

*Moroccan Armed Forces, which provided a frigate, four F-16 and F-5 fighter jets and a helicopter.*" (El País, 16-03-2021). On May 17th, 2021, Morocco promoted the criminal launching of immigrants against the Spanish border. This was no less criminally repressed *manu militari* by the Spanish state, currently governed by the left of capital (if they even get to that): PSOE and Unidas Podemos. This action is part of Morocco's struggle to play an imperialist role and consolidate its control of the Sahara, as well as to pay the price to be the bully against immigrants that the Spanish state rejects. Now, however, the U.S. has deliberately cooled its support for Morocco to facilitate rapprochement with the EU: *"The Foreign Affairs Commission of the House of Representatives, controlled by the Democrats, has for several months blocked two key initiatives contained in the agreement by which Morocco suddenly saw its long-standing aspiration for recognition of its sovereignty over Western Sahara realized: the opening of a U.S. consulate in the disputed territory, subordinate to Rabat, and the sale of armed MQ-9B drones to the Alawite kingdom."* (La Vanguardia, 13-06-2021).

The U.S. has also slowed down the withdrawal of troops from Germany: *"The Democrat made his first speech on the subject, in which he announced the halt to the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Germany ordered by his predecessor"*. (El País, 05-02-2021). Shortly after: *"Germany has notified NATO of a military expenditure of 53.03 billion euros for 2021, which represents so far, the largest defense expenditure of the German government, (...)"* (Europapress, 07-02-2021).

On the other hand, the EU hasn't renounced in any case to play an autonomous role and tries to get closer to the U.S. while at the same time extending its influence (signing treaties with Japan in 2019 and restarting negotiations in 2021 to do so with India) while trying not to clash head-on with China

The EU has been able to overcome the difficulties to authorize its debt issuance. These difficulties have been placed in this case by a fraction of the German bourgeoisie itself through its Constitutional Court (against which the European Commission has recently open and infringement proceeding for this meddling), but also by part of the countries that are typically used as leverage by the U.S. against the EU from within the EU: Poland and Hungary. The Brexit wound is still bleeding in Northern Ireland where the UK refuses to carry out the agreed controls and where there is no solution that can content both sides.

To facilitate its rapprochement with the EU and in particular

with Germany, the U.S. *"(...) renounced on Wednesday to apply sanctions against Nord Stream 2, the Moscow controlled company that is building a gas pipeline between Russia and Germany, a project that Washington had previously declared a geopolitical risk for the security."* (France 24, 20-05-2021). The other side of the story is that, with this gesture, the U.S. is admitting that it has not succeeded in stopping the construction of this pipeline *"(...) which is more than 95% complete."* (France 24, 20-05-2021).

### **Developments in Russia's relationship with the U.S. and China.**

The U.S. has met with Russia. Despite U.S. threats of "devastating" consequences if the Russian opponent Navalny dies or to respond with the same coin if cyber-attacks against U.S. infrastructure were repeated, Putin described the meeting as *"efficient", "constructive" and "allowed us to glimpse trust and hope"* (Expansión, 21-06-2021). This confident cynicism of the representative of Russian imperialism only shows that the U.S. is not in a position to frighten to Russian imperialism in the current situation.

The reality is that Russia and China have been mutually supportive until now and the U.S. has nothing to offer Russia, while their interests are contrasting on points such as the extension of NATO. Russia continues with the deployment of 150,000 troops on Ukrainian territory while the Ukrainian army conducts joint manoeuvres with NATO and calls for its integration. In this context, the United Kingdom intends to provoke Russia by sending a warship to Crimean waters which was repulsed with salvos by the Russian army.

Another element of collaboration between Russia and China, as well as an area where the U.S. and EU risk falling behind is the deployment in the space domain: *"Russia has announced that it wants to end more than twenty years of relationship with the United States on the International Space Station (ISS) (...) The announcement comes after Russia turned down last year's offer to join the Artemis lunar exploration program headed by NASA. Instead, Russia signed a memorandum of understanding with China last March 9th to develop a lunar base."* (La Vanguardia, 24-04-2021).

