

Platform E (proposed by comrades who supported “Position 4” or “Position 2” at the last party congress)

For a revolutionary policy – totally free from reformism and with industrial action as a priority

The national conference must enable the NPA to find a way out of its current crisis. Let's put an end to lame compromises, ambiguous formulations and negotiations of party leaders behind closed doors! Many comrades are sick of such methods and the lack of radicalism in the party. We wish to bring together all those who want a revolutionary and democratic NPA. We propose a platform which rests on four pillars: (1) total independence from the Left Front (“Front de Gauche” – the left-reformist alliance led by Mélenchon, who obtained 11% at the last presidential election); (2) a real transitional programme to pave the way towards our vision of a socialist society; (3) a policy shift towards implantation in the workplace and an emphasis on industrial action; (4) internationalism.

The crisis of capitalism leads to horrendous austerity measures and massive layoffs. In Europe, the economy is stagnating. The only solution available to capitalists to allow for renewed accumulation of profits would be to “purge” the excess capital via bankruptcies and layoffs on a massive scale. This has been partly avoided until now because governments have come to the rescue of capitalists and made workers pay the bill. The debt crisis prevents all forms of economic stimulation through public spending, and governments have no other choice but to intensify austerity policies to an unprecedented level. In this respect, what we see in Greece is the future of Europe. Under the leadership of the German bourgeoisie, the European ruling classes – or the so-called Troika (IMF, EU, ECB) acting on their behalf – are forcing onto the Greek people the destruction of their living conditions as a means to avoid debt default and exit from the eurozone. But the crisis continues to spiral downwards, along with new threats on the euro in countries such as Spain, Portugal, Italy, Ireland...

However, this also leads to a renewal of resistance. All over the world, as a reaction to capitalist attacks, class struggle has intensified since the beginning of the crisis (Guadeloupe, Arab world, Europe, US...). Even though workers' resistance has so far been insufficient to bring about an end to austerity plans, it has clearly acted as a brake to the implementation of such policies. In Greece it has caused a major political crisis, and the victory of the right in the elections of June 17th has brought with it the looming threat of an accelerated and forced implementation of European austerity plans together with significant repression of popular mobilisations.

Struggles often end in defeat only because of reformists and union leaders acting in the name of “social dialogue”, which means that such people actually collaborate in the implementation of counter-reforms and restructuration plans. Such defeats intensify the demoralisation and confusion of the exploited classes, thereby allowing the far-right to make dangerous progress by blaming foreigners for the situation. But anger and fear are also

channelled via institutional means, particularly through elections, which bring back illusions about the “left”.

In France, workers, young people, those from below, got rid of Sarkozy to put an end to his brutal and cynical policies. Even if they don't believe that the new president Hollande will do anything to change their lives, at least they think it won't be quite as bad as under Sarkozy. The sad reality is that, beyond his different “style” and a handful of low-impact measures to pacify the people, **this so-called “normal president” is preparing a harsh austerity plan and is in no way opposed to layoffs. His political agenda will serve the needs of capitalists** with the help of his party's absolute majority of seats in Parliament, the cooperation of union leaders and even the support of the Left Front (*Front de Gauche*).

1 - For independence from the Left Front (*Front de Gauche*)

For an effective re-orientation of our party, we must not only refuse the dissolution of the NPA into the Left Front, but also the political subordination that would come from joining in a permanent “opposition” front. The Left Front supports Hollande; besides, there are fundamental points of disagreement between them and us (internationalism, nuclear energy, etc.); and finally, we stand for entirely different social projects: our project is revolutionary socialism, while theirs is about bringing a “human” dimension into a capitalist environment! A lasting “political bloc” with reformists has however nothing to do with a united front, which implies “striking together” but “marching separately”. This is why in Greece, far from supporting Syriza's “anti-neoliberal” – and therefore powerless – programme, we side with those who, while following a united front strategy, are committed to a revolutionary programme and fight for a workers' government. The contradictions between Syriza's promises and its refusal to break with the system highlight the fact that there is no third way between austerity and revolution.

