

For the world socialist revolution, for a revolutionary workers' international

DECLINING CAPITALISM LEADS HUMANITY TO BARBARISM

Hunger riots recently broke out in Egypt, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Madagascar and Haiti, at a time when inflation is widespread, economic growth is slowing down in the United States, which will probably lead to a world recession. The central banks (Fed, BCE, BoE...) help the private banks which have bled the American and British proletarians and swindled each other. A period of economic expansion, based on low interest rates, on huge American military expenditures (600 billion dollars this year) and on the exploitation of hundreds of millions of Chinese workers by world big capitalist firms, is coming to an end.

The capitalist mode of production finished its historical role for long: the break up of the old social relations, the boost of science and technique, the overcome of local peculiarities thanks to national states, the development of industry and the building of a world market... Since then, capital got irreversibly concentrated and internationalised. Then capitalism entered its decay stage, namely imperialism. It does not mean that the capitalist groups that were born from this trend stopped competing each other, and their logic is more "financial" than ever: they are a perfect incarnation of capital, with no other logic than growing in appropriating social surplus-value through profits.

In assigning the effective administration of big firms to wage-earning bosses, the stakeholders are more and more social parasites. The parasitic nature of declining capitalism gets reinforced by the overdevelopment of finance, by the increase in the number of socially useless activities (advertisement...) or even destructive (weapons...) activities. Despite the high level of science and technique, an important part of the producers does not have a decent housing, has a limited access to health, instruction and culture; millions of people have no drinkable water, no sufficient food. Research is implemented for war and speculation, at a time when obscurantism gets widespread. Computer science is used for spying individuals, for controlling producers and for intensifying labour. Whereas firms became international, bourgeois politicians support nationalism and xenophobia. Whereas capital and goods move freely, the moving of persons is limited and sometimes forbidden. The environment of human species is endangered by the accumulation of capital and by the research of profit.

The narrowness of the borders and the private ownership of the means of production impede the development of the productive forces of humanity. In order to survive, capitalism creates an uninterrupted succession of wars and economic crises. In less than twenty years: bombing and invasion of Iraq by the United Nations in 1991, civil war in Georgia in 1991, war in Balkans from 1991 to 1999, civil war in Afghanistan in 1992, civil war in Algeria in 1992, monetary crisis in Europe in 1993, genocide in Rwanda in 1994, economic crisis in Mexico in 1994, civil war in Congo-Zaire in 1996, economic crisis in South-East Asia in 1997, economic crisis in Russia in 1998, second war in Chechnya led by Russia in 1998, war between nine States in Africa from 1998 to 2002, bombings of Serbia by the NATO in 1999, stock market world crisis in 2000, invasion of Afghanistan by the NATO in 2001, economic crisis in Argentina in 2001, economic crisis in Turkey in 2002, civil war in Ivory Coast in 2002, bombing and invasion of Iraq in 2003, civil war in Sudan in 2003, invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 2006, bank crisis in 2007, civil war in Kenya in 2008...

Economic crises, from which waged workers are the first victims, are inevitably engendered by the contradictions of capitalism. They are used as a temporary solution to the overaccumulation of capital, in destroying a part of it. Wars play the same role and, besides, weapons expenditure can temporarily solve the demand problems. In fact, militarism cannot be separated from imperialism.

The position of North American capitalism has been substantially weakened since the post-war period. Then the United States executive, whether it is Democratic or Republican, tries to use its military rule in order to make sure it controls the raw materials, to stabilize its rule on the dominated countries, to hinder its imperialist competitors (Japan, Germany, France...), to prevent the "emerging" capitalist countries (China, Russia...) from becoming rivals and imperialist powers.

The outcome is grim. American newspapers just revealed that in Spring 2002, the Bush administration, which pretends to embody democracy and to spread it worldwide, planned to implement torture in detail. Infrastructures have been destroyed in Iraq and the country turns into

religious civil war. Afghanistan lives on the culture of poppy, women are more submitted than ever. Its favourite, Israel, stifles Gaza, leads murdering raids in the “territories” and goes on colonizing the West Bank and Jerusalem.

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THE REVOLUTIONARY WAVE IN THE SIXTIES TO HAVE SUCH AN OUTCOME?

Yet, forty years ago, the revolt of the youth, of the oppressed people and of the workers of the whole world could have led to the overthrow of capitalism. Decaying capitalism was threatened both in imperialist centres (anti-war movement and Black struggles in the United States, revival of the Irish fight, revolt of the youth in Germany in 1967, fight of the youth in Japan in 1968, revolt of the youth and general strike in France in 1968, strikes in Italy in 1969, strikes in Britain in 1973, revolution in Portugal in 1974...) and in capitalist dominated countries (revolt of the youth in Mexico in 1968, revolutionary war in Vietnam, general strike in Argentina in 1969, Palestinian resistance, independence war in Portuguese colonies, agitation in Turkey in 1970, popular assembly in Bolivia in 1971, revolutionary crisis in Chile in 1973, revolt of the youth in Greece in 1973, strikes in Brazil in 1978, revolution in Iran in 1978, revolution in Nicaragua in 1979...).

