

Platform

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The World Anti-imperialist Platform

A stylized illustration of a woman with dark hair, wearing a light-colored long-sleeved shirt, holding a large, dark red flag aloft with her right arm. The background is a solid red color. The entire image is framed by a thin white border.





Athens international conference: delegate contributions

November 18, 2023

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Participating Organizations in the Athens Event As of Nov. 5

Country	Organization
Greece	Revolutionary Unification
Europe	Baltic Platform
Georgia	Socialist Platform
Kyrgyzstan	Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan
Belarus	Belarusian Republican Organization of the CPSU
Russia	Russian Communist Workers' Party-CPSU
Russia	All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks
Europe	Eastern Initiative
Serbia	New Communist Party of Yugoslavia
Bulgaria	23 September Movement
Turkey	Communist Labour Party of Turkey/Leninist
Chile	Chilean Communist Party (Proletarian Action)
Peru	Peruvian Communist Party
Colombia	Colombian Communist Party
Argentina	Communist Party of Argentina
Bolivia	Communist Party of Bolivia
Italy	Italian Communist Party (PCI)
Spain	Iniciativa Comunista
Spain	Unión Proletaria
Quebec	Communist Party of Quebec
USA	Center for Political Innovation
USA	United National Antiwar Coalition
USA	Party of Communists USA
Africa	Dynamique Unitair Panafricaine (23 organizations in Africa)
Guinea-Bissau	African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)
Kenya	Communist Party of Kenya
Indonesia	Humanist
Pakistan	Mazdoor Kissan Party (Workers and Peasants Party)
Europe	Anti-imperialist Camp
Germany	Kommunistische Organisation
France	Pole of Communist Revival in France (PRCF)
Belgium	Communist Party of Belgium
UK	Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)
South Korea	People's Democracy Party

The Three Component Parts and Three Driving Forces of the Global Revolutionary Movement

Dimitrios Patelis | Revolutionary Unification (Greece)

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Introduction

Not many people nowadays question the fact that humanity is either on the brink of, or on the path towards World War III (WWIII). The escalation of this war already includes a few open fronts involving several dozen states and coalitions, while new fronts, theaters of operations and flashpoints are erupting in strategically important regions of the world. After the Ukrainian front, with its turning points being the Nazi coup in Kiev in 2014, the armed rebellion in Donbass and Russia's special military operation in 2022, we had tensions rising once again in the Balkans (Kosovo) and a new escalation in the Caucasus (Nagorno-Karabakh).

An additional front is re-ignited in Palestine, dramatically integrating a vast area involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, which now takes on the characteristics of a religious war (a wider Islam-Jewish war and a 'war of civilisations: Christian-Jewish civilisation versus the Islamic one'). The artificial formation of the racist theocratic terrorist state of Israel constitutes an imperialist military base and an advanced offensive outpost

of the imperialist axis in the greater strategic region of the Near and Middle East. With such a massive concentration of firepower, the danger of immediate generalized outbreak of armed conflict in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean as a whole is immense.

At the same time, the imperialist aggression of the US-led axis on the Korean Peninsula-Taiwan front is escalating.

The intensification of this war at all levels and its consequences cannot leave progressive people, those who are concerned about the fate of humanity, indifferent. For us in the World Anti-Imperialist Platform (WAP), it is imperative to develop a conscious attitude towards this war if we are to expect a positive outcome.

As we have shown in previous writings, it is impossible to achieve a scientific understanding of the character and scale of the ongoing WWIII without a clear scientific characterisation of the historical stage of the world capitalist system, of socialism, anti-imperialism and humanity as a whole, without a definition of the historical epoch, its content and context.

On the current stage, the times and the circumstances

Presently, humanity is in the stage of the decay and decline of capitalism, which in turn is in the modern stage of imperialism, the defining characteristic of which is the attempt to subordinate humanity to the interests of the most powerful multinational monopoly groups and the imperialist powers that serve as the main headquarters of these groups.

At the same time, beginning with the victory of the October Revolution and the other early socialist revolutions, the era of humanity's global historical transition to communism has already begun. The era of the structural crises of the world capitalist system and the wars under imperialism now bear the stigma of the general crisis of the capitalist system, a system which has accomplished its historical mission, and therefore, it does not constitute only a barrier, an obstacle to the further development of humanity, but also the greatest reactionary and regressive force, a threat to the very existence of humanity and all life on planet Earth. This era marks the passage of the socialist perspective from the abstract possibility to actual historical process, to the law governed, necessary and attainable active process of revolutionary transformations.

From the beginning of the 20th century, with the First World War, it became clear that, in the monopoly stage of capitalism, the periodic long-term structural crises of the system do not only incubate fiercely imminent scientific and technological revolutions (only partially and distortedly attainable under capitalism), but also waves of early socialist revolutions. Of the number of armed insurrections and revolutions that erupted in Europe after World War I, the Great October Socialist Revolution, which took place in Russia and its adjacent colonies, was victorious.

Since then, capitalist development cannot be viewed in isolation from the course of early socialism. Similarly, early socialism cannot be viewed as detached from the course of the rest of the world, which is no longer under complete, structurally homogeneous and uninterrupted domination of imperialism.

As a result of the USSR and the world anti-fascist movement (spearheaded by the communists), crushing the axis of the 'anti-Comintern' pact, the camp of socialist countries in Eastern Europe in

Asia and later in the Americas (Cuba) emerged after World War II.

Alongside the victories of the early socialist revolutions and with their internationalist support, a wave of anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and national independence movements emerged, which led to uprisings and revolutions of national liberation.

Thus, from the 20th century onwards, it became clear that the global development of humanity, pioneered through the global revolutionary process, arises as a result of an extremely contradictory and imbalanced, unified globally and historically significant law governed process.

Scientific research in the field of Marxist political economy, beginning with Lenin's work, has shown that the very development of capitalism, the accumulation of capital, leads inexorably to the monopoly, through the processes of concentration and centralisation of production. On this basis, from the beginning of the 20th century, the transition to the new stage of development of capitalism towards imperialism takes place. This transition is not a merely quantitative expansion of the capitalist production infrastructure, but constitutes a qualitative and substantial, extensive and intensive change in the world capitalist system.

The character and manifestation of the very nature of the fundamental contradiction of capital, the contradiction between wage labour and capital, between living and dead labour, is radically transformed. Initially through the displacement of the export of commodities by the export of capital, and later, through processes which jump from the sphere of circulation (of commodities and capital) to the sphere of production itself, an extremely unequal division of labour is established within the world capitalist system.

Imperialism is rooted on increasing inequality, siphoning from it, developing it, manipulating it and consolidating it further, as the foundation

of the mechanisms of overexploitation through its globalised relations of production (multiply mediated forms of property, titles, bonds, derivatives, etc.). Inequality, in turn, does not constitute a 'natural' state of being for the racist justification of overexploitation, through the ahistorical and static identification of differences as a supposedly insurmountable 'gap' between 'naturally developed and underdeveloped, superior and inferior peoples, between humans and subhumans'. It is the result of unequal global historical development, at different degrees, rates, specificities (including physical, geographical, climatic, environmental, etc.) and levels of engagement or withdrawal from such an engagement of countries and peoples in law governed historical stages. Under imperialism, capitalist relations of production were imposed on various peoples mainly as a colonially imposed superstructure from outside and by force, having as their broader basis a diversity of inherited legacies, not only of pre-capitalist, but even predating class society, communities of clans and tribes. Legacies which dependent colonial-neocolonial development partially transforms, to the extent that it renders them 'functional' for the reproduction of the structures and mechanisms of dependency and overexploitation necessary for imperialism.

It is only as a result of these mechanisms that the expansion and intensification of the mechanism of surplus-value extraction from the scale of individual national economies to the scale of the global system occurs. This does not mean that the law of surplus value ceases to apply. It does mean though, that it is radically modified: the extraction of surplus value now takes place on a global scale, with the extraction of surplus value in the form of monopoly super-profits by the most powerful multinational monopoly groups based in a small group of countries, former colonial powers, which to this day function as the main imperialist states,

as the centres of the imperialist system. They form subsystems of regional integrations, coalitions, their satellite states and transnational organs of enforcement of their interests with international claims and have global reach.

With the beginning of the widespread crisis of the world capitalist system, with the emergence of the first early socialist countries, another type of development of countries and regions of the world is initiated.

Socialism is established and developed through revolutionary transformations, the working class and its allies holding power being sole condition of their emergence, on the basis of social-state ownership mainly of the strategic means and sectors of the economy, the development of which is achieved mainly through scientific planning. Precisely because of the fact that the era of socialist revolutions begins in the imperialist stage, these revolutions arise from revolutionary situations, which in turn manifest themselves according to dialectical law in the 'weak links' of the global imperialist system, in those countries or groups of countries where internal contradictions are intertwined with regional and global ones in a complex volatile node.

Thus, we can see that the revolutionary situation—as a necessary condition for the socialist revolution—erupts in countries where the level of development of the productive forces is not the highest possible within the capitalist system. This is because, due to competition within the world capitalist system at its imperialist stage, this system does not in any way ensure 'equal conditions of development and prosperity for all', it does not allow for the equal and homogeneous development of the countries, regions and populations of the world. On the contrary, it is precisely because of the imposition by default of conditions of predatory imperialist overexploitation (in the form of colonialism, neo-colonialism, through

many types and levels of economic, financial, fiscal, political, military, cultural, etc. dependency) under imperialism that inequality is exacerbated, as the root of its increasingly parasitic character. In this way, under imperialism, the capitalist system expands and deepens the loop of parasitic hyperaccumulation, using fictitious capital for financial leverage, entering into successive vicious cycles of intensification of its fundamental contradiction (between capital and labour) within every capitalist national economy, every regional integration and at the global level. The basic aim of the financial oligarchy is to impose, consolidate and maintain its sources of parasitism at all costs, in the form of the extraction of monopoly super-profits from countries with an average and below-average level of development.

From the above it becomes clear that victorious socialist revolutions take place at the monopoly stage. The revolutionary process of transition to socialism concerns primarily those countries and groups of countries which are at or near the intermediate level of development of their productive forces. All the countries of early socialism, historically, have been at such a level.

On the internal unity of the contradictions and the driving forces of anti-imperialism and socialism

The problem of the revolutionary transition to socialism with the prospect of communism is inherently intertwined with the problem of unequal development, of dependence, of the existence of pre-capitalist forms, elements and vestiges, i.e., the failure to solve problems which in 'pure form' would be tasks of 'normal' capitalist development in these countries. Early socialism itself is de facto organically linked to the resolution of tasks and challenges pertaining to inequality and dependency, to struggles for national independence and people's sovereignty, to anti-imperialist struggles, to the

claims of the right of nations to self-determination.

The triumphant victory of the Bolsheviks at first, and then of all the early socialist revolutions in history, is linked to the examination, realization, and practical solution of these problems on a programmatic basis. On the contrary, compromise, integration into the bourgeois regime, opportunist degeneration and finally the renunciation of the perspective of revolution and socialism, is linked from the time of the October Revolution onwards, to the renunciation of this argumentation of revolutionary theory, of the science of the political economy of imperialism, which is characteristic of the degeneration of the social-democratic parties of Europe, of the bankruptcy of the Second International.

In this way, the system that is known to journalists and commentators as the 'three worlds system' has historically emerged:

1. The developed capitalist countries which are the centres of imperialism,
2. The socialist countries &
3. The so-called 'third world countries'.

Of course, revolutionary theory in no way accepts ideologies and practices of static and metaphysical fetishisation of this classification in various versions of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois narratives, from the middle of the 20th century onwards. Such ideologies and practices often lead to the entrapment of people and movements in versions of so-called 'Third Worldism', to the denial of the role of the working class vanguard in the revolutionary movement, to anti-Sovietism/anti-communism, rejection—hostility towards the USSR and/or towards all early socialist revolutions, to 'equal distances' and hostility towards the respective 'two superpowers-poles', towards the imperialist centres and the socialist camp, which—on the basis of similar ideological constructions—are presented as supposedly equally capitalist and imperialist...

Scientific research proves that we are not referring to three enclosed and isolated worlds. In fact, it constitutes a unified global system in transition. The interaction of its parts is contradictory and operates on many levels.

First of all, there is no system of developed centres of imperialism without multiple connections and relations of surplus-value extraction in the form of monopoly super-profits on a regional and global scale. It is precisely for this reason that the correlation between the first world and the second and third world is dynamic and is linked to the correlation between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary processes. It is precisely for this reason that the countries of the so-called third world become a dynamic field of the world class struggle, which can ultimately be characterised as a manifestation of the basic contradiction of capitalism, which takes on the characteristics of the conflict between early socialism and capitalism.

In addition, the contradiction between socialism and imperialism permeates the entire world, turning colonies, countries subject to new colonial exploitation, dependent, semi-independent and formally independent countries into a contested field. This contradiction is also organically linked to the major contradiction between imperialist centres/metropolises and the periphery. The struggle for breaking the yoke of imperialist overexploitation, for national and people's independence and sovereignty of the dependent etc. peoples of the periphery is organically linked to the class struggle against foreign domination and exploitation and the local comprador bourgeoisie, with the working class having a leading and decisive role in it. It is also linked to the prospect of socialism, since independence on a stable foundation is impossible without socialist revolutionary transformations, without internationalist support.

The very law governed prospect of the transition

from early to late socialist revolutions, and therefore the prospect of the complete, definitive and irrevocable victory of the forces of socialism on a global-historical scale, is linked to the detachment of the imperialist countries from their sources of overexploitation, from their sources of parasitism.

The development of revolutionary theory, which became necessary and attainable through the scientific study of the problems, the laws of socialist construction, led Soviet science to the discovery of the Logic of History by V. A. Vaziulin. Through this dialectical development, it became clear that socialism, as a process of formation, maturation of communism, does not constitute a simple, linear and sterile negation of capitalism, but a dialectical development-sublation of the whole history and prehistory of mankind, including the natural preconditions of the emergence of humanity and society. In this theoretical and methodological framework, science provides deeper and more precise means of positively determining the strategy of the revolutionary movement, of mature society, of unified humanity, of communism. Communism itself is now viewed as a different, radically new type of development of humanity, rooted within the whole of human historical development, the attainment of which is linked to the resolution of the fundamental contradiction of early socialism and all socialism: the contradiction between formal and actual socialization.

The resolution of this contradiction constitutes the completion of the first great spiral of the helical development of society and the transition to the next spiral of development. Such development of society now unfolds on its own basis, where the natural preconditions of society are dialectically sublated and transformed into integrated conditions of its own development.

The driving force of the first spiral is the contradiction between human labour effect on nature and labour relations between human

beings, which manifests itself as a relation between productive forces and relations of production in those stages of the formation of society where the objective is production (with emphasis on the final product), where production in abundance for the optimal satisfaction of the material needs of all members of society has not yet been achieved. In these stages of competitive modes of production, of socio-economic formations on the basis of the relations of production of the three successive forms of development of private property ('slave ownership', 'feudalism' and 'capitalism'), the process of removing the natural preconditions and conditions from the social ones is being advanced, but it is not fully completed. Under slave-ownership and feudalism, the basic means of production is nature (land and animals), while humans themselves have not yet been separated from the means of production and remain almost entirely (under slave-ownership) or partially (under feudalism) privately owned means/ tools of production.

In the final substage of the formation of society, under capitalism, nature is transformed into the conditions of production also transformed by labour, and people—as wage labourers—acquire formal freedom ('equality under law') with their labour power (ability to work) now marketable. However, the conditions of production dominate over human beings as an extraneous, hostile and destructive force: the dead labour of the past, embedded in the material conditions of production, functions as a force of domination of the relation of 'capital' over the living labour of the present. More broadly, things, as commodities, and the universal equivalent of their value (money) as 'wealth', dominate over people. But these things are nothing but natural materials transformed by human labour. Thus, under capitalism, a dialectical sublation of the natural from the social, of nature from civilisation, has not been achieved, nor will

it be achieved. This applies not only to the things that surround human beings in capitalist society, but also to their own nature, their biology. The very antagonism of classes in capitalist society is but a manifestation of still untransformed animalistic, pack etc. relations that point to a not yet socialized, uncivilized element of 'natural' selection...

Under the light of the discoveries of the Logic of History, a higher level of study and discernment of the internal interconnection of the contradictions that characterise the modern stage and the era is achieved.

In the context of capitalism, the fundamental contradiction of the latter—between living and dead labour (material component parts of capital)—manifests itself primarily as a contradiction between productive forces and relations of production that are now distinct in history, that is, as a concrete historical form of the manifestation of the fundamental contradiction of history as a whole: between labour's effect on nature and labour relations.

The same applies to the modification of this contradiction under imperialism, where the contradiction between imperialist states of the centre (the seats of the most powerful multinational monopoly groups) and the broader base of overexploitation (extracting surplus value in the form of monopoly super-profits) on a regional and global scale emerges. Thus arises the dipole of the contradiction between the forces of imperialism and anti-imperialism, as a manifestation of the fundamental contradiction and as a strategic field of class struggle over monopoly capitalism at the international and global level.

Within the framework of capitalism, as a decisive reduction of the sources of imperialist parasitism and as a concentration of victorious class revolutionary struggles in states and in a delineated camp, on the opposite side of capitalism, as a denial not only of the sources of imperialist parasitism,

but also of capitalism itself, class struggle takes the form of the competition between the world capitalist system as a whole (imperialist centre and periphery) and the global system of early socialism.

The limits of abstract anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism and the necessity of establishing a positive and assertive prospect

Socialism is not a mere negation of capitalism; it does not constitute abstract anti-capitalism. Abstract anti-capitalism is a negative definition, it constitutes an opposite definition of the new system, with capitalism as a reference system (albeit a negative one). As such, it cannot constitute a driving force of positive self-identification.

Socialism is neither a simple negation of imperialism (a simple demand for independence and negation of imperialist overexploitation), nor does it constitute abstract anti-imperialism. Socialism can have no prospect of victory as long as it is involved in negative definitions, as long as it has its gaze fixed—even negatively—on the past, on historically obsolete capitalism-imperialism. Socialism is inscribed in the becoming of positive socialist construction, as the formation and maturation of the development of society as a whole, of communism. This is realised on the basis of resolving the fundamental contradiction of socialism mentioned above. The latter refers to the fundamental law of the Logic of History, the resolution of its basic contradiction. The transition from formal to actual socialisation, linked to the transition of socialist construction from the extensive to the intensive type of development, leads to the resolution of the contradiction between labour effect and labour relations, between productive forces and relations of production, where one pole is transformed into its opposite, the interpenetration of the poles is sublated into a new whole, in the mature unified humanity at first on a planetary scale, in the communist

type of development of humanity. Then labour is transformed into something else: into another type of relationship between people, into a field of mutual cultivation and development of creative abilities of all-round developing personalities and collectives, up until the unification of humanity into a conscious whole. It is precisely this transformation of labour into a universal creative and cultural activity that signifies the sublation of the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production. Under modern revolutionary theory, this is no longer a utopian wish or ideal, but a strictly scientifically substantiated law governed necessity, a one-way street for the salvation of humanity.

This perspective allows us to grasp at a higher level the organic interconnection of phenomena and trends, which appear on the surface as fragmented and unrelated. The global capitalist system is not a solid, unbreakable and eternal pharaonic construct, like the ‘imperialist pyramid’ that some wretched revisionists fantasise about in order to mask their opportunism, their subordination to the financial oligarchy and their resignation from the prospect of revolution. Capitalism cannot constitute the ‘end of history’ as reactionary bourgeois ideological constructions would present it. This system is being torn apart by ever deeper, ever more unresolved contradictions. Its first historical rupture, as a result of the great early socialist revolutions, launched it into major crisis and further decline, shaking in the maelstrom of conflicts between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. This rupture also brought to the surface the clash between the forces of imperialism and the forces of anti-imperialism.

At the stage of the early Socialist revolutions, the victory of Socialism is not and cannot be final and irrevocable. The belated and ineffective attempts at practical resolution of the fundamental contradiction of socialism leads inexorably

to the strengthening of the forces of counter-revolution, to the predominance of the latter and to capitalist restoration. This law governed process was confirmed in history with the USSR and in the European countries of early socialism. The counter-revolution in these countries, despite its strategic gravity and its disruptive effect on the world revolutionary movement, does not in any way indicate the total defeat of socialism and 'proof' that the law governed prospect of the global-historical transition of humanity to communism is not valid. Such claims are unscientific and serve the subversive propaganda of imperialism. These counter-revolutions have also led to a series of temporary defeats and retreats by the entire anti-imperialist and socialist forces. However, these forces, particularly in the last two decades, have been rapidly strengthening and developing, in contrast to the weakening, decline and decay of the forces of the traditional imperialist centres.

Conclusion

Three interconnected forces of humanity's progress, three component parts of the unified revolutionary process, emerge with new momentum on the historical stage:

- the forces of early socialism,
- the forces of anti-imperialism and,
- as a whole, the forces of the workers' communist movement in the global capitalist system.

The scientific theoretical foundation and the organizational practical development of each of these components of the revolutionary process and their optimal organic interconnection into a victorious front of struggle at the national, regional, and global levels is the primary task of the movement, the main purpose of the WAP.

It is therefore vital for humanity in conditions of WWII to reconsolidate and coordinate these three components of the unified revolutionary process, to transform them into organic components of

a conscious unified frontal socio-political and ideological subject, capable not only of sporadic and fragmentary acts of resistance against the aggressor imperialist axis under the USA, but capable of taking the strategic initiative in all fields, at all levels, on all fronts of this life-or-death confrontation with the axis.

Achieving the optimal organization of these fundamental component parts and their respective driving powers of the global revolutionary process into a united militant front is not a matter of choice. On the contrary, it constitutes the sine qua non for the victory of the progressive forces in WWII, for the very survival of humanity, for the victorious outcome of the forthcoming great wave of anti-imperialist and socialist uprisings and revolutions.

“NATO exploits the Baltic states to ‘forward trench’ on the eastern flank”

Baltic Platform

Dear Comrades,

The governments of the Baltic states, since their secession from the USSR in 1991, have persistently sought NATO membership. And it happened for them simultaneously—on March 29, 2004 Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia became members of the bloc. But there is an essential detail in this event. Such an extremely important step was made by the authorities of the countries claiming to be democratic, without seeking the opinion of their population. This guaranteed the adoption of the necessary decision to serve the strategic interests of the U.S. and the bloc itself.

Thus, the border of the alliance came even closer to the territory of the potential adversary—Russia. After all, the importance of maximum control over Eastern Europe has never been hidden by the Atlanticist powers. In their plans it allowed to create a barrier between Eurasia (Russia) and continental Europe, preventing them from uniting their power and economic potential. Therefore, the peoples of the Baltic states had no choice but to become NATO’s “forward trench” on the eastern flank.

The plan of NATO planners was realized by executors, who were selected in advance in the ranks of national diasporas living in Western countries. These “political managers” with the help of a well-functioning mechanism of “democratic elections” were introduced into the leadership of the Baltic countries and successfully coped with the task set by the Western curators.

At present, the governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia continue to increase their military budgets, urging the other NATO members to do the same. Recently, Latvia’s intention to increase its military budget to 3 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) by 2027, like Lithuania’s, was

announced. Estonia’s commitment is somewhat more modest, “only” 2.9%. This is despite the standard requirement for NATO member states to have military budgets of 2%. It should be noted that in 2014, only three NATO countries allocated 2% of GDP or more to defense, and in 2022 that number has risen to just seven.

NATO’s Baltic “donors” have indeed also become an example to other members of the bloc in allocating funds to support Ukraine. Thus, according to estimates by the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (Kiel Institute for the World Economy), for the year after February 24, 2022, Latvia ranks first (1.2%), Estonia second (1.1%), and Lithuania third (0.8%) in terms of relative military aid (these are pledges issued as a percentage of GDP). This is despite the poor economic and demographic situation in these countries. For comparison, the USA has only 0.22% of this indicator.

The extent to which the Baltic states actually contribute to NATO’s overall strength can be seen from this comparison. The most economically powerful of their three countries is Lithuania. Its gross product last year amounted to 70.3 billion dollars. At the same time there is such a “powerful” member of NATO as Luxembourg with a population of 650 thousand people. So, the GDP of Luxembourg is 82 billion dollars. That is, each of the Baltic States is economically inferior even to one of the smallest states of the alliance. Their real financial contribution to the overall budget of the bloc is also corresponding.

The authorities of the Baltic states are obligingly increasing their militarization to serve NATO interests, without taking into account the growing problems in the economy. According to the Estonian Department of Statistics, the country’s

GDP fell by 1.3% in 2022. However, this is, so to speak, the average temperature of the hospital. At the end of the year, the situation worsened significantly: in the fourth quarter, the figure fell by 4.1% year-on-year and amounted to 10 billion euros in current prices. Negative trends are observed in manufacturing, trade, communications and information, real estate and construction.

The Lithuanian authorities, who have initiated and supported numerous anti-Russian sanctions since last February, are essentially ruining their industry. Enterprises are laying off workers and production, being unable to ensure the continuation of work without cheap energy resources and raw materials from Russia and Belarus.

According to the European statistical agency Eurostat, the decline in production in Lithuania has reached 7.2% this year and is steadily continuing. Among the Baltic States, only Estonia has a greater decline—15.1%. Last year, the number of bankruptcy or liquidation of companies in Lithuania reached almost a thousand, and this year the authorities are in no hurry to publish such statistics.

Consumer inflation in Latvia in January 2023, compared to January 2022, rose to 21.5%. Since the beginning of the year, food and goods have risen in price by 18.5% compared to last year. All health care services have become more expensive, the average price level has increased by 10.3%. Since 1991, every year in Latvia, the death rate has exceeded the birth rate, and in 2022, the birth rate collapsed to the lowest level in the last century.

The ruling circles of the Baltic states pinned high expectations on the NATO summit in Vilnius on July 11-12. To a certain extent, their expectations were justified. Contrary to Russia's desire to move the border with NATO to the level of 1997, this border not only did not move, but became even longer due to the inclusion of Finland in the alliance. Sweden's accession, which requires the consent of Hungary and Turkey, is also on the line. Russia perceives these steps as a significant increase in the threat and tension for the Kaliningrad

enclave and the entire northwest of its territory. As a mirror response, Russia received the consent of the Nicaraguan authorities to establish a military base there, but this, of course, did not lead to a reduction of tensions in the Baltic.

