus piquetes y la huelga general, muestran cómo se enfrenta la flexibilización laboral. La mujer trabajadora hizo un paro mundial el 8 de marzo, rompiendo toda división por país. ¡Esa es la lucha que hay que preparar!

La tragedia es que la burocracia sindical y piquetera mantiene a los trabajadores sometidos a las pandillas del kirchnerismo, el PJ y Massa. ¡No podemos permitir que nuestras organizaciones de lucha sean sometidas a esos patrones delincuentes ni un minuto más!

El primer paso es tirar a la burocracia sindical, poniendo en pie las asambleas, coordinadoras locales, etc., organismos de lucha política de masas.

El estado de rebelión que anida en la clase obrera profunda comienza a imponer paros por sector: portuarios, aceiteros, la heroica lucha docente de Neuquén, Chubut y toda la Patagonia. ¡Paso a un nuevo 7 de marzo! ¡Paso a la rebelión de la base obrera contra la burocracia!

Se vuelve urgente agrupar en un Comando Nacional de Lucha a los portuarios, aceiteros, docentes, los mineros del Turbio, el Posadas, el INTI y los docentes de Neuquén, los obreros de Cresta Roja, de Astillero Río Santiago, los estudiantes terciarios, para votar un plan de lucha unificado. Ese debe ser el primer paso para conquistar un gran Congreso Nacional de Trabajadores Ocupados y Desocupados con delegados de base, que imponga la Huelga General.

El SUTNA llama a las organizaciones obreras combativas *"a una reunión abierta para discutir colectivamente acciones de lucha contra los planes de ajuste y explotación del gobierno"*. Es una excelente oportunidad para avanzar en este camino.

Las organizaciones obreras arrancadas a la burocracia dirigidas por el FIT como el SUTNA, la UF Haedo, SUTEBA's, la Federación Aceitera nacional, etc. sin dudas deben encabezar esta pelea. Costó años conquistarlas. No pueden terminar como apéndices de la burguesía, a donde las lleva la política del FIT. Darle la espalda a esta

situación pondrá en grave riesgo esas conquistas.

¡Fuera Macri y el FMI! ¡Abajo el pacto del gobierno con los K, el PJ y FR! Como se gritaba en 2001 y el 18 y 19 de diciembre: ¡Que se vayan todos, que no quede ni uno solo!

Para terminar con el saqueo de divisas: ¡Desconocimiento de la deuda externa! ¡Nacionalización de la banca, sin pago y bajo control obrero, para crear una banca estatal única al servicio del pueblo! Hay que establecer el monopolio del comercio exterior para controlar lo que entra lo que sale de acuerdo a las necesidades de los explotados.

¡Ningún aumento de tarifas! Para conocer los costos de producción y las superganancias de los monopolios de servicios públicos. ¡Abajo el secreto comercial! ¡Que abran los libros de contabilidad! Así se demostrará que no sólo ganan fortunas sino que se han robado millones ayer con los K y hoy con Macri. ¡Nacionalización sin pago bajo control obrero de todas las petroleras que operan en Argentina! ¡Por una empresa estatal única de energía para que todo el pueblo tenga electricidad y gas gratuito!

¡Abajo la reforma provisional y laboral del G20! ¡No a la reforma educativa, que liquidando la educación pública y la pone en función de crear mano de obra esclava para los ganancias de los capitalistas!

¡Abajo el techo salarial del 15%! ¡Desconocimiento de todos los acuerdos firmados por la burocracia! ¡Salario igual a la canasta familiar con cláusula gatillo según la inflación! ¡Basta de despidos! ¡Trabajo digno para todos! Expropiación sin pago y bajo control obrero de toda fábrica que cierre sus planta o despida. ¡Basta de mendicidad de la burocracia piquetera! Reparto de las horas de trabajo sin reducción salarial y un turno más en todas las fábricas para que todas las manos disponibles entren a trabajar.

¡Basta de represión y persecución a los trabajadores y luchadores! ¡Comités de autodefensa de las organizaciones

obreras para enfrentar la represión del Estado! ¡Disolución del aparato represivo y de la casta de jueces!

¡Libertad a Facundo Jones Huala, a Diego Parodi y a todos los presos políticos! ¡Absolución de los trabajadores de Las Heras y de Tierra del Fuego! ¡No a la encarcelación de Ponce y Arakaki! ¡Basta de persecución contra Sebastián Romero! ¡Desprocesamiento de los más de siete mil luchadores obreros y populares!

¡Tribunales obreros y populares para juzgar y castigar a todos los asesinos de Santiago, Rafael y todos los compañeros!

Pero esta lucha jamás podrá triunfar si no se coordina a nivel internacional con el resto de la clase obrera mundial. Los obreros de Conlutas, la central sindical combativa de Brasil, han votado a favor de unificar con la clase obrera argentina la lucha contra Macri, Temer y el imperialismo. ¡La clase obrera argentina debe volver al internacionalismo militante de sus orígenes! ¡Una sola clase, un solo combate a nivel mundial!

El gran paro internacional de las mujeres trabajadoras del 8M, uno de los sectores más superexplotados de la clase obrera mundial, demostró que sobran condiciones y predisposición de la clase para dar este combate.

La única salida para los trabajadores es conquistar su gobierno obrero y popular, basado en los organismos de democracia directa armados de los explotados, sobre la ruina de este régimen oligárquico de la Constitución de 1853-1994. El futuro de la clase obrera y las masas explotadas no puede quedar en manos de los capitalistas y sus políticos.

¡Basta de esta democracia para ricos!

¡Paso a la revolución de la clase obrera y los explotados!

¡Fuera ingleses de Malvinas! ¡Fuera yanquis de América Latina!

¡ARGENTINA SERÁ SOCIALISTA O SERÁ COLONIA DE WALL STREET!

# Polémica

*A propósito del voto de Del Caño y Del Plá a favor del proyecto de ley del FR y el kirchnerismo sobre el tarifazo*

## EL FIT ABRAZA EL PROGRAMA DE MASSA, LOS K Y LA BUROCRACIA SINDICAL DE “MORIGERAR EL AJUSTE”

El miércoles 9 pasado, los diputados del FIT Del Caño (PTS) y Del Plá (PO) votaron un proyecto de ley sobre el “tarifazo” presentado por el FR de Massa.

Los partidos patronales “opositores”, el massismo, el PJ y el kirchnerismo impulsaron este proyecto que es una estafa al pueblo: congela las tarifas a noviembre de 2017, legitimando y garantizando todos los aumentos de 2015 a 2017, un brutal saqueo de las empresas imperialistas y locales que ganaron millones con los subsidios de los Kirchner y ahora se los llevan con Macri. A noviembre de 2017, las tarifas de transporte público habían aumentado un 100%, un 400% en agua corriente, 300% en gas, 500% en electricidad.

Sin embargo, el proyecto de ley todavía no se aprobó y Macri ya anunció lo va a vetar. Alrededor de esto la burguesía ha montado un circo, una farsa, para que el parlamento canalice el odio popular y no haya una respuesta a los tarifazos en las calles con una acción como la del 18 y 19 de diciembre.

Esto es un ejemplo más de lo que siempre hemos denunciado los revolucionarios, esos **mecanismos tramposos del parlamentarismo burgués para embaucar al pueblo**, un ejemplo de cómo funciona el pacto de gobernabilidad entre la “oposición” del PJ, los K, el FR y el gobierno de Macri.