The U.S. and China have reached Mars with their respective probes this year 2021, but the Chinese technological deployment has shown itself to be superior. The rest of the imperialisms will have to think long and hard before joining in a serious alliance with the most likely losing horse.

## **U.S. TRIES A REEDITION OF THE NEW DEAL**

In capitalism, the market is the one that commands and the U.S., which has lagged behind, has to try to re-occupy the place that young capitalisms have taken away from it, but the situation inside is a huge encumbrance. The infrastructures in the U.S. are crumbling and they are not prepared to face the natural disasters that are happening. In February, 14 million people did not have running water and 100,000 were without electricity and heating due to the cold wave in Texas (La Vanguardia, 21-02-2021).

The security systems of their companies are also not prepared for other "disasters" such as cyberattacks. The pipeline that goes from Texas to New York had to be temporarily closed due to the introduction of a virus into its computer system by the Dark Side hackers (protected by Russia). The pipeline company had to pay \$5 million to unlock the system, but there was still a gasoline

shortage.

A cyberattack against the meat plants of the JBS company forced the closure of 20% of U.S. meat production. They have also hacked into the systems of a U.S. federal government provider to send emails that appeared to be authentic to more than 3,000 accounts of more than 150 organizations that regularly receive communications from the U.S. Agency for International Development. It is not the first time: *"it is the same group that was behind the attacks on SolarWinds (...) That attack was developed from the spring of 2020 and during the following six months, which allowed foreign agents to be infiltrated in different organizations of the U.S. Government. During that time, they were able to intercept the daily work of at least six departments, including Defense, State,*

Commerce and the Treasury, as well as organizations such as the National Institutes of Health and large companies." (El País, 29-05-2021).

As for the aeronautical industry, while it is true that the U.S. has just reached an agreement with the EU to cancel mutual tariff measures in this field, it is however also true that the U.S. is not capable of fixing the chronic problems with its B777 aircraft that are beginning to be vetoed by various countries. (La Vanguardia, 23-02-2021).

We have seen in a previous article in this review the U.S. efforts to try to weave an anti-China alliance on a global level and to revitalize NATO to confront Russia and China militarily. But... how can a bourgeoisie consider going to the third world war when at home they do not have electricity, water, heating, and with the production of gas and oil and the industry paralyzed?

It is in this context where the attempt to reeditate the *New Deal* comes in. The fraction represented by Trump began to put it on the table in certain aspects and the fraction represented by Biden is trying to give continuity to it with its variations.

### **The classic New Deal and its current reedition attempt**

This is how our current characterized the classic New Deal: *"But the New Deal will soon have to reveal even more explicitly its role as an instrument directed by big capitalist industry. As a "brain trust", the Roosevelt administration is the trust for the conservation interests of the ruling class: its ideology is analogous to that of the fascist "Labour Charter" - collaboration between capital and labour under the aegis of the state and, for the "general aims of the nation", stimulation of the economic mechanism by a general mobilisation of "collective" resources. The New Deal is strongly nationalist and autarkic: even before its famous domestic regulation laws, it will set an international example of abandoning the "gold standard" and, by blowing up the world economic conference convened by Hoover, will accelerate the international tendency to close national economies with monetary and customs barriers. Its enemy is free-falling prices - those famous free-falling prices which classical bourgeois economics presented as one of the virtues of free competition and, in general, of capitalist production. Devaluation, the suspension of trade treaties, the raising of certain taxes, are the first measures in favor of new domestic price increases. The policy of intervention in the industrial and agricultural sectors will be inspired by the same principle: after having paid for the clean-up of financial and industrial institutions in crisis, the "nation", the "people", will pay with higher prices and with the forced destruction of agricultural products - with a policy of "scarcity in consumer goods" - the state's policy of generosity and open-mindedness (Down with Hoover's "parsimony"!)" towards the big "Corporations".* (The New Deal, or State Interventionism in Defense of Big Capital, Prometeo No. 3-4, 1952).