For NATO, Finland and Sweden have become valuable political and military assets. Both countries have modern, well-equipped armed forces and an emphatically unfriendly attitude toward Russia. Sweden now spends about 1.3 percent of its GDP (roughly \$8.4 billion) on defense. Although the country is still far behind the two percent target, the government has announced its intention to reach it by 2028.

Finland's defense budget is already equal to two percent of the country's GDP (approximately \$6 billion). Despite this, the Ministry of Finance is planning a further increase for the period from 2023 to 2026, totaling \$2.2 billion. Due to the fact that the country retains compulsory military service and has a special reserve system, the Finnish army is able to increase to 800,000-900,000 men in the event of war in a short period of time—a huge number by European standards.

These events mean the collapse of the policy of military neutrality in North-Eastern Europe due to its absorption by the NATO bloc. This actually eliminates the remnants of the “buffer zone” between the North Atlantic alliance and the allied entity of Russia and Belarus.

The military and political situation for the Baltic States continues to develop at an accelerated pace according to the most alarming scenario. In response to Poland's military buildup on its border with Belarus, the latter, in turn, has deployed Russian tactical nuclear weapons. The private military company Wagner has been registered in Belarus as an educational institution and is officially engaged in training the Belarusian military. The Lithuanian military is raising with its government the issue of withdrawal from the convention banning the use of cluster munitions, and the Latvian border units are being reinforced with additional military formations.

Thus, almost 20 years of the Baltic States' membership in NATO show that the danger of conflict from the alliance's eastward expansion has not been exaggerated. The North Atlantic alliance now views the current configuration of confrontation with Russia in the Baltic Sea from the position of its superiority. The thesis "The Baltic Sea is NATO's internal sea" has come into use, replacing the old one—"The Baltic Sea is the Sea of Peace", which was initiated by the USSR in the late 1950s and for a long period of time reflected the aspiration of the peoples of the countries of the region for peaceful and mutually beneficial good-neighborliness.

The countries of the Baltic region have sacrificed the interests of their security and development to those who seek imperialist domination by aggravating international relations. As usual, the peoples will have to pay for the arrogance of politicians.

Dear comrades! We perceived with great anxiety another bloody explosion of the situation in the Middle East. We perceive with a sense of compassion and support the tragedy of the peaceful victims of all sides involved in the brutal clash. The violence must stop, and those responsible for violence against civilians must be held accountable.

In assessing the conflicts taking place in this territory, we proceed from the responsibility of those who for 75 years have prevented the implementation of UN General Assembly Resolution 181 on the establishment of two states—Jewish and Arab—on the land of Palestine. The resolution applies equally to the right of both peoples and must be implemented. The obstacle to this is the position of Israel, which relies on the inflammatory imperialist circles of the West, and first of all, the United States. (It was Washington that unsealed Iran's sanction billions in September 2023 so that it could transfer some of the funds to Hamas in time to start the war in October 2023 (now that the "deed" is done, they are sealed again).

It was Washington that precipitated events by trying to derail the talks between Netanyahu and

Xi Jinping in Beijing, which they agreed to in June 2023, and which could have taken place as early as October 2023.

It was Washington that derailed the new peace initiatives in the Middle East that Beijing launched through agreements with PLO leader Mahmoud Abbas in June 2023.

It was Washington that derailed the Iran-Israel talks that began in March 2023 under Beijing's auspices and were to continue in the fall of 2023.

Washington does not need peace in the Middle East.

Washington does not need another major player in the Middle East.

Therefore, for Washington's desire to dominate the Middle East, thousands of Israelis and Palestinians will pay with their lives.

Washington has spent all the postwar decades creating potential flashpoints of conflict in regions of the world where it saw its interests, and igniting them when it became profitable. This is what is happening now, when most countries in the world are uniting in an effort to end the imperialist dictate of the United States. The provoked conflict in Ukraine partially realized Washington's plans to detach it from Russia and economically weaken Europe. But it is obvious that this was not enough. Now, justifying Israel's actions, which clearly do not correspond to the goals of self-defense, the U.S. is pushing the countries of the region to intervene and expand the conflict zone. At the same time, numerous Muslim diasporas in Europe rightly support the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people. But they face a harsh reaction from governments accustomed to playing along with their overseas masters in everything. Chaos and destabilization in Europe are inevitably gaining momentum.

We condemn the main perpetrators of the conflict—the political circles of Israel and American imperialism. We support the just demands of the Palestinian people, enshrined in the above-mentioned UN General Assembly resolution.

Thank you for your attention.

Prospects for the future of mankind taking into account modern geopolitical processes

Klara Azhybekova | Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan

Dear comrades!

I am glad to welcome you all in Athens, Greece, the homeland of ancient Greek philosophers, the homeland where the concepts of ancient Greek democracy, dialectics, where the representatives of Miletian materialistic philosophy, Democritus, Heraclitus, as well as the titans of idealistic philosophy like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle lived!

Dear comrades!

In recent years, many spears have been broken about the fact that we should not divide philosophers into materialists and idealists, there was a departure from materialist dialectics! But life proves that without scientific methodology any scientific analysis is impossible for any reality, especially social reality! Philosophy is a fundamental science and we communists cannot do without the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism in analyzing and understanding modern processes in the world! What awaits civilization in the future, what kind of society will we live in? It is already clear to everyone that imperialism is in a state of CRISIS in all spheres! In economic, ecological, social, political-legal, moral and others. That is, the epoch of SOCIAL REVOLUTION is coming! Specifically, the era of SOCIALIST revolution! There are all the signs of OBJECTIVE FACTORS of the socialist revolution, which are already overripe, and there is a process of rotting of society, especially in its most developed part! Why? Because the SUBJECTIVE FACTORS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION were still weak! The destruction of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system undoubtedly played its negative role: the treachery of the Trotskyists who had made their way to the

upper echelons of power of the CPSU, the slander and vilification by liberals of Lenin, especially Stalin and the most loyal and faithful communists, the falsification of the history of the CPSU and the Soviet state! But this period has already been passed by the communist and labor movement of the world! For the last 30-odd years, the practice of the imperialist stage of the development of society has shown its predatory face, the dehumanization of man, the degradation of the spiritual world of all mankind! Today, as the classics of Marxism said, there is a REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION in the world!

The “tops” cannot govern in a new way, and the “bottoms” also cannot tolerate this lawlessness of the tops! The ruling tops of the imperialist states have entered into irreconcilable contradictions among themselves! Not to use these contradictions for our tactical and strategic purposes would be an unforgivable mistake! After the destruction of the Soviet Union by the emerging unipolar world, the USA and a number of its satellites thought they were the masters of the whole world, and decided that they could rule the fate of the world! The principle appeared: I want to kill, I want to pardon! So they destroyed Libya, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yugoslavia! Today they’re not giving Serbia a rest! If they wish, they organize coups in any state through NGOs, Islamic militants created by them, as NATO army on the ground! They create constant conflicts, wars between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, Armenia and Azerbaijan, in the Caucasus in Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. They have built their biological laboratories in post-Soviet states, trying to tear the republics away from Russia for their own selfish

purposes! Endless sanctions for states they dislike, reaching absurdity! What states are these? Today it is Russia, formerly socialist states: Cuba, DPRK, Venezuela, Iran, etc.

Our Platform itself is called anti-imperialist! The whole world today is already opposing further attempts of neo-colonization by rich Western powers like the USA and other states, especially developing, socialist countries. Today, the number one target for them is Russia, because it is great, has an independent policy, is disobedient, rich in territory, natural resources, and exceptional human potential! There is a Special Military Operation of Russia—Soviet Union against the collective Western fascism on the territory of Ukraine, because it is the West that unleashed it according to its master plan! Russia is defending its security, its territory, its Russian-speaking people! Moreover, Russia is ridding the whole world of the evil empire—American-European fascism of the entire Planet! Proof that the imperialist West is sick with fascism irrevocably speaks the last shameful fact in Parliament of Canada! On September 19, 2023, an elderly Ukrainian Banderite fascist from SS-Galicia was honored there with standing ovations and cries of “Glory to Ukraine!” The Speaker seemed to apologize and resigned, the President of Canada and Zelensky remained silent!

10 years ago, this would not have been dreamt of even in a bad dream! Well, this is the degree of degradation of the fascist top brass of the imperialist West!

The crisis in the economic sphere of modern imperialism is manifested in the contradictions that have arisen between the growing productive forces and the production relations that are far behind them! There is a process of international integration of productive forces, whereby resources of many countries of the world are taken into production turnover, first of all natural resources: gas, oil, metal, gold and other precious metals, black earth

as in Ukraine, water resources, etc. NATO countries manage not to buy these resources, but by brazenly destroying states, killing the population with bombs and missiles they rob them for free, as in the case of Libya, Iraq, Syria, etc. Islamic terrorists created by them are used very actively for this purpose! TNCs (transnational corporations) are created from which they have FANTASTIC profits! Do the working masses get anything for their titanic labor from these profits? After all, they have a legal right to these natural resources too! The answer is unequivocal: of course not!

So what happens to the RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION?

* Does any part of the property get into the hands of the working masses from these TNCs? Of course not! Especially since there is such a massive monopolization and capitalization of property!

* The monopolies exchange their products with each other, but what about the relations of consumption? Maybe from these huge profits the workers' salaries have been raised decently, so that they have enough for everything? Well, at least to pay for an expensive operation? Of course not! This is already clear to a horse! When there was the Soviet Union and socialism, the bourgeoisie was afraid of the socialist revolution, the working class tried to give more or less acceptable wages! And now? They are afraid of nothing and nobody! They have steamships, airplanes, bank accounts in various countries, palaces and everything they want! The working masses—many of them simply have no roof over their heads, no wages—not to starve to death, and a non-routine working day! And from the excess of profit and consumer psychology, the imperialist bourgeoisie morally degenerates and suffers new anti-human desires —adrenochromia, pedophilia, gambling addiction—casinos, drugs, homosexuals and LGBT, transgenders and other scum! Can you imagine the dissonance between exploiters and exploited? In addition, scientific and

technological progress is driving the worker out of the production process! These contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production can be enumerated endlessly! Because of the growing contradictions between them, there is simply a growing POLARIZATION between the super-rich and the super-poor, both as people and as states! Let's take a look at some African states? Malnourished children, people living in simply inhumane conditions! In any capitalist state, we see homeless, unemployed, alienated from education, medicine, culture, crowds of people marginalized by poverty! This is not normal for modern civilization! Therefore, in the SOCIAL sphere, the revolutionary situation for the majority of the population is already in full swing! Is imperialism able to change this situation in favor of the poor, working masses? No way! We can immediately note that the RIGHTS CRISIS, the POLITICAL CRISIS in the world has reached a point beyond which there is only self-destruction! We do not need to go far, let's analyze the actions of Brussels! In order to please the USA and to act according to their planned scenario of RUSSOPHOBIA they refuse Russian gas, i.e. impose sanctions on them! Why? Because under the leadership of the USA (V. Nuland with cookies), Britain, Germany and France they committed a coup d'état in Ukraine, burned Russians alive in Odessa Trade Union House? In 2014 there were dozens if not hundreds of Americans in the Presidential Administration of Ukraine who managed the military coup d'état when the Turchinovs, Yatsenyuk, Avakovs and many other Bandera-azovs came to power!? Then killed the people of Donetsk and Lugansk!? They all together fooled the world community with the Minsk agreements in order to fundamentally prepare for war with Russia, using the Bandera-fascists of Ukraine? After brazenly bombing and torturing Donetsk and Lugansk for 8 years? Is that why they decided to declare sanctions

against Russia!? Or because the people of Crimea voluntarily went to their native, legitimate homeland—Russia, which the traitor-trotskyist Khrushchev for some reason gave to Ukraine in his time?! Let's turn on common sense! Today in Europe there is already an energy crisis, plants and factories are closing, gas prices for the working masses of Europe are rising, unemployment is beginning! Is this the lunacy of the greedy bourgeoisie, first of all of the European Union? At the same time, Europe is supplying weapons to Ukraine with all its might! The war of the fascist West with Russia is going on! Ukraine needs more and more tanks and airplanes! The Ukrainian Army needs to be fed! Plus there are crowds of migrants from the Arab states, which Europe together with the USA just mercilessly killed with bombs for so many years in Iraq, Libya, Syria, Afghanistan! They have turned their towns and villages into ruins! They say: "What you sow is what you reap!"

Conclusion: they turned the Arab states into RUINS! Afghanistan into PLANTATIONS of opium poppies—NARCOTICS! The whole world knows the long-standing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which could have been solved by the creation of a Palestinian state! But the West and Israel itself did not move this issue from the deadlock, because it is not profitable for them, on the contrary, the Palestinian territory is being seized. On October 7, 2023 Hamas launched a brutal attack on Israel! Hundreds of dead and wounded! Israel retaliates! Bombs, rockets! More citizens of the Gaza Strip are killed! Israel prepares for a ground operation and warns Palestinians, civilians to vacate the territory! Where are they supposed to go? Nowhere to go? This is how a brutal murder is committed on both sides, instead of a peaceful solution to the problem! You wonder who benefits from this? The imperialists of the Great Powers! They are here wherever there are problems, and if not, they create them on purpose! In recent years, Hamas has been

financed by the USA and Europe! They don't solve the problem! They smile at both sides and, when they need to, they use their fighters one way or the other! Apparently, they want, i.e. the USA and Europe, a big fire in the Middle East, involving Iran, Syria and other eastern states! They have a goal of eliminating up to 2 billion of the world's population! In addition, they consider Palestinians not human beings, but animals! Racism! That's the horror of imperialism! The world does not know what will happen next! It's more like SELF ANNIHILATION!

They are going to war with China in Taiwan! North Korea-DPRK in total sanctions! South Korea has been colonized! There's a huge US military base there! When they have airplanes falling on buildings in cities, on sown areas in fields, the USA, it turns out, do not even make up for the destroyed objects! Moreover, they don't pay rent to the state of South Korea! You should know how the common people, the workers simply hate them, demanding that they leave their land! South Koreans feel humiliated and insulted by the presence of the US military base! The common people want reunification with North Korea! It is rightly regarded as a truly sovereign country! If Japan has really forgotten who threw a nuclear bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it is probably their current government again! There is no way the common people have forgotten that it was the USA! Japan was not so belligerent when the Prime Minister was dead! Now it is as if they want to create a triple military alliance: USA, SOUTH KOREA, JAPAN! Naturally, such a Union does not promise anything positive for the world! If we look around as if very friendly countries to us Finland, Sweden and Norway also join NATO and will work against Russia! We can go on! Thus, the whole West is ready to cross their weapons with Russia! A big third world war is clearly brewing! Is this a factor for socialist revolution? Of course! If we take into

account that more and more countries want to have nuclear weapons and dispose of them as they want, i.e. nuclear war becomes an absolute reality! Mankind has not only nuclear weapons, but also chemical, biological, tectonic, electronic and some other super-secret weapons! Human interference in ecological natural regularities, destruction of ecosystems created by natural selection over centuries and millennia poses a real threat of liquidation of all life on Earth. Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, Professor T.A. Abdyltaev in his work "The character of the relationship between nature and society in the conditions of scientific and technological revolution". Frunze: Mektep, 1976 wrote that only socialism can overcome the contradictions arising between nature and society, man and the external environment, to create harmonious, mutually adaptive relations between them. On the SOCIALISTIC planned basis to carry out the nationwide, universal interests in life!

Only when: "people will begin quite consciously to create their own history and will have in predominant and ever-increasing measure the consequences they desire. This is the leap of mankind from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom." (K. Marx, F. Engels. Opus., vol.20, p.294-295)

Unfortunately, under imperialism so far we have predatory use not only of human resources, but also of nature and natural resources! Why? Because under private ownership the priority of private interest, the desire for immediate profit, without thinking about the serious ecological consequences, takes over! A clear example of this is the mining of gold by the Canadian firm Centerra Gold at the Kumtor deposit in Kyrgyzstan, high in the mountains on the purest glaciers! They mined gold by open pit mining, destroyed the glaciers, there are toxic chemicals lying openly there! The profit for the country was minimal! Greedy for dollars,

former authorities of Kyrgyzstan together were engaged in destruction of ecology of mountains of Kyrgyzstan and stealing of gold that is an attribute and a norm of life of criminal bourgeoisie! The new authorities NATIONALIZED this deposit and the gold is working for the country today! The criminal local bourgeoisie is very unhappy about it! It's a PRECEDENT! They can do the same with other industries of high importance for the state of Kyrgyzstan! If we analyze the ecological situation on a global planetary scale, mankind is facing self-liquidation! Unreasonable destructive, sinister interference of mankind above the ground, above the water, under the ground and under the water, in the atmosphere, in space, all leads to serious difficult to correct consequences! Scientists say that the magma of the Earth is coming out and will wipe out all life on Earth! But if all mankind by united efforts will undertake for prevention of this tragedy chance of rescue of mankind all the same, it turns out, there is! But the private property consciousness will never go for it! This is a fact! On the contrary, the deep state of imperialism is aimed at the destruction of humanity!!! And this is not even a secret policy! The programs of the Gates and Soros speak of this!

Thus the crisis of imperialism has reached its peak! Mankind either perishes or finds an alternative way of survival! Is there such a way? Of course!

It's the SOCIALIST way! There is no other way! It must be realized by the TOP that it is impossible to live the old way! The question for them is: LIFE or a purse with tons of wealth, dollars, gold and other stuff, which they don't even use? LOWS also do not intend to live like this anymore!

THE SPECIFICITY OF THE MODERN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WILL BE THAT IT WILL HAVE A PLANETARY CHARACTER! The strong countries must pull up the backward ones! This was also the case in the revolution of 1917 in

Russia!

It will go step by step, country by country! In order for mankind not to perish, but to survive, all must hurry!

All of you will say, what forces will be the driving force of the socialist revolution? Who is the vanguard? In whose hands should be the political power? Who will represent the subjective factors of the socialist revolution?

The methodological basis is undoubtedly based on Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, materialistic dialectic, but taking into account the modern realities of the state of society! Here we will give our vision only in schematic form! I think that the participants of the conference will agree with something, with something not! And maybe it will give an impetus to a deeper study of this problem and may even need a NEW MANIFESTO, as proposed by the participants of the Eastern Economic Forum in September 2023 in St. Petersburg.

The driving force of the SOCIALIST revolution, like any other social revolution, has been and remains the people represented by the working masses: the working class, the laboring peasantry, the laboring intelligentsia, the youth, the unemployed and even migrants! Revolutionary events can capture huge masses of people! Everyone wants to live, especially the young! No one will want to be buried in the burning magma of the Earth! Even the middle and petty bourgeoisie, which collapsed during the monopolization of private property, simply could not withstand the market competition!

A VANGUARD: proletariat, labor peasantry, labor intelligentsia, communist, workers, socialist parties, army.

The SUBJECTIVE FACTORS of the socialist revolution will be much broader than the vanguard! Here, within the framework of the consideration of this concept on a planetary scale, even entire

states can be included! Thus, today the core of the subjective factor of the socialist revolution is RUSSIA! Entirely with the tops, the bottoms, but most importantly the RUSSIAN RED ARMY, consisting of the families of workers, peasants, labor intelligentsia! There are no children of any bourgeoisie there! They fight against the fascism of the collective West, they die on the battlefield, they lie wounded defending their Fatherland! The SMO is radically changing the situation in Russia itself and in the world as a whole! 56 states mostly of the West are at war with Russia today! The criminal bourgeoisie of Russia is getting more and more uncomfortable in Russia! Accustomed for these 30-odd years to live in luxury, to live as they want, now they cannot! Therefore, this part is slowly starting to pull the plug on Russia! Many enterprises are already being nationalized due to military necessity! I want so much to stop the war! But it won't! The deep state of imperialism is not going to stop! That's not why this mess was started! The war was prepared by the West, and they blame it all on Russia! They're always like that! The West wants to crush Russia and swallow it, and together with them or one by one all post-Soviet republics! All 15 republics of the Soviet Union have very vulnerable places! Their legal insignificance after the destruction of the Soviet Union and socialism! We are not sovereign, but some trading firms registered in various US states! The leaders of all 15 states know this, but they are dragging it out! We have lived for 32 years, maybe we can still live in this deception and self-deception! The West is quite satisfied with this miserable state of the post-Soviet republics! By the way, registration as trading firms in various states also ends or some of them have already ended with the expiration of 30 years of the All-Union referendum held by Gorbachev in 1991! Then we all become a protectorate of Great Britain! Maybe we already are? It's all tied up in some kind of trust! The Soviet Union really and legally exists!

We just have to bring the trading firms back into the legal fold of the Soviet Union! To return their legal status, their Great Motherland Soviet Union and no less important and relevant—SOCIALISM! These are all stages of survival of mankind from self-liquidation from ecological and social catastrophe!

Therefore Russia—the Soviet Union—the core of all future social and political processes in the world on the way of socialist revolution on a planetary scale!

To subjective factors of socialist revolution is the UNION OF THREE COUNTRIES: two strong socialist countries: China and North Korea and Russia—the Soviet Union! This Union is a strong blow to the imperialist fascist West! Kim Jong-un's arrival in Vladivostok, talked with V.V. Putin, familiarization with the imperialist fascist West! Putin, familiarization with Vostochny Cosmodrome, Komsomolsk-on-Amur, Eastern Federal University and other facilities showed the great interest of the two states to each other! V.V. Putin will be in China in October! North Korea is close enough to the USA and it can no longer think that it is far from Russia! Southeast Asia has quite declared its interests!

There was a very important Russia—Africa summit! Almost all speakers spoke with love and great respect about the Soviet Union! In some way they saw the Soviet Union in the face of Russia! Young leaders have already grown and are growing up there, aimed at constructive work with Russia! By the way, out of 60 African countries, despite the strong pressure from the USA not to go to Russia, all but 4 came!

Africa is already actively opposing the neo-colonization of their countries by the West! Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso have succeeded in getting France to withdraw its troops and diplomatic corps! Russia will deliver grain free of charge to 6 African countries, I think the shipment is already underway! This is also a subjective factor of socialist revolution!

Latin America has long been ready for socialist revolution and being in March 2023 we were convinced of this at the 10th anniversary of the Days of Remembrance of Hugo Chavez in Caracas Venezuela! Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua and other leaders of the states of this region only spoke in their speeches about socialism, about Bolivarian revolution! In the Middle East, unfortunately, many states are in ruins, thanks to the robber-fascist activities of the USA and some European countries! Now Israel and Palestine will be added! Russia has done a lot, for example, to keep Syria! Do not dig a hole for another, for you yourself will fall into it! And so it goes! The people of the destroyed Arab states swam by their thousands to the European states! Where to go, they accept, especially there is not enough labor resources! As we know, homos and transgenders don't give birth!

The next factor in changing the world towards a constructive, social society is the BRICS organization, which previously consisted of 5 states, this year they have accepted 6 more states! This is already a departure from the unipolar decision-making center headed by the USA!

BRICS in its relations is built on completely different principles than in the unipolar world, namely on the principles: against neo-colonization, forced imposition, against the use of the dollar for political purposes, against isolation, the principle of cooperation, taking into account its own interests and opportunities. V.V. Putin at the Valdai Forum noted the principles on which the new world order will be built: equality, justice, absence of exploitation, universal security, openness, diversity of the world!

Agree with the ideas of some scholars that the West should be turned from a subject into an object.

DELIBERALIZATION is the dictates of the time, further progress with liberalism is simply impossible!

The power should be brought closer to the people

through various public channels! So in Kyrgyzstan at the constitutional level a new structure—People's Kurultai—has appeared, where all the supreme power should report to this Kurultai! Then delegates from all oblasts, cities, districts speak with their assessments of the authorities, remarks and proposals! People through various public organizations have been putting forward this idea of the People's Kurultai for many years, but only the current President has given his consent, it passed through the parliament with difficulty! The 2nd People's Kurultai will be held in December 2023! We hope for personnel changes taking into account the needs of the time! I would like to note that the President of Kyrgyzstan at the 78th General Assembly in his speech just mentioned the stratification of states into rich and poor, the huge dissonance between the rich and poor in the countries and the need to provide humanitarian aid to Afghanistan! This, we think, was a positive moment in understanding and comprehending the problems of social stratification and the necessity of its solution. We think that the summit of the CIS Heads of State, which took place in Bishkek on October 13 this year, in connection with the situation in the world, shifted their consciousness to the need for deeper integration of the post-Soviet republics!

In all these processes as a subjective factor of the socialist revolution, of course, the communist and socialist parties must play! It is probably not by chance that the World Anti-Imperialist Platform began to work.

With deep respect,

Prof. Klara Azhybekova.

October 15, 2023

On the current situation in the world and the real essence of the war in Ukraine

Dmitrii Kuzmin | Russian Communist Workers' Party-CPSU

Dear comrades in struggle!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the RCWP, I welcome the participants of the International Conference “The rising tide of global war and the tasks of the anti-imperialists” in Athens November 2023.

Today's situation in the world is extremely tense. The general crisis of capitalism is deepening, which is looking for a way out by unleashing wars and fascizing regimes. There are still pockets of confrontation in many regions of the world: around Cuba and Venezuela; in the Middle East, where “unexpectedly” the conflict has manifested itself clearly and in a very severe form, and we will have to evaluate it based on the essence of this particular war and taking into account the foreign policy of the US government aimed at preserving its world domination; on the Korean peninsula, etc. However, the epicenter of tension today is still in Ukraine.

Today, as in Lenin's time, the attitude to the ongoing war (in Ukraine) is the main question of the socialist movement.

Because—it is caused by the contradictions of the major imperialist forces;

Because—dozens of countries are already involved in it;

Because—there is a very real danger of this war escalating into World War III, with the use of nuclear weapons;

Because—we are dealing with a revived and expanding modern fascism.