Del Caño y Del Plá no solo apoya-



Los diputados del FIT el día de la votación en el Parlamento

ron esta estafa, sino que la embellecieron ante los trabajadores presentándola como “*un paliativo*”, una especie de “mal menor”. Del Caño inclusive fundamentó su voto diciendo que había que derrotar el tarifazo. Así el FIT, ubicado en el frente “anti-Macri” ha dado un **salto en su política de colaboración de clases**, mostrando de hecho a la “oposición” patronal como un “aliado” de los trabajadores contra el gobierno.

Un parlamentario revolucionario jamás habría colaborado con el massismo, el PJ y el kirchnerismo, agentes del imperialismo. **Habría utilizado la tribuna del Congreso para denunciar el pacto de la “oposición” con el gobierno y que nada bueno vendrá del parlamento para los trabajadores. Habría llamado a los obreros a desacatar y tirar a la burocracia sindical**

**y poner en pie los organismos de lucha política de masas para preparar una acción superior a la del 18 y 19 de diciembre, única posibilidad de derrotar el ataque del gobierno y los capitalistas.**

Esto es lo que siempre ha planteado el marxismo en el siglo XX. Las *Tesis de la III Internacional sobre el parlamentarismo* dicen: “*Para los comunistas, el parlamento no puede ser actualmente, en ningún caso, el teatro de una lucha por reformas y por el mejoramiento de la situación de la clase obrera, como sucedió en ciertos momentos en la época anterior. El centro de gravedad de la vida política actual está definitivamente fuera del marco del parlamento.*”

“*El Partido Comunista entra en ella (la institución parlamentaria, NdR.) no para dedicarse a una acción orgánica*

sino para sabotear desde adentro la maquinaria gubernamental y el parlamento.

“Esta acción parlamentaria que consiste sobre todo en **usar su tribuna para la agitación revolucionaria**, para denunciar las maniobras del adversario, para agrupar en torno a ciertas ideas a las masas que sobre todo en los países atrasados contemplan la tribuna parlamentaria con grandes ilusiones democráticas, **debe someterse siempre y totalmente a los fines y a las tareas de la lucha extraparlamentaria de masas**” (negritas nuestras).

¿Qué hizo el FIT? Lejos de poner el eje en la lucha por un nuevo 18 y 19D (la “lucha extraparlamentaria”), sometió la lucha en las calles a lo que pasaba en el parlamento de los explotadores. Como dice el PTS en su artículo “*El miércoles 9 todos al Congreso para frenar los tarifazos*”: “Como viene difundiendo *La Izquierda Diario*, el único proyecto (de ley, NdR.) realmente alternativo y que va a fondo para frenar un nuevo saqueo histórico al pueblo trabajador es el del Frente de Izquierda” (LID, 07/05/2018). ¿Cómo terminó la batalla parlamentaria del FIT? Apoyando a la burguesía “opositora”.

Jamás los parlamentarios del Partido Bolchevique apoyaron una ley del Partido Kadete (la burguesía liberal) en la Duma del Zar, sino que lo combatieron y denunciaron implacablemente ante las masas. En la revolución rusa, los bolcheviques jamás le dieron apoyo político a Kerenski en los soviets, y menos cuando atacó Kornilov.

¿Por qué los revolucionarios no votan a favor de la política de la burguesía? Trotsky lo explicó claramente en la guerra civil española, cuando el gobierno del Frente Popular del “socialista” Negrín pidió a las Cortes (el parlamento) que le aprueben fondos para comprar fusiles para combatir a Franco. Trotsky planteó una negativa rotunda a apoyar a Negrín: “Un voto favorable al presupuesto en el parlamento, no es un acto de ayuda «material», sino un acto de «solidaridad política»”

“Desde el punto de vista de la agitación, no tenemos ninguna dificultad, hoy día, para explicar nuestra postura en España por el voto negativo: «Pedimos dos millones para fusiles,

y sólo nos dan uno. Reclamamos la distribución de los fusiles con control obrero y nos lo niegan. ¿Cómo habíamos de dar voluntariamente nuestro dinero y nuestra confianza a un gobierno que nos hace esto? Todo trabajador comprenderá y apoyará nuestra postura.

“Todas las acciones del gobierno Negrín están dictadas por las necesidades de la guerra. Si nosotros aceptamos una responsabilidad política por su propia administración de las necesidades de la guerra, votaríamos a favor de cualquier proposición gubernamental sería... ¿Cómo podríamos prepararnos para derrocar al gobierno Negrín?” (Carta a James Cannon, 21 de septiembre de 1937).

El FIT hizo todo lo contrario: apoyó la política de Massa-Cristina de defensa de las superganancias de los monopolios.

Cuando la clase obrera, bajo el látigo del capital, pugna a cada paso por romper con la política de colaboración de clases que impone la burocracia sindical para derrotar a Macri -como se vio el 18 y 19D-, el FIT se pone como último dique de contención para impedirlo.

Como plantea Trotsky, el que le entrega siquiera el dedo meñique a la burguesía renuncia a derrocarla. Sin **independizar a grado extremo a la clase obrera de toda fracción burguesa** es imposible echar a Macri en las calles y abrir la revolución argentina. Como vemos, en los hechos el FIT es enemigo de esta política.

Ya en octubre del año pasado planteamos que el FIT se preparaba para dar un salto en su política de colaboración de clases con el kirchnerismo. En Capital Federal, hacia las elecciones, había una alianza con la intelectualidad burguesa de la Sarlo, Alcira Argumedo, etc.

Ahora convalidaron un robo al pueblo con el FR, Unidad Ciudadana y el PJ. El FIT ya es el **ala izquierda del frente “anti-Macri”** con el peronismo y la burocracia sindical, el frente del 21F. Que ese frente se unifique o no formalmente hacia las elecciones (como propuso el diputado kirchnerista Rossi) es secundario. Lo fundamental es que ya se

unificaron políticamente en la acción y que eso es una alianza contra la clase obrera y los explotados, aunque el FIT pretenda negarlo.

La otra cara de esto es el cretinismo electoral del NMAS, que está en un frente con el MST (“Izquierda al frente por el Socialismo”), y llamó a luchar por imponer “elecciones anticipadas”, es decir, una salida ordenada del gobierno odiado de Macri ante un posible levantamiento obrero y popular.

El FIT y el NMAS-MST han devenido en corrientes de **colaboración de clases con las burguesías nativas**, con la vieja política stalinista de **campos burgueses “progresivos”**. Se ubican en el campo de Assad, Lula y Maduro. Su **programa inmediato frente al ataque de los capitalistas** es democratizar el Estado burgués, “**conquistar una democracia generosa**”, como dice Del Caño. Es decir, el mismo programa que el NPA francés (del cual forman parte el PTS, NMAS y MST) y el Podemos español (donde los “anticapitalistas” del NPA están adentro).

No tenemos expectativas en las direcciones de esos partidos. Pero confiamos en los obreros y militantes honestos que buscaron allí un camino de lucha contra la burguesía. Compartimos su odio a la burocracia sindical y la patronal. Hemos combatido juntos el 18 y 19 de diciembre. Los llamamos a defender las banderas de la independencia de clases contra toda política de colaboración con el kirchnerismo y los peronistas. No pueden permitir que la votación de Del Caño y Del Plá quede como un antecedente. Deben repudiarla firmemente. Ha llegado la hora de un reagrupamiento de la vanguardia proletaria que plantee la lucha por la independencia de clase en todas las organizaciones obreras.