While the previous dominant fraction of the U.S. bourgeoisie emphasised the autarkic and protariff fantasy, the current dominant fraction emphasises economic and social intervention without completely renouncing tariffs which, for the time being, it is trying to maintain especially against China. Despite their discrepancies, we see here a continuity in substance, imposed by the development of the material conditions in which the U.S. bourgeoisie has to move.

### **Reconstruction at home to prepare for war abroad**

The so-called Biden Plan for the reconstruction of the American infrastructure is the program of the American bourgeoisie to prepare the conditions at home in order to be able to wage war abroad. So did the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi Party, for those unfamiliar with its real name), building roads and highways and renovating industry in order to set the war machine in motion for the second imperialist world slaughter.

To this end, the American bourgeoisie plans to spend more than 2 trillion dollars: *"Joe Biden's first coup was a stimulus plan to overcome the pandemic of 1.9 trillion dollars (1.6 trillion euros). The second, unveiled yesterday, is an ambitious infrastructure modernisation program, with eight-year investments of another two trillion dollars (1.7 trillion euros), and to create millions of jobs. The aim is to improve essential services such as roads, airports and the electricity grid, many of which date back to the 1950s, and to tackle climate change. But the ultimate ambition is to shore up U.S. supremacy in the face of competition from its rivals, especially China. (...) the plan envisages spending 620 billion on transportation to upgrade more than 32,000 kilometres of roads and highways and repair about 10,000 bridges across the country. According to the civil engineers' association, 43 per cent of roads are in poor condition, while 42 per cent of the 617,000 bridges are at least 50 years old. Of these, 7.5 per cent are structurally deficient. The world's richest country falls to 13th place when the quality of its infrastructure is assessed, as a result of a 40% drop in public investment since the 1960s (...) In addition to the road network, it is planned to modernise the electricity grid, water supply and affordable broadband internet access; rebuild two million houses and buildings, schools and kindergartens; boost the so-called care economy; revitalise industry; guarantee the supply of essential components; and invest more in R&D. A highlight of the initiative is the so-called 'electric car revolution', which envisages, among other things, replacing 20 per cent of school buses with electric vehicles".* (El País, 01-04-2021). And the plan includes an incentive for companies that hire U.S. supplies and suppliers: *"U.S. President Joe Biden last night signed an executive order for federal government agencies, with an annual expenditure of 600 billion dollars (almost half a trillion euros), to choose to hire U.S. supplies and suppliers to boost domestic industry and support employment. The aim is to "increase investment in manufacturing and workers", according to the White House".* (El País, 26-01-2021); *"In addition, it has created a national coordinator and a new website to make it easier for SMEs to access public contracts".* (La Vanguardia, 26-01-2021).

### **Do the material conditions for such a plan exist?**

As we have explained in the article in this issue of the magazine *"Structural supply shortage or tsunami preparation?"*, the Fed's gigantic dollar issuance and the interest rates in which the U.S. macro investment plan is framed rest on a very specific foundation: the dollar's role as the world's reserve currency, its role as a currency. If this foundation collapses, the whole plan will be nothing but sand castles.

On the other hand, the interdependence of the global market will play a dirty trick on the protectionist ideology sold by the investment plan: the high costs of U.S. industry force its own companies to buy products manufactured at home from abroad, dialectically favouring foreign competitors they would like to

take advantage of: "Arguably the biggest beneficiaries of U.S. President Joe Biden's plan to spend \$620 billion on highways, roads and bridges are the steelmakers.

The Brazilian ones, that is. And the Korean ones. And the Vietnamese and Taiwanese ones.

But not so much the once-mighty American steelmakers that Biden - and Donald Trump before him - pledged to revive. American steel is too expensive for that - \$300 a ton more expensive, based on estimates from Bloomberg and Kallanish Commodities. So expensive that two ships hauled thousands of tons of steel coils from Vietnam and Taiwan to the port of Houston last week, while U.S. Steel Corp.'s Big River Steel complex - a mere 10-hour drive from the port - makes the exact same coil." (Bloomberg, 01-04-2021).