Communists, unlike other political forces, look at all issues from a class position—the position of the working class. The essence of imperialism was

revealed by Lenin in his work “Imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism”. And today this essence has not changed. Imperialism is war! This is what all the leftist forces arguing among themselves agree on. They all seem to rely on Lenin, but they have different assessments and positions.

By and large, in our community today two directions have been formed, according to which two alternative statements were signed at the last International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Havana in October 2022.

One is those who, in our estimation, have in practice mechanically applied the Bolshevik formulas of 1914-1916 to the present situation and declared the war inter-imperialist for all participants, accordingly assigning equal responsibility to all parties involved in the conflict. It is clear that these comrades called the SMO (Special Military Operation) an unacceptable Russian invasion of Ukraine.

The second, to which our RCWP belongs, is those comrades who felt that the situation today is qualitatively different from the times of the First World War. The analysis and identification of the real essence of the war according to Lenin (the words “real essence” show that we must distinguish the apparent from the real, appearance from essence, phrases from deeds - V.I. Lenin) led us to the conclusion that for the US and NATO this war, waged by the hands of Nazi Ukraine since 2014, is undoubtedly an invasive war, while in the actions of Donbass, and since 2022 of the Russian Federation (SFO), there is clearly a forced, defensive component, that is, an element of a just national war.

The parties are engaged in theoretical and political polemics, sometimes very sharp and often turning to personal assessments and labeling. At the same time, both seem to rely on and even abundantly quote Lenin in their conclusions. How to make sense of it?

Our party actively participated in discussions both in Russia and within the framework of the European Communist Initiative, first of all, with comrades from the KKE and supporters of equal responsibility of all parties. (We sent our report “On the real essence of the war in Ukraine...” to all parties).

We, with all our respect for the Greek comrades, believe that they make major theoretical errors in the interpretation of Lenin’s theory of imperialism when they threw out the core of the content of the doctrine—that of a handful of particularly rich and powerful, most predatory imperialist states that plunder the whole world. Instead, they proposed the theory of a kind of pyramid, where all countries are imperialist, only at different levels, where the upper ones exploit the weaker and lower ones. The comrades confused themselves and confused others.

Today, the essence of imperialism has not changed. Today, this handful is led by the imperialists of the United States of America and their closest allies from the NATO bloc. This powerful bloc of the biggest imperialist predators is now fighting for its dominance in the world.

The qualitative difference of the present situation from 1916 is that a powerful single nucleus of imperialist predators has been formed, which, of course, opposes the other imperialist camp, but they have chosen Russia as a target, as a momentary victim, expecting to solve their internal economic problems for some time at the expense of its defeat and dismemberment. As in 1991 they postponed their crisis by destroying the USSR. Therefore, to deny the positive defensive component in Russia’s

war, to put it in Lenin’s words, is theoretically wrong, historically clearly wrong, and practically it is equal to European chauvinism. Today, perhaps we should say, it is Euronatovian chauvinism.

Another major mistake of the comrades, we believe, is their rejection of the theoretical developments of the Comintern, first of all, of the definition of the essence of fascism and, accordingly, of the tactics of the struggle using popular fronts. Hence their skeptical attitude to our assessments of the foreign policy of the United States and the imperialist bloc, but practice, as the criterion of truth, proves us right. What this bloc pursues in its foreign policy is, according to the Comintern’s definition, real fascism, which is being realized today in Ukraine and in the processes of fascization in the countries of the bloc, especially Poland and the Baltic States.

Under the conditions created, in the opinion of the RCWP, the communists of the whole world are obliged to work by all means and methods to defeat the US-NATO bloc, to stop the spread and strengthening of fascism in Ukraine and in the world. Any methods and all possible allies are suitable for this purpose! In this sense, we consider it deeply erroneous to deny and even to present the participants of the World Anti-Imperialist Platform as agents of imperialism, as comrades from the KKE do. We too do not agree with a number of provisions of the position of the World Anti-Imperialist Platform, for example, about the anti-imperialist character of Russia and China, but... we know Lenin’s instruction: You cannot win with one vanguard! At the present moment we and the platform parties are allies in the struggle against the main danger—the imperialist swarm of US-NATO imperialism that carries the threat of the iron heel of fascism to the whole world.

The RCWP believes that only the defeat of the “USA and NATO” bloc in the current war (that is, if bourgeois Russia survives and overthrows the Kiev

Nazi regime), only this will undoubtedly create more favorable conditions for the development of the workers' movement and for the struggle for socialism in all countries.

Therefore, we wish everyone success to sort out the situation and propose to continue our common struggle.

We are in the same class formation!

Let us not waver on the path we have chosen!

P.S. The opportunists today are those who in their political myopia present the case in such a way that the warring parties represented by the Russian Federation, EU countries and the NATO bloc headed by the USA are fighting among themselves simply for the redistribution of spheres of influence, control of transportation routes, etc. These comrades are the ones who are fighting for Ukraine and its people. These comrades, relying on dogmatically understood Marxism, present Ukraine and its people as a punching bag, which is beaten by imperialists from all sides. In fact, the position of these “no to war” people is reduced to placing equal responsibility on all warring parties, thus diverting from the responsibility of the main aggressor—the US and NATO. And the call to “stop the war” is tantamount to a proposal to stop fighting fascism, thus bringing closer its eventual triumph and, consequently, the condemnation of all the working classes.

Imperialism is the main threat to humanity

V.B. Zelikov | All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Nina Andreeva) (Belarus)

At present we are witnessing an extreme aggravation of the political situation in the world: military conflicts are raging in different parts of our planet, terrorist attacks are taking place, people are being killed, military coups are being attempted, social tensions are growing in individual countries and international tensions between the countries of the world community are increasing.

The biggest recent conflicts are the undeclared war of NATO using the neo-Banderite regime of Ukraine against Russia and the next stage of the national liberation struggle of the Arab people of Palestine against the Zionist state of Israel. Tensions between the US and China over the situation around Taiwan, which the PRC considers its territory, have not subsided. Provocations of the US military in the Korean peninsula against the DPRK, which aims to unite the Korean nation, have been continuing in recent years.

The list of countries where emergencies and terrorist acts are taking place is growing day by day. More and more new hot spots are appearing on the planet. The question arises: why is all this happening?

V.I. Lenin gave a very clear answer to this question. In his works he showed that at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries, capitalism, based on free competition, entered the highest and last stage of its development—imperialist, i.e. monopolistic, because the domination of monopolies determines its essence. The scientific theory of imperialism was developed by V.I. Lenin, who identified five main features of imperialism.

Under imperialism, the contradictions and struggle between imperialist countries for markets, sources of raw materials, for the seizure of foreign territories, for world domination, which leads to

rampant militarism and wars, not only local but also world wars. V.I. Lenin posited the inevitability of wars under imperialism.

No matter how much the classics of Marxism-Leninism are vilified by modern bourgeois hordes of writers, no matter how much monuments to them are torn down by the current followers of misanthropic ideology, and no matter how much the rulers of bourgeois Russia drape Lenin's Mausoleum in the days of festive events, the contradiction between Labour and Capital—the fundamental, main contradiction within the capitalist system itself—remains. It is this contradiction between the social character of labour and the private-property form of appropriation of its results that is one of the causes of the development of the crisis in capitalist society and the capitalist world.

The crisis of the world system of imperialism led to World War I, which Lenin and the Bolsheviks called imperialist, i.e. invasive on the part of all its participants, including Russia. (Modern Russian bourgeois propaganda calls it the Patriotic War, but this is not true at all). All this created an opportunity for the breakthrough of the imperialist chain, the realisation of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the creation of the world's first socialist state—the USSR, which laid the foundation for the general crisis of imperialism.

The victory of the USSR and the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition in World War II and the formation of new socialist states became the beginning of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

The third stage of the general crisis of capitalism began at the end of the 50s.

The destruction of the CCCP after the death of

Stalin by the CPSU opportunists and traitors to the Soviet Motherland who came to power, the liquidation of the commonwealth of socialist countries of Eastern Europe and Asia weakened the general crisis of imperialism for some time, imperialism got some respite. The bourgeois political scientists and politicians joyfully announced: “Socialism is finished (Recall Yeltsin’s speech to the US Congress)”: “Marxism-Leninism has proved to be a failed theory, practice has disproved this theory”.

However, analysing the present state of capitalist society, we Bolsheviks declare: despite the destruction of the USSR and the commonwealth of socialist countries, THE GENERAL CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM CONTINUES.

V.I. Lenin repeatedly emphasised the diversity of manifestations of the general crisis of capitalism. “The crisis is so deep”, wrote V. I. Lenin, “so widely ramified, so universally great...” (Complete Works, 5th ed., vol. 32, p. 28). Naturally, with the growing general crisis of capitalism, due to the uneven development of capitalism, some features can come to the fore, while others retreated.

We are witnessing an intensification of the world crisis in all spheres of life of human society: economic, social, political, ecological, demographic moral, in science, art, education, medicine and others. Recently the world mass media been writing about the immigration crisis, which can be considered as a new manifestation of the general crisis of imperialism. The increasing spread of drug addiction in many countries is also a legacy of imperialism.

Of course, the main component of the general crisis of imperialism is the economic crisis, all other manifestations are its consequence. Its causes have been outlined above: the contradiction between Labour and Capital, as a result of which SOCIAL INJUSTICE and INEQUALITY are formed, and the GREED OF CAPITAL, which has NO LIMITS, only

aggravates the situation. All this is what corrodes the bourgeois society of any capitalist country.

One of the most dangerous for the future of mankind spawns of the general crisis of imperialism is fascism and its misanthropic ideology. The rise to power of the fascists in Italy, Germany, Spain and other countries on the eve of World War II occurred precisely as a result of the crisis of the entire capitalist system.

It was then that the most precise and exhaustive definition of fascism was given in the report of Georgi Dimitrov at the VII Congress of the Comintern in 1935: “Fascism in power is an open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialist elements of finance capital.”

The events that followed the historic 7th Congress of the Comintern confirmed and still confirm what the great figure of the Bulgarian and international communist movement said at that time. It was this definition of fascism that was most often given in the political literature published under Stalin.

We, the modern Bolsheviks, take as our basis precisely this definition and characterisation of fascism, based on the class approach.

We also apply G. Dimitrov’s conclusions about the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in general. As long as the bourgeoisie has the opportunity to fool people with elections and to exercise its dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, it does so. But if the situation gets out of control and it is not possible to exercise its dictatorship by the methods of bourgeois democracy, then bourgeois democracy is discarded and the open terrorist dictatorship of capital is introduced, as G. Dimitrov said. This has been the case in all cases of fascists coming to power.

However, despite the fact that fascism was defeated in 1945, it was not completely finished, neo-fascism entered the political arena and made a profound transformation.

In Germany, where Nazism (Hitler's fascism) originated, which committed a lot of crimes during World War II and was responsible for the extermination of millions of people in Europe, in connection with the crisis caused by the influx of migrants from Africa and Asia, revanchist neo-Nazi forces are becoming active again, and Hitler's "Mein Kampf" is being published underground. Cases of xenophobia and racism have become more frequent in Germany in recent days.

The ultra-right activists are becoming more active in France, Spain, Poland, the Netherlands and other European countries, as well as on the territory of the Soviet Union—in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. But the most dangerous at present is the neo-Banderite regime in Ukraine, which was brought to power in February 2014 as a result of a coup d'état carried out with the assistance of the imperialist West, primarily the United States. After coming to power, the Ukrainian Nazis banned the use of the Russian language in public administration, schools and the media, persecuted the Russian-speaking population, especially in Donbass, banned the Communist Party and other left-wing organisations, began bombing peaceful cities in Donbass, and stepped up their efforts to join NATO in order to create a springboard for war against Russia.

In response, on 24 February 2022, the Russian leadership decided to conduct a special military operation (SMO). The purpose of the operation, as noted in the special address, is "to protect people who are being bullied, genocided by the Kiev regime. And for this purpose we will strive for the demilitarisation and denazification of Ukraine, as well as bringing to justice those who have committed numerous, bloody crimes against civilians, including citizens of the Russian Federation."

The All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Nina Andreeva) supports this special military

operation. The Russian armed forces are conducting a just SMO to defend the sovereignty of the Russian Federation against the aggression of the collective imperialist West, which is using Ukrainian Nazis for this purpose, supplying them with Western weapons.

The theme of the need to fight against neo-fascism is clearly outlined in the address of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Nina Andreeva) "The struggle against modern fascism and Nazism is the most important task of the Communists".

As for the military actions in the Middle East, which began on 07.10.2023, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Nina Andreeva) on 10.10.2023 outlined its position in the statement "Zionists! Hands off Palestine!", naming the main culprits of this conflict—US imperialism and Zionism.

To successfully counter the aggressive manifestations of imperialism and the threat of fascism, it is necessary to unite the actions of all anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces in all countries of the world. The WCPB (Nina Andreeva) supported the creation of the United International Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Fascist Front (UIAAF), which was formed on 25 May 2017 at its founding conference in Moscow.

Its founders declared the motto of the front to be the calls: "No to war!", "Down with imperialism!", "Fascism will not pass!", "Long live socialism!"

The All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Nina Andreeva) supports organisations and associations which adhere to the above principles. The Marxist slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" is more relevant today than ever.

Socialism is back on the agenda

Eastern Initiative

Comrades and Friends,

First, thank you for the invitation to this important event. It has been an eventful six months since our last meeting. During this six months, one may say that the world has accelerated. It is becoming increasingly clear, that we are approaching yet another global military conflict. The nature of this conflict is a subject of controversy within the communist and workers movement, as there are two contradictory theories of the nature of contemporary imperialism.

One theory draws a parallel between today and World War I, labelling both sides ‘imperialist’, postulating a class-against-class policy. However, in light of this theory, it is very difficult or even impossible to understand current events. Is the proxy war in Ukraine waged merely for re-division of resources and markets? Are the anticolonial actions of the people of Sahel really a competition between two equivalent ‘colonial’ powers? Is the uprising of the Palestinian people really a sign of rivalry between two imperialist blocks?

Accepting these premises leads to conclusions dangerously close to official narration of the Western elites. The struggle of African people for national liberation and control over their own natural resources has become Putin’s “Wagner” army plot. The attempt to develop productive forces and infrastructure in underdeveloped African countries has become a subjugation to “Chinese colonialism”. The desperate and heroic struggle of the Palestinian people has become the act of the “axis of evil”—waged by Iran, Russia and China. Is this not what we hear on the daily basis from the Western media? Since when has the struggle of a Korean worker, an African peasant, a Palestinian exile ceased to be a revolutionary struggle? There

must be something seriously wrong with this analysis, if it echoes imperialist propaganda and denies our support for the well-established anti-imperialist fight. This theory is fundamentally wrong and leads to false conclusions about the true nature of the current conflict.

In our opinion, the true nature of the current conflict is the war waged by imperialism against the people of the rest of the world. What we mean by imperialism—is using Lenin’s own words—“a world system of colonial oppression and financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the world by a handful of advanced countries”—in our times these are countries of the so-called “golden billion”.

The contemporary world consists of a mosaic of capitalist and socialist states of a different level of the development of productive forces. Only a handful of countries, mainly in the G7, have reached the imperialist stage of development of the capitalist formation, as evidenced by their technological and financial monopoly. Others, including China, Cuba, Russia, Angola, Vietnam, Brazil etc. are either socialist countries or underdeveloped capitalist, which would need to multiply its economic output in order to reach the level comparable to let’s say Germany or France!

The vast majority of the people of the Earth in one form or another have been subjected to Western imperialism for centuries. Western imperialism, through political and economic means, keeps whole continents in a constant state of underdevelopment and poverty. This gives rise to the contradiction between the colonized nations and colonial empires. The destruction of Soviet Union, which was a great ally of the anti-colonial and national liberation struggle, resulted in three decades of

unquestioned imperialist rule. But this carnival of reaction is now over.

China, a fast-growing and powerful socialist country is rising as a new ally of the hopes and aspiration of the oppressed nations all around the world. At the same time, the capitalist system itself, as predicted by Marx and Engels has found itself in a deep, structural crisis.

Let's take the two largest imperialist economies, the EU and US. The EU economy has officially started to contract by GDP. A continued recession is forecast by PMI figures. The crisis of overproduction is accompanied by de-industrialisation and decrease of productive forces. The US is facing a record national debt and budget deficit crisis, which is unprecedented in peacetime. Living standards have dramatically declined while corporate profits hit record levels and huge social problems have re-emerged.

Imperialism, after exhausting geographical sphere of expansion turned against a human being himself. Capitalists, in their pursuit of the maximisation of profit, have abandoned the necessity of reproduction of workforce locally and substituted it for mobile and flexible labour. Working wages are no longer sufficient to "reproduce the race of the workers". This change in the economic base is followed by the change in its superstructure. Society as a whole and social institutions, such as nuclear or extended family, and the obligations on workers' time and resources they bring, are perceived as obstacles to profit maximisation. Capitalism, like the snake eating its tail, has turned against human nature and his social character. This shift has triggered the recent change of the political orientation of sections of the bourgeois class from "conservative" to "liberal" and self-described "left-wing". The crisis of capitalism has also its cultural and moral dimension. Imperialism actively destroys social structures and prevents people from forming stable social relations. It promotes individualism,

consumerism, hedonism and decadence. In place of social means of satisfaction of human needs it provides mere substituents. The pandemic of social diseases is its consequence. The contradictions inherent to the imperialist system have resulted in it being unable to provide a healthy society even in the imperialist heartlands.

Imperialist leaders are well aware of this crisis. They know that few more decades of peaceful development will lead to the liberation of peoples of so-called "Global South", to the loss of their privileged position, their technological and financial monopolies and their access to natural resources and labour. This is why imperialists are pushing towards the new war. By staging and provoking military conflicts, they seek a military solution to its crisis. The objective of their war against the people of the world is the containment of rising economies and return to a colonial, unilateral "rules based order", another "US century".

The last six months ensured us that this plan is doomed to fail. The failing proxy war of imperialism against Russia has revealed the weaknesses of its military and political strategy. The arrogant attempt to impose Brzezinski's doctrine led to the formation of the alliance between Russia, China and North Korea. It is clear that the Western imperialism has no productive capabilities, especially in the ship building industry, to win a war of attrition against Russia, China and North Korea combined.

The peoples of the world correctly perceive the present weakness of imperialism as a chance to liberate themselves from centuries of colonial and neo-colonial domination. What we are now witnessing can be compared to a new spring of nations. Peoples of Sahel in Africa, Palestinians and others are turning against their imperial overlords. The peoples of the world are fighting for their rightful place on the arena of the history, for the control and ownership of their natural resources, for the development of their productive forces,

for their dignity and improved living standards. They struggle against imperialism, colonialism and injustice. Their war is a just war.

What does this all mean to us as socialists? The question of anti-imperialism is intrinsically linked to the class and social question. The worker's question cannot be realized under the boot of imperialism. Equally, imperialism cannot be defeated without socialism, realizing the aspirations of the proletariat. What weakens imperialism, advances the cause of proletariat, is a revolutionary act. What strengthens imperialism—damages the cause of the proletariat, is counterrevolutionary. Those who weaken imperialism are our friends in the front against imperialism. Those, who strengthen it are our enemies.

The weakening of imperialism and the rise of the new world, peaceful or not, opens new possibilities for socialism to emerge, develop and advance. Due to the decline of power of the imperialist financial and technological monopolies and emergence of regional blocks, the punitive system of sanctions, threats and interventions against sovereign or socialist countries will lose its efficacy. This means that socialism is back on the agenda.

Down with imperialism and colonialism!

Socialism will win!

“Western imperialism does not want a peaceful solution but new clashes to control the Balkan Peninsula”

Aleksandar Đenić | New Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Serbia)

Dear comrades,

First, I would like to salute you on behalf of the Central Committee of the New Communist Party of Yugoslavia. We especially want to send greetings to our fraternal organization from Greece—Collective for the Revolutionary Unification of Humanity. Also, we would like to thank the efforts of comrades from the People’s Democracy Party for a significant ideological and practical job in the World Anti-imperialist Platform.

Today, we gather in Athens to mark 50 years of the heroic uprising in Politehnica. It was the start of the end of the Military junta regime and dictatorship supported by the USA in Greece. During the 20th century, Greek people fought for independence and social justice. Also, they led the anti-fascist and anti-imperial struggle, and the Communist Party had a significant role in this struggle. Unfortunately, after the Second World War, the USA started to control the political processes in Greece, and they occupied this country. NATO has a significant number of military bases in this country. Thanks to it, after the Second World War and during the dictatorship in Greece, one of the biggest genocide happened against communists in history. During the ‘90s, Greek people supported my country against NATO bombarding and sanctions, and we will never forget it. Communists and progressive people organized sabotage against NATO, and thanks to it, NATO stopped the land invasion from Greece to my country. The Greek people’s heroic struggle inspired many progressive people in the World. Unfortunately, many opportunistic organizations from this country use sentiment and symbols, shout revolutionary slogans, and use revolutionary

phraseology. Still, in practice, they lead pro-imperialist and opportunistic politics and disorient the masses.

We are a country from the Balkan Peninsula, like Greece. The region of the Balkans is a region of great strategic importance. The Balkan is attracting the imperialist powers like a magnet and making our area an essential arena for manifesting NATO strategic goals. NATO occupied our Peninsula. Practice showed that NATO is the most significant security risk in the World, and the people of Serbia felt that on their skin during the bombing in 1999.

The Serbs directly opposed the interests of Western imperialism and NATO and no doubt suffered significant damage and were victims of it. Starting with the fact that the most crucial number of displaced persons from their homes in the territory of Yugoslavia were among the Serbian people, that NATO bombed us with weapons prohibited by international conventions and thus committed a severe war crime for which no one has been accused and convicted yet, with depleted uranium, from which tens of thousands of people die every year in Serbia.

Undoubtedly, however, all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, without any exception, have been and are victims of Western imperialism and the violent dismantling of Yugoslavia. Political and economic dependence and conditioning are crystal clear everywhere in former Yugoslavia. We have become easy prey for sharks that have entered our waters.

The necessary and urgent duty for the people is to reject and oppose the policy of “divide and conquer”, which aims at the emergence of new

and weak states, in fact, protectorates, as is the case in the face of the situation emerging in Kosovo. Today, the imperialist plans and rivalry may again cause bloodshed in the region. The policy promoted by the imperialist powers aims not only to intensify foreign interventions but also to establish governments servile to the imperialist dictates of regimes that will further deepen the capitalist exploitation and bind their countries to the imperialist organizations of NATO and EU.

Today, imperialist Western plans may cause bloodshed in the region again. The policy promoted by the Western imperialist powers aims not only to intensify foreign interventions but also to establish governments servile to the imperialist dictates of regimes that will further deepen the capitalist exploitation and bind their countries to the imperialist organizations of NATO and EU.

In the international public, for a long time and with clear political intentions, an untruthful, distorted picture was being created regarding what happened in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Everything has been presented crookedly to protect those genuinely responsible and draw the wrong conclusions about what happened and the background of the war against Yugoslavia.

There is a fundamental historical fact that one should proceed from when seeking to understand what happened and which led to everything that happened in the territory of Yugoslavia from 1991 until the present day, and that is the violent destruction of a European state, Yugoslavia, which was derived from the statehood of Serbia. There is no doubt that this fundamental historical fact will leave an imprint on European history in the times to come. A multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-confessional state was destroyed, a condition that had its historical and international legal legitimacy.

Today, under the pressure of NATO and the EU, Serbia is forced to recognize Kosovo and Metohija as independent countries. Western imperialism

wants to present that as a historical solution between Serbs and Albanians. If Serbia agrees to that scenario, that would violate international law and create new clashes in multiethnic Balkans, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, southwestern Serbia, and Montenegro... It is clear to everyone that Western imperialism does not want a peaceful solution but new clashes to control the Balkan Peninsula. That is precisely what is going on in Kosovo right now. Dangerous developments of the current administration in Pristina continue to take unilateral moves regardless of the security risks.

At the end of September, the situation in Kosovo and Metohija escalated. In these clashes, 3 Serbs and one policeman (NATO legalized former terrorists in the so-called Kosovo Police) have died. The New Communist Party of Yugoslavia (NKPJ) points out that the exclusive and objective culprits for the new escalation of violence in the north of Kosovo, which led to tragedy and loss of human life, are the separatist puppet regime of Aljbin Kurti in Pristina and its Western imperialist masters.

The anger and rebellion of the Serbian people in the north of Kosovo, who are daily exposed to the terror of the Albanian pro-imperialist regime in Pristina, are entirely understandable and justified. The behavior of KFOR is hypocritical and shameful. It indicates that the continuous violence of the so-called "Kosovo police" is carried out with the permission of that formation, tools in the hands of imperialists from Washington, Brussels, and London.

On the occasion of the tragic event, the New Communist Party of Yugoslavia sends its sincerest condolences to the families of those killed in the clashes in the village of Banjska in Kosovo and Metohija.

Since June 9, 1999, and the signing of the "Kuman Agreement", the southern Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija has been under the occupation of the striking military fist of Western

imperialism, NATO, and the Serbs living in that area have since become second-class citizens.

The NKPJ demands that the puppet pro-imperialist government in Kosovo immediately stop the pressure on the Serbian people living in that territory and provide all refugees the opportunity to return to their homes.

The Serbian and Albanian people in Kosovo and Metohija should live in peace and togetherness and follow the tradition of fraternal relations between Albanians and Serbs who fought side by side against the Nazi-fascist occupier in the Second World War.

Conflict in Kosovo is not over; it is just waiting for the moment to erupt and explode again because peace is not achieved, and it won't be achieved as long as imperialism decides the destiny of the people living there.

Before the end, we need to say that in these historical circumstances, the main task of communists and imperialist forces is that we, on the one hand, fight against theoretical opportunism, phraseology, manipulations, and theoretical ignorance. On the other hand, we need to find solutions for our practical problems.

Also, we need to repeat our Slogan! NATO killers get out of the Balkans! Balkans belong to the Balkan Peoples.