Los trotskistas de Democracia Obrera acompañaremos de forma sincera y fraternal toda experiencia que luche por retomar el verdadero clasismo de la clase obrera argentina y se oriente al internacionalismo militante.

COMITÉ REDACTOR

# On the Law expropriating FaSinPat

2009

**A law that guarantees the old bosses' bankruptcy creditors 23 million pesos (6,050,000 US\$ dollars) upon more sacrifices and suffering for the heroic workers of FASINPAT (former Zanon), if they want to keep their conquest.**

**Nobody has the right to feel as if they have been taken unawares: MPN -dominated Neuquen provincial legislature (1) will only vote laws helping capitalists and making workers pay for the crisis.**

Since August 13, 2009 when the Neuquen Legislature voted into Law regulation N°2,656, expropriating FaSinPat (former Zanon) factory, its 420 workers, who have been fighting since 2001, felt a relief that had been arduously gained. Because there have been many years of unyielding tension, confronting the harassment of the state, the regime and their agents the union bureaucrats, who have time and again boycotted the workers and even tried to evict the workers several times using violence.

But it was not by means of the use of scabs, union thugs or repressive forces that the state, the bosses and their government could take hold again of the factory recovered by FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers through their heroic struggle that was supported along these 9 years by all the workers from Neuquen and the Argentinean working class.

As in many other recovered factories that were expropriated and recovered by the workers and picketers' movement, today in FaSinPat (former Zanon) the balance of forces between the contending social classes is still concentrated -albeit rapidly deteriorating- that was conquered not by any law, judicial ruling or resolution. This balance of forces is still -albeit precariously- in favour of the



workers, was conquered by their relentless and stubborn struggle while they had to endure all kinds of terrible sufferings in order to keep their workplaces going, since the heroic revolutionary feats of the Argentinean working class in 2001.

As we have constantly said in the pages of our paper, *Democracia Obrera*, the bourgeoisie had to give away 200 or 300 broken factories after the revolutionary offensive of the masses in 2001 that dumped the bourgeois state and regime in shambles. Those factories started producing because of the heroic struggle and determination of the workers, who took those bankrupt companies in their hands and put them to work to keep their jobs when the unemployment rate was 26% or more at that time in Argentina.

Having to face that offensive, the bourgeoisie kept control of the key companies and productive forces of the nation such as the banks, transnationals, privatized enterprises and services. The companies abandoned by the bankrupt capitalists,

who had ran away in fear, were allowed to go into the hands of the workers, who in their turn refused to giving them away; the bourgeoisie considered this outcome as the lesser evil in the given circumstances.

After 2001/2002 the bourgeoisie rebuilt its state, taking steps to again regain total control of their business and started a process of rebuilding all their institutions of social dominance. Thus some «recovered» factories were allowed to collapse; others were «reconverted»; and still others were kept working as cooperatives, with workers submitted to the rules of legislatures and judges; this latter kind of «recovered factories» became places where the workers are self-exploited with low wages, doing piecework, using obsolete machines; or -as in many cases- scarcely making ends meet by relying on miserable subsidies. So the working class (like in FaSinPat -former Zanon-, Brukman, Chilavert and all the other still-surviving recovered companies) kept going through heroism and unheard sacrifices

for their jobs, but under miserable conditions and without any collective labour agreement to protect their rights. They kept waiting for the promulgation of some progressive law or rule to save them.

In the meantime with the expansion cycle opened in the Argentinean economy since 2003, the bourgeoisie, transnationals and agrarian oligarchy made huge profits. Only in the last 7 years US\$ 127 billion dollars left the country to tax havens. The banks –which had expropriated the savings of the middle classes- were rewarded with US\$ 50 billion dollars and almost the same amount was accumulated as state reserves in the Central Bank as a guarantee to back transnationals' investments. The agrarian bourgeoisie and the hedge funds that had invested and formed (principally soy bean, but also sunflower-seeds, wheat, maize, etc.) agricultural pools for cultivating and exporting food commodities, rented all the available fertile land (turning some of the former small farmers into small «rentiers» or bondholders, who in their turn invested in those same hedge funds, or in housing speculation, or put their money in off-shore tax havens, in the process causing scarcity of food and making the price of staple foods and of housing skyrocket, Translator's Note) and put the total land (agrarian) income in the hands of 2000 families- an amount of over 50 billion dollars per year. MERCOSUR transnationals (that is, the transnationals that have divided their plants and investments among all the main countries of the MERCOSUR, taking advantage of the low wages here, or the lower taxes there, producing some parts in one country and assembling them in another, etc., Translator's Note)–producing with slave labour force- could send to their headquarters US\$ 12 billion dollars every year just in remittances, profits, royalties and patents, in the last few years. Service companies, like railroads, subways, buses, gas, electricity, telephone lines, etc, received over US\$ 10 billion dollars in subsidies yearly. And from all this, what did the recovered factories get? They, who had been sustained by the self sacrifice of their workers and their struggle against the hostility and



Workers of Zanon in the streets

repression of the state; Nothing.

Some got crumbs, as subsidies given little by little and reluctantly by the legislatures when the wages could not be paid; they had old-broken machines, obsolete production lines and in many cases workers were in debt with the banks. When members of government saw that they could do business with this suffering of workers, they hatched the Caro-Kirchner law (2). This law which allegedly was designed to «help» workers who could not go along with the «recovered» companies, permitted Moreno (3) and the Kirchners' gang to keep for themselves those companies that were profitable either in Argentina or on the world market. These companies won't pay taxes. They will be «cooperatives». There will be more subsidies for this new parvenu, despicable and avid bourgeoisie formed under the Kirchners' umbrella (including theythemselves)... a great deal.

Thus, the Argentinean bourgeoisie and the transnationals, through super-exploiting the working class and plundering the nation, were able to accumulate a huge amount of surplus value for all these years, incorporating into the labour market, 50% of the working class without any contracts (that is, unregistered, coming in and going out of the labour market without any protection of the current labour laws, or any kind of social benefits, etc, TN), making them work 24/7 (4); and guaranteeing a high inflation –always

higher than the wages, which had been already plundered to the bones by the brutal devaluation of the currency in 2001-2002. Thus the Argentinean government was also able to pay the fraudulent «external debt» with the IMF (a thousand times already paid) and the bonds in the hands of the foreign creditors.

So, a lesson must be learned from this. These partial gains are kept; but workers cannot get more than \$400, \$800 or \$1,000 (pesos) monthly (5), without any right to old age pension; without receiving from the bankrupt bosses due compensation for having lost their old wage and work conditions; having to take on the debts of their former bankrupt bosses who had swindled the workers, the state and the creditors... then you take the so called Planes Trabajar (Special Work Plan) and their likes (welfare or dole payments) given to the thousands of workers left out of the labour market by the privatizations and the crisis, payments that had been conquered by the unemployed through their fights, pickets, roadblocks, etc. Both were partial gains achieved through tough battles against the class enemy. So we can conclude that every partial gain achieved through struggle, if the class doesn't move forward and attain the defeat of Capitalism, will deteriorate or be lost or even be used against workers.