The representatives of major U.S. industrial sectors are neither certain that the capacity of U.S. industry can absorb the demand that the macro plan aims to generate, forcing it to rely again on foreign industry and generating frictions and imbalances at home: "The biggest threat to President Joe Biden's vision of energizing the U.S. economy with the largest infrastructure program in decades may not be its challenging path through Congress, **but a dire shortage of everything from workers to cement mills.** (...) they face immediate shortages -- from steel and cement to the supply of labor -- stemming from the unprecedented difficulties of a sudden reopening of the economy after last year's shutdowns. (...) The National Association of Home Builders says the U.S. will need to lift tariffs on lumber and import more key metals to ensure there's enough aluminum for appliances, copper for wiring and cement for foundations. (...) One constant shortage cited across the country is people. The infrastructure bill increases the demand for trained workers, which the U.S. doesn't necessarily have." (Bloomberg, 04-06-2021).

The new government has been forced to drastically reduce the list of banned Chinese companies, excluding from the ban subsidiaries and companies whose names were similar to the banned companies. Why? "The amendment to Trump's order comes after two Chinese companies successfully challenged it in U.S. court." (Bloomberg, 03-06-2021). The U.S. bourgeoisie through its courts gave a clear indication of this dependence to its representatives in government.

### **The straitjacket of trade union integration**

For the preparation of the war the bourgeoisie knows perfectly well that it is necessary to maintain SOCIAL PEACE at home. Just as Roosevelt did with the New Deal, the precursor of the economic measures implemented by fascism, now it is a question of once again putting the plier on the unorganised and non-unionised workers through the American trade union service companies: "In the U.S. workforce as a whole, trade union representation has fallen from 20% membership in 1983 to 11% in 2020, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics". (El País, 10-04-2021).

This is how our current summed up how the American bourgeoisie succeeded in straitjacketing the working class during the Great Depression: "And this is yet another proof of the **unity of capitalism in its own methods of preservation:** the phenomenon of workers' opportunism, a necessary element in the capitalist defense against the revolutionary assault of the proletariat, assumes everywhere the same aspects; **the counter-revolutionary leaders of the trade unions are no longer required only to contain class clashes in the sphere of legality, reform and collaboration, but to**

**become promoters (as in America) or administrators (in Labour England) of more effective - "progressive", that is, more conservative of the regime of exploitation of labour power - methods of managing the economy (...)**

A concession that the ruling class could not refuse, not only because the non-recognition of trade unions represented an unsustainable anachronism compared to the current practice in all advanced capitalist countries (unsustainable, of course, not for moral reasons or for reasons of adherence to ideal paradigms, but for reasons of efficiency and organicity in the defense of the maximum world capitalist bastion of the clash of class contrasts), but, above all, because the opening of the internal economic crisis launched powerful masses of workers into the movement and unleashed agitations with a wide range and unpredictable developments. (...)

The organisational inefficiency of the ultra-reformist and ultra-realist unions became a danger for the bourgeois regime: **their recognition and the appearance of philo-labour legislation were indispensable conditions for the restoration of internal social peace,** and thus of economic recovery itself. It was necessary (as the anti-crisis measures were being developed and were having their effect) to prepare the fold into which the disciplined, fluctuating masses, continually thrown by the crisis into the arena of social conflict, could be led. Nor could the fold be the old A.F.L. alone. (...)

The old wolf has not changed his fur: John Lewis takes the initiative for the creation of the C.I.O. **only to prevent the formation of an autonomous and "red" trade union centre.** (The New Deal, or state interventionism in defense of big capital, Prometeo No 3-4, 1952).

The most intelligent part of the American bourgeoisie knows perfectly well that it needs the corset of subsidised unionism to stop any hint of struggle and demands of the workers. That is why Biden and his government have defended the union elections promoted by a **Baptist church priest** in the Amazon warehouse in Bessemer (Alabama) with 5,805 workers.