Popular discontent and fascist tendencies in Bulgaria in the conditions of imperialist domination

Stefan Petrov | 23 September Movement (Bulgaria)

First I would like to thank you for the invitation to this event and the opportunity to speak.

As you well know, after 45 years of socialist development, large-scale changes began in Bulgaria in 1989, expressed in the restoration of private-property market relations, privatization of key branches of the economy and liquidation of large enterprises. The economic outlook for the vast majority of the working class has deteriorated significantly. This was accompanied by the entry of the Western (mainly American) culture of individualism and moral degradation.

Another important consequence of the restoration of capitalism in Bulgaria is the loss of national sovereignty. The country was integrated into the imperialist world system as a raw appendage for natural and human resources. In a little more than 30 years, the population of Bulgaria decreased by almost 1/3 and there are trends for a demographic catastrophe. Many of the most trained cadres, educated during the time of socialism, went to live and work in Western countries. In this way, the developed capitalist countries received hundreds of thousands of trained specialists in a number of fields for free.

Key resources, such as the Bulgarian gold deposits, electricity distribution companies, water supply in large cities, telecommunications operators, etc. fell into the hands of large Western capitalist entities. At the present moment, under the pressure of Brussels, Bulgaria is forced to fulfill the conditions of so-called “green deal” and to close some of its energy capacity related to the production of electricity from coal plants. Such a measure would lead to a further worsening of the

economic situation in the country, an energy crisis and further dependence on foreign corporations.

In order to guarantee the security of these consequences of the restoration of capitalism, the exploitation of people and resources and the dependent position of the country, Bulgaria was brought into the imperialist alliances of NATO and the EU. This is also part of the tendency for the expansion of American imperialism to the east and the encirclement of Russia with a military presence and hostile states. We are in a time when our Bulgarian comprador bourgeoisie is trying to deepen this dependence by entering the Eurozone and the Schengen Agreement.

Over the past 34 years, the US embassy has been formed as a major factor in the domestic political life of the country. The ambassador of the United States is the main political figure in Bulgaria. Even the formation of today’s Bulgarian government is a fact mainly thanks to his influence on the leading political parties. In previous years this was done in disguise and attempts were made to deny this impact. Today, the masks are falling and the pressure of the American embassy is being made open and even pro-American politicians admit it.

Another aspect of our country’s strong dependence is the military involvement in imperialism’s plans for aggression and control over Eastern Europe. There are currently 4 American military bases in Bulgaria, located in the eastern part of the country. These are not even NATO bases—an alliance in which Bulgaria has formally voluntarily entered—but purely US bases. They are on Bulgarian territory without payment, and the Bulgarian government does not even have the right

to information about what type and quantity of weapons are there.

In the present situation, our Balkan region and these bases are an important part of the military confrontation and the preparation of a full-scale war against Russia. Military exercises by foreign military personnel on our territory are becoming more frequent and the presence of American military personnel is increasing. Accidents also happen. In May 2021, during an exercise, armed US military personnel stormed a private warehouse in the Bulgarian village of Cheshnegirovo, pointed weapons at the workers and effectively took them hostage. The case caused a wide response in the country and dissatisfaction. Then we organized a protest in front of the American embassy demanding the removal of American military bases on Bulgarian territory.

At the moment, one of the main political issues in the country is that of sending military aid to Ukraine. Like all vassal states of the USA, since 2014, the Bulgarian state has taken a firm position in support of the new regime in Kyiv. After February 2022, the sending of military funds to Ukraine began. Weapons production in Bulgaria has tripled since the beginning of Russia's Special Military Operation, with the main recipient of these items being Ukraine. At the end of September, the Bulgarian parliament voted to send S-300 anti-aircraft systems to the regime in Kiev.

All these trends, however, find increasing disapproval among the people. The worsening economic situation and the lack of prospects created the basis of widespread popular discontent. The undisguised influence of the American embassy on the internal affairs of the country is beginning to be disliked by more and more people. The military aid that Bulgaria sends to Ukraine is extremely unpopular. The ideology of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie for the restoration of capitalism seen as a "transition to democracy" went bankrupt. The

government is implementing measures that are strongly disapproved by society.

Every month, marches against NATO and the additional involvement of the country in the conflict in Ukraine are held in major Bulgarian cities. Even among the representatives of the parliamentary parties, critical words can be heard regarding Bulgaria's membership in NATO and the EU. Over 600,000 signatures were collected requesting a referendum against Bulgaria's entry into the Eurozone. At the moment, such a referendum has not been scheduled and it is not clear when and if it will take place.

To keep Bulgaria in the sphere of influence of US imperialism, the methods of bourgeois democracy proved to be insufficient. This is the reason why fascist tendencies, censorship and political violence are visible in our country. The authorities are trying to create anti-Russian and anti-communist hysteria. The Municipal Council of Sofia decided to remove the Monument to the Soviet Army from the city center. Even the Russian church came under attack, with it closed and Russian priests expelled. The authorities are trying to break the traditional warm ties between the Bulgarian and Russian peoples. The prohibition of communist ideology and the use of communist symbols is often discussed. The restoration of capitalism in Bulgaria led to the rehabilitation of fascism.

The most striking example of the weakness of the current system in Bulgaria is the activation of neo-Nazi groups, mainly in the capital, Sofia. The main target of their attacks is the Monument to the Soviet Army. In the last 2 years, it has been attacked repeatedly, and the inscription "To the Soviet Army liberator of the grateful Bulgarian people" was destroyed. However, people expressing opposing ideas to those who dominate at the moment also become the object of attack. A number of physical attacks were carried out, including against members of our organization.

This aggravated political situation provides the preconditions for serious popular movements in the near future. The contrast between the actions of the authorities and the wishes of the people is serious. In such a situation, the need for a sufficiently strong and adequate political force to become an exponent and vanguard of the struggle of the Bulgarian people against US imperialism comes to the fore. Such a political force could only be a communist party of the working people in Bulgaria. Building such an organization is a serious challenge in today's Bulgarian conditions. It goes through the resolution of a number of ideological questions, such as the reasons and circumstances that led to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe, the clarification of the issue of imperialism and the defense of Marxism in modern conditions. These are large-scale tasks, for the implementation of which it is extremely important for us to draw on the experience and ideas of our comrades from other countries. Therefore, such events are of significant practical benefit for us. Because only through joint actions of the anti-imperialist and communist forces do we have a chance to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion.

To Break Imperialist-Capitalist Chain

Aydın Karahan | Communist Labour Party of Turkey/Leninist

More than one and half centuries ago, Marx said during the revolutionary era: “Everything solid melts into the air”. Today, we are at the eye of the revolutionary storm, and, everything is upsetting rapidly. It’s the edge of the big changes.

The speed of global developments is dizzying. It’s an intensive and brief history! Ten years of development now fits into months, weeks, or even days. All across the world, the winds of revolution and at the same time, war, are blowing from continent to continent, from country to country, from Latin America to Europe, from Asia to Africa.

Three decades ago, our party described the situation as “the new stage/phase”.

All over the world, uprisings against the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, and capitalist society, revolts, civil wars, clashes, strikes, and large-scale revolutionary mass movements are the order of the day. All this shows that humanity has entered into a “new phase” of historical development. An era of social revolutions, an era of great transition is upon us.

Humanity is experiencing the annoyances of transition to a new, classless, and borderless world.

The capitalist society and capitalist mode of production are also historical and temporary like all previous societies. This capitalist mode of production today has reached the limits of its historical development and become a great obstacle to the development of humanity. Accordingly, its abolition is inevitable. Capitalism is the invariable background of the huge turmoil around the world, wars inside and outside, uprisings and riots, starvation and poverty, unemployment, and destruction. In short, the revolutionary turmoil we are facing, which is spreading across the whole world is the result of the whole historical

development of capitalism.

Without developing new concepts for the events we face today, it is impossible to scientifically diagnose and comprehend the events occurring today. Imperialism’s incorporation of dependent countries’ economies through the process of full annexation, global civil war, US imperialism’s collapse, the Third World War taking place between the imperialist-capitalist system and the global proletariat and the century of insurrections are some of the key terms in scientifically explaining and understanding the daily developments we encounter. Attempting to theorize independently of these terms, one cannot form a single credible sentence about either world revolution or the united revolution in Turkey and Kurdistan.

Petty bourgeoisie socialist movements influenced by bourgeois worldviews are extremely common. The counter-revolutions realized throughout the socialist world between 1989-91, fallen walls, declaring the “end of history”, in a word the victory cries of capital left petty-bourgeois socialist movements in shock. In fact, in Turkey and in many regions throughout the world, the same period saw an upsurge of revolutionary action.

An epidemic of demonstrations against the global trade agreements (GATT, GATS, MAI, MIGA) spread all over the world. In Brussels, truckers blocked highways, farmers ravaged all of Europe, from Japan to Rome, and farmer’s demonstrations challenged the agricultural practice of monopolies.

Immediately thereafter the uprising initiated by the Zapatist movement in Chiapas came to the fore. Following the Uruguay Round of Global Trade Agreements, the evolution of the World Trade Organization triggered new waves of protest, strikes, rallies, and demonstrations which showed

no signs of slowing down. Periodically global uprisings occurred. Then... Seattle, and so on: “Another world is possible!”

Although “another world” is not a certain definition, it shows the rebellious feelings of millions against the imperialist-capitalist world order.

The imperialist-capitalist system is in the process of collapse. Humanity is in a new phase of historical development. The essence of this “new stage/phase” is that the social revolutions that will lead to the transition from capitalism to communism have started practically. As the old world collapses a new world is born on its ruins; the hope of salvation of humanity is continuing, the age of freedom of a thousand years is coming, and the dawn of communism is coming.

It would undoubtedly be a great mistake to think that the world bourgeoisie will stand by the collapse of the imperialist-capitalist system and will helplessly submit to its fate. At the end of last century, NATO determined that our era would be a “century of uprisings”, but also explained what policy and measures it would develop against these uprisings. Since the late 90s, they have started training and organizing in accordance with urban warfare, to fight in residential areas. It meant to begin preparations of Civil War around the world. On the one hand, in order to speed up the centralization of capital worldwide, the US has turned to a policy of full annexation of the economy of dependent countries, achieving the goal of waging war against the peoples of the world by undertaking acts of war against its own people. On September 11, 2001, the US government destroyed the Twin Towers on their own. And we know what happened after that. Afghanistan, Iraq, the Great (and the Greater) Middle East, Libya, North Africa, Syria, and so on.

Imperialists, with the interference of Russia, have been defeated in many areas. They are losing

in Syria; they are losing in Iraq; they are losing in Ukraine, in Sahel, also in Palestine!

As 7th October military attack called Al-Aqsa Storm, the heroic people of Palestine, at the cost of great suffering, have now brought the war to territory under the control of the Zionist Israeli state. In doing so, they have begun a new chapter in the Palestinian revolution.

The fact of the matter is that from Africa to the Middle East, from the Americas to Asia, reaching from there to Europe a revolutionary unrest is sweeping across the globe resulting from the conflict between proletariat and capital, communism and capitalism, the old world and the new world. This indicates that a revolutionary situation has emerged on a global scale. All conflicts in different countries and regions, whatever the different forms they take, may prove the existence of a revolutionary situation and how widespread it is.

The reply of the imperialist bourgeoisie against the global uprising is a traditional one: war and fascism! They need a destructive war and a strong fascist movement to prevent people’s revolutionary struggle around the world. Before in Syria, now in Ukraine, that’s what they are trying to do.

Each revolution has its own internal and external conditions, and internal and external allies. Polarizations at global scale, struggles have an impact on revolution in any country directly or indirectly. In this respect, with the existing conditions imperialist-capitalist powers coming face to face against the powers under the leadership of Russia and China, triggers class struggle directly on a global scale. That means, under these circumstances, the anti-imperialist movement has indirect support from Russia and China.

It would not be reasonable to expect Turkey and Kurdistan to be in a different state because there is a civil war going on between labor and capital on an international level and revolutionary conditions

have developed in most of the countries of the imperialist capitalist system. On the contrary, these two states are lands of civil war and have been in revolutionary circumstances for nearly thirty years.

Turkey has a monopolistic capitalist economy. The industrial base of its monopolistic capitalist economy is weak and dependent on imperialism. The monopolistic capitalist class of Turkey faced strong proletarian movements while they were implementing the economic policies dictated by imperialist powers. In spite of the fascist coup in 1980, the Turkish bourgeois class couldn't resolve the economic and social problems in Turkey. Less than a decade later the coup, clashes between the bourgeoisie and working class, Turkish state and Kurdish people erupted. The conflicts reached a state of civil war in 90's. Revolutionary mass movements had spread all around Turkey and Kurdistan, armed clashes were widespread, the occupation of factories by the working class and strikes became commonplace. In big cities, the state lost control of neighborhoods. In essence, there was a revolution occurring.

To prevent the revolution, Turkish armed forces stormed brutally. While the cities in Kurdistan were burnt and destroyed, the people were massacred by chemical weapons and were buried alive in houses that were destroyed by heavy artillery fire.

Revolution is a long journey. Rising and downing mass struggle, armed conflicts, armed uprising, victories and defeats... are moments in this marching. In Turkey and Kurdistan we saw all of them. People's uprisings against fascist oppression and terror continue.

Both the Gezi Park (in June 2013) and Kobane (in October 2014) uprisings were milestones of the history of Turkey and Kurdistan. They turned the social revolution in Turkey into a concrete/practical phenomenon. Turkey and Kurdistan have become the lands where the contradictions have accelerated, the clashes have intensified to such an

extraordinary level that the monopolistic capitalist class now could no longer maintain its sovereignty without resorting to fascist terror.

These lands where revolution has become a contemporary, practical problem, are the weakest link of the imperialist-capitalist chain. Exactly because of this, the religious fascist state that is ruled by Erdogan is supported by the imperialist governments, especially by USA and Germany, whatever disagreements they might each perform for the domestic audiences. The fear of the imperialists is the collapse of the religious fascist state of Erdogan, because it would mean a people's uprising.

However, in Turkey and Kurdistan, the fact that every step the monopolistic capitalist class and imperialists have taken to prevent the revolution has done nothing but intensify the revolution. This has only one explanation: the bourgeois order is collapsing and falling apart along with its all institutions.

Still, it is necessary to assert that, unless the bourgeois system is brought down by the proletariat and working people through revolution, the bourgeois system will not collapse on its own. The capitalist economic system is bound to crisis in order to renew itself. The revolutionary powers and communists should know to benefit from the crisis of the monopolistic capitalism for the victory of the revolution. Being a revolutionary means knowing how to benefit from the crisis of the capitalism for the victory of the revolution for the capture of the political power. Anything else is done in vain. Because every bourgeois is ready to say and accept that capitalism is in a crisis, and that bourgeois society is rotting and collapsing. What makes the revolutionary proletariat party, and Communist party different from these types of bourgeois is destroying the sovereignty of the bourgeoisie and taking power to the hands of the labor.

Under these conditions the revolutionary parties

must have clear sight of their goal, the ability to lead to be able to benefit from this crisis for the victory of revolution and ready to commit to seizing power and to overthrow bourgeois rule.

The biggest impact of social reformist and opportunist parties on the world working class movement was the removal of the working class from the capture of political power. We're confronted with this legacy under the name of "European Communism". In the other continents and countries, we are confronted with it in different forms. But no matter what form it may appear to be, the common line that cuts them wholly is the line of compromise with the bourgeois class and distance from the goal of capturing power. As the most prominent form of this line is the government over-classes, is defending a "democracy" separated from its class content.

In the time of revolutionary crisis—and now we're going through such a crisis worldwide—the task of a revolutionary party is to benefit from the revolutionary crisis for the goal of revolution. The conquest of political power which is the first door to capture of all power. There is no other goal in times of revolutionary crisis. A revolutionary party cannot approach the problem otherwise.

The task of a revolutionary party is to successfully carry out the revolution benefiting from revolutionary crisis, to seize the power to form a revolutionary government thereby breaking the resistance of exploiters.

Needless to say this difficult task cannot be carried out by peaceful means, by reconciliation with the bourgeoisie. It can only be achieved by the dictatorship of revolutionary government that doesn't restrict itself to any law.

Now, in Europe and many other parts of the world, groups, parties, political strata are emerging that are focused on revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thought. The revolutionary forces within the social reformist and opportunist parties are separating

their ways and shifting to a revolutionary line. This objective situation is the result of the deep crisis of bourgeois society and bourgeois class domination.

As long as revolutionary parties, groups, and people who have just emerged and tried to organize are able to follow a revolutionary line, they will have the future as long as they follow a political line guided by revolutionary feelings and aspirations of the exploited and oppressed masses, no matter how weak they may be! What is important and decisive is the revolutionary policies and the revolutionary program. Now we know how the "communist parties" had enormous power dissolved because they don't have revolutionary programs and revolutionary policies.

The essence of revolutionary policies in times of revolutionary crisis, whether this crisis arises from foreign war, civil war, or any other cause, is to benefit from the crisis that bourgeois domination or bourgeois itself has suffered, to overthrow of bourgeois domination and to seize political power for the victory of revolution.

The revolutionary situation and civil war between labor and capital is now spreading all over the world. This crisis of the imperialist-capitalist system is not a temporary road accident. It is the result of devastating internal contradictions of capitalism's maturation. There is not one weak ring in the imperialist-capitalist chain, but many. Not one in the chain, but a lot of rings of the chain have come to the point of breaking.

On the condition that the oppressed, exploited masses are filled with the longing for "another world" beyond capitalism and declare that this other world they've longed for is "possible", the revolutionary and communist parties can only write on their flags:

All Power To Labor!

All The World To Labor!

Now Is The Time For Revolution!

The reality of the peoples and countries of the Third World, their struggle for national liberation and the new society, destroys the “pyramidal fantasies” of some

Eduardo Artés Brichetti | Chilean Communist Party (Proletarian Action)

Practice is the criterion of truth, and today, in the international context, this truth is revealed in all its vigor.

It is necessary to debate whether the different analyses that are made today on the international situation, from the point of view of the Communist Movement, are coherent or not. There are apparently theoretical points of view that proclaim the supposed abolition of the struggle for national liberation.

Let us see what the reality is today: In Africa, in accordance with their social and national reality, the peoples are expressing themselves with determination for sovereignty, self-determination and in favor of the expulsion of the colonial powers of Western Europe, those powers linked to the plunderers, exploiters and oppressors of U.S. imperialism. In this sense, the anti-colonial and national liberation uprisings underway in Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger and carried out by several other peoples in Africa, join other long-standing experiences such as in Algeria, but with their own characteristics corresponding to the present time. Are these not national liberation struggles?

In Asia, the DPRK is in an almost direct confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. It should also be remembered that imperialist aggression against socialist Korea is multifaceted and encompasses various vital aspects including military threats, economic sanctions and all kinds of trade bans. Also, in line with the aspirations of all the Korean people, the DPRK are working for the reunification of their homeland on the basis of a sovereign and independent policy,

which necessarily requires the withdrawal of tens of thousands of imperialist occupation and domination troops along with the removal of the U.S. nuclear bombs from the southern part of Korea, with which the DPRK is constantly threatened. The battle of the Korean people in the south against their occupiers also has a clear component of national liberation struggle.

The People’s Republic of China is distinguished by its outstanding role in the abolition of “unilateralism”, in the confrontation with the hegemony of the U.S. and its partners in Western Europe and Japan, in the definitive positioning of multilateralism in international politics, in the consolidation of world peace and the self-determination of the peoples. All this is based on the vigorous economic and political development of socialism in accordance with Chinese reality and demands. Added to all this is the pressing demand of the People’s Republic of China to bring Taiwan back under its state administration. All this puts China in the crosshairs of the U.S., which carries out aggressions and interventions against it. China is one of the main enemies of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, if not the main one. Does not this conflict between U.S. imperialism and the People’s Republic of China open a space for the struggle for national liberation in the world and ultimately the struggle for socialism?

The character of the heroic and multifaceted struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli occupation as a struggle for national liberation is undeniable and is a slap in the face to those who have tried to deny it, to those who have wanted

to dismiss it by decree as non-existent or have wanted to consider it a thing of the past. It is in our understanding a political and moral obligation of the communists in all parts of the world that this struggle be supported with enormous force and decision.

The struggle of the Saharawi people in the Saharawi Republic against the occupation of a large part of their territory by the Kingdom of Morocco, which dominates and exploits them with the support and collaboration of companies from Western Europe, the United States and Israel, is another example of the struggle for contemporary national liberation.

Communists must pay attention to and correctly assess the role of states like Iran in evaluating the international anti-imperialist struggle. Iran has not only openly expressed its opposition to U.S. imperialism, NATO and Israel, but has also taken concrete actions and measures in support and solidarity with national liberation struggles not only in West Asia and/or the Middle East, but also with various countries around the world struggling for their sovereignty. We have seen this very well in Latin America, with Iran's support for Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela. Iran's confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and its overt support for national liberation struggles around the world is a further reaffirmation of the validity of those struggles.

In Latin America, the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle is the order of the day due to the enormous interference of U.S. imperialism and its junior partners, the NATO countries and Israel, in all aspects of the political, economic, military and even cultural affairs of the countries of our region. Together with the countries that have taken great steps in the consolidation of their sovereignty and in the construction of socialism, such as Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela, there exists in our

region a strong movement for the overcoming of imperialist domination and oppression, for national industrialization, for the end of the plundering of natural resources, the super-exploitation of the workers and the blatant interference in the national armed forces and police. Added to this are the popular uprisings of the broad masses of workers and peoples for immediate economic and political demands. Although these movements have not achieved the seizure of political power, they have been able to consolidate governments that responded to these demands. Despite these achievements, it should be noted that these governments always, or almost always, betrayed the demands of the people and prostrated themselves to the national exploiters and U.S. imperialism in particular.

All these events, with their successes and failures, demonstrate once again that the struggle for national liberation is in full force.

In Latin America (as in the rest of the world), it is essential to develop authentic class-conscious and revolutionary organizations that seek the consolidation of socialism on a national and international scale, that is to say, COMMUNIST organizations. But this pending and indispensable task does not deny the validity of a program of the workers and peoples of Latin America (and the world) that includes the struggle for national liberation, the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle, but on the contrary affirms it. The class struggle is not in contradiction with the struggle for national liberation, as some self-proclaimed communist organizations claim.

The struggle of the Donbass republics and the Russian special military operation are another example of the struggle for national liberation. The Donbass republics established a determined struggle against the U.S. fascist puppet regime installed in Ukraine after the 2014 coup d'état. Russia's special military operation aims to defend

these republics and Russia itself, and to prevent Ukraine from becoming a new NATO and U.S. military base from which it (NATO) could have immediately unleashed a new world war against the Russian Federation, but also against the People's Republic of China, against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, against all independent and sovereign countries and those countries with a socialist perspective.

Here we see how the struggle for national liberation is united with the struggle for socialism. Russia's struggle against Nazi fascism, NATO and U.S. imperialism arouses sympathy among the members of the International Communist Movement and, at the same time, supports its strengthening and its capacity for mobilization. It cannot be otherwise, since the Russian struggle is at the forefront of the struggles for national liberation, anti-imperialism and anti-fascism and, therefore, is on the right side of history.

We believe that the aggression against the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and also against the Islamic Republic of Iran is aimed at destroying the hope of the peoples for national sovereignty and independence and leaving them without a foothold and at the absolute mercy of imperialist oppression and domination. Therefore, these countries must repel such imperialist aggressions.

Not all organizations claiming to be communist agree with this position. For some time now, some organizations, for different reasons or interests, some because of ideological and political misunderstandings, others, what never fails, because of the surveillance and interference of the intelligence services of U.S. imperialism and NATO, just when the urgency and the need to develop a broad anti-fascist and anti-imperialist world front, to alert the broad masses of the people about the growing danger of a world war, just when it has

become urgent to organize and mobilize exactly these masses and the peoples of the world against the imperialist war, against U.S. imperialism and NATO, have revived old and failed opportunist and rightist theses, disguised as left theses in the style of Trotsky and Kautsky with their speculations on the "permanent revolution" or "ultra-imperialism". The Trotskyists and Kautskyists of today speak of the "imperialist pyramid" with very little originality.

But practice is the criterion of truth, not inventions presented as theoretical elaborations. The creations of these new Trotskyites and Kautskyites, like those of their opportunist predecessors, will be impotent attempts to hold back the peoples in the face of the world tide of imperialist war.

It seems to us that one of the main tasks, together with the solid and indispensable theoretical argumentation emanating today from the forums and publications of the World Anti-imperialist Platform, is to bring to the masses the just and correct communist position and mobilize them against imperialism and global war. Here, in the masses, the harmful and counterrevolutionary speculations will be destroyed, which only aim to distract, confuse and demobilize the peoples and the workers and thus favor imperialism. On the front of the working masses and peoples, "pyramidal" opportunism will be dissolved and buried.

In short, in the struggle for national liberation, in the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle, we recognize the class struggle waged on the international scene. And we believe that these struggles carry the germ of socialism. With the overthrow of imperialism, embodied in the U.S. and NATO, a new horizon opens up for humanity and socialism.

The Central Tasks Of The Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Ricardo López Riso | Peruvian Communist Party

I. Scientific analysis of the current world situation. The configuration of the new world order.

1.1. Brief overview of the world economy.

After the great crisis of 2008, the world entered a phase of accelerated geopolitical changes in different parts of the globe. Latin America advanced in the hegemony of progressive and leftist governments far from the US influence. Europe was suffering the aftermath of the subprime mortgage crisis and Russia was preparing to return to the world scene when it put down Saakashvili's Georgia's meritorious attempt to join NATO on the eve of the definitive defeat of the Wahhabi jihad in the North Caucasus. Likewise, Saudi Arabia began to distance itself from US energy recipes, making OPEC its most effective instrument of denial vis-à-vis the Western bloc, always within the framework of the world recession.

After a brief period of reactivation of the world economy, it can hardly be doubted that the world economy, after being in a "slowdown" phase for a prolonged period, has entered a recessionary period since 2020. With the exception of China's PR, the data provided by multilateral organizations coincide in pointing out that the world's GDP shows unmistakable signs of weak growth (average 1.5%) or, at times, negative growth. This is not only a cooling of the economy, but a recession with all its consequences on employment and income, aggravated by the announced slowdown of the economies of China, the US and the EU in 2023 (IMF).