That is the truth and FaSinPat (former Zanon) doesn't escape from

these conditions of the class struggle today. If we still have these 'recovered' factories and the crumbs of the Planes Trabajar, we can't say that these are new triumphs, **but at the same time we know that these conquests have been downgraded and have deteriorated, to such an extent that the exploiters have gone on accumulating fortunes and ever more super profits.** That is the truth and this is our starting point. That is the truth we must tell the working class, and explain to them that it has not been our fault, it has not been because we have not fought, or lacked determination but because our struggle has been betrayed by the CGT and CTA union bureaucracy. They have split our forces, submitted the workers to every bourgeois labour minister, court or parliament at hand.

We, the Trotskyists, state that it is the only truth. Reformists consider our statements a crime. Some of them have already threatened us with punishment. Let them start, we are not afraid of them. Truth must be said. Lying to the workers is a crime, Stop lying to the working class!

We declare ourselves guilty of stating that workers and bosses celebrating together, is something out of the question; when one celebrates, the other is ruined. And when FaSinPat (former Zanon) was «expropriated» by the provincial state, the creditors, bankers and Mr. Zanon (who together got a guarantee of

payment for 23 million pesos from an irrecoverable debt) celebrated with champagne. The MPN, the same party that murdered Teresa Rodríguez, Carrasco (6) and Fuentealba, is celebrating. With this fake «provincialization» the bourgeois lawmakers saved \$20 million pesos in unemployment subsidies for the 8 years that they would have had to pay the 400 workers of FaSinPat (former Zanon), if the factory had been closed. We state that workers can only say (and we will prove it) that if we have kept our conquest it has been only because of our fight, not thanks to this fake «gift» from the provincial state. No one has given us anything for free, much less this law.

We have no doubt that if the left union bureaucracy would have had the power of the state (as Stalinism had), they would have sent us to a concentration camp of the likes of Vorkuta for stating this; just like Stalinism did with the Trotskyists. But they could not shut us up there and will not be able to do it now; because the working class must hear the truth, the whole and uncontested truth.

Every class conscious worker can see what we are stating here. Because now the crisis has begun; the dismissals, suspensions and wage-cuts are starting again as well as a new attack on the whole working class. We will have to occupy and perform new *Zanon's* to keep our jobs. As they did in France, USA, Greece; we will have to occupy factories and even hold the bosses hostage.

The truth is that during the expansion and 'growth' cycle of the recent years of the Argentinean economy, the working class received a miserable salary -in most of the cases involving unregistered jobs- 100% of slavery, exploitation, and workplace accidents. And when the majority of the working class believed that capitalists were going to share their gains of this expansion cycle with them, as the Bolivarian bourgeoisie and Fidel Castro had promised, a world crisis took place, and again inflation, unemployment, the lowering of salaries, layoffs, etc.

After 8 years of inflation, the conquest of welfare payments of a miserable \$150 pesos, won in great

upheavals that cost the working class' bloodletting, are not enough to live on even for a couple of days. That's the law of the capitalist system: any conquest that does not advance towards the seizure of power is lost. Capitalist system has long ago stopped playing a progressive role for human civilization, despite the reformists, who being its faithful servants, do everything they can to hide this fact.

FaSinPat (former Zanon) cannot escape from this law of the capitalist system, that any conquest is a byproduct of a revolutionary mass struggle, and if the working class does not take power, this conquest is spoiled or lost in the long run.

***A law of the legislature: at the service of the bosses to divert workers' struggle into a dead end or a historic victory of the workers?***

We have already said and will keep on reaffirming it: no workers' conquest has been obtained by law but by working class struggle. When these conquests have been expressed in laws, they have begun to be lost, because any worker knows that every law has its loophole. The relationship of workers with the bosses is tied to the class struggle, not to the laws. This is the truth for the Marxists but not for reformists and nurses of capitalism.

Comrades, in the face of such a huge plundering and collection of super profits by the capitalists and transnationals, how can anyone -as the reformists do in Argentina- tell the entire working class we have obtained an expropriation law for saving FaSinPat (former Zanon) and claim this as a great historical victory for the working class? This is not true. We affirm that the law voted by the government of the bosses and their parties, agents of the oil transnationals in Neuquén (like the MPN, PJ, and UCR of that province), enacted a deceitful law for a mock expropriation of FaSinPat (former Zanon) which in fact is a gift concocted for the sake of the bosses who will receive money for the bankruptcy (\$23.406.566 million pesos). The



**Fuentealba, teacher killed by the MPN police in Neuquén**

province government will get rid of the company after such payment is effective but the workers will have to pay them the money with their sacrifice and workforce. We publish this law completely in these pages so that the readers are able to check if what we are saying is correct.

It is not possible to play hide and seek with the interests of the working class. It is necessary to tell the truth. The first truth is that we are facing a reactionary law at the service of the bosses and not of the workers. **The only thing that this law cannot do is to snatch the factory from the hands of workers and so it is kept like a cooperative for the moment because the bosses do not have the strength to retake it yet.** But it creates great conditions for the cooperative to advance towards ruin, since the state does not any more undertake any responsibility for the factory as it had done before, and now the workers do not have any backing, having to pay the debts on their own. As any capitalist company, without genuine sources of investment in the factory (that is, the workers), will find itself tied to negotiations with the banks (which will retake control of the company decisions through joint ventures), or suffer a slowdown and go bankrupt like any undercapitalized cooperative in capitalist society.

The state has dissociated itself totally from FaSinPat. It only «provincialized» it for some minutes to save the pockets of the capitalist creditors of Zanon, to immediately throw the debt with the state onto the workers' shoulders. **The law does not recognize at all, the right of the only legitimate creditors: FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers to whom the bankrupt former bosses owe 20 million pesos in unpaid salaries, compensations and retirement payments.**

But the truth also is that this law creates the conditions for FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers to pay with self-overexploitation till the last peso of the bankruptcy of the bosses. So they are forced to abandon and not to claim any more the 20 million pesos they have right to, declaring their withdrawal from the lawsuits claiming for severance pay and



Banner: Zanon - MTD, Coordinator of Alto Valle

unpaid salaries that the 380 workers had initiated, according to what they are entitled to by the current labour laws, when the bankruptcy took place. This abandonment of their rights is one of the prerequisites the new law states, for the workers to be able to keep the factory in their hands. That is, with the law of MPN and the parties of the oil companies and the oligarchy of Alto Valle, through the bankruptcy law, the state only recognizes the bosses as Zanon's creditors and not the first and only creditors who are the workers to whom Zanon owed more than 20 million pesos for retirement payments, compensation, unpaid salaries, etc. Can this be considered as a victory?

These are the facts that cannot be hidden. We must tell workers the truth. The law of the legislature of the boss parties is designed to meet the interests of the bosses.

The workers are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. They have to accept and give up their rights to keep their jobs; not a single capitalist had to forego a single peso of his/her credits on the bankruptcy of Zanon. This is besides the extra charges that the state will force workers to pay until the last peso of compensation is repaid by them to the state (and that should be paid in kind, as the law states).