2 – For a real transitional programme towards a socialist society

For our revolutionary programme to be effective and credible as a real transitional programme, we must never forget to link our demands (prohibit layoffs, reduce working hours, raise wages by €300, raise minimum wage to €1,700, index wages to inflation, phase out nuclear energy, generalise the use of renewable energies, uphold women's rights, ensure the equality of French and foreign workers, etc.) to the goal of a workers' government, which means our own power. Such a government of exploited and oppressed people would put an end to capitalist institutions and would be based on the principle of self-organisation, with mandated, recallable delegates, elected for a limited period. This is the only kind of government which could actually cancel public debt, expropriate the banks and the large capitalist companies, break with the UE, plan the economy on a collective basis and open the way to a truly socialist society, based on real equality and allowing every human being to attain fulfilment in his or her life.

3 – For implantation in the workplace and priority to industrial action

To escape from the dead-end of electoralism, party activism needs to be re-directed towards the workplace. Workers alone have the ability to substantially hurt the bank accounts of

capitalists by going on strike and paralysing the country. On a political level, **our most important task is to organise within the strategic sectors – public and private – of the proletariat.**

During the fight against Sarkozy's pension reform, the NPA's absence from the main strongholds of the strike (refineries, ports, transport sector...) was detrimental to the party. It is urgent to gain a foothold in workplaces and produce newsletters to promote our ideas and forge ties with the workforce.

At the moment, **a major priority is to fight against the many thousands of planned layoffs.** We are to intervene proactively, even from the outside. We will always highlight the necessity of preserving jobs and try to convince workers that fighting for redundancy pay is not a solution, since people who lose their jobs will not be able to find work again in most cases and will slip into poverty after they have eaten up the last penny of their redundancy pay. Simultaneously, we campaign for our transitional demands: prohibition of layoffs, reducing working hours without loss of pay, workers' control over production and management, nationalisation of companies under threat of closure...

We are to intervene in workers' struggles and encourage self-organisation. This implies democratic General Assemblies, Action Committees, Strike Committees, which include union members as well as non-union members and bring together all organisations supporting the struggle. As soon as workers engage in collective action, we will fight for their struggle to gain support and to expand, so as to avoid isolation. Our objective is the convergence of these independent, isolated struggles.

To achieve mobilisation on a massive scale, we systematically propose a united front strategy bringing together organisations on the basis of fundamental demands. However, this must never stop us from fighting against union bureaucracies that betray workers' struggles and collaborate with the bosses. One of Hollande's main challenges is to succeed in working hand-in-hand with the unions in the name of "social dialogue". It is essential for us to act within the unions in a coordinated fashion in order to reclaim them and fight the bureaucrats who paralyse them.

We are also active in the struggles for young people's and women's rights, in environmental struggles and those that arise in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Here again we will primarily target real mobilisations, where we will put forward our anticapitalist programme and our vision of a new society. The NPA must now be at the forefront of the political struggle against the government, and not wait for the first big austerity plan. We have a double challenge: on the one hand, dispel the illusions of those who voted for Hollande with the hope of getting rid of Sarkozy's policies; on the other, fight against the Left Front's duplicity towards the government. This is why we call on the Left Front, the unions, as well as every other organisation of the working class, to set up a large united front for the immediate repeal of the Sarkozy laws and for non-ratification of the two European treaties (TSCG and EMS). We will not try to achieve this by calling for a referendum – a distraction from the real struggle – but through mass mobilisation.

4 – For unswerving internationalism in orientation and activity

All over the world we support workers and young people who fight against capitalist governments, such as the struggles of workers and the unemployed in Greece, the mobilisations in the French colonies, those of students in Quebec or in Chile, workers' strikes in China, or the uprising of people against dictators (e.g. Syria). In the context of the crisis and the “Arab Spring”, imperialist interventions have multiplied in the name of “democracy”. In fact, the leading powers are everywhere trying to preserve their interests. Every single imperialistic victory is a defeat for the workers of the entire world, since it strengthens the most powerful bourgeoisies. We shall go against national unity and media brainwashing in our consistent opposition to imperialist interventions, and work for the defeat of our own imperialist forces. Furthermore, we denounce local opposition leaders who sympathise with the protesters but refuse to break with the regime, just as much as we denounce those who work as accomplices of the imperialists in their attempt to guide the uprisings and pave the way towards recolonisation.

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