This situation is not only a consequence of the NATO-Russia war in Ukraine and the absurd Western sanctions against Russia, but of the capitalist system that is feeling the blow of the

downward trend of the average rate of profit, which seems irreversible.

Wars and the fierce competition for world hegemony are only brutal forms that pretend to distort the sentence that "capitalism carries the germ of its own destruction due to its insatiable thirst for surplus value and profit".

In this sense, war is inherent to capitalism as a mechanism for solving economic crises or, as it is usually called in liberal literature, as a form of self-regulation of the capitalist system. The deployment of war on a global scale includes sanctions such as those imposed by the US against Russia, Venezuela, Iran and Cuba, even against China, regardless of the disorder generated in markets and global supply chains. The important thing for the empire is to restore the vigor and primacy of US capitalism in the international order.

Despite this, the global recession is still underway. If it were not for China, the aforementioned 1.5% average would be lower and will probably be so this year and next if the economies of the North slow down. This performance, which will continue until 2024, is part of the long cycle of crisis that began before 2008, despite the fact that multilateral organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank are trying to generate a climate of optimism with less discouraging estimates that are far from reality.

1.2. Multipolarity or the dispute for world hegemony.

The war waged by Russia against NATO in Ukraine is but the tip of the iceberg that hides the most diverse and complex forms in which the dispute against the world hegemony of the USA and the collective West is developing. The narrative that it is an invasion of the "bad guys"

(Russians) against the “good and small” (the fascist government of Ukraine), is nothing but a cynical attempt to distort reality. In this war scenario, not only the predominance of NATO in Eastern Europe is at stake, but also the world control of the means of production and logistics linked to the supply of food, energy, technology and the survival of the unipolarity embodied in the USA with the consequent breakdown of the old world order.

It is no longer possible to hide the desperation of the once undisputed power of the US on the planet. Although without concrete expressions, China is present in the war conflict and therefore, as a main actor in the dispute for multipolarity. Although this could insinuate that the world is moving towards a re-edition of the old bipolarity, what has been happening does not seem to come close to that perspective, since multilateralism and its multiple manifestations are becoming more and more valid and claim for themselves, in line with the shifting correlations of global forces towards a multipolar scenario.

This is where the BRICS, G77+China, the G20, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, among others, are, as actors of fragmentation that will seek collective and individual protagonism without, therefore, having to break “formally” with the new “multipoles” (China, Russia, India, Brazil, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, etc.) in the configuration of the new world order.

1.3. Multipolarity and the New World Order for Non-Hegemonic Countries.

What do the peoples of non-hegemonic countries aspire to in multipolarity and the establishment of a New World Order (NWO)?

In the uncertainty of multipolarity and the New World Order, unipolarity is replaced by multipolarity: Beijing, Moscow, New Delhi, Brasilia, Pretoria, from January 1, 2024 will be added Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, Addis Ababa, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Tehran, will replace Washington; the yuan,

ruble, real, Indian rupee, rand, Egyptian pound, rial, birr, riyal, dirham, Argentine pesos to replace the dollar; the New Development Bank (NDB BRICS) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to replace the World Bank, the European Investment Bank. In concise terms: the BRICS+ would be the real agent of this “expected” change in the unipolarity—Old World Order duality, which will give impetus to the emergence of multiple centers-peripheries-multipolarity-NWO. The BRICS and the upcoming BRICS+ would be consolidated in response to the abusive trade practices of the hegemonic countries of the Collective West, the punitive sanctions regimes against countries qualified as “real and potential dangers” to US national security, such as the cases of Cuba, Venezuela, Iran, Russia and China; the international piracy carried out by the US and allies against sovereign funds and assets of sovereign countries such as Iran, Russia, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Syria and Venezuela; the neglect of the development needs of the poorest countries and the domination of the Collective West.

The BRICS emerge from the rubble left by the Great Recession of 2008 and are strengthened by the same causes that the hegemonic states stubbornly insist on maintaining. The founding countries of the BRICS moved away from the neoliberal model of the “Washington Consensus”. Let us recall that in Yeltsin’s Russia and in the countries of the defunct COMECON, neoliberal recipes were implemented without setbacks or opposition. In Russia, neoliberalism suffered its first defeat with the arrival of Vladimir Putin to the presidency in 2000 and the political restructuring under “the vertical of power”, in which the State has played a leading role in the management of the Russian economy [semi-centralized planning], which has allowed growth since then and until before the 2008 crisis, at a rate of 6.95% in its GDP and 7.31% in its GDP per capita. China’s PR was not permeable to the neoliberal prescriptions of the “Washington Consensus”, maintaining the control

of economic agents from a scheme of central planning and five-year plans, and is currently a moderately well-off society.

The starting pedal behind the success of the BRICS lies mainly in the policies of the PR China, which are based on the so-called “Beijing Consensus” (Cooper Ramo, 2004), whose fundamental elements are: 1) Business on the basis of the interests of the parties and without generic or principled conditionalities; 2) Friendship, cooperation, and mutual respect; 3) Structural development of China’s partners; 4) infrastructure, economic development, and then social and civic issues; 5) Respect for the internal policies of each country; 6) being more competitive and expeditious. These fundamentals are the ones that have seduced the other countries that are joining BRICS. An example of this is the expansion of the “Belt and Road” initiative based on trade and development partnerships on the railroad routes linking Asia and Europe and the maritime routes linking new and renovated ports in Africa, Asia and Latin America, such as the future mega port of Chancay in the coastal center of Peru.

The G7 and the BRICS are the leaders of the center and the semi-periphery of the current world system, respectively. What is the main vision and strategy promoted by each bloc to overcome the Great Recession of 2008?

The Great Recession of 2008 was caused by the economies of the hegemonic countries of the world system due to their neoliberal policies [it originated in the United States in August 2007, the cause was the default of subprime mortgages]. Faced with this crisis, the central states have persisted in their “laissez faire, laissez passer” policies, while the semi-peripheral states of the BRICS space have made progress in promoting an international order critical of liberalism and the international institutions controlled by the hegemonic countries, but also of development opportunities.

For the peoples of the non-hegemonic periphery, the BRICS+ would emerge on the horizon as the global space that will break with the scheme of

domination of the old world order headed by US imperialism, which will concentrate the largest producers of hydrocarbons, the largest populations, the largest markets, the largest industrial centers, far surpassing the G7, although at present the BRICS countries represent 25% of global GDP, 42% of the world population and more than 16% of world trade. The economies of the G7 countries will account for more than 45% of global GDP by 2023, 10% of the population. Their weight in the global economy is evident but also decreasing. As of January 1, 2024, the BRICS+ countries will accumulate 36.6% of world GDP, while the G7 will shrink to 29.9%.

On the other hand, the BRICS and the next BRICS+, unlike the G7 and Triad countries, are not at the forefront of the development of new technologies for now, except for China’s PR, which has focused in recent years on non-sanctionable technological developments [to refer to technologies subject to sanctions or bans by the US], which has allowed China to continue to lead in 2022 with 46% of patent registrations worldwide, followed by the USA with 17%, Japan and South Korea with 8.5% and 7% respectively. The factor of technological development is crucial in the strategy of building a multipolar world and the new international order, because otherwise it will not be possible to survive in a new world order in which accelerated technological innovation consolidates its intrinsic duality: independence—not dependence.

The BRICS countries in the transit of becoming a counterweight to the global West, in the context of US tensions with the P.R. China and Russia’s Special Operation in Ukraine, or rather, NATO’s war against Russia in Ukraine, the increase in the number of members of the bloc would give more real weight and greater content to their message of global reform.

1.4. Preventing the multipolarity—new world order from turning into a new scheme of distributed world domination.

The Imperial Ambitions of the United States in

the national security strategy of 2002, more than twenty years after it was formulated, maintains its essence. It established three core principles of U.S. strategic policy: First. To permanently secure America's undisputed global dominance, so that no nation will be allowed to rival or threaten the United States. Second. The permanent readiness of the United States to rapidly develop preemptive military strikes against states or forces anywhere on the globe that are considered a threat to the security of the United States, its forces and facilities abroad, or its friends or allies. Third. Immunity of U.S. citizens from prosecution in International Criminal Tribunals.

Bush, Obama, Trump, Biden, each with their details have maintained the same strategic line. Thus, China PR in its rapid economic rise forced Trump to unleash the "commercial-technological war" against China and against companies of that nationality, forcing the largest producers of microchips to move their production to U.S. territory, forcing ASML of the Netherlands not to sell lithography machines of the latest generation to China, agitating on the way the waters of the Taiwan Strait attacking the territorial sovereignty of China PR, in order to recover some of the spaces ceded to the Asian giant in the last fifteen years.

Likewise, the strategic dispute over the European hydrocarbon consumption market, which led the US to promote a sustained rivalry with the Russian Federation that has led to the war in Ukraine, having as visible consequences: the capture of the European hydrocarbon market by the US, or rather, in the words of Condoleezza Rice: "changing the energy dependence structure [of Europe] to depend more on the energy platform of North America [the US]"; also, the exponential increase in the international profit share of the US arms industry, i.e.: "To permanently secure America's undisputed global dominance, so that no nation will be allowed to rival or threaten the United States." Successive military aggressions by the U.S. and its European allies since the beginning of the Cold War. The

successive military aggressions of the U.S. and its European allies since the destruction of Yugoslavia, the Arab Spring, the invasion of Iraq, Afghanistan, the destruction of Libya and Syria; the subversive uprisings in Ukraine that led to the overthrow of Yanukovich, the conflict in the Russophone territories, the independence of Crimea and the current war in Ukraine; the expansion of NATO; the coup in Bolivia; the subversive attempts in Belarus, Cuba, Iran, Venezuela and Hong Kong; that is: "The permanent readiness of the United States to develop in a rapid manner preemptive military strikes against states or forces anywhere on the globe that are deemed a threat to the security of the United States, its forces and facilities abroad, or its friends or allies and the immunity [impunity] of American citizens from prosecution in International Criminal Tribunals."

Multipolarity and the NWO are linked to security issues, which in turn are linked to the welfare of the peoples of all countries, to the cause of world peace and development and to the future of the common humanity, as well as to the most effective struggle against imperialism and the construction of the material bases of socialism.

What do the peoples of the non-hegemonic or peripheral countries aspire to? Evidently we aspire to world détente and peace, to the defeat of U.S. imperialism, which will allow us to redirect the resources of the countries to welfare, to the protection of the environment, to the fight against the effects of climate change and not to the arms race, in frameworks of cooperation, mutual benefits, trust and security. The Global Security Initiative (GSI) announced by President Xi Jinping, coupled with the Asian giant's win-win / win-win initiative. Chinese President Xi Jinping proposes the Global Security Initiative (GSI) calling on all countries to adapt to the profoundly changing international landscape in a spirit of solidarity and to address complex and intertwined security challenges in a win-win spirit. The Global Security Initiative aims to eliminate the root causes of joint

international conflicts to bring more stability and certainties in an unstable and changing era and to promote lasting peace and development in the world.

In 2014, President Xi proposed a new vision of global, cooperative and lasting security. The essence of this new security vision consists of: a common security concept, respecting and safeguarding the security of each country; a holistic approach, maintaining security in traditional and non-traditional areas and enhancing security governance in a coordinated manner; a commitment to cooperation, providing security through political dialogue and peaceful negotiation; and the pursuit of lasting security, resolving conflicts through development and eliminating factors that foster insecurity. Maintain the commitment to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries. Sovereign equality and non-interference in internal affairs are fundamental principles of international law and the most fundamental rules governing contemporary international relations. Remain committed to respecting the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Remain committed to taking seriously the legitimate security concerns of all countries (Russia case).

The peoples of non-hegemonic countries expect greater participation in the collective construction of a new world order based on peace, non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, cooperation and shared development, the cessation of international piracy by the US, the UK and the European Union against sovereign funds and assets of other countries, an end to international blackmail as an instrument of competition and repression against sovereign states, détente and progressive disarmament; joint global action to prevent the effects of climate change; repair and remediation of damages caused by foreign military actions in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen; repair and remediation of damages caused by U.S. and allied embargoes and blockades of U.S.

and allied economies; and repair and remediation of damages caused by U.S. and allied embargoes and blockades of U.S. and allied economies. The U.S. and allied embargoes and blockades on the economies of Cuba, Iran, Syria, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Venezuela.

II. Probability of the spread of war in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and the outbreak of war in East Asia.

The growing world crisis with real possibilities of spreading beyond the Dnieper began in 2007 when the USA and NATO announced the future accession of Ukraine and Georgia to the imperialist organization. For this, Georgia had to “solve” the problems with the separatist territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, meanwhile Ukraine had to eradicate the Russian presence and, of course, the pro-Russian political and social sectors. Russia was already warned, it only had to modernize its armed forces, reorganize the country, strengthen relations with neighboring China and prepare to face Zbigniew Brzezinski's theses.

In this strategy, US imperialism and the lackey states of Europe, since the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, have not ceased to add fuel to the fire, providing Ukraine with more and more advanced weapons, such as cruise missiles, M1 Abrams tank, Leopard, depleted uranium shells, long-range missiles such as the announced GLSDB, which would allow Ukraine to attack targets deep inside Russian territory, as well as the upcoming delivery of F16 aircraft, in addition to the provision of critical information assistance by satellites and reconnaissance aircraft in the vicinity of the conflict area, bringing the world closer to the scenarios of a thermonuclear war.

The direct involvement of NATO countries has already been confirmed with the annihilation by Russia of NATO instructors and German military personnel in a Leopard tank. These facts prove the direct involvement of NATO in the conflict, in addition to the missile attacks on Crimea and

Sevastopol that took place during September 2023, carried out with the satellite and information assistance of the USA, which has led to the announcement by Russia to consider as legitimate targets the reconnaissance aircraft flying over the nearby areas in the Black Sea.

All these sets of events are the ingredients of the recipe book for the war to spread to other countries close to the conflict and to NATO countries that maintain an active interference. The recent rapprochement between Russia and the DPRK has made imperialism assume that there will be a mutual exchange between Russia and the DPRK: weapons for food, military assistance to improve the PLA, a situation that generates a breach in the isolation to which the DPRK is subjected.

The implication for geopolitics in East Asia is the scale of military tensions between China, the DPRK, Russia, AUKUS and Taiwan Province, which could lead to a sub-regional armed conflict with unforeseeable consequences.

In the US obsession to inflict a historic defeat on Russia in Europe, the possibility of imperialism with AUKUS, South Korea and Japan inaugurating a scenario of military confrontation with the DPRK under any pretext is not ruled out, in order to open an Eastern front to involve Russia and China, but which would lead irremediably to a nuclear war.

To these scenarios we must add the successive coups d'états in sub-Saharan Africa (Mali, Chad, Guinea, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Niger, Gabon), in France's former colonial territories, which have distanced France and deprived it of the export of critical resources for that country, forcing it to withdraw its military units. The new African scenario contributes to increase the danger of a more extensive world conflagration, since what happened in the Sahel can be replicated in other European ex-colonies, forcing these European powers to launch military adventures to restore their tutelary "democracy".

Since October 7, 2023, the risk of the expansion of the war has intensified with the military operation "Al-Aqsa Flood" carried out by the Hamas group

against the occupation of Palestine by Israel and the harassment of the Al-Aqsa Mosque. We are facing the development of the fourth war of the Jewish State against the Palestinian people, but also the imminence of this local war spreading to the entire Middle East in the scenario of the balkanization of the Arab and Islamic worlds in accordance with the "Bernard Lewis Plan", which would involve Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iran, with the aim of destroying the latter country, starting with the destruction of its oil infrastructure as requested by US Senator Lindsey Graham.¹⁾

The recent dispatch of the aircraft carrier USS Gerald Ford to "protect" Israel is not mere election propaganda by Biden as some believe. It is a direct threat to Iran, which if "heeded" Senator Graham's request, Iran would be forced to respond by attacking Israel and US ships in the Persian Gulf, which would include Israel's use of nuclear weapons.

In this possible scenario, the expansion of the war in the Middle East could involve countries such as Russia allied with Iran and Syria, the US allied with Israel (already involved), Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Qatar, in the modernized development of the "Yinon Plan²⁾", in which it formulates that the confessional and ethnic balkanization of the Middle East is the appropriate scenario to favor Israel (with US sponsorship) to effectively absorb the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the Golan Heights, eliminating Israel's potential enemies, refeudalizing the Arab countries into confessional fiefdoms, making them unviable as unitary states, and of course sustaining the unfeasibility of two states in the same territory. Recall the active participation of the US and Israel in the organization of ISIS and the "Arab Spring".

III. The priorities of the ideological struggle in the current international communist movement.

"The aphorism is well known that, if geometrical axioms were to affect the interests of the people, there would surely be those who would refute

them. The theories of the natural sciences, which have clashed with the old prejudices of theology, provoked and continue to provoke to this day the fiercest opposition. There is nothing strange, then, that the doctrine of Marx, which serves directly the education and organization of the vanguard class of modern society, which points out the tasks of that class and demonstrates the inevitable substitution—by virtue of economic development—of the present regime by a new order, should have had to struggle to conquer every step of it”, wrote Lenin.³⁾

We communists are convinced that one of the fundamental struggles for socialism that must be waged and sustained is the ideological struggle. The ideological struggle must take place in three scenarios: the first is the battle in the field of culture and communications, which allows counteracting the bourgeois and imperialist ideology in the broad masses and in the working class; the second is the struggle against bourgeois ideologies of all kinds, such as liberalism, libertarianism, neoconservatism, fascism and neo-fascism, bourgeois populism, etc., which should be the center of this struggle, because in this struggle not only the consciousness of the workers is disputed and awakened, but also the ideas for the future of humanity and socialism are confronted; The third ideological struggle is the battle that takes place within the workers’ movement, which lies in the struggle against opportunist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois currents and deformations within the working class and the Communist Party, such as the social dialogue-class conciliation, promoted by NGOs financed by U.S. government agencies. USA, Canada, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, Spain, Belgium, etc. In this battle the struggle against “onegerism” is central, since these organizations fulfill the function of the “Trojan horse” of international social democracy and imperialism to penetrate the workers’ movement, cutting off class consciousness and the struggle for power, to reduce them to the agenda of “decent and dignified work” and better wages. Likewise, within the communist parties, the struggle against leftism and political adventurism

is a permanent struggle, since this political deformation leads to confuse which is the main enemy, resulting in the division of the labor and communist movement in favor of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

We Peruvian communists consider that in the present stage characterized by the sharpening of the contradictions with imperialism and the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, it is not prudent to exacerbate the contradictions, visions and positions that may exist and do exist within the international communist movement, because this would lead to their weakening, contributing to the strategy of our common enemies.

We firmly trust in the science of dialectical and historical materialism, in the revolutionary transformation towards socialism, in the creative action of Marxism-Leninism and liberating socialism, which in the words of José Carlos Mariátegui: “socialism in Peru will be neither a tracing nor a copy, but a heroic creation”. What, in the particular case of the Peruvian communists, the struggle for socialism in Peru and the socialism that we manage to build will be the result of the conditions of the social forces and the development of the material bases, it will not be the result of preconceived formulas.

We Peruvian communists agree with and subscribe to the statements in the three central objectives of the World Anti-imperialist Platform:

To promote the anti-imperialist struggle. We are convinced that the voracity of imperialism can lead irremediably to a third world war or the only thermonuclear world war, which would spread from North America, Europe, the Far East and Australia. In view of this, the anti-imperialist struggle must go hand in hand with the struggle for peace, disarmament, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, it is necessary to link all the evils suffered by humanity with the existence of imperialism. The anti-imperialist struggle is not an isolated struggle, reduced to the space of the international communist movement, it must involve other movements and social sectors

conscious of the imminent danger of a third unconventional world war.

Intensify the ideological war. We fully agree that the objectives of the ideological war are revisionism, opportunism and sectarianism among other ideologies, tendencies or currents opposed to the struggle for socialism. We Peruvian communists affirm that we will not feed a fratricidal war in the international communist movement and consequently in the workers' and popular camp. Nor put in the first order of the ideological battle the divergences or disparate ideas that arise in small geographical redoubts, since at this stage we consider that the great ideological battle must be given against the range of imperialist ideology such as liberalism, neoliberalism, libertarianism, conservatism, which constitute the most versatile anti-communist network worldwide.

Consolidate the international communist forces. We Peruvian communists fully agree with what was stated by Comrade Stephen Cho in the article "The three major goals of the World Anti-Imperialist Platform"⁴⁾. In that mission we have joined the Platform and other anti-imperialist spaces.

IV. Principles and methods to strengthen the national communist forces in each country and the international communist forces in the current political situation.

The Peruvian Communist Party since its foundation on October 7, 1928 has maintained a gravitating influence in the Peruvian workers' movement, leading at present the largest central workers' union in Peru, the General Confederation of Workers of Peru-CGTP, maintaining a presence in the Assembly of the Peoples of Peru which is a united front of the masses and social organizations of diverse sectors which at this stage have as their central objective to stop the dictatorship of the Dina Boluarte-Congress of the Republic alliance.

We Peruvian communists find ourselves engaged in a process of organic, social and political strengthening with the objective of successfully confronting the struggle against the dictatorship

of Mrs. Boluarte-Congress of Peru and against the forces of the national and transnational ultra-right (VOX of Spain) directly allied with U.S. imperialism.

In this objective since 2017 we have been strengthening the Party from the organizational foundations of Marxism-Leninism, expanding the party cellular organization in the centers of masses mainly workers. Directly linking the Party to the trade unions and social organizations of popular base.

Part of this work of Leninist construction of the Party, is to develop the ideological battles against bourgeois and imperialist ideologies, liberalism, neo-liberalism among others, which after the defeat of Maoism of the Shining Path, managed to impose on a large part of the workers the fear of communism. On the internal side, the battles of the workers and popular movement are against the external social-democratic currents carrying the agendas of imperialism that penetrate into its bosom to cut off the revolutionary edge of the working class and drag them to class conciliation and finally to anti-communism.

These tasks are summarized in promoting the awakening of class consciousness in the workers by linking them to their basic struggles, clarifying the role played by the ruling classes and imperialism in the crisis that the country is experiencing and that the workers are suffering, making use of political schools in the unions, and direct involvement of the workers in the political life of the country.

Note

1) With international arrest warrant by Russia.

2) "A strategy for Israel in the 1980s", by Oded Yinon in Kivunim. 1982.

3) In "Marxism and Revisionism". Published in the second half of March, no later than April 3 (16), 1908. First edition: In St. Petersburg, Russia, between September 25 (October 8) and October 2 (15), 1908 in Karl Marx (1818-1883) with the signature: "V.I. Lenin".

4) <https://wapnews.org/?p=2703>

The Western communist movement and the fetish of inter-imperialism

David Chantreux Feroso | Iniciativa Comunista (Spain)

The imperialist escalation in Eastern Europe and more recently in the Middle East shows once again the serious ideological and political limitations suffered by the Western communist movement, especially when it comes, as in this case, to take firm, rigorous and well-founded positions in the face of the maneuvers of the imperialist bloc to which the Spanish and European state oligarchies themselves belong.

Broad sectors of the communist movement continue to resort to the scarecrow of “inter-imperialism” to hide their ignorance of the concrete nature of present-day imperialism; to legitimize their equidistance in the face of the umpteenth diplomatic, political and even military offensive of Western imperialism; to tiptoe around the imperialist character of the European Union, while, on the contrary, they trumpet the perversity of alleged Russian imperialism to the four winds.

In recent years, Ukraine has been the focus of pressure to continue harassing the Russian Federation, taking away its historical spheres of influence and trying to win for the interests of imperialism the whole of Eastern Europe. The media campaign deployed by the Western oligarchy has found, for the umpteenth time, more echo than it should among some communist voices.

The great accusing finger of these so-called Marxists points to Russia as an imperialist power, but offers no theoretical support to justify such a daring thesis. This silence is understandable. After all, if anyone took the trouble to rigorously study the economic reality and the international role of the Russian Federation, they would not find the monstrous imperialism that occupies the fantasies of the Western left, but, on the contrary, a country of a secondary and evidently subordinate nature within the economic networks of contemporary

capitalism. To describe Russia as imperialist is to take a real leap of faith, ignoring the very palpable evidence that we are dealing with a country occupying an intermediate position in the world value chains, with no major capitals dominating the international scene and with a per capita wealth lower even than that of other clearly non-imperialist countries in Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. (here is where I have cut out other economic evidence).

This ignorance of the true economic character of the Russian Federation stems, in part, from the absence of a scientific theory of imperialism among the ranks of Western communism. There are those who depart directly from the contributions of Leninism and fall into idealistic conceptions of “global capitalism”, of “deterritorialized capitalism”, thus ignoring the persistent division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. From this point of view, all international conflict is reduced to a game of geopolitical interests between actors of equivalent strength.

Others, on the other hand, accept in words the Leninist theses on imperialism, but fail to apply their fundamental slogan: the concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Thus, they limit themselves to offering decontextualized fragments of works more than a century old, but ignore the profound changes that have taken place since then.

There is also an absolute confusion between the natural tendencies of capitalism and the real affirmation of a country as an imperialist power. Many communists assume that countries like China or the Russian Federation are imperialist simply because they maintain relations of domination over other weaker nations around them, or because they possess expansionist ambitions—politically, economically or even militarily—towards the

exterior. But such ambitions and relations of domination do not constitute a specific feature of imperialism, but, on the contrary, a tendency proper to any bourgeois state, which will always try to expand as far as possible its spheres of influence. According to this absurd logic, which confuses capitalism “in general” with the concrete reality of imperialism, we should also count among the imperialist powers such countries clearly exploited by the Western oligarchy as Brazil, South Africa, Mexico, India or Turkey. In this sense, does Russia benefit from its unequal relationship with the countries of the ex-Soviet environment? Undoubtedly. But does this mean that Russia has set itself up as an imperialist power? Not necessarily. And this will have to be decided by an analysis that takes into account not only the relationship between the Russian Federation and its historical orbit of influence in Eastern Europe, Central Asia or the Caucasus, but its global role within the international networks of contemporary capitalism. Where, we insist, anyone will be able to discover a country of an intermediate nature, very far from being able to occupy in the short and medium term a dominant position in the framework of the world capitalist economy.