The workers were obliged to accept this because bosses and the government pointed a gun to their temples: either this or nothing. FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers, isolated, betrayed by union

bureaucracy of the entire country, the factories that were retaken in 2001 and 2002 separated one from the other and submitted, each one, to the rule of one or another judge or legislature, can do nothing individually, except to accept like the lesser evil, the bosses' laws... that only benefit bosses.

We are not before a simple law; this is an overt blackmail of FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers at gun point: either you accept this or you lose your jobs. A true «expropriation law in favor of the workers (if that could be possible) should have been a different one, with a single point saying: *«workers' right to work is inviolable, the debt the company has with workers should be paid no matter how, their rights to that credit is inviolable; the profits of capitalists is the only thing that can be violated here»*. But no legislature of the capitalist politicians and parties would approve such a law, only a meeting of workers councils having taken the power, could have done that. And not to say this amounts to a deadly deception to the world and Argentinean working class.

Here, with this law, the only ones who have not given up any right are Mr. Zanon (the old boss) and the creditors of Zanon, and the boss government of Neuquen that will charge the workers with a heavy bill of the «expropriation», making them pay with their work (that is, in kind) the \$23.406.566 million pesos (around 6,050,000 US dollars) that today, the government has advanced to the

capitalists.

**A provincialization that lasted a few minutes...**

The creditors will get more than 23 million pesos. Workers have lost the right to reclaim their credits on their pension payments and compensation for the loss of their jobs. According to this law, the state expropriates FaSinPat (former Zanon) **for a single purpose: to pay the bosses.** A bankruptcy debt the bosses would have never been paid if it hadn't been for the workers who kept the factory in production. (Actually, if the factory had not been recovered and put to work by the workers, its market value would have been zero).

This is the only effect the expropriation and provincialization of the factory has, so that, once the bosses are paid, the provincial state «cedes» (actually sells) FaSinPat - former Zanon-) to its workers who now have to exploit themselves and surrender their surplus value (even squeezing their wages and not leaving enough for the renovation or repair of the machines), extracted from their muscles, nerves and bones, to the provincial state, until they pay back in kind (in the form of goods paid at their cost, not at their much higher market value) up to the last cent of the 23 million advanced by the state.

These are the hard facts. The company has neither been

«provincialized» nor will it be run under workers' control. Because of the law, the state only undertook guaranteeing capitalists their profits and paying them for the losses of their business gone sour. This is what every worker has to know: the laws coming from bosses' parliament only favor bosses. We insist, if they have not gone a step further, i.e. dispossessing FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers of their factory and returning it to the old bosses or dividing it among the capitalist creditors, it is only because they know the relationship of forces has not yet changed enough in their favor. They know that if they touch this factory, the entire province of Neuquen will be set on fire.

This is the truth. The worst defeat for FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers and the entire Argentinean working class would be to draw as a lesson that there can be good bosses in the Neuquen legislature, some who could be forced with enough pressure to vote for

«laws favorable for the workers». Whom are the reformists trying to fool? The lawmakers who voted for this law are the same who gave the order to kill Teresa Rodriguez and Fuentealba. These are experienced lawmakers who long understand how to soak the province in workers' blood to defend the interests and the profits of the capitalists, even in situations of adverse balance of forces.

So, you think this is a victory? This is a law in favour of the capitalists so the

«Zanon crisis» is paid by the workers. «But the provincial state could not launch a full-fledged attack and liquidate the conquest»... Of course! The conquest is kept. But it is not due to the law but because the state -though it makes workers pay for Zanon's bankruptcy- is not for the moment strong enough to get into the factory and evict workers at gunpoint. Only for the moment, we insist.

The FaSinPat conquest is kept due to the workers' struggle, but, alas!... because of the law, workers' money and labour are lost. And what is worse, also lost is their class consciousness if workers are made to believe that from those dens of thieves of the bourgeois parliaments, laws favoring the workers can be drawn through pressure marches.

FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers have the entire right, isolated as they are, to bet their struggle and their lives on this law, if they do not have the balance of forces in their favour to change it. But nobody has the right to say that it is a victory. What we have to do now is to urgently prepare the conditions to face the terrible consequences that this infamous law will have for the workers not only in FaSinPat (former Zanon) but all over Neuquen and the country.

This is what FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers need: unity of the working class at a national level to change the balance of class forces that forced them to accept this law, which only benefits the bosses.

**THE «ONE SECOND»- FASINPAT (FORMER ZANON) PROVINCIALIZATION LAW COPIED FROM OBAMA'S PATTERN, I.E. SOCIALISE CAPITALISTS' LOSSES AND PRIVATISE THEIR GAINS**

We have to speak out loud and clear; telling workers the truth. How have the bosses imposed this law on the workers? Let's learn here how our enemies the bosses, their political parties and their servants the union bureaucracies act against the workers.



**Banner: «Chavez, the savage capitalism is in SIDOR» (Venezuela)**

They have been fighting to take everything from FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers for the past 8 years. They left the workers isolated. And now with their law, they have got what they wanted, which is a lot. Let's see if we the workers understand once and for all **this incontestable truth**: only fighting for everything, kicking out 5 presidents, blocking uncountable numbers of roads; occupying facilities; etc. we could get the minimal gains to keep our labour power intact.

Let's look at the USA. All the great banks fell into pieces, the same ones who exploit and plunder the entire world. Together with them, GM and Chrysler went bankrupt. The ultra-liberal men and leaders who filled their mouths with praise for the free market, were the same that charged the state for the losses of the banks and GM, i.e. they passed the deficit of capitalists to the state to save for their profits for them.

But before the government agreed to save the bankrupt automaker, they forced GM workers to accept to be laid off, give up their retirement funds, holidays, family benefits (which had included allowances per child and wife, per daycare/school expenses, etc.); that is, their pay had to be left at the same level as non-registered workers with casualised pay, with flexible schedules, as FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers are. The state neither nationalised the factory nor were the workers put under legal contractual terms as civil servants with retirement and health care. Now, the party of Fuentelba murderers has shown no pity for the workers; instead it has left the workers tied to their fate, with a law that the entire Argentinean left ... hail as a victory!

Could you tell us the difference between Obama's GM and Citibank law and MPN's FaSinPat (former Zanon) law? According to us, even taking into account the different proportions of the cases, essentially it is the same. The state gives guarantees to capitalists, covering the losses of the Zanon bankruptcy with the taxes taken from the people, i.e., they socialize the bosses' losses. And for the workers to keep their jobs it robs them of all their gains that they had obtained (through struggles

fought long ago) as a right (salaries, retirement, etc.). What is even worse, in the case of FaSinPat (former Zanon) the workers are forced to pay Zanon's debt twice over (through what they have just surrendered and through their future work). Not even Obama dared that much!

We are witnessing a fake provincialization that makes the workers pay for the crisis to

save capitalists' profits, that's the only truth. Workers only keep their conquest (the possession of the factory) that this law could not yet take away from them. But it was the bosses who got all the money. Workers are indebted to their bones. It is a provincialization with compensation to the capitalists (23 million of the alleged value of the bankruptcy credits). From that point of view, we could say that Neuquen lawmakers did nothing different from Chavez who nationalized Sidor, paying 30% more than its value to Rocca's monopoly and its Techint group.