Amazon has a total of 800,000 workers in the U.S. who are not subject to this straitjacket and the pliers of the American union service companies. "Amazon's main bargaining chip to stop union mobilisation has been wages: \$15 an hour. A desideratum for the majority of American workers (the minimum wage has been frozen at 7.25 dollars for years) (...) A congressional delegation visited the Bessemer logistics centre at the beginning of March to show its support for the employees". (El País, 10-04-2021).

In order to encourage social cohesion and social peace, the minimum wage for workers employed or subcontracted by the administration has also been set at 15 dollars, after having been unsuccessfully proposed as a general minimum wage.

In addition to this there will be more direct aid for workers and the petty bourgeoisie: "President Joe Biden scored his first major legislative victory yesterday with the Senate's approval of an ambitious rescue plan for the U.S. economy, the third since the pandemic began, a package of measures valued at 1.9 trillion dollars aimed at combating the effects of the crisis and strengthening the health response to covid. (...) The plan envisages sending a cheque for up to 1,400 dollars to all Americans earning less than 80,000 dollars a year, 160,000 in the case of couples (...)" (La Vanguardia, 07-03-2021).

Added to this is the state's assumption of part of the overall costs of work (health, education) precisely to mitigate the possible social outbursts caused by the crisis with the "plan for families" of 1.8 trillion dollars: "The new plan presented by

Biden highlights that it extends the system of free public education by four years, which currently goes from the start of primary school at 5 years old to the end of secondary school at 18. On the one hand, it establishes **free schooling for the two years of kindergarten prior to entering primary school**, that is, for the 3- and 4-year-old age groups. On the other hand, the plan also makes two years of studies free of charge in the so-called university colleges, institutions to which access is gained after secondary education and which offer two-year academic degrees. (...) Another of the project's most noteworthy measures is that which establishes a **12-week period of paid leave for maternity and paternity leave, as well as for illness or caring for a family member**, among other less common variables. The plan, at a cost of 225 billion dollars over 10 years, **will pay between 66% and 80% of the worker's salary up to a maximum of 4,000 dollars a month**. The White House recalled in the statement that "the United States is one of the few countries in the world that does not guarantee paid leave" and has therefore "lagged behind its economic competitors in the number of women in the workforce". (...) it plans to subsidise part of the cost of childcare, so that families spend no more than 7 per cent of their income on childcare. (...) Other initiatives included are food programmes for children, a reform of unemployment benefits and significant tax cuts for families". (Expansión, 28-04-2021).

The racial justice plan promoted by the Democrats responds to this need for social cohesion at home: "Biden signed several executive orders to put an end to discriminatory policies" in access to public housing, "reaffirm" the federal government's obligation to recognise tribal authorities and combat xenophobia against people of Asian origin, as well as limiting the transfer of military material to police departments and ordering the federal government to terminate its contracts with private prisons, "the least safe" for prisoners and guards, according to the White House". (La Vanguardia, 27-01-2021).

The bourgeois socialism of the 21st century continues to say to the working class the same of that of 1848: "Free exchange, in the interest of the working class! Protective tariffs, in the interest of the working class! **Cellular prisons, in the interest of the working class!** That is the last word of bourgeois socialism, the only word, which it has seriously spoken." (Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848).

Social peace at home also requires greater gun control and the U.S. is tightening its grip on gun sales: "(...) there are more than 400 million guns in the hands of ordinary citizens (...) the Administration wants to curb the proliferation of so-called ghost guns or homemade weapons (...) increased funding for initiatives to reduce urban violence in the United States with an allocation for various programmes worth \$5 billion (...) "No one needs a weapon that powerful," said Biden, who called for a ban on these weapons of military capacity (referring to assault weapons)". (El País, 09-04-2021).

**Nobody needs such a powerful weapon except the state and the army of the bourgeoisie!** To avoid a social outburst leading to civil war within the country, it is necessary to disarm the population. In this case the impoverished American petty and middle bourgeoisie in whose hands most of the weapons are concentrated, but ultimately it is also a question of disarming the working class.