These sectors of the communist movement continue to identify imperialism with military might, and not with economic domination at the international level.

The political positions observed in recent years show that there is a fairly large sector in the Western communist movement which immediately adapts itself to the discursive matrix of the US, NATO, the EU and the oligarchy of the country itself. Their usual silence on the rapacious and predatory character of Western imperialism contrasts, unfortunately, with their outright condemnation of Russian “imperialism”. A condemnation that coincides, very revealingly, with the moment when the Western powers are intensifying their economic, military and diplomatic siege on the Russian Federation. Therefore, in a conflict where the imperialism of the European states takes an

active part and intervenes as the aggressor side, a communist who chooses to stand in profile and emphasize the sins of the Russian government only does good to his own imperialist bourgeoisie, becoming an objective accomplice of the campaigns of his own imperialism.

The analyses on imperialism prevailing in the European communist movement are, as a rule, rather weak, biased, incoherent, outdated. They take refuge in some of Lenin’s texts, but misrepresent the core of his theory of imperialism. All this translates a historical truism: the superprofits captured by imperialist capital have contributed to the rightistization of the entire political landscape in Western countries; including, of course, the communist movement itself.

In the same way, we see how this tendency is reproduced, fortunately in a more timid way, but even more absurd with respect to the escalation that has been taking place since the last weeks in the Middle East around the Palestinian conflict. Where certain communist sectors replace Russia in their speeches by Iran or Hamas, highlighting their reactionary characteristics, in order to justify equidistant positions.

We must, therefore, make the greatest efforts to combat any conciliatory tendency within the communist movement, and, in general, of the working class. We must abandon formulas and empty slogans, and put forward a rigorously Marxist study of contemporary imperialism, overcoming the outdated dogmas and distortions to which many have wanted to subject the Leninist theory of imperialism.

We need to overcome all those deviations whose supposed equidistance—“neither NATO nor Russia”—does nothing more than promote the demonization of the enemies of our own imperialism. We need, in short, to return the communist movement to its proper terrain: that of a frontal, complete and uncompromising opposition to the oligarchy of our own State and its bloc of imperialist parasites.

“How do we defend the unity of the international anti-imperialist front and collaborate with the national liberation movement”

Alberto García Barcala | Unión Proletaria (Spain)

Dear comrades:

In the name of Unión Proletaria (Spain), I bring you warm greetings and I wish to expose two questions to you.

The first one is directed to defend the unity of the international anti-imperialist front and to combat the incoherent theory that all countries are imperialist.

Capitalism has been formed in Western Europe. In Capital, Marx says that capitalism came “into the world dripping blood and mud from its pores, from head to toe”. In our subcontinent, it used the most violent methods to expropriate and proletarianize the majority of peasants and artisans. But it also needed to plunder and colonize entire peoples from other continents.

This is how Marx puts it: “The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation. (...) In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage workers in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world.”

Therefore, from its beginnings, capitalism has been based on the exploitation of some nations by others, that means, on the division of the world into two types of countries: exploiters and exploited.

It is true that, in the first half of its existence, this exploitation had a positive consequence: the

transformation of individual and scarce productive forces into social and abundant productive forces that allow humanity to move from the stage of social antagonisms to the socialist stage as a preliminary step towards communism.

Here ends the contribution of the bourgeoisie to social progress. From here on, that is, in the imperialist stage of capitalism, society can only progress by means of the proletarian revolution. While this is delayed, the continuation of bourgeois domination sharpens all forms of oppression, particularly that of the majority of nations by the handful of powers that monopolized capitalist development.

As a consequence, it also sharpens the division of the proletariat by nationality and, within the oppressor countries mainly, the split between the exploited majority and the minority labor aristocracy, bought with the colonial and neocolonial profits of their capitalists.

In such conditions, the revolutionary proletariat encounters the biggest difficulties: in the oppressive nations, it suffers the continuous sabotage of that corrupt elite and, in the oppressed nations, the aggression of foreign imperialist armies. Today, the possibility of the present war spreading to other countries of Eastern Europe and breaking out in East Asia is closer than it was a year ago.

It is, therefore, in the best interests of class-conscious workers to support the liberation movements of these oppressed nations, whatever their contradictions and shortcomings. And it is counterrevolutionary in the highest degree to turn our backs on these movements:

1) either because their leading forces are bourgeois or petty bourgeois.

2) either because an imperialist character is attributed in an abstract and not concrete manner to nations which, like China and Russia, have become military and economic powers. This pretext hides how they achieved it: by freeing themselves from the claws of the real imperialist powers that have imposed their domination on the world during the last centuries. Russia and China do not have the same genealogy as the imperialist states and their conflict with them is not of the same nature as the First World War. To transfer mechanically Lenin's conclusions on this war to the present international contradictions is contrary to dialectical materialism, to the worldview of Marxism-Leninism.

We do not deny the need to warn the working class about the contradictions that can weaken the struggle against the imperialist West. We even admit that, in the future, the capitalist relations of the emerging powers could develop to the point of replacing the present international imperialist system with a new one. But, over and above speculations, we Marxist-Leninists must concretely analyze the concrete situation and carry out the appropriate revolutionary practice. The present conditions demand that we unite all possible popular forces with China and Russia, as the economic, political and military vanguard of the International Anti-Imperialist Front, against the United States and its satellites. Only in this way will we be able to liberate the initiative and the revolutionary potential of the proletariat in all countries.

The second question we want to present to you is about the problem of how to build a real force in imperialist countries like ours that could collaborate with the national liberation movement in destroying imperialism. Here the political control over the population is suffocating, and it is even worse where the treason of the revisionists has

caused greater decomposition in the communist ranks, as is the case of Spain.

After the massive mobilizations in the 1980s against NATO membership and against the Iraq war in 2003, we experienced a slight recovery in the run-up to the Atlantic Alliance Summit protests in Madrid last year. But the unprecedented Russophobic campaign unleashed by the imperialists after Russia's Special Military Operation in Ukraine weakened these preparations, although demonstrations with thousands of participants were held in major cities.

However, the unity of this incipient movement soon broke down, due to the paralyzing maneuvers of the reformist parties which were part of it and which, at the same time, participate in the Atlanticist social-democratic government. And, unfortunately, many of the revolutionary organizations have a sectarian attitude: they refuse any unity of action with those vacillating forces, they are wary of widening their ranks and avoid going out to meet the population under the pretext of their own weakness.

On the one hand, the development of the struggle against imperialism demands criticizing the reformists who submit to it and denouncing the imperialists who present themselves as social reformers. But, on the other hand, we must understand that the greatest possibilities of broadening our forces is with the left-wing people who fight the reactionaries on various fronts and who will only be able to advance towards anti-imperialist positions if we link ourselves to them, and to their economic and democratic needs.

This linkage requires us to adequately manage the contradictions between the imperialist parties, as well as between the imperialist "left" and its masses. In our opinion, the construction of the anti-imperialist united front in the oppressor countries must be inspired by Lenin's approach to the united front of the working class when it is

unable to sustain its offensive. This workers' united front was the nucleus of the anti-fascist popular and national fronts organized by the Communist International to regain the revolutionary initiative. We find a particular example of its application—with its positive and negative lessons—in the article of comrades Nina Kosta and George Korkovelos on the Greek revolution.

We propose to study together this question and to propagate practical initiatives that follow this orientation.

It is of vital importance for humanity that the international communist movement makes an effort to further develop the world anti-imperialist struggle in a united front. It is necessary to spread the Marxist-Leninist theory to the working class and to develop the communist movement in each and every country.

Long live the unity of the world anti-imperialist front!

Long live the international unity of the working class!

Down with revisionism and sectarianism! Long live Marxism-Leninism!

The best way for communists to contribute to the advent of a world that is more just and respectful of the national rights of all, while at the same time fighting for socialism

Guy Jean Roy | Communist Party of Quebec

We refer in particular to the difficulty that many movements and parties, including within the international communist movement, would still have today, in 2023, in fully understanding the links that can unite the national liberation struggles of all peoples, still subjected to diktat and oppression, with those for the advent of socialism.

We include, of course, among all these struggles to defend the nation, the one waged in Quebec for our own independence. There was a time when all these links were systematically emphasized by the international communist movement. We refer in particular to the whole period when the 3rd Communist International was still very much alive.

Proof of this change in attitude can be found in the growing fear that many of these movements and parties now have of any support for nationalist movements of any kind. It's as if even the word "patriotism"—a term with which we identify ourselves more than ever, and which at the same time implies the importance of defending not only nations, but also their right to full sovereignty, both politically and economically—had become something pestiferous, totally negative and reactionary.

As Communists, we much prefer the word "patriotism" to the more ambiguous "nationalism". Having said that, the analysis that patriotic or nationalist movements are completely reactionary seems to us to be completely disconnected from our own reality. At the same time, this was not the preferred approach in the days of the 3rd Communist International. We'd like to think that

the Nazis, like most extreme right-wing movements, used the term "nationalist" for themselves (they also called themselves "socialists", hence the term "national-socialist") was just another imposture, since all fascists then (and now) were, and remain, first and foremost instruments in the hands of big business.

Who else, throughout the whole of the 2nd World War, worked tirelessly to defend the interests of peoples and nations, if not first and foremost the communists themselves? And not just in certain countries, but wherever these fascists had invaded large parts of the planet, as in Asia.

Wherever the issue arose, there was no hesitation in appealing not only to the working people, but also to the nation, and in calling for a patriotic war against these same fascists.

And who else, if not the communists and the USSR, played a major role in inspiring, encouraging and supporting the struggle to decolonize the Third World?

* * *

Today, all this seems a long way off in the eyes of many. It's as if capitalism, now in its supreme stage of imperialism, with what is now also known as capitalist globalization, meant that national issues were now settled, or almost all settled, and that wanting and continuing to insist on ever-greater attention being paid to these issues had become not only outdated, but retrograde and out of touch with reality, when in fact the opposite is true.

To this we should also add the fact that the process of decolonization, which began mainly at the end of

the 2nd World War, is still largely incomplete. Even if the right to self-determination is now widely recognized by the United Nations as a fundamental right, it must also be acknowledged that this right is still flouted by many member countries of this same organization.

The other argument, supposedly the most convincing, that capitalist globalization renders increasingly obsolete the need to strengthen nations, and their respective sovereignty, doesn't hold water either. In fact, the presence and strengthening of nations is becoming no less pressing, but on the contrary, more necessary than ever, precisely to combat the afflictions of this globalization.

Failure to understand this can only make you, whether you like it or not, an accomplice to globalization, as well as an accomplice to maintaining the status quo of the current world order.

* * *

There was a time when Communists weren't so afraid to talk about all this. Still in the days of the 3rd Communist International, we went even further, characterizing even struggles against national oppression as reserves for revolution, in the same way as struggles against the oppression of women, or struggles against fascism, or the struggle for peace, because of their ability to engage all sorts of other sections of society in the revolutionary process, far beyond the working class alone. Not only that, but all these struggles always have the potential to challenge, wherever they may erupt, the established order that allowed such scourges to spread in the first place and, above all, to continue to consolidate.

Proof of this is provided by the fact that many socialist revolutions were initially developed on the basis of one or more of these same struggles, all of which had the characteristic of being multi-classist.

* * *

We Quebec communists are also convinced that we will never be able to achieve anything truly constructive and lasting in our fight for socialism if we don't also take to heart, from the outset, the struggle for our own national rights.

One of the arguments often used to stifle these same areas of struggle is the fact that, at the same time, there are a number of people who are often closely associated with extreme right-wing movements. But here again, such arguments don't really hold water.

For one thing, you'll always find far-right people just about everywhere, and if that's all you had to rely on, there'd be nothing left to do. Far-right movements literally hate anything progressive, anything reminiscent of the left, and they hate communists and their program for socialism even more.

But will this prevent them from reaching out to workers, where they gather and organize, just so they can more effectively (in their minds still) counter left-wing advances? Of course not.

Secondly, and assuming that they do indeed end up taking up more and more space in these same movements, based on their own particularly fraudulent program, then far from discouraging us, this should convince us to work even harder within these same movements to combat their ideas too.

Yes, in many places (such as the Ukraine), fascist forces are making full use of a form of nationalism to further their particularly reactionary aims. And not without a certain irony, this very particular "nationalism" also seems to be increasingly popular with many of our "thinking" elites in many countries. This is all to be expected, given that this type of "nationalism" serves the forces of reaction and the status quo, both at home and on the international stage.

But should this lead us to question our own attitude towards all other nationalist or patriotic movements, especially since such movements,

such as those in Ukraine, are above all completely perverted? Absolutely not. In any case, such a generalization would be more metaphysical than reasoned.

* * *

Some may be surprised to hear us say this, but it's still true, and brings us back to what we said earlier about how national struggles can often also be a reserve for revolution. Yes, and depending on how the situation develops, they could just as easily end up becoming a reserve for counter-revolution. But this will depend more on who's in charge, within that same movement, than on whether that same movement is reactionary by nature. Almost innately so.

* * *

As mentioned above, the struggle for our national rights may no longer be posed in exactly the same way, for many peoples and nations, since some of you have indeed become sovereign, some for a long time, though their sovereignty often remains more formal than anything else. But everywhere, the question of sovereignty, whether already achieved or not, continues to arise, not less so, but with even greater acuity. At home, this means saying loud and clear: "For independence and socialism in Quebec". Elsewhere, it could take other forms, except that almost everywhere, we agree, the question of sovereignty remains front and center.

Yes, in the United States, which continues to outrageously dominate the rest of the world, the question can't really be asked, but it's like the exception that proves the rule.

Unsurprisingly, it's often the same people who don't understand any of this, who seem just as incapable of understanding what might be happening on the international stage, and who are often on the wrong side of the fence when it comes to taking a stand on this or that position. We refer in particular to the famous war in Ukraine.

Many people are quick to cry out that national

movements could include not only workers, but also many petty-bourgeois and even bourgeois citizens.

* * *

Far be it from us to pretend that tensions between different social classes in the same nation, which would always be in the position of the dominated rather than the dominant, wouldn't also end up reverberating within all the different nationalist movements. Because that's obviously not the case, as can be seen from everything that's been said above, and at the same time it's quite normal.

When elements of a certain social class, the bourgeoisie for example, finally decide to intervene more in the defense of our sovereignty, whether to claim it (if it still doesn't exist, even on paper), they obviously make their own contribution with their own class visions.

But should this make us forget our own ultimate goals: socialism and communism? Absolutely not.

What we do note is that right-wing bourgeois elements can just as easily go off on left-wing tangents, depending on events, while the reverse can be just as true, by the way.

Which also leads us to say that not all nationalist-type struggles are to be treated in the same way, either.

When, at the same time, it's clear that a struggle to better defend our sovereignty, or to acquire our full independence once and for all, when we don't even have it yet, or to choose the kind of future we want and with whom we'd like to build it, when all this contributes objectively and clearly to pushing back the forces of imperialism, as is currently the case in the Donbass, as well as in Crimea, to speak more specifically of these 2 regions, then we shouldn't hesitate to take sides with such struggles.

When peoples rise up against old diktats and demand not only an end to injustice, but also greater sovereignty for themselves, as has been the case for years in South America, but also in

Asia, and increasingly in Africa, even if by means that others might describe as different from what we ourselves have become accustomed to, then it should be just as much the case.

Here in Quebec, we would also claim that the struggle for our own independence would not only have enormous potential to challenge the power of Canadian imperialism, as well as that of neighboring American imperialism, but could just as well contribute to the development of other potentially equally revolutionary contestations throughout the rest of the American continent.

Unsurprisingly, the American authorities have always been against this independence project, and remain so today. The various changes of government in Washington, whether Democrat or Republican, have followed one another over the years, without ever changing this line of conduct towards us. That should tell you a lot.

Just know that we don't really have the choice of having to fight on this other terrain at the same time, but that doesn't scare us from the rest. We hope that these few comments, drawn from our own experience in Quebec, will be of benefit to many others, elsewhere in the world.

For us, internationalism and patriotism need not be systematically opposed. Both can in fact complement each other, and communists can and should play a role in achieving this.

How we achieve this will be a matter for each of the different revolutionary forces, in each country and nation. Because even if our struggle is, by its very nature, international, at the same time we have to recognize that it will necessarily also have a primarily national dimension.

Only in this way can we build even more solidly the unity of all revolutionary forces across the planet.

We are equally opposed to the idea that one party or group of parties should have the only "right line", and that those who disagree should be sidelined.

We are equally opposed to the attitude that the end always justifies the means, and who would therefore also be prepared to endanger our places of exchange, just because they couldn't tolerate anyone disagreeing with them.

Proletarians, oppressed peoples and nations, unite!

Long live the unity of communist and anti-imperialist movements worldwide!

The Central Executive Committee of the PCQ

Consideration

It's not just about Quebec independence, but about the whole anti-imperialist content of defending and taking into account the sovereignty of peoples that is explained in our text...

This is the angle from which we want to address the question. This is fundamental, because some claim that nationalism contributed to the dismantling of Yugoslavia and the USSR. But it was its reactionary aspect as a reserve for counter-revolution that came into play. When we say that the nation, and its defense as an independent and sovereign entity, is a reserve of revolution, as stipulated by the Third International, it is to insist that socialism, the regime destined to replace imperialism in those parts of the world where communists are leading the national struggle, has no future unless it takes the nation into account.

If the struggles of the Republic of North Korea and China for their national integrity, sovereignty and independence have an anti-imperialist meaning and character, it is precisely because they take into account the national entity as a whole, and not just the separate part of the nation.

In our struggle to have Quebec's national rights recognized in the face of Canadian communists, we have come up against accusations of narrow nationalism. These communists, we were told, did not want to recognize the revolutionary vocation, in Canada and the world, of Quebec's national

struggle. In the same way, those who identify all nationalism with the right or the extreme right make the fundamental error of neglecting this fundamental question for the socialist revolution in their country and in the world.

This is opportunism and revisionism in the sense that it revises essential considerations of Marxism-Leninism on the question of who leads and orients the revolution towards socialism and its consolidation, in China and Korea, for example.

If war breaks out between Taiwan and China, or between North and South Korea, the Third World War will take on the character of a struggle against the ultimate liberation of these two countries from American imperialism. Similarly, Quebec's national liberation struggle will take an anti-imperialist turn in Canada, weakening its position as a puppet state of the United States. Quebec's liberation struggle, seen as a national liberation struggle, in the same way as China's struggle for complete independence by freeing Taiwan from the clutches of U.S. imperialism, is in principle an anti-imperialist struggle, and those who do not recognize this find themselves limited in their vision of the socialist revolution, because they overlook a fundamental reserve of this revolution, thus risking the national struggle falling into the camp of counter-revolution led by the extreme right or ultranationalists, as in Ukraine, i.e. in its reactionary aspects.

Russia's struggle, like Quebec's struggle for independence, has an eminently anti-imperialist character, since it is the basis of another struggle for socialism, of which it is a reserve.

That's why our text addresses the anti-imperialist nature of the national struggle, opportunism in the international communist movement on this question, and revisionism in that it reviews the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism elaborated and completed by the Third International under Dimitrov's leadership.

The ideological struggle on this question makes

a clear distinction between right-wing nationalism and revolutionary nationalism (or patriotism), since both are distinguished by whether or not they contribute to the preservation of socialism or its advent in countries where it has not yet been achieved.

Forward Ever, Backward Never! Contradictions, Transformations, and Lines of Demarcation Within the International Communist Movement

Christopher J. Helali | Party of Communists USA

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Distinguished Comrades and Friends,
On behalf of the Party of Communists USA, I bring the warmest greetings, solidarity, and best wishes for the success of this conference of the World Anti-imperialist Platform in Athens, Greece. We salute you!

Dedication

It is not only very fitting for us to meet in Athens, Greece for the Fifth Meeting of the World Anti-imperialist Platform meeting, but for me, our meeting is also very personal. It was here in Athens in December 1944, months before the victory banner flew atop the Reichstag in Berlin, where the first major imperialist intervention of what would eventually be called “the Cold War” took place. British troops, and their monarcho-fascist proxies, opened fire on peaceful demonstrators of the National Liberation Front (EAM) and the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). The massacre prompted EAM to issue a general call to arms under the slogan “everyone to arms, everyone to the barricades”. The ensuing brutal combat turned these narrow streets around us into a battlefield replete with barricades and cobbled together fortifications. The heroic resistance was unable to

overcome the imperialist and fascist assault and by January had all but been defeated. A month later, the Treaty of Varkiza led to the demilitarization of much of EAM-ELAS, exposing resistance fighters to intimidation, harassment, arrest, torture, and murder.

It was at this time when my great-uncle Yiorgos Kasidakos, a communist partisan with the 3rd Battalion, 8th Regiment of ELAS in the Parnona mountains of Lakonia who had fought the fascists for years, was arrested for having been a part of ELAS. He was imprisoned in Gytheio with many other communists and former members of ELAS. On March 21, 1947, while the Greek Civil War was raging across the country, Yiorgos and approximately 31 other prisoners were brutally massacred in Gytheio and buried in an unknown mass grave. I honor his legacy. Let us take a moment to remember and honor all the people of Greece who struggled, and continue to struggle, against imperialism and fascism. We honor their memory as we collectively struggle to destroy imperialism once and for all.

Introduction: One War, Multiple Fronts

Under the banner of “one war, two fronts”, we met in South Korea in the midst of the brutal onslaught of the US-EU-NATO imperialist axis on the Russian Federation. We recognized that the imperialist war being fought by the United States, its Western allies, and regional lackeys, was taking place on two main fronts. The first front, the Eastern European front, is centered in Ukraine as the US-EU-NATO proxy

against Russia. The second front, the Pacific/East Asian front, is centered on Taiwan and South Korea as the US proxies against China, Russia, and the DPRK. Recent developments require us to further expand our understanding of the fronts in this imperialist war.

I believe we can now identify five major fronts in the ongoing and expanding US-EU-NATO imperialist war. First, the Eastern European front centered in Ukraine remains the same. The Ukrainian offensive which was preemptively heralded as a victory in the Western mainstream media has produced no major results on the battlefield. In fact, multiple Russian counteroffensives are underway. Second, the Pacific/East Asian front centered on South Korea and Taiwan, are slowly heating up. The DPRK and Russia have grown closer in recent months, deepening their bilateral political, economic, and military relations. Third, the Middle East and North African front, centered on Palestine, Syria, and Iran, to Western Sahara, reveal the ongoing genocidal and settler-colonial policies of the Zionist entity, an outpost of US-EU-NATO imperialism and colonialism in the region, and its regional lackeys including Morocco. Fourth, the West African front, centered on anti-imperialist countries like Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso, find themselves in the crosshairs of US-EU-NATO imperialism, notably AFRICOM, the U.S. military command that seeks to dominate the African continent. Fifth, the Latin American front centered on Cuba, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and other anti-imperialist countries like Bolivia. These countries find themselves directly confronting U.S. domination that justifies its ongoing destabilizing and interventionist role in Latin America via the Monroe Doctrine.

In all of these fronts the US-EU-NATO imperialist axis uses a wide variety of tools including covert operations, sanctions, color revolutions, funding pro-Western NGOs, dissident academics, pro-

Western media, and funding and supporting anarchic, “anti-authoritarian”, and nihilistic art and cultural programs. The arsenal of the Euro-Atlantic imperialist axis uses liberalism, human rights, and democracy promotion as a guise for the ruthless and brutal regime change operations, the aim of which is the complete domination and exploitation of periphery countries. Sovereignty and independence are exchanged for a clientelist and rentier type state where control of their natural resources and economic development are in the hands of multinational corporations in the West. This only proves what V. I. Lenin rightly noted over a century ago, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism.

Lines of Demarcation

The international communist movement over the past decade has experienced extraordinary contradictions and, what I call, lines of demarcation. I have identified six major lines of demarcation that continue to divide the international communist movement today. For purposes of understanding and ease, I will attempt to address them in a somewhat chronological order.

The so-called “Arab Spring” in 2011 was an axial moment for the Middle East and North Africa. Uprisings throughout the region were in large part organized and orchestrated by the US-EU-NATO axis and their regional proxies. Popular discontent against the U.S. backed Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak was weaponized in other parts of the Arab world, notably in Syria where Western intelligence agencies and their Zionist and Arab proxies sought to destabilize the government of Bashar al-Assad. While the international communist movement was for the most part united in their condemnation of the US-EU-NATO led illegal war against Libya and the overthrow of Muammar Qaddafi, the situation in Syria was far more complicated. Thus, the first line of demarcation is Syria where numerous

communist parties have noted to varying degrees that the war in Syria is not necessarily a regime change operation or an all-out assault on an anti-imperialist country but rather an inter-imperialist conflict, where Russia, Iran, and to a lesser extent China are challenging the US-EU-NATO and their regional allies, including Israel and the Gulf states, for control of Syrian natural resources and access to the Syrian market. This position is absolutely absurd and should be outright condemned for its obfuscation of the far more nefarious reasons for US-EU-NATO intervention and occupation in Syria. Moreover, the Communist Party of Greece's theory of the "imperialist pyramid", which provides ideological cover to this perspective, must continually and unceasingly be subject to ruthless criticism.

The second line of demarcation is that of China. There remains pronounced disagreement amongst communist and workers' parties around the world as to the nature of the Chinese economy and the role of China in international affairs. Parties like the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the Communist Party of Mexico (PCM) see China as a capitalist country, not a socialist one, and moreover, see it as an imperialist power. This perspective neither recognizes "socialism with Chinese characteristics" nor "market socialism" as distinct transformations in the capitalist mode of production but rather as mere cover for capitalist restoration in China. There are other parties, many of whom are represented here, which recognize "socialism with Chinese characteristics" as an aspect of socialist development and see China as a progressive force in the world, not as an imperialist power. We recognize that the Communist Party of China still controls most aspects of the Chinese economy, where state owned enterprises and banks are still under central state control. The CPC's position at the commanding heights allows it to place the interests of the people and the nation

above the interests of shareholders and business owners.