The difference with such a juicy business of the national bourgeoisie and Techint in Venezuela is that Sidor's workers were not left responsible for the debt (the Venezuela state is). FaSinPat's (former Zanon) case is even worse. Here workers are left with the burden of the debt of the company's bankruptcy, an amount of money that boss creditors did not even dream of getting paid in cash and at the nominal price of products.

Let's say what every worker has to know: according to the current bankruptcy laws, when a company files for bankruptcy and the judges call for a creditors' meeting to restructure the debt and fix the new credit repayment conditions, the creditors usually have to accept to be paid at knocked down prices (through a judicial auction) or directly with a discount price of 70%, in installments over 15 to 20 years, with a grace



period of 3 years. So the case of Zanon's bankruptcy resulted in an exceptionally good business deal even gauged by the current bourgeois legal code. As we will show it later, it was Zanon's creditors (that could be even the same old boss of Zanon –suspected of having emptied out the company before declaring himself broke-presenting himself as a creditor through a bunch of straw men or front companies!) who are celebrating with champagne the law voted by their party, MPN.

Contrariwise, we say together with the Trotskyist Transitional Program, the foundational program of 4th International: «...we demand the expropriation of the corporations holding monopolies on war industries, railroads, the most important sources of raw materials, etc.

The difference between these demands and the muddleheaded reformist slogan of «nationalization» lies in the following:

- 1) we reject indemnification;
- 2) we warn the masses against demagogues of the People's Front who, giving lip service to nationalization, remain in reality agents of capital;
- 3) we call upon the masses to rely only upon their own revolutionary strength;

4) we link up the question of expropriation with that of seizure of power by the workers and farmers.”

We are not going to ask PTS, MAS, MST or any other party of the reformist left to defend the Transitional Program of Trotskyism, because they have long ago abandoned any relationship with or semblance of it. The only thing we ask them is a little bit of common sense: please tell the truth to the workers!

Definitely, the «expropriation» law will save capitalists from bankruptcy and leave a debt with the state on the backs of the workers; to say the full truth, the state will only be a debt-collector, a kind of middleman, making workers pay in kind the \$23 million pesos of the bankruptcy. What a shame: The bosses rejoice!

According to the same law, workers give up all their demands of long unpaid wages and holidays, severance compensations, retirement funds unlawfully retained by the company, health care and social benefits entitled to them, according to the collective contract the company had signed while they were working for it, etc. (that is, they give up all the rights they are entitled to, even according to the «normal» bankruptcy laws of the country). For the time being, the workers have been forced to accept this derogatory provincial law. But we tell them that as soon as the relationship of forces can change in their favour, as soon as they have the balance of forces on their side, supported by the international and national working class, to call to struggle for the defeating of this law and to fight for **the only way, which is the expropriation without compensation**

**and under workers’ control, as a part of a plan to expropriate the bourgeoisie and take power.**

Is this a victory? Unfortunately it is not. The law is not a victory. FaSinPat is still in the hands of the workers because the entire working class have fought and conquered it. And this law could not take it away from the workers hands, even though it does prepare the conditions to do that, as we are going to show right now...

***In order to defend a reactionary law of the capitalist parasites the PTS does not balk at throwing Karl Marx’s «Capital» onto the garbage pile. How far are they willing to go in their split from marxism?***

Attorney Mariano Pedrero, a member of PTS and legal representative of SOECN (Neuquen ceramist workers union), has signed an article in a LVO (PTS paper) August 20, 2009 supplement with the title: «In FaSinPat (former Zanon) the capitalist wereexpropriated». He says: «**Finally the expropriation law for FaSinPat (former Zanon) was voted. It is a step forward for the workers management, because law 2656 (the referred law) of Neuquen Legislature provides the lands, the factory, (...) will be given to the workers without charge**» (our bolds). And then he says: «**It is important to clarify FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers do not have to give the goods as a means**

**of payment, but they will sell the goods for the public works (housing, schools, among others) at their cost, which includes the wages and the amortization of the equipment»** (our bolds).

These words are a lie from A to Z. Firstly, this law did not expropriate, not even a bit, the capitalists. The entire group of bankrupt capitalists ran their factories down and they themselves destroyed the property through bankruptcy, i.e. the bosses abandoned their bad business, leaving workers in the street as outcasts by the thousands.

If anyone actually expropriated capitalists, it was the FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers who took the factory in 2001. In a bankruptcy, the property (and it is strange that a lawyer who boasts to be an expert in bankruptcies does not know this! be careful FaSinPat (former Zanon) workers, take care of your pockets...) passes to the creditors’ hands, under the judicial control, which sells it in an auction to pay for the debt. If the judge keeps the property under the formality of a creditors’ arrangement before going into the stage of a full bankruptcy and sale, the company is put under a trusteeship and allowed to pay its creditors with a huge discount (around 60-80%) and in installments that can drag out for 15-20 or even more years. And if the attorney Pedrero were really an expert as he says, he would have known that the bankrupt company or boss usually pays the judge and the trustee/s so that they «organize» the bankruptcy in the most favourable ways for it/him/her –that is to say that the first one to collect the money is generally a straw man or front company for the very same bankrupt company/boss with the approval of the judge and the trustee/s. This is a legal trick widely known and applied by bankrupted bosses, accountants and judges!

The case of Zanon and Zanon’s bankruptcy and the creditors getting 100% of their credit in cash is going to be recorded as the most successful operation by bankruptcy creditors in the History of Argentina. Not even the creditors of the Argentinean foreign debt got paid at 100% in 2001!

In this peculiar bankruptcy the



creditors get their credit in cash and in a single payment. Expropriation of capitalists? Rubbish! Capitalist got paid for much more than the actual value of the bankrupt company. Even as a provincialization with compensation, it has been a fake one, because ipso facto the state throws the payment on the shoulders of the workers, as established by the law, which the PTS lawyers have the gall to defend.

For this reason the alternatives are clear: either we are for the nationalization with compensation and this fake provincialization that lasted for a second, only for the sake of the capitalist creditors getting paid and the workers paying for it; or we are for the expropriation without compensation under workers control of FaSinPat (former Zanon) and the effective provincialization, with workers keeping their full rights as workers, i.e. as state employees with a living wage, social benefits including retirement payments besides being paid all the money the broke company owed them, the unpaid wages and holidays, unlawfully retained retirement funds, and severance compensations.

There is no grey area. These two positions are like water and fire. It is not possible to celebrate at the same time in the workers neighborhood and in the 5 stars hotels where the capitalist creditors of the bankruptcy stay.

Workers keep their conquest, but it is because of their struggle. Capitalists got paid. The provincial state celebrates. The workers' only proper reaction should be to PREPARE A GREAT STRUGGLE AS A FIGHTBACK!

We cannot be either neutral or shut up and look the other way. Because money goes into someone's pocket and the other one pays it -in this case the workers; and their money goes to the bosses pockets today in the form of taxes and tomorrow in the form of non-remunerated work (i.e. through the expropriation of surplus value from FaSinPat workers) that's why bosses are celebrating with champagne their «legislative» victory in some five-star hotel in Neuquen.

**The only thing that workers can celebrate is that because of the struggle –and not because of the law- they still keep their conquest alive, even in spite of this law that**



**Obama and Wagoner, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of General Motors**

**serves the capitalists.** For that reason we shout: Long live FaSinPat (former Zanon)'s workers struggle! The Trotskyists do not celebrate when the bosses and the state celebrate, even less together with them!