This revolutionary wave was questioning the other bedrock of world order, the privileged bureaucracies that usurped workers’ power in the countries where capitalism was expropriated (youth uprising in China and workers’ commune in Shanghai in 1966, student struggles in Poland in 1968, political crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968, workers’ uprising in Poland in 1970...).

The struggles of the exploited and the oppressed were contained by the police and military repression, but they were mainly betrayed by their own leaders, the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois nationalist parties, the reformist and Stalinist organizations. Against the proletarian revolution, all tried to present the myth of the “nation”, of a “democratic stage”, to erect the barrier of the “anti-imperialist united front” with the national bourgeoisie or of the “popular front” with the democratic bourgeoisie, all of which are protecting the private ownership and the bourgeois State. In France for instance, the PCF, in 1944-1945, disarmed the resistance and supplied ministers to De Gaulle; in 1968 it denounced the uprising of the youth and, as the leadership of the CGT, negotiated with the government when the workers imposed general strike, and called to return to work and to the elections called by De Gaulle.

In 1968 De Gaulle was also supported by Brejnev, Mao, Ho, Tito and Castro, by all the agents of the privileged and conservative categories who pretended to have achieved socialism in their country, where they were implementing police rule on economically backward countries. Their common origin was the decay of the workers’ state in the only country where the proletariat took the power, Russia resulting from October revolution. Without parties similar to the Bolshevik Party, the defeats of revolution in Europe and in China isolated USSR and, in the twenties, allowed the state bureaucracy to free from the working class control, to destroy the revolutionary party, to set up a real totalitarianism. During the thirties, led by the nomenklatura, the Communist International, which was created for the revolution, became a tool for devices with the world bourgeoisie and for the counter-revolution which allowed the victory of Hitler and of Franco, before being dissolved as a guarantee for Roosevelt and Churchill. The “communist” parties wallow into patriotism, give a cult to Stalin and to their national leader, slander the revolutionaries and their own dissenters, implement violence within the workers’ movement. Social-democracy made Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Leo Jogiches murdered; Stalinism murdered Grigori Zinoviev, Nicolai Bukharin, Andrès Nin, Lev Trotsky and Tha-Thu-Tau.

Against the revolutionary wave in the sixties, which was threatening its privileges and even its existence, the Kremlin bureaucracy and its Central Europe satellites led an anti-Semitic campaign in Poland in 1967-1968, repressed the youth in Poland in 1967-1968, repressed the working class and the youth in Czechoslovakia in 1968 (with the approval of Castro and of Mao), fired the working class in Poland in 1970, repressed the working class in Poland in 1980 (in borrowing to imperialist banks at the same time). In 1973 the Cuban bureaucracy supported the popular front government in Chile (including general Pinochet) and condemned in 1979 any attempt to reproduce the Cuban revolution in Nicaragua. After restoring the order with political police and army in 1967 and in 1969, the Chinese bureaucracy went further than its Russian rival in its collusion with the American bourgeoisie; Mao Zedong met Richard Nixon during the American bombing in Vietnam in 1972. Its successors bloodily crushed the workers’ and student movements in Beijing in 1989.

The 4th International was created by the 1930s Bolshevik-Leninists in order to solve the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, which was due to the betrayal of the 2nd International in 1914 and worsened by the betrayal of the 3rd International in 1933. It got an emerging working class

basis in the United States, and then in France, in Indochina, in Ceylon, in Bolivia... After many of its leaders were killed by fascism and by Stalinism, its inexperienced leadership proved unable to face the stabilization of capitalism and the apparent success of Stalinism; in 1951 it started to support the Kremlin bureaucracy, just before the first workers' revolutions against it (in Germany in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956). Pabloism is responsible for the break-up of the 4th International in 1952-1953. The International Committee of the 4th International, a fraction composed with the (French, American and British) sections which resisted to revisionism, proved unable to reconstruct the 4th International and to work on a centralised basis. All the epigones of the 4th International became followers of the Stalinist bureaucracy, of the social-democracy or of the bourgeois nationalism. The revolutionary wave of the sixties and of the seventies had no revolutionary leadership, crippled by the reformism of the "communist" and the "socialist" parties, by the bourgeois and the petit-bourgeois nationalism, by the Maoist and Castroist guerillism, by the anarchism and by the so-called Trotskyist centrism.