The third line of demarcation can be broadly described as the various social issues, notably LGBTQ+ rights. The international communist movement is split regarding LGBTQ+ rights. There are some parties that reject the need for LGBTQ+ rights citing Marxist theory, social order, cultural heritage, family values, and what has been described as homo- or queer-imperialism, that is, the imposition of LGBTQ+ rights and values by Western powers as part of the broader cultural imperialism imposed by the West on countries primarily in the Global South. Other parties see LGBTQ+ rights as essential to collective liberation and an ongoing struggle for rights that goes back to Lenin and the earliest days of the Soviet Union. I would argue that this issue has been artificially elevated by forces seeking disorder and chaos within the broader communist movement, seeking to turn the struggles against imperialism and fascism, into broader cultural struggles. Our primary task at this point in history, comrades, is the struggle against imperialism. This is an existential necessity in a nuclear age. These social questions are ultimately issues better left to the internal affairs of individual parties and nations to decide as needed in the course of their development.

The fourth line of demarcation is the response to the COVID-19 pandemic. When the virus emerged in Wuhan, China, the origin of which is still a mystery, nations around the world started to enact emergency legislation to strengthen state powers in various capitalist states. The capitalists never allow a crisis to go to waste. In the West, the pharmaco-medical industrial complex was provided with tremendous resources and financial backing. They were able to use military technology and resources to rapidly produce various vaccines with technologies that had not been properly vetted

or tested on humans. Philosophers like Giorgio Agamben correctly pointed out the dangers to this new and enhanced “state of exception”. Mandates and lockdowns, especially in Western countries, became normal as people were forced to isolate in their homes that quickly turned into prison cells, especially in major cities. The failure of many communist parties to criticize the pharmaceutical industrial complex, to challenge the rapid rollout of new technologies and vaccines, as well as to stand against mandates and lockdowns in the West is a failure on a historic level. At a time when many people needed the communists to speak for their rights, their dignity, and to protect them from gross violations by both the capitalist state and the medical monopolies, they were mostly let down in the West by many parties who simply parroted capitalist media and health department talking points. The COVID-19 pandemic laid bare the ongoing struggles between capitalist health systems, economies, and governments and socialist ones. It is safe to assume that if the capitalist state and the pharmaceutical monopolies are not to be trusted in other instances, than they should still be looked at with tremendous suspicion in the midst of a pandemic. This is not meant to deny vaccine technology or efficacy. Vaccines over history have been proven to work in many cases. Rather, it is to challenge the blind allegiance of many parties to the state, its apparatuses, and its health mandates, especially in capitalist countries where profits come before people. Only a socialist state that places people before profits, that allows vaccine technology to be open, transparent, and collective rather than personal intellectual property or a secret technology, and severely curtails abuses by various industries, can be trusted with the people’s general welfare.

The fifth line of demarcation is, of course, the special military operation in Ukraine. The situation in Eastern Europe has divided communist and

workers’ parties around the world. On one side is the Communist Party of Greece and its allies who see the war as an inter-imperialist war, and loudly proclaim both no to Washington and Moscow. On the other side are the parties and our platform who see this war not as an inter-imperialist one but as an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist war. The war did not begin in 2022 but had been ongoing since the US-EU-NATO backed fascist coup in 2014. We see contemporary Ukraine not as an independent country but as a vassal state and proxy of the US-EU-NATO imperialist axis. In Ukraine, Banderism has emerged as the state ideology replete with anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, and Russophobia. Regrettably, during this period of the Russian anti-fascist struggle, the Communist Party of Greece has played a negative role internationally. The KKE unilaterally abolished the European Initiative of Communist and Workers’ Parties in September 2023 over disagreements related to Russia’s SMO.

- The Attack on the PCUSA

Moreover, the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and its regional ally, the Communist Party of Mexico (PCM), have attacked our party over our support for the Russian anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle. In February 2022, I issued a statement on behalf of the international department outlining our support for Russia in its military confrontation of fascists and neo-Nazis including the Azov Battalion and Right Sector. The ongoing genocide of the Russian speaking population in the Donbass had gone on for eight years. The need to militarily defeat Banderism was an existential necessity. Concordantly, Russia has an existential duty to stop the expansion of NATO on its border. After my statement was released, a faction developed that supported the KKE’s line on the conflict. Eventually, the faction split from our party in the middle of the night, stealing our social media, email accounts, and some of our financial resources. This has led to a prolonged

legal battle with these factionalists. What is even more interesting was the revelation that those that split from our party on two separate instances were all invited to the Communist Party of Mexico's meeting in Mexico. The factions attended in full force, with three of them personally attending. The two new organizations are backed by the KKE and PCM, issuing statements against the World Anti-imperialist Platform, the PCUSA, and slandering me personally. They have also published these slanderous and vitriolic statements on In Defense of Communism. These so-called parties exist for no other reason than to be the US based face of the KKE and the PCM as they continue to slander our party and this platform. We will not be deterred by these attacks. Our work is essential. The growth of this platform indicates not only our correct line but our collective strength. We are truly on the right side of history.

The sixth and final line of demarcation is Palestine. The Palestinian people continue to face the brutal, inhumane, and barbaric occupation, and apartheid regime of the Zionist state. For over 70 years, Palestinians have faced massacres, ethnic cleansing, displacement, nightly raids, surveillance, imprisonment, torture, humiliations, terror, and unspeakable horrors. Millions of Palestinians in the West Bank are subjected to an illegal military occupation that has gone on for over 50 years. Millions of Palestinians in Gaza are caged on a small strip of land that has rightly been described as the largest open-air prison in the world. The Zionist regime weaponizes aid, medicine, and humanitarian relief while allowing its military and settlers to bulldoze homes, steal Palestinian property, kill livestock, destroy Olive groves, and steal natural resources, most importantly, water. While many communist and workers' parties still advocate for a two-state solution, the Zionist regime itself does not want a two-state solution. For the Zionists, the only people allowed self-determination

“from the river to the sea” are the Jewish people. The Soviet Union and the socialist and anti-imperialist states were correct when they drafted and passed the historic United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379 that declared Zionism as a form of racism. It's revocation in 1991 is part of the larger tragedy of the counter-revolution and liquidationist policies of the Soviet Union before it ceased to exist at the end of that year. Our task is to support the Palestinian resistance and to aid in the liberation of Palestine “from the river to the sea”. It is up to the Palestinian people to choose their future, be it a two-state, one-state, or con/federated state solution.

Conclusion: Lessons for the Future

Comrades and Friends,

Our historical duty is to unceasingly confront US-EU-NATO imperialism and all of its proxies around the world. This represents the greatest threat to humanity today. Given the terminal decline of the United States and the West, the possibility of war and nuclear confrontation grows day by day. Our collective existence under the sword of Damocles is unsustainable. At some point the thread will give and we will be faced with annihilation. Given the various fronts and lines of demarcation facing the international communist and workers' movement today, we must sharpen our ideological positions and prepare for a prolonged ideological war with those who choose revisionism, opportunism, and factionalism. Our strategy is to be united in confronting imperialism under the banner of the World Anti-Imperialist Platform. We must continue to provide solidarity to the peoples of the Donbass, of Palestine, Korea, China, Cuba, Venezuela, Zimbabwe, Iran, Syria, Western Sahara and all oppressed peoples and nations who struggle for their liberation from imperialism, fascism, and capitalism. We must heighten and deepen our struggle against the US-EU-NATO imperialist axis,

the greatest threat to world peace. Only through the final confrontation with Euro-Atlantic imperialism can we open the possibility of constructing socialism-communism and building a lasting world peace for all.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM,
AND ZIONISM!

DOWN WITH THE US-EU-NATO IMPERIALIST
AXIS!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE
AND THE HEROIC PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE!

GLORY AND HONOR TO THE PALESTINIAN
MARTYRS!

LONG LIVE PALESTINE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONAL-
ISM!

VICTORY TO THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRU-
GGLES AROUND THE WORLD!

VENCEREMOS!

Declaration Of The Sovereignty Of Peoples

Dynamique Unitaire Panafricaine

On the scale of human history, the transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism seems to represent progress for most African countries following independence. Under pressure from popular struggles, the colonisers had to relinquish their direct or indirect control over the colonised peoples and concede “formal independence”. As a result, many colonies gained international sovereignty, even though, before physically leaving, the colonisers put in place mechanisms (the Colonial Pact, FrançAfrique for France and the Commonwealth for the British Crown) that enabled them to pursue their policies of pillage and domination through local agents at their service.

It is worth recalling here the harmful role and function of imperialism on our continent: a quasi-permanent military presence, the perpetuation of the ongoing plundering of Africa linked to the nature of the capitalist system, which is to constantly increase its profits. It is also important to emphasise that we (pan-African progressives) must equip ourselves with grassroots organisations with political programmes that are equal to the challenges and embody the interests and deep aspirations of the people, breaking with the dominant economic and social model. Given the nature of this meeting, an anti-imperialist conference, we wanted to say this loud and clear.

Imperialism has also put in place tools of domination and means of pressure that still dictate the conduct of many formally sovereign states today: the IMF and the World Bank, to name but a few.

This development has given former colonies rights enshrined in international institutions. The origin of these rights dates back to the French Revolution of 1789 with the “Declaration of the Rights of Man

and of the Citizen”, which was specified by the UN “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” in 1948 and completed by the “African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights” of the OAU, now the African Union, in June 1981. These texts recognise the rights of all countries that have acceded to international sovereignty (large or small, weak or powerful, developed or backward), the defence of which is the responsibility of the citizens of each country.

Human rights

There can be no sovereignty of peoples without respect for human rights, because it is free men who bring to life and defend the sovereignty of peoples. These rights are enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and essentially concern the rights of the human person, of individuals. These include freedom of thought, expression, opinion, association, religion and assembly; the right to health, education, life and work; the right to participate in the conduct of the public affairs of one’s country—in short, everything that contributes to the development of every human being. The fight to defend human rights is a daily and permanent struggle, as governments in all countries generally tend to restrict or even abolish them.

The Rights of Peoples

It is above all the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights which, while taking up the rights of the human person, specifies the rights of peoples more clearly, in particular in Articles 19 and 20, which state:

“Article 19 All peoples are equal; they enjoy the same dignity and have the same rights. Nothing can

justify the domination of one people by another.

Article 20 (1) All peoples have the right to exist. All peoples have an unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination. They shall freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development along the lines which they have freely chosen. (2) Colonised or oppressed peoples have the right to liberate themselves from their state of domination by any means recognised by the International Community...”

This is the theoretical legal basis offered to citizens of colonised, neo-colonised or oppressed countries to fight for the recognition and respect of their peoples’ rights to dignity and sovereignty. Without these struggles, these recognised theoretical rights will never have a real existence. Citizens who engage in these struggles will be recognised as consistent democrats and patriots.

The rights of peoples are essentially based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each country and the inalienable right to self-determination. Fighting for the right to freely choose one’s leaders, to vote and to be eligible to participate in the governance of one’s country, means defending the political and civic sovereignty of one’s People or of the nationalities of one’s country. To fight for a national currency or to steer your country’s economic policy in such a way as to satisfy the fundamental needs of your fellow citizens as a matter of priority, against foreign predators and interests, is to defend the monetary and economic sovereignty of your people. To fight for education in our mother tongues and the preservation of the positive values of our traditions against the imposition of foreign languages and cultures is to defend the linguistic and cultural sovereignty of the peoples or nationalities of one’s country.

Limits and obstacles to the sovereignty of

peoples

The enjoyment of individual freedoms and the assertion of sovereignty are never absolute. Just as individuals are led to impose limits on themselves in order to preserve social cohesion, so States, for reasons of economic efficiency, regional security and peaceful coexistence, may agree to delegate sovereignty (common currency, common regional markets, for example).

Through their behaviour, the imperialist powers appear to be the main enemies and an obstacle to the sovereignty of peoples. Behind the proclamation of fine ethical principles universally accepted, these powers practise the law of the strongest to impose the prevalence of their interests over those of the weakest. They blithely flout the principle of non-interference and the right to self-determination, and regularly violate the sovereignty of peoples through aggression, military intervention, the installation of military bases, destabilisation manoeuvres, the organisation of coups d’état, and the imposition of leaders at their service to defend their selfish interests.

The behaviour of French governments is an eloquent illustration of this. They may threaten to withdraw their occupying forces (Barkhane) from Mali and want to prevent the Malian authorities from seeking other alliances to defend their country, in order to make themselves indispensable and continue their blackmail. They are flying to the aid of their ousted agent Bazoum to demand his immediate release and impose the organisation of “inclusive elections” within a very short timeframe. Their aim is to take advantage of the networks still in place to bring their agents back to power and ensure that they enjoy impunity for the crimes they have committed against their own people. These manoeuvres and threats of sanctions by the imperialists vary according to the level of control they have over the putschists, as shown by the differences observed in the cases of Mali, Chad,

Guinea and Burkina Faso. The pitiful performances of the regional organisations (ECOWAS, AU and others) show that they are no more than water carriers in the service of outside powers. The same French authorities know how to use noble principles that they do not respect for others, to protest and denounce the behaviour of outside forces when their interests and honour or so-called values are at stake. Thus the intervention of Italian politicians alongside their French allies to denounce the government's policy was considered intolerable interference in French internal affairs and led to a diplomatic crisis, with the French Ambassador to Italy being recalled. The governments of the other imperialist powers, and particularly those of the United States of America, are also identical, as illustrated by several of their political and military interventions in the world.

As regards the French-speaking African countries south of the Sahara in general and Benin in particular, the post-colonial agreements show how France constitutes a great danger to the integrity of these countries and has been a real obstacle to their development for over 60 years, to the detriment of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The above shows that there is a big gap between the proclamation of fine principles of sovereignty of peoples supported by modern ethics and their concrete application. But their theoretical existence is already a step forward. Only the struggle of the peoples and the determination of patriots to wage these battles can make them a reality for the emancipation and happiness of the peoples of the world.

“The best or worst shout against imperialism is to take up arms and fight”

Imani Na Umoja | African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)

INTRODUCTION

Revolutionary Greetings and salutes!

We sincerely thank the organizers of this historic conference. The only way that we can pay you back is by taking the resolutions and putting them into practice among our People at all levels, but especially at the Base where our People live and struggle in the villages, cities and communities.

RISING TIDE OF WORLD WAR

There is a rising tide of world war that must be confronted by tidal waves of Anti-imperialists that swallow up the tides of imperialists. This must be done by organizing at all levels from the Base to the intermediate, central and international levels, but with emphasis on the Bases!

PAIGC REVOLUTIONARY PAN-AFRICANIST MASS PARTY GUIDED BY AMÍLCAR CABRAL THOUGHT IS A SOCIALIST PARTY

The African Party of Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the revolutionary Pan-Africanist Mass Party guided by Amílcar Cabral Thought is a socialist Party that is honored to be together with other socialist and communist Parties to learn from each other and intensify coordination against the rising tide of world war. Together revolutionary forces will out power imperialist waves with revolutionary socialist tsunamis.

We are more conscious than ever that mere shouting will not create the necessary tidal wave against imperialism. As our People say in their proverbs; “...Thunder is not afraid of wind.”

SHOUTING INSULTS AGAINST IMPERIALISM WILL NOT DEFEAT IT

At the first Tricontinental Conference held in Cuba in January 1966—that brought together more than 260 Delegates from more than 70 revolutionary organizations of Africa, Asia and Latin America—our Immortal Brother and Comrade Amílcar Cabral, Secretary General of the PAIGC and speaking on behalf of CONCP (Conference of National Organizations in the Portuguese Colonies) said that; “the objective of national liberation, is to reclaim the right, usurped by imperialist domination, namely: the liberation of the process of development of national productive forces...”

“...We are not going to use this platform to rail against imperialism. An African saying very common in our country says: ‘When your house is burning, it’s no use beating the tom-toms.’ On a Tricontinental level, this means that we are not going to eliminate imperialism by shouting insults against it. For us, the best or worst shout against imperialism, whatever its form, is to take up arms and fight. This is what we are doing, and this is what we will go on doing until all foreign domination of our African homelands has been totally eliminated...”

IDEALS AND CORRECT LINES

As the theme of this important conference reconfirms, we Anti-imperialists have historic tasks, and these tasks must be guided by theory: ideals and correct lines to reinforce the communist camp, and larger revolutionary front against imperialism; theory put into practice.

Amílcar Cabral reminds us that “...every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a

revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory...”

Those who absorb revolutionary theories and put them into honest practice among our People are transformed into self-conscious revolutionaries. Logically self-conscious revolutionaries become attracted to each other by magnetic energy, as we are today in this conference.

HISTORY IS A GUIDE

History is a guide. Properly analyzed from a historical materialist perspective allows us to not repeat the same mistakes that have already happened. For example, after the physical disappearance of the great eternal revolutionary Karl Marx, his close comrade Friedrich Engels wrote a letter on 21 September 1891 to a young student named J.Bloch:

“...According to the materialist conception of history, the ultimately determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase...”

CONSCIOUSNESS leads practice. Revolutionary theory leads revolution and serves as a strong determining element in production and reproduction of real life.

Just like you emphasize the priority of ideals and correct lines to reinforce the communist camp, and larger revolutionary front against imperialism, so does Amílcar Cabral and the PAIGC.

“...we must recognize that we ourselves and the other liberation movements in general (referring here above all to the African experience) have not managed to pay sufficient attention to this important problem of our common struggle.

The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements—which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform—constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all. We believe, however, that a sufficient number of different experiences have already been accumulated to enable us to define a general line of thought and action with the aim of eliminating this deficiency. A full discussion of this subject could be useful, and would enable this conference to make a valuable contribution towards strengthening the present and future actions of the national liberation movements. This would be a concrete way of helping these movements, and in our opinion no less important than political support or financial assistance for arms and suchlike...”

OUR REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IS THE POLITICAL MANIFESTATION OF OUR PEOPLE’S CULTURE

The conference organizers give us a general summary of the reflections that were deepened by international conferences and seminars over the last year and the three main objectives of the Anti-imperialist platform. There are a number of other analyses that can also be added to it, but the conclusions are still the same.

Thus it’s not necessary to repeat the analysis on the intense changes in the struggle against imperialism in all its forms of neo-colonialism, zionism, neo-liberalism.

As our Eternal leader Amílcar Cabral reminds us, “...our challenge is to not merely shout against imperialism, but rather to struggle to defeat it...” Many of our organizations have taken up arms. In our case, it was a People’s War with armed militants led by a revolutionary Pan-Africanist Party that used the Liberated Zones as a nucleus of

the new State; ideologically and politically training socialist new wo/men, while building socialism, giving concrete support to Angola, Palestine, Mozambique, Timor-Leste, et al.

In short, our revolutionary party is the political manifestation of our People's culture.

We have been part of political coordination, sometimes more intensely and other times less. Our challenge is to transform the less to more and intensify our political coordination. Amílcar Cabral instructs us to "...struggle against our own weaknesses... Tell no lies, claim no easy victories, hide nothing from the People..."

TRAITORS

We suffered from imperialists attacks that used their strongest weapon: traitors.

Consequences of betrayal manifested in the weakening on all fronts. Yet despite the infiltration of neo-liberal policies; dismembering of the PAIGC Party-State, taking many of the PAIGC patrimony and gave to the State which some used against the PAIGC. Despite this, our culture continued to grow and revolutionaries reproduced themselves at the Base; in the Villages and Urban Neighborhoods.

NOT ENOUGH POLITICAL COORDINATION

While there is some political coordination, it is not enough. This conference provides a platform to increase it. As Cabral said at the 1st Tricontinental, "more than asking for weapons or materials, we should take advantage of our accumulated experiences to trace general lines of thought and action."

We must intensify our outreach to other anti-imperialist organizations.

COORDINATE AND SHARE THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS NEWS SOURCES

One of the main weaknesses is the source of (mis)information on the part of millions by the

imperialist zionist disinformation service. We must coordinate and share the anti-imperialists news sources, such as TeleSur TV, Cuba TV, and reproduce and increase them and make them become the primary source of information for the Masses throughout the world.

COORDINATE OUR IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING PROCESSES

We must coordinate our ideological training processes without dogma, and have systematic political ideological exchanges.

Amílcar Cabral reminds us that; "...People are sacrificing for better schools, access to health care, better lives and not of ideas in other people's heads..." This doesn't mean that we minimize ideological struggle. Practice has shown us that like Karl Marx said; "Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it..."

SERVE AS EXAMPLES OF COMPLETE HUMAN BEINGS

We must serve as examples of complete human beings, in the way that Amílcar Cabral described Vladimir Lenin;

"...a complete human being, he knew how to love and hate. Love the cause of man's liberation from any kind of oppression, the wonderful adventure that is human life, everything that is beautiful and constructive on the planet. Hating the enemies of man's progress and happiness, the class enemy, the opportunists, cowardice, lies, all the factors that debase man's social and moral conscience..."; "...an example of fidelity to principles. He knew how to make concessions on the form of demands, of axés, but never on principles..." *"...Lenin always demonstrated unlimited confidence in the abilities of the masses...any liberation movement needs a strategy..."*

"...When developing this strategy it is necessary

to be able to distinguish the essential from the secondary, the permanent from the temporary. Without ever confusing strategy and tactics, action must be based on a scientific conception of reality, regardless of the influence of subjective factors that must be faced...

"...Also on this level Lenin gave a very useful lesson to the liberation movements, to the freedom fighters. He was clearly aware of the value of unity as a necessary means of struggle, but not as an end in itself..."

"...On the other hand, Lenin was deeply aware of the need to know as best as possible, in the fight, the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy, as well as our own strengths and weaknesses. The Leninist conception of strategy implies that we must act to increase the enemy's weaknesses and transform his strengths into weaknesses and, simultaneously, preserve and reinforce our strengths and eliminate our weaknesses or transform them into strengths. This is possible through the permanent and dynamic alliance between theory and practice..."

"...Still at this point, Lenin's lesson is pertinent: he hated both blind empiricism and dogmas. Critical assimilation (of the knowledge or experiences of others) is as valid for life as it is for fighting. The thinking of others, philosophical or scientific — however lucid it may be—is just a basis that allows us to think and act, therefore, to create. To create the fight it is necessary to lead it, make every effort and accept the necessary sacrifices. The fight is not made of words but of daily, organized and disciplined action, of all valid elements..."

"...Demonstrating that, in a struggle, subjective difficulties are the most difficult to overcome, Lenin was aware of this reality: the struggle is made up of successes and failures, of victories and defeats, but it always advances and its phases, even the most identical, are never repeated, because the fight is a process and not an accident, a long-distance race and not a speed race: occasional defeats cannot

justify either demoralization or giving up, because even failures can be a starting point for new successes..."

Comrades, let us go forward onward to victory as complete human beings!

Everywhere there is an agent of imperialism, zionism or neo-colonialism, let us go forward with tidal waves to crush them!

A luta continua!

Victoria é Certa

Onward to Final Victory!

READY FOR THE REVOLUTION!

The Global Struggle Against Imperialism: Communist Party of Kenya, Perspective

Booker Ngesa Omole | Communist Party of Kenya

Esteemed comrades,

I stand before you today to address the critical issues facing not only Kenya but the broader African and global landscape. The theme of this conference, the “World Anti-imperialism Platform”, is both timely and emblematic of the challenges we face as anti-imperialists. As we gather here in Athens, a city steeped in revolutionary history, it is essential to reflect on the significance of the Greek Revolution and its continued relevance in our global struggle.

Kenyan Situation:

In Kenya, our people have long been engaged in a relentless battle against imperialism’s devastating effects. Our nation, like many others, has felt the oppressive weight of neoliberal globalization, leading to environmental destruction, poverty, disease, and ignorance. The corporate forces of globalization have consistently sought to exploit our resources, leading to severe socio-economic inequalities. The comprador government is the enemy of the Kenyan people.

As we stand on the precipice of environmental catastrophe, with our natural resources plundered and our communities marginalized, the imperative of our struggle becomes even more evident. Our people, particularly those who have borne the brunt of this exploitation, deserve justice, equity, and the opportunity to determine their own destiny. This alternative way is only achievable under socialism.

Significance of the Greek Revolution:

Today, in Athens, we cannot ignore the historical significance of the Greek Revolution and the ideological battle waged by leaders such as Nikos

Zachariadis. The struggle for national liberation and freedom in Greece bears a striking resemblance to our own battles against imperialism. In his open letters during the Greek-Italian war, Zachariadis emphasized the need for unity, an essential lesson for all anti-imperialist movements. Just as every rock, every river, and every village became a fortress of the national liberating war in Greece, our unity and solidarity will be our fortress against the forces of imperialism.

The Battle of Ideas:

In our global struggle against imperialism, the battle of ideas is as crucial as any other. We must foster unity within our organizations, drawing strength from our diversity. At the same time, we must wage an external battle of ideas to confront the capitalist logic perpetuated by imperialist forces. This battle is not limited to our ideological foes but extends to the hearts and minds of our communities, whose empowerment is our greatest weapon.

The International Landscape:

The Kenyan situation is not unique. Around the world, from Africa to Asia, Latin America to Europe, the cries of the oppressed resound. As we confront the dire consequences of imperialism, we must remember that our struggle is part of a global fight. Neoliberal globalization knows no borders, and our resistance must similarly be international in scope.

The Way Forward: So, what are our tasks as anti-imperialists?

First and foremost, we must continue our

internal struggle to solidify unity and strengthen our organizations. We must provide platforms for diverse voices to contribute to our common cause. The internal enemies are in revisionism and opportunism.

We must also amplify the voices of the marginalized, allowing their experiences and perspectives to shape our movements. This is a vital aspect of countering imperialism's narrative. Furthermore, our focus must be on ensuring that our people can enjoy the benefits of their own resources. The wealth and well-being of nations must serve the interests of the many, not the few.