Secondly, from Democracia Obrera, we Trotskyists are willing to affirm that the whole Marxist goal consists in explaining to the worker movement what every bourgeois tries to keep locked under 7 keys and very far from the workers' eyes and conscience: the essence of capitalist exploitation. But PTS's Mr. Pedrero helps hiding that essence by contributing with his 8th key to blur and destroy any piece of class conscience in Alto Valle (the area surrounding Neuquen and the west of Rio Negro provinces, TN).

Attorney Mr Pedrero reiterates -in order to convince FaSinPat workers of the greatness of the law- that: *«it is important to clarify also that FaSinPat workers do not have to give any good (tiles, flagstones, etc.) as means of payment, but they will sell to the state their production to be used in public works (housing projects, schools, etc) at their cost which includes the salary and the equipment amortization».*

Let's read again: *«at their cost which includes the salary and the amortization of the equipment».* Let's see... do you mean the cost of a product made in FaSinPat or any other company, is the cost of the salaries? But this is the same lie that all the bosses tell workers. **For their 8 or 10 or even more working hours per**

**shift, all the workers -either in FaSinPat or in any other shop where they work in this capitalist society- receive an equivalent in money (salary/wage) which does not measure what their labor force produces; what it measures is in fact what the workers need as a minimum to reproduce their labour force (that is, to «recreate» themselves as workers: to eat, rest and come back to work the following day and eventually procreate other workers). But workers produce exceedingly more than what that this «salary/wage» represents. This is «surpluslabour», which bosses do not pay to the workers.**

The other part of the goods sold to the Government «at their cost» (meaning «at the amount spent in manufacturing them, as opposed to adding any amount to get a benefit as when selling them at a market price») to pay in kind the 23 million pesos to the capitalists – includes the payment the workers do not receive for the extra work they do. This work plus the cost of the salary is the cost of the product, that is to say the price of the commodity.

The capitalist society, its laws and ideology want to show workers that the cost of a certain product is equal to the workers salary/wage plus the depreciation of the machinery. But this is a capitalist lie!

Any worker in the production lines knows (maybe lawyers do not!) that when bosses sell what workers

produce, they get surplus-value; i.e., a profit. Profits for Marxists are the money form of this surplus-value that is the unpaid labour of the muscles and the bones of the workers (labour power).

The monetary form of this «excess labor» is the surplus-value, which added to the salary/wage and to the depreciation of the machinery, constitutes the production cost. This is additional to the payment in kind the State will receive to recover the 23 million pesos, that is hidden from the workers eyes by Mr Pedrero.

Let's draw the veil hiding the truth; let's take the dust out of the workers' eyes that Mr. Pedrero throws to hush it up. According to this law designed by the bourgeois parties at the bosses' service, FaSinPat workers will have to pay to the provincial State the cost of reproduction of the labor force and the machinery which means extracting from the workers of FaSinPat (former Zanon) a profit from the 23 million pesos during the next 2 to 5 years to make them pay up to the last peso of the debts left by Zanon's bankruptcy which the State paid in advance to the capitalists with the taxpayers' (that is the entire Neuquen workers') money.

We challenge attorney Mr Pedrero to do math publicly and demonstrate us even bringing economists and accountants with Harvard's MBAs and PhDs, that the workers of FaSinPat will not pay 23 million pesos with their labour power!

If they think we are wrong, they will have to demonstrate why the cost of FaSinPat is different from the cost of Cerámica Neuquén or Stefani or Cerámica San Lorenzo. If that is not the case, the law should have said «at the market average price before taxes, fixed by the average of the whole branch of production» that is without VAT.

If you guarantee the workers of FaSinPat will sell the tiles to the State at the same price that the other factories do (minus VAT), you will demonstrate the State doesn't appropriate the labour power of the workers to pay capitalists. On the other hand workers must know that if they sell the ceramic at market average cost, they will earn more money for them and their families, and will have an

amount to invest in new machinery.

Can this left which supports as a «worker's victory» this bourgeois law -accept this challenge? We ask them to demonstrate we are wrong.

We insist, if the Provincial State buys at «the cost price», it has to pay FaSinPat goods at the same price asked for by Cerámica Neuquén and Cerámica Stefani, without VAT. If not, we have to fight against this law which will not allow workers to invest and much less improve their living conditions.

Notice comrades, this law does not even allow the Provincial State to buy ceramics at tender offer prices. The State and the bosses know very well that up to the last cent to pay the bourgeois leaders of the PJ, UCR and MPN parties will be taken from the muscles and bones of FaSinPat's workers. They do their math very well. Why does the left try to hush reality up from the workers' eyes by preventing them from also doing their own math?

Thirdly, the Argentinean working class must learn from this lesson arising from the case of FaSinPat and the deeply reformist and anti Marxist character of the left. The PTS leadership has broken with Trotskyism long ago and embraced Gramsci's legacy, a Stalinist wing which posits that «creating popular power» and fighting for it (as all Stalinist parties use to say), it is possible to gradually besiege the State and destroy the hegemony of the ruling classes.

This is truly senile, toothless, utopian socialism, of 200 years ago. These people want the working class to believe that by winning over a factory here, a TV channel by Internet there, it is possible to dismantle the bourgeois State machinery. This is somewhat approaching the politics of Bukharin who talked about «socialism at snail's pace», when he was turning into a petty bourgeois lackey of Stalinism in the USSR.

But it is most similar to the «market Socialism» promoted by all the Maoist currents in order to cover the restoring of capitalism in China and in fact amounts to the subordination of Socialism to the capitalist market, once it was clear Stalinism in the USSR was not any more able to hide (as it had done in the '30s with its theory

of Socialism in one country), that it had been living on the surplus-value taken from the workers.

If even in an isolated worker state, with collective property and collective land, an enormous amount of surplus value was taken from the workers, as the Trotskyists affirmed in the '30's (one part being snatched by the worldwide capitalist market and the remaining part by the privileges of the bureaucrats); how is it that surplus value cannot exist when taken from the workers in a single isolated factory as FaSinPat when they are forced to pay by law 23 million pesos to honor their old bosses' debt?

The bankruptcy and the butchery of this current have no limits. What seems so difficult for them to explain is something that does not fit their unscientific brains: Marxism, a scientific method for the proletariat to understand how things really work and to stop being misled by reformism that always takes it to a dead end.

Attorney Mr. Pedrero and the PTS want the workers believe they will not produce (that is, they would not be robbed of) surplus value or super profits because they will sell at the cost of production, considering «only the cost of the salary plus depreciation of machinery». So, why does not PTS leadership, seriously propose to a capitalist company to sell at a cost price covering only salaries and the depreciation of machinery? Capitalists naturally would say «Sirs, we make profits because we don't pay workers for the whole product of their labour». Why does the law then establish a payment in kind at the cost of only salary and machinery? The answer is because the State keeps for itself the super surplus value over and above the 23 million pesos.

Never in the past has any parliament in the whole world voted nor will they ever vote for the capitalist companies have the obligation to sell their products at a cost that covers only salaries and machinery depreciation. Only FaSinPat will be obliged to do that: because it is a factory the bourgeoisie and its state want to ruin, taking away 23 million pesos from the workers' muscles and bones.