THE WORKING CLASS HAS KNOWN TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF DEFEATS AND RETREATS

Due to national policies of class collaboration and to counter-revolutionary alliances Washington-Beijing and Washington-Moscow, the ruling classes took the initiative back under the leadership of the main one, the United States bourgeoisie: coup in Chile, invasion of Granada, contras in Nicaragua, ayatollahs' counter-revolution in Iran, defeat of the miners in Britain, Islamist movements in Afghanistan, arms race...

The rate of profit fell from the sixties. Under the pressure of the 1973 capitalist world crisis, the bourgeoisie started to delete all the constraints that express the tendency to the socialization of the productive forces. The imperialist bourgeois states achieved to dismantle most of the social benefits in their own country, and they destroyed the collective ownership of the means of production in USSR, in China and in the countries of Central Europe.

In closing the former working class bastions, in restructuring the firms, in de-indexing wages, in restricting the right of strike, in pressuring wages with unemployment and with the competition of the workers in dominated countries, in opening the markets that remained closed and in exploiting millions of workers that could avoid it due to the state or cooperative ownership, to the central planning and to the monopoly of foreign trade, world capitalism could, from the eighties, increase the rate of profit. All over the world, from the United States to China, inequalities increase: a pole of society, who is living thanks to the work of others, gets richer and show off, another pole, who produces, gets poorer and suffers social insecurity.

Such an outcome was allowed to the bourgeoisie thanks to the Stalinist state bureaucracies and to the traditional leadership of the working class in the capitalist countries.

STATE BUREAUCRACIES AND REFORMISM HAVE TOTALLY SURRENDERED TO CAPITAL

Under the pressure of imperialism and facing the "socialism in one country" dead-end, strengthened by the authoritarian administration of the collectivized economy, the usurping bureaucracies entirely display their nature as agents of the world bourgeoisie. In March 1989 in Poland, the Russian bureaucracy negotiated an agreement with the Catholic Church, respectively through the POUP and through the leadership of Solidarność union, and in November 1989 it allowed the absorption of GDR by the German imperialist state. The bureaucracy then dismantled USSR in 1991 and Yugoslavia in 1992, it restored capitalism in Russia since 1991 (with Boris Eltsin's "shock therapy") and in China since 1992 (with Deng Xiaoping's "market socialism").

The members of the bureaucracy of those countries appropriated the firms and became a real capitalist class with Mafia leaders; other members, who were excluded from the plundering, turned into political parties, ranging from fascism to social-democracy. Now the workers in these countries are submitted to exploitation and to social insecurity. Besides, the proletariat received a major blow on the world scale, since facts seem to validate the capitalists' and their agents' postures (all kinds of priests, academics, journalists, bourgeois and reformist politicians, union bureaucrats...): no need to take the power, socialism would fail, capitalism would be the only system possible, it must be lived with, with patriotism and religion as consolations.

The "communist" parties in capitalist countries lost their material and political basis which differentiated them from "socialist" parties. Their withering away and decay being irreversible, they are doomed either to disappear or to enter the social-democracy, or even bourgeois parties (like the PD

in Italy). Former guerrillas turned to crime activity or gave up the armed fight to become pacifists, social-democrats or conservative politicians.

The corrupted union bureaucracies systematically sabotaged young and proletarian movements, prevented the general strike and negotiated all the anti-workers measures with the bourgeois states and with the bosses

The former Stalinist parties and the labour or the social-democratic parties generally gave up all reference to class struggle and to socialism. They, who in the previous period improperly claimed for the responsibility of the concessions snatched from the bourgeoisie, became accomplices of reaction, of the attacks against the workers. When they acceded to the government, they implemented the same kind of policy than the bourgeois parties: privatizations, dismantling of retirement schemes and of unemployment pensions, flexibility of employment, of labour time and of wages, help to the constitution of big national capitalist firms, exemption of high incomes from tax...

Their left wing joined them in their decay. If some leftist sects refuse to take part in the struggles of the masses, desert the unions, and abstain during the elections, most of the surviving Centrist trends have sunk into opportunism: call to the United Nations and enthusiasm for “anti-globalisation”, for the Social Forums and ATTAC...; illusions in the improvement of capitalism by the share of incomes and by bourgeois statism, systematic “constituent assembly” catchword; political support to bourgeois representatives (Chávez, Aquino, Chirac, Obama, Bhutto, López Obrador, Nasrallah, Lugo...); concessions to Islamism; participation in bourgeois governments (in Nepal, in Brazil...). Most of them support the two states solution in Palestine, which means to ratify Israeli colonization together with Palestinian Bantustans that are economically and military controlled by Israel.