Conclusion:

In closing, I'd like to leave you with this thought: the struggle against imperialism is a collective endeavour, transcending borders. As we remember the Greek Revolution and the tireless fight waged by Nikos Zachariadis, let us draw inspiration from the unity and determination that marked their path. Our goal is nothing less than a just and equitable world, free from the ravages of imperialism.

Our struggle is both local and global, and together, we will prevail!

The answer is socialism, let's build it today!

Dialectics and Indonesian specificity at the time of imperialism's agony

Humanity (Indonesia)

Revolutionary greetings!

First of all, let me thank the organizers of this meeting, and in particular the PDP, for the chance and honor to be able to participate, express my thoughts and feelings regarding the current situation in Indonesia. Of course, it is not about luck and honor for me personally, but for the struggling Indonesian people.

58 years have passed since the 1965 genocide, and the atrocities, arrests, torture and forced labor that followed it. Despite some attempts at home and abroad to revive it, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) is still waiting to make its comeback.

At certain times, like a ghost, it “resurrects”—we talk about it in the media, we see so-called “arrests” of members or successors of the PKI on TV. The information comes with photos, t-shirts, flags and other attributes of the PKI, with the hammer and sickle. Which is really ridiculous, because the PKI's attributes never came in yellow and red, but always in red and white. It is clear that all this is just an invention, in order to have once again the opportunity to frighten the people, to have a pretext to oppress them, to repress them, in other words, to perpetuate the fear and hatred towards the PKI. After being checked by our fellow artists involved in printing t-shirts, it turned out that it was true, 1,000 Vietnam-style T-shirts (in yellow and red) had been printed on the orders of someone close to a General DS. It's clear now.

Even more absurd are the raids on bookstores with confiscation of works supposed to “propagate the forbidden teachings of Marxism”. In 2019, the police and army even confiscated books attacking the PKI. Raids against books have even become counterproductive because they trigger reactions of growing solidarity from “pelapaks” (small book sellers or mobile booksellers). On the other

hand, this also proves that there is a growing interest among the population in books providing alternative versions of history.

Young people feel disorientated—they discover that for years they have been lied to, or that something has been hidden from them. From a young age in primary school, children were forced to watch the traumatic film “Pengkianatan G-30'S PKI” (“The Betrayal of the PKI”) every year for 13 years since 1984. And now they are discovering that the film is a pack of lies. The obligation to show this film at school was removed 4 months after the fall of Suharto, in September 1998. But some generals have still tried from time to time to reestablish this obligation.

58 years have gone—as dialectics tells us nothing is permanent, everything changes. Changes really have occurred, despite the wishes of those who governed Indonesia at the time. The fear and horror that once seemed to have penetrated even into the subconscious of the older generation (also called “the generation of victims”) and which, to a certain extent, still infect the younger generation, are beginning to fade little by little. We can say that, from the 2000s onwards, young people, even if they have sometimes been contaminated by fear, have increasingly wondered what they should be afraid of and why. Who were the real “bad guys”? The PKI or those who killed, imprisoned, tortured the PKI and even non-PKI members, the innocent man in the street? And what about their own parents—often a very painful issue—what role exactly did they play in this carnage? Were they the victims or the executioners? These young people no longer see communism as a terrible thing, like a ghost. They want to understand what really happened, they want to understand their history, the history of their country and the history

of their own family. Who was Bung Karno and why did he need to be overthrown, and by whom? By the communists, or rather by the imperialists? What was his relationship with the Non-Aligned Movement and in particular with communist countries such as the Soviet Union, China, as well as other third world countries? What were his relations with the PKI? Why, despite great pressure from the military and Suharto himself, did Sukarno not want to ban the PKI? Finally, who exactly were the PKI members?

Here, we see in a dialectical way, that this blindness imposed on the population, and in particular on the younger generation in order to manipulate it more easily, by the Suharto regime and successive governments (except the government of Abdurahman Wahid, who precisely wanted to restore the truth), encouraged this generation of millennials to reflect and seek the truth. That is to say, this blindness has eventually been dialectically transformed into its opposite, the search for truth. The great advantage of this new generation is that their brains are relatively “clean”, not cluttered by the fear, the horrors that their elders directly suffered.

First they are beginning to get interested in the stories of their elders. They question them in interviews, they do podcasts, they write on their sites. They seek and complete the information collected with documents and photos of their elders. Young people are reading books written by “Pram”, Pramoedya Ananta Tour, who was a great Indonesian writer detained in the Buru Island concentration camp for 13 years. Pram was a leader of LEKRA (Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat, an art workers’ organization close to the PKI). Young people are looking for books written by other LEKRA writers, they reread articles and books written by Sukarno and by PKI leaders before the genocide. Then, to better understand the Tragedy of 1965-66, they look to the books by foreign researchers who are more free to do their research, to write their opinions, such as works by Benedict Anderson, Daniel Lev, Geoffrey Robinson,

Jess Melvin and many others. They are looking up books written by survivors of hell, that is to say former prisoners, those called “ex-tapol”, (tapol = tahanan politik, political prisoner), concerning their detention and forced labor in New Order concentration camps. This is also why, although it is forbidden to ban books without any legal procedure—the law established after the Reformasi (popular movement which ousted Suharto and put Habibi in his place)—the government sends police officers to carry out raids from time to time, confiscating left-wing books which influence young people so much. The poor police officers surely do not know that we cannot prohibit human beings from thinking by prohibiting an idea. What’s more, they are not really familiar with left-wing literature.

In 2019, 20 years after the Reformasi of 1998, two students were victims of a first raid: Muntasir Billah (24 years old) and Saiful Anwar (25), members of a community called Vespa Literasi. They were arrested by the Kraksaan Police, Probolinggo, East Java, on a Saturday evening (7/27/2019) for running a free reading stall at Kraksaan Square. Among the confiscated books were “Two Faces of Dipa Nusantara”, “Walking the People’s Path”, Sukarno, “Marxism & Leninism” and D.N. Aidit: “Short Biography”. A week later, on Saturday (8/3/2019), another raid took place in Makassar, South Sulawesi, by a group of people calling themselves the Indonesian Muslim Brigade (BMI). They immediately grabbed books from Gramedia Trans Mall Makassar. They were, as one of the looters said in a circulating video, “looking for books with radical views”. But in fact, one of the books confiscated was a work by Frans Magnis-Suseno called “The Thoughts of Karl Marx: From Utopian Socialism to Revisionist Conflicts”, which in reality did not propagate communism at all. On the contrary, the content of the book is a refutation of the main ideas of Karl Marx, the founder of the ideology of communism.

The situation has changed—it is so different from the August 1989, when three young men Bonar Tigor Naipospos got 8.5 years, Bambang Isti

Nugroho got 8, and Bambang Subono 7 for selling Pram's "Bumi Manusia" ("Earth of Mankind") work.

We still remember how Pram's books were banned without any legal process. This was later revoked, but re-emerged with the banning of the book "Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30 Movement and the Soeharto Coup" by John Roosa. In 2009, the Attorney General's Office banned the book simply because it was considered disruptive to national stability. Another book that was also banned around this time was "LEKRA Doesn't Burn Books", written by Rhoma Dwi Aria Yuliantri and Muhidin M. Dahlan. Hilmar Farid took legal action against the ban on the book until it was lifted.

Let us go back to this millennial generation... Time goes by... We are in the era of digitalization: the search of young millennials has led to the birth of websites such as "1965 every day", "Heritage of memory", "FIS 65", "Remember 65". According to Andreas Iswinarto, regarding Tragedi 65, there are currently at least 70 films which can be found on YouTube, including fiction films, documentaries, interviews.

What is happening in Indonesia is not strange at all. This is also happening in other countries, including France itself! Yesterday I met a left-wing bookseller who told me that even though the economic situation is difficult, which generally deters people from buying books, over the last two years his books have sold well. Not so long ago, a young person asked: "In your opinion, Monsieur, is Marxism still relevant for France today?" This led to a long discussion on the current situation in France, on Marxism.... And in Russia, for example, the former Soviet Union, in various cities where statues of Stalin were previously pulled down or destroyed, new statues of Stalin have recently been restored or built anew. Capitalism, which once was believed would bring freedom and prosperity, has only brought war and disaster everywhere. We cannot find a single country where the arrival of American troops has allowed the country to

progress and the population to prosper.

To be able to walk, a baby must go through a period when it falls over, gets up and walks again... This lasts for a while. This, I think, is what happens with socialism, which has to travel winding roads, making turns, turning back and moving forward again. Who could have thought at the time, when the former Soviet Union seemed so powerful, had managed to defeat fascism in 1945, that the socialist bloc with its Warsaw Pact would be betrayed by Gorbachev and destroyed in 1990? We can also mention the struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of Mao Zedong, who was able to liberate the entire country and begin to build socialism – which perhaps became, as he announced, a "socialist country with Chinese specificities"—specificities that closely resemble capitalism, even imperialism. It turns out that even there, socialism is not a straight path. Sometimes it is "forced to take a detour through capitalism", or take "a break" from building socialism, and who knows for how long? Because now the Chinese people are also beginning to reorient their gaze towards the Mao period, when housing and basic necessities were cheap, education and health were free, there was no unemployment, and so on.

The same goes for the fate of the PKI, which was the third world Communist Party after the CPSU and the CCP, and number one outside the socialist camp, whose alliance with Sukarno made Indonesia a pioneer in the struggle of third world countries, or the non-aligned movement. The struggle of the Indonesian people themselves is dialectical, because in the past the struggle against Dutch colonialism led to the birth of the Railway Workers' Union (VSTP), the Islamic Association which later split into SI and SI Merah (SI Red), which then gave birth to the PKI. I am sure that the struggle of the Indonesian people itself will create the need and give birth to a militant party capable of fulfilling its historic task of leading the struggle of the Indonesian people and leading them to victory.

We have seen since the betrayal of Suharto's "New

Order” that not only has nature been plundered and the environment destroyed, but it is above all man who has paid the price: the values of nationalism, the struggle to build a just and prosperous society, essential values, such as honesty and loyalty have been disrupted, so that the mentality of the Indonesian people has undergone major changes. What made the situation even worse was, as left thinking was banned, even Javanese culture was targeted by the Suharto regime. In 1987 Suharto wrote a book “Butir-butir Budaya Jawa” (“Grains of Javanese Culture”) which brings feudal thought to the surface. “Prof. Dr. Ben Arps, since 1996 professor of Javanese Literature and Language at Leiden University, wrote in his dissertation that this kind of effort was not strange for a Javanese king. What this means is literary works such as Serat Wedhatama by K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunagara IV and Serat Wulangreh written by Sunan Pakubuwana IV which is also written in Javanese Items as a source.” (https://jv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Butir-Butir_Budaya_Jawa). The phenomenon of appointing oneself as king of Java is not new. What Suharto did not have time to do is now being carried out by Jokowi.

The government has done everything so that the new generation no longer know their history and its roots, and can no longer differentiate between good and evil. The youth fail to see that the root of this nation’s misery and suffering is caused by ‘nekolim’, neocolonialism and imperialism. Those who commit crimes can go unpunished, even after their crimes have been discovered. We have known since the time of the New Order that you can bribe to win your case, and each trial has its price, “wani piro” (how much can you pay?) Impunity and corruption are twins that go hand in hand: with corruption, crime can be perpetuated, the more serious the crime, the greater the corruption. On the other hand, the greater the corruption, the greater the impunity.

One my exiled friend invited his wife to live with him in Paris. One day he was accompanying his wife to take a French resident’s card to the prefecture, when she showed him her closed hand,

asking “Is this enough?” Her husband asked her : “What?” He had lived in France for years but did not understand when he opened his wife’s hand which was holding 100 francs. “Because you know, I think they have worked and are now tired.” “Ah, you’re crazy, what are you saying, that’s their job.” It is so natural to have to pay “tribute” to bureaucrats. The people themselves know why.

From here we can see that to govern a country, imperialism no longer always needs its physical presence (sending troops, or bombing the country, establishing a government composed directly of its own people). This is what happened in Indonesia: Indonesians like Suharto himself used their power to sell out the country, allowing the complete plunder of natural wealth and exploitation of the people. And this continues to this day, in a slightly different form it seems from the outside, now everything is “according to the law”. But in reality the people in power can do anything they want through rigged presidential elections, presidential decrees, even through the adoption of laws by Parliament, by amending laws thanks to the Constitutional Court etc. Does this remind you of anything in France? The retirement law and Macron’s 49.3...

I think this is very interesting, and shows the interconnectedness that exists in the world. The symptoms of the decay of the upper elite in Indonesia which are now reaching a new level, namely “dynasty” politics with the violation of the law, are essentially the same as what is happening in France, where fascisation is the order of the day out and the law is being ignored. Lenin said that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism—we are witnessing the agony of imperialism now.

The “Reformasi” movement that succeeded in ousting Suharto from the presidency in 1998 failed to cure this disease of impunity and corruption. On the contrary, it has penetrated people’s hearts, their subconscious with it—thus making it even more complete and serious. With the fall of Suharto, many little Suhartos were born, especially after regional autonomy made regional leaders feel like

little local kings. As a result, or vice versa, the ranks of Reformasi, particularly among its cadre and activists, are also affected by the serious disease of impunity and corruption. “It’s normal”, “it’s a small sin” that everyone commits, “there are worse ones and they are never punished”. Now we are witnessing another illness : dynastisation, the revival of feudalism as part of in the agony of imperialism.

The most glaring example is the change that President Joko Widodo himself is currently presenting, especially before the 2024 presidential election. Gibran, the eldest son of Jokowi, was ready to become head of Ganjarpranowo’s success team. Ganjarpranowo is PDIP’s presidential candidate. PDIP is Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan—Parti Democratique Indonésie en Lutte. The latest news is that, Jokowi, asked Ganjar to let his son, Gibran, be released because he wants to run for vice presidential candidate on a ticket with Prabowo Subiyanto who is candidate from another big party, Golkar. In fact, Gibran so become the vice-presidential candidate of Golkar. Which means that he will be forced to crush, or at least remove, his president, Erlangga Hartarto, who was one of the vice-presidential candidates of Prabowo. What an insult to a major Indonesian party from someone who was never even a member! It was not enough to expel Teguh and Sugeng to make Gibran mayor of the city of Solo, where his father, Joko Widodo, was mayor. Now, not only Erlangga Hartarto, but all the vice-presidential candidates who supported Prabowo in Koalisi Indonesia Maju (Coalition of Indonesia in Progres) are dismissed. They are: Erlangga Hartarto (Golkar), Erik Tohir (PAN), Yusril Mahendra (PBB). Even the Constitutional Court has been used by Jokowi to legalize Gibran’s membership. President of the Constitutional Court Judges Anwar Usman, husband of the President’s sister, was forced to lower the age limit to run in the presidential elections as a candidate for the vice-

presidency. Thus, you no longer have to be “over 40 years old” to run, you can now do so before turning 40, provided you have been elected by the population (Gibran was “elected” mayor of Solo by the population).

What an extraordinary change, what a contrast there is between the current Jokowi and the one who, when he was mayor of Solo in 2004, managed to move 130 traders to Notohardjo market using an approach known in Javanese as “nguwonke wong” (“wong” = the human being), that is to say a humane approach, without violence. It was also said to involve “table diplomacy” because Jokowi invited representatives of 11 small trader organizations to lunch together 54 times, so as not to coerce or expel them, giving priority to dialogue and the sharing of meals so that traders could begin to have the courage to express their complaints directly. He applied his method until 2005 and thus succeeded in relocating 980 traders, who were, the people say, then able to get rich.

Over time, in the name of Indonesian economic development, Jokowi followed China’s experience. He achieved extraordinary results starting with the construction of infrastructure (roads, ports, airports, etc.), building hydroelectric plants to increase the country’s electricity production, giving the go-ahead to the extraction of gold, nickel, cobalt, etc.—precious metals—then to the building of a smelter. Of course, with the construction of a smelter, the price of nickel, for example, could increase and thus increase the foreign exchange intake... So, if we look at the development of Indonesia in terms of how much money has been or can be invested or brought in by foreigners or anyone else, and how many projects can be built, we can easily say that within the next 10 years, Indonesia could become a developed country... However, Indonesia’s foreign debt has now reached 1,350 billion dollars. And who will pay it? The question is how much Indonesia’s debt will be in the future and what

number Indonesia will be in the world in the terms of foreign debt, also in the terms of deforestation, destruction of nature. Indonesia will become a developed country, number 4 in the world, they say. Being a “rich country” does not represent the whole reality. Certainly, Indonesia is a very rich country in terms of natural resources. But the real problem is: how is this wealth and county managed, by whom and what consequences will this management lead to? But what can we expect from a ruler who enjoys impunity, commits corruption, steals and has a treacherous spirit?

The situation in Indonesia is developing very quickly. Jokowi has stated openly that he will not be neutral, but will “cawe-cawe”, intervene. This means he will be able to use his power (parliament, intelligence, pro-Jokowi volunteers, state budget, etc.) to influence the course of the election. This outspoken attitude made many people openly criticize and discuss the president’s steps. This election is very dangerous. Dialectically, changes that have been quantitative in nature within 58 years, can suddenly bring about qualitative change for Indonesian society. The contradiction that had been hidden all this time has suddenly become open for all to see. As a result, it is possible that democracy will really “die”, blood will flow or if the president is willing to listen to criticism and take wise steps, then the election can run smoothly. Democracy will develop further and become stronger.

A few words about another danger that awaits us, a major danger that will face not only the Indonesian people, but also all living creatures on the planet: Earth is dying out. According to scientists, notably Dr. Egon Cholakian, who appealed last August to the three heads of state that are Joe Biden, Xi Jinping and Putin. The danger comes from a cosmic attack which could cause a sudden increase in the Earth’s inner energy. Such an attack occurs every 12,000 and every 24,000

years causing catastrophic damage. In addition to the fact that the energy center of the Earth has suddenly shifted north, the Earth’s axis has also undergone changes. Over billions of years, such events were resolved because the ocean could play its role in naturally cooling the Earth’s temperature, so that the Earth could continue to exist. But now it has become fatal, the sea is “dying” because of plastic particles. So temperatures will continue to rise, the danger will especially come from Siberia, where temperatures are rising rapidly compared with other places. This, among other things, I think, is the reason why temperatures have become so hot in Indonesia recently, when it should be the rainy season. Scientists predict that if humans do not change their way of life, the earth will not last long—about 10 years—and may disappear altogether.

Allow me to end my presentation with a poem by a popular poet whom the Suharto regime disappeared around March 1992 with 22 of his friends, namely Wiji Thukul:

If proposals are rejected without being considered
Critical voices silenced and banned without reason

Accused of being subversive and threatening security

So there is only one word: fight!

At a time when the existence of the Earth is threatened, imperialism is agonizing. The anti-imperialist struggle and saving the Earth is a very heavy and difficult task for all of us. Fight!

I hope it’s not too late.

On Ultra-Leftist Attitudes Towards Key International Issues

Mazdoor Kissan Party (Workers and Peasants Party, Pakistan)

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Ultra Leftism is the essence of the fractures in the Socialist Left today

Today, nowhere is the tendency towards Ultra-Leftism more amply on display than in the treatment of China and Russia, as these states navigate through the post-Soviet era. The problem however does not only lie in the extremist, black-or-white mischaracterization of China and Russia as imperialist states by some fellow Socialists.

We also note the clamoring for one-size-fits-all formulas that call for, among other things, an abstention from bourgeois parliaments and Left fronts. Some organizations have formulated general theories for a range of other topics that are based on their narrow local experiences, which they want organizations from other countries to also blindly copy.

Therefore, it is important to recognize that Ultra Leftism is an attitude towards political issues in general. That is, it is a general tendency and not just some isolated occurrence of extreme positions on some specific international topics.

The simple truth, no matter how frequently or loudly slogans and formulas are featured in literature or speeches, is that Marxist-Leninists in each country must pursue their own course instead

of copying the experience of others. They must base their practical approach from the standpoint of the unique needs of their own movement, deriving it from a comprehensive assessment of the political economy, historical context, the specific characteristics of classes in the country, the prevailing mood around national matters, and particularly, after assessing the strength of the revolutionary forces relative to the strength of their class opponents today.

That applies to decisions on what to do and when for all tactics, including the slogans to adopt, the necessary alliances that must be made, the attitude to adopt towards social or class groupings at a specific point in time, and what the strategy must be to progress to Socialism. This is quite simply the application of materialist principles in practice. It is as Karl Marx said, "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."

Ultra-Leftism leads to advocating political strategy and tactics that derive instead from idealist utopias and unchangeable formulas. This manifests in the shape of total inflexibility on political action and Socialist construction. Only a straight-line, rapid advance constitutes success for Ultra-Leftists, who abhor compromise and retreats. The inviolability of general principles and maximal demands are put above practical solutions. Yet the history of revolution has proven that it does not proceed in a linear direction, it can advance or retreat which requires the continuous adaptation of strategy, principles, and slogans.

The end-result of dogmatism within the Socialist movement is that it leads to Right-wing outcomes, that the bourgeoisie finds convenient, that may retard the revolution, or encourage revolutionaries to make dangerous mistakes. Inevitably, this tendency also transforms into sectarianism in the Socialist movement. Far from furthering a working-class alternative to capitalism, this attitude towards political questions only plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie and contributes to the isolation of Socialists. In addition, Ultra-Leftism was assuredly one of the leading factors that splintered the Communist movement in the previous century. We must avoid repeating the same mistakes today.

Therefore, while many hard, left-sounding or idealistic principles may be presented by some Socialists, there is but one rule above all others. And that is, “the success of the revolution is the highest law”, as Georgi Plekhanov once said. This means that tactics and strategy for progressing to Socialism have to be malleable, depending on the circumstances of the time, without being impeded by dogmatic doctrine.

The great leaders who brought revolution to Russia and China would not have been successful had they not resisted Ultra-Leftism on the key questions of their day. Those critical questions at that time included, among others, when to participate in parliaments and when not to, when to declare truce against class enemies in war, the place of trade unions in a revolutionary state, whether an intermediate state-capitalist stage was necessary for transitioning to Socialism, whether Socialism could be built in one country in the absence of a worldwide revolution in industrialized countries, the place of the peasants in struggle, and indeed even the correct strategy in a revolutionary war of the people. In each of these cases, there was always an extreme view based on rigid dogmatism that amplified the risk of dashing both revolutionaries and the movements on the rocks. We are in the

same boat today.

The present generation of Socialists are thus obligated to resist Ultra-Leftist critiques of China and Russia, and to oppose this tendency in all other topics that it permeates into. The consequences of not doing so are severe. We especially urge against taking an economic reductionist approach in assessing their historical development. It is more appropriate to objectively evaluate the path they have followed without the blanket denunciations that are typical in the manner of Ultra-Leftism. In this contribution, we examine these core issues to support our critique of this tendency.

Against an economic reductionist approach to analyzing imperialism

A fundamental shortcoming that we see from Ultra-Leftist critical assessments of China and Russia, that are being presented today as materialist analyses utilizing Lenin’s work on imperialism, is the absence of historical and political context. This analytical gap contributes to the mischaracterization of Russia and China as imperialist belligerents by some organizations in the Socialist community. Detaching economic data from their historical-political context is a classic mistake within the Marxist intellectual sphere.

Marxism is in fact not an economic reductionist philosophy. Lenin reinforced this by remarking in the Preface of his work on imperialism that he was not able to deal with the non-economic aspects of imperialism however much they deserved to be dealt with. He made it clear that his work was confined, we quote, “strictly to an exclusively theoretical, specifically economic analysis of facts” (Lenin, Preface, *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*).

It is therefore disingenuous to define a country as imperialist without historical-political context, and more so, to do that by misunderstanding the economic big picture. Moreover, even when

considering the economics, imperialism is not something that becomes the state of affairs for a country after Day 1 of it exporting a bit of capital. It is a historical process that is long and complex.

Here is an example that illustrates the issue of looking at strictly economic data when categorizing a country as imperialist, or suggesting it is on track to becoming imperialist. Take the case of Russia during the New Economic Policy period. This was a state-capitalist period when capitalism was allowed in and state controls were reversed. To someone not observant of the historical-political facts, particularly, the fact that behind this capitalist development sat a revolutionary government of the workers and peasants, it would appear that Russia was a capitalist state with the potential to become an imperialist one. However, this would be a false judgement, since after the revolution, it was the political factor that was decisive in the transformation of Russia into a Socialist state, and the capitalist phase was just a piece of the transition strategy.

That is why it is extremely important as this example illustrates, to assess the political character of a state, and the historical-materialist background when making a judgement on whether a country is imperialist. We cannot rest on economic data alone, as some in the Socialist community are doing. A wholistic view must be taken on this issue.

Lenin's analysis was conducted in a historical context when Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and the United States were capitalist states, and empires with colonies, with Russia being a weak-link. In the present day these countries, aside from Russia, have emerged from the post-colonial era not through restructuring brought about by revolutions, but through iteration of their imperialism. All other aspects of their imperialism remain in place minus the colonies, that is, the domination of exploitable countries through perpetual wars, financial leverage, resource

monopolization, super-exploitation of labor, and proxy control over their governments through bribery and sheer intimidation.

The background of Russia and China today is starkly different. Both countries in contrast to the NATO-aligned capitalist group are products of their Socialist revolutions from the 20th Century and continue to carry their effects. Those who overlook this important detail while claiming to adhere to Lenin's analysis on imperialism are in fact taking a liberty with his theory that we are not obliged to accept. That is because instead of looking at their social, political and economic set up as part of a historical process, that is "stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges" (Marx, Critique of the Gotha Program), the detractors merely use a snapshot in time of these societies to make their judgement, and thus miss the forest for the trees. Therefore, the distinctive revolutionary background from which both Russia and China emerge today carries a great deal of weight in how we treat these two countries. Otherwise, the result is simplification, even if the detractor's critique wears a cloak of complexity.

Simplification under pretext of thoroughness on the question of Russia

As we contended in the preceding section, it may be the wish of detractors to convey a thorough and complex analysis when they label Russia as an imperialist belligerent. The issue however is that this conclusion is derived not by a thorough analysis but through simplification by ignoring important details.

It is not an incidental or minor detail that the basis of the hostility of other world powers towards Russia