The deposed Trump continues to stir up his followers by claiming that he will return to the presidency in August 2021 and Michael Flynn (a general pardoned by Trump) claimed in Dallas that a Burma-style coup should happen in the U.S. to public

applause (The Independent, 31-05-2021). If we take into account that "One in five of those arrested for the violent and tragic siege of Congress, incited by the now ex-president, were military veterans who once swore to defend the Constitution". (La Vanguardia 24-01-2021) one can see the concern that a part of the U.S. bourgeoisie has about an eventual clash inside the country, with the proliferation of paramilitary groups like the Oath Keepers. In addition to the persecution and the organised public denunciation campaign called Sedition Hunters, the big social networks continue to try to block this faction: "Donald Trump will remain suspended from Facebook Inc.'s networks for at least two years, and the world's largest social media company said the former U.S. president will be reinstated in 2023 only if the risk to public safety has subsided." (Bloomberg, 04-06-2021). Meanwhile, in early April a man rammed his car into the Capitol security barriers (erected after the demonstrations and the thid-rate assault in January), killing a policeman and then getting killed.

Meanwhile, the doors of the army are reopened to transsexuals and women are encouraged to enlist by allowing them to paint their nails and lips and wear different types of hairstyles... In addition, the army is given a facelift with "the deployment of 1,100 soldiers to set up five large vaccination centres in different parts of the country" (La Vanguardia, 08-02-2021).

To the opioid epidemic with which part of the population has been sedated and overdose deaths have multiplied, the U.S. bourgeoisie adds the opium of religion, which is more useful for its purposes of social control.

Another front that could destabilise the U.S. at home is the massive and uncontrolled influx of migrants. The so-called migrant caravans from Central America in late 2018 were funded by the Catholic Church. Thug Steve Banon declared three years ago that in ten years the Catholic Church in the U.S. would be dead, and thousands of paedophile cases began to emerge in the U.S. and around the world. The new U.S. government is made up of avowed Catholics who quote the Bible, St Francis of Assisi, John Paul II, and even church priests: "And Biden, the second Catholic president in U.S. history (the first was John F. Kennedy), is one of the most religious presidents in recent decades. At least among the Democrats, there has not been another so devout since the Baptist Jimmy Carter, who gave classes to children on Sundays in a church". (El País, 31-01-2021). The aim of this reconciliation is twofold: on the one hand, the american bourgeoisie needs the Catholic Church to keep the immigrant working class drugged and narcotised with the opium sold by the Church and, on the other hand, to avoid the attack of the Catholic Church with the massive shipment of human flesh to the borders of the USA.

But to reconcile with the Church, it is not enough to go to mass on Sundays; you also have to leave money in the collection plate: "Joe Biden's government is promoting a plan to invest up to 4 billion dollars (...) over four years in Central America to improve the living conditions of its citizens and thus curb emigration to the U.S. (...) the plan provides for direct contributions to NGOs in order to prevent resources from being diverted (...) after seeing how the investment approved by Obama of 2.6 billion dollars a year (...) did not result in a substantial improvement, this time the government is inclined to channel aid through NGOs and strengthen the counter-powers of civil society (...). 600 million dollars a year (...) did not result in a substantial improvement, this time the government is inclined to channel aid through NGOs and strengthen civil society

counterpowers (...) According to a congressional report, in Honduras, the total number of beneficiaries of U.S. aid agency (USAID) programmes fell from 1.5 million people in March 2019 to 700,000 in March 2020. The cuts hit NGOs working on the ground such as Catholic Relief Services (CRS), whose main donor is the U.S. government". (El País, 30-03-2021). At the border, however, despite all the Democrat humanistoid verbiage, express returns continue to be the order of the day.

This approach has been torpedoed by the U.S. bishops' conference which, by three votes to one, has decided to begin the process of establishing guidelines that would leave Biden unable to receive communion. This shows that there is an important sector within the Catholic Church in the USA that opposes the current bourgeoisie faction or wants the money to stay at home. The Vatican has opposed this measure, as well as an important part of the Church in the USA itself. The Church is not exactly free of internal competition for money, nor has it been in the past: one needs only to recall the war between the Jesuits and the Vatican over control of the manufactories in which they exploited local labour in the missions of Paraguay. In fact, only local bishops can deny communion, so it doesn't look like the U.S. president will be without it any time soon...