In short, what is our point? Sometimes workers have to accept

agreements or laws unfavorable for us if our forces are weak. But lying to the working class is impermissible.

### ***The attitude to the state, a question of principles***

We have demonstrated the expropriation law of the Provincial Legislature of Neuquén is a shameless bailout of the company's creditors. Far from being a step forward and a victory, it will mean that workers of FaSinPat will suffer more shortages and make bigger and worse sacrifices to keep what they conquered.

The law also caused a blow against workers' political consciousness, because if the expropriation law is a victory then the provincial legislature has ceased to be an institution against the exploited masses; so the historic task for the working class is not to demolish the State and the bourgeois regime but it is only a question of pressuring them so that they approve favorable laws for the workers.

From our point of view we still defend the Marxist postulate affirming: «*The State is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of «order» which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between classes*». We affirm the bourgeois Parliament is a sweet way this State exploiter of workers has to mislead them and the best to hide before their eyes the ferocious capitalist dictatorship.

We reaffirm that only through the masses' extra parliamentary struggle we have achieved our conquests and will we be able to keep them.

Following Lenin we affirm that. «*The attitude to the State is one of the most striking manifestations that our Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are not Socialists at all (a point that we Bolsheviks have always maintained) but petty-bourgeois democrats with near-socialist phraseology*». (V. I. Lenin, ***The State and Revolution***).

We affirm today, more than ever, the workers of FaSinPat cannot be left isolated. **Their struggle is more than**



**ever the struggle of the entire Argentinean working class.** But the only way forward will be made by knowing and marking the difference between victories and failures, and between enemies -as it is the legislature of the bourgeois parties- and allies.

We affirm it is all right for the workers of Zanon to accept all the agreements and laws that allows them to resist according to the balance of forces between the classes. But it is not all right for anybody that claims to be part of the labor movement to lie and say this is a victory. **So with the same energy we call the whole Argentinean working class not to leave isolated the workers of FaSinPat!** This law is not what the heroic workers of Zanon and the rest of the workers of the recovered factories deserve.

### ***Thus we call the entire Argentinian working class to stand up together alongside the workers of FaSinPat***

Helping FaSinPat workers to break the isolation they are suffering is an obligation for all the working class organizations. The four ceramic factories of Neuquen must unify to oblige the Provincial State to buy FaSinPat workers production not at the cost price but at market prices and, on the contrary, to guarantee them cheap credit for investing in machinery.

**For FaSinPat, the same average price charged by the rest of the**

**ceramic factories that are in bourgeois' hands, discounting the VAT! Workers must not pay a single cent of the \$23.496.566 pesos! This money has to be invested in FaSinPat! Not a single cent for the capitalist creditors responsible for the bankruptcy! All the money for the workers of Zanon-Fasinpat!**

If capitalists want to get paid, their State should expropriate the oil companies in order to get the money to pay them without taking it out of the pockets of the workers of Zanon.

**For a basic salary of \$4,500 pesos monthly under collective agreement guaranteed by the Provincial State for all the workers of Zanon. Recognition of all the unpaid salaries/wages and retirement payments by the Provincial State!**

In order to get subsidies from the state which has already given them more than 10 million pesos the owners of Stefani have mounted a campaign of blackmail, saying they will close the factory. **For the elimination of the subsidies for the bosses! Out with the capitalist parasites! Nationalisation without compensation of all the ceramic factories of Neuquen and the Alto Valle under workers' control, to be put to the service of a plan of public works guaranteed by the worker organizations!**

Instead of kneeling down before the exploiters and the murderers of workers, the FaSinPat workers can call right now for the other recovered factories to gather together in a single fight at the war cry: **Out with the law of Kirchner-**

**Caro and the MPN of Cooperatives under the control of the bourgeoisie and the Kirchnerite banks (expropriators of the working class gains)! Enough of Cooperatives where the workers are super exploited under slavery working conditions, by piecework, without collective agreement (as is the case, for example, in all the Cooperatives in Mar del Plata)! For a national coordinating committee of recovered factories to retake the fight for workers' control and immediate nationalization without compensation to the bosses, together with the picketers' movement and the workers in struggle!**

The goal of putting the factory as property of the provincial state (so the workers can enjoy all their rights as public servants under a lawful contract) can only be reached through a generalized struggle, a general strike, a new December 20 (as that of 2001) and the revolutionary masses' struggle. This struggle for the provincialization under workers' control of all the ceramist factories of Neuquen is linked to the fight for the **re-nationalization without compensation and under workers' control of Repsol and all the oil, gas, mining, food, etc., transnational companies which plunder the region and the country.**

The workers of FaSinPat today, have in their hands the possibility of making this appeal; in these moments we are



**Kerry raising up the US flag in La Habana, Cuba**

facing the dismissals at Terrabusi and the workers of the subways are fighting to defeat union bureaucracy. The strength of the recovered factories, the fight of the working movement for salaries and against the dismissals, must be unified in a National Fighting Committee to break the isolation and the division imposed by the bureaucracy against our demands and our struggle and to set up again the

third Picketeer Assembly of employed and unemployed workers.

It is high time for placing all the organizations in struggle under the banner of the slogan of revolutionary socialism «the liberation of the workers will be the task of the workers themselves» not of the anti workers institutions as the City Councils, the provincial legislatures or national parliaments at the service of the

## NOTES

1 - Movimiento Popular Neuquino, the right wing «populist»—indeed semi fascist- party in the government of the oil-rich province from long ago, has conducted hundreds of bloodletting repressions and is responsible for the murders of workers Teresa Rodriguez—during the Cutralcazo in the '90s—and Carlos Fuentealba—during the teachers strike three years ago, Translator's Note

2- Calo is a lawyer that hurried to «represent» workers of broken companies to «help them» acting as main shareholder in the «saved» cooperatives that were formed; the latter being the current president's husband, that is, the former president, not too long ago head of the governing Peronist party and today a lawmaker waiting to take his seat next October, TN

3 - Secretary of Trade in the Ministry of Economy since the early days of this government and one of the strongmen of Kirchnerite administrations, TN

4- sometimes in sweatshops where workers and their families are forced to sleep, eat and work without being allowed to go even for a walk outside the place, and deprived of the most basic security and health guarantees, TN

5-US\$ 110, US\$ 220 or US\$ 270 monthly; to understand the sorrowful condition of these workers, let's consider that the miserable and by all measures insufficient minimum wage has been fixed by the government in US\$ 392 monthly, TN

6- a conscript soldier beaten to death by his military masters in the 80's under the very eyes of the provincial state, which gave them the excuse to eliminate conscription and to develop the current «professional» Argentinean army, TN

**Before the crash of 2001 and recovered factories like Zanon...**

## **Self-management and bourgeois cooperativism Vs Worker Control**

*A fully valid polemic*

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# Argentina



## **On the Law expropriating FaSinPat (former Zanon)**

*Polemics with PTS and the entire reformist left that claiming the Menshevik pseudo-theory of "Market Socialism" throw dust on the workers' eyes making pass defeats for victories and the enemies for their allies*

**A LAW THAT GARANTEES FOR THE BANKRUPTCY CREDITORS 23 MILLIONS PESOS UPON MORE SACRIFICES AND SUFFERING FOR THE HEROIC WORKERS OF ZANON IF THEY WANT TO KEEP THEIR CONQUEST**