The “far-left” organizations generally entered the counter-revolutionary bureaucracies of the reformist unions and sometimes created unions, which are linked to the bosses and to the bourgeois state through many different connexions (organization of piqueteros in Argentina, SUD unions in France...). At the same time, the revisionists of Leninism-Trotskyism often destroy their own organizations: creation of parties that betray the soviets, the insurrection and the dictatorship of the proletariat (PSOL in Brazil, Respect in Britain, SA in Australia, PAS and PT-POI in France, SSP in Scotland, BE in Portugal...); illusions in the existing reformist parties (LP in Britain, PT in Brazil, DL in Germany, PRC in Italy, IU in Spain, PCL in Lebanon...); rallying to bourgeois parties (Grünen in Germany, PRD in Mexico, MDC in Zimbabwe, PSUV in Venezuela, PPP in Pakistan...).

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, LET'S GET UNITED, LET'S RAISE THE RED FLAG TARNISHED BY STALINISM AND GIVEN UP BY REFORMISM!

Even in countries that did not have any democratic revolution, the bourgeoisie lost its progressive character. At the time of imperialism, no part of the bourgeoisie, no bourgeois party is able to lead the economy towards the satisfaction of social needs, instead of the research of profit. No policy of national states, whether it is “liberal” or “Keynesian”, can “regulate” the capitalist economy and prevent the deterioration of the planet, the increase of inequalities, unemployment and economic crises. No dialogue between bourgeois states, no international organ stemming from their compromise, will be able to limit the interventions of the imperialist powers in the countries under domination, and the rivalries between them.

Yet the bourgeoisie does not disappear from history by itself. As the exploiting class, it leads economic life: in buying the labour force of the proletarians, it controls the production process and it owns the product of social labour, which allows it to get the surplus value, namely the difference between the value of the product and the value of the labour force. Moreover, it is the hegemonic social class: in normal times, it rules and its ideas are the ruling ideas. Some demonstration of that social power, which was improved during the imperialist stage, is the integration and the corruption of the organization of the oppressed and the exploited, first of all the leaders of the apparatuses of the labour movement (reformist parties, union bureaucracies).

The role of the proletariat, the class which interests are antagonistic to the bourgeoisie, is to throw the latter away and, on the basis of the world revolution, to allow the survenience of a higher mode of production, namely socialism. Only the working class, which grew significantly in Latin America and mostly in Asia, can open a solution to humanity, in leading all the oppressed and all the exploited both in the countryside and in cities, in creating and in centralizing its democratic struggle organs, in overthrowing the bourgeois state, in taking the power, in expropriating the big capitalist firms, in extending revolution, in cooperating with other workers' governments stemming from it. Then, the

conditions for socialism will be gathered: development of productive forces, planning by the associated producers, removal of borders, withering away of social classes and of the state.

Courageous resistances by workers, employees, peasants, students, women, oppressed people are numerous in the imperialist countries, including the United States, in the dominated capitalist countries, especially in Latin America, and in the new capitalist countries, including China. Despite the police regime of the CCP, the new battalions of the world proletariat formed by the Chinese workers, who are shown as enemies of the Western and Japanese workers by the reformist appendices of the imperialist bourgeoisies, multiply strikes and demonstrations.

In order to succeed, not only the workers have to lead the fight against the bosses, against the governments working for them, against the repressive bodies, but they also have to overcome the obstacles set by the agents of the bourgeoisie, who submit them to the bourgeoisie, to their own exploiters. They need their own party, distinct from nationalism, from reformism, from centrism. Based on Marxism as the theory of revolution and of emancipation, the most conscious elements of the workers and the youth must gather in such a party.

Immediate retreat of all imperialist troops from Iraq, from Afghanistan, from Lebanon, from Haiti, from Ivory Coast, from Chad, from Kosovo...! Close of all the American, French, British... military bases! End of the threats against Iran and of the blockade of Cuba and of North Korea!

Respect of the languages of national minorities, freedom of separation for the national minorities! Right of return on the territory of Palestine for the refugees, destruction of the Zionist colonial state towards a secular, socialist Palestine with the same rights to the Jews and to the Arabs!

Equal rights for men and women! Separation of religions and the state! Freedom of circulation and of stay for all the workers of the world! Same rights for all the workers, no matter their gender, age, nationality, sexual preference!

Indexing of wages and pensions on prices! Decrease of labour time for removing unemployment! Control by the urban and rural workers on production, distribution and credit! Expropriation of large land properties and of big national and foreign capitalist groups!

Removal of all acts against the migrant workers, against the strikes, the unions and the workers' parties! Self-defence against capital armed gangs (police, army, fascists, vigilantes, Islamists)! Dissolution of the repressive bodies!

Break-up of all the working class organizations, parties and unions, with the bosses, with the bourgeois government, with the state! Self-organization of the workers (communes, soviets, councils, shoras, cordons, popular assemblies...)! Workers' and peasants' government, workers' power! World republic of the workers' councils!

Cusco, Paris, Vienna, 1st of May 2008

Permanent Revolution Collective