As we have explained in previous issues and as the U.S. bourgeoisie itself recognises, the U.S. is highly dependent on foreign labour: "Biden signed an order reauthorising the granting of green cards (permanent residency) and overturning the ban imposed by his predecessor (...) In his memorandum, Biden argues that this veto "was not in the interest of the United States". "On the contrary," he remarks. (...) "It also harms U.S. industries that use talent from all over the world", he reiterates". (La Vanguardia 26-02-2021). "The reform, which would benefit people without criminal records who were in the United States on 1st of January of this year, includes ways to regularise the situation of the estimated eleven million people without papers who are currently in the country; many of them work and pay taxes. It is the most ambitious legislative proposal on immigration since Ronald Reagan signed an amnesty law in 1986 that regularised the situation of three million people in an irregular situation". (La Vanguardia, 19-02-2021). It is to have SEDATED all this immigrant mass that the American bourgeoisie needs to have and be on good terms with the Catholic Church!

#### **Let's return to the analysis of the classic New Deal**

The political substance of the movements of American capitalism can be synthesised as they appear in the classic study carried out by our current in 1952:

*"Shall we draw the conclusions from this rapid synthesis of Rooseveltian measures? **The State steps in with the double aim of economic stabilisation and social stabilisation:** it helps to save the dangerous industries, to finance their expansion and to maintain their prices; to consolidate this policy of conservation and the forces to be controlled and disciplined. When the therapy has had its effect and the large concentrated*

*enterprises have shown that they can stand on their own feet, the state, not without preparing the ground propagandistically with an anti-monopoly campaign, goes further - it becomes an entrepreneur, and, in part, a manager (...) in the social field, it does not eliminate unemployment but "redistributes"; it does not increase the average wage per head, but it ensures a minimum wage to the reserve of the partially unemployed (or employed); it institutionally recognises the trade unions in order to link them to the general policy of the exploiting class." (The New Deal, or state interventionism in defense of big capital, Prometeo no. 3-4, 1952).*

*"The analysis of the economic policy of Roosevelt's New Deal is of particular interest today because it allows us to reaffirm, on the basis of extremely clear data, two criteria of interpretation of the social facts which have been confirmed by the marxist critique in the face of the convergent assault of revisionism and official democratic ideologies and, therefore, to see clearly also in the developments which that policy has had in this post-war period, both on the economic plane and in the political superstructure.*

***The first is that, despite the diversities of political form, the capitalist regime acts in its own internal crises in a unitary way, with methods of economic policy that are the same as those of democracy and fascism.** Interventionism, dirigisme, state management - which are, moreover, the classic reformist recipes for economic and social revival - are common aspects of any bourgeois political regime in the phase of maximum exasperation of its internal contrasts, convergent expressions on the international plane of the politics of capitalist preservation.*

*The second is that state intervention in the economy, far from signifying a subjugation of capital to the rule of a supposed abstract collective entity which is the people, **constitutes the sharpest and most ruthless form of the manoeuvre of the public authorities in defense of capital,** and therefore of its domination as the work of an ever-narrower circle of private interests. (...) **As a result the attribution of the progressive label to the Rooseveltian New Deal, as to any form of dirigisme or state management of the economy - a label which one cannot see the reason why democratic ideology does not extend to fascism, which is historically the progenitor not of interventionism, contemporary to the capitalist regime, but of its organised and planned codification** -, can have only one meaning for the Marxist critique: the recognition that those forms signal a step forward in the ruthless class domination of the bourgeoisie, an exaltation of the exploitation of labour power as the work of capital. If there is progress (Oh theoreticians of intermediatism!) it is only in the weapons of defense of capitalism, in the theory and practice of counter-revolution." (The New Deal, or State Interventionism in Defense of Big Capital, Prometeo No. 3-4, 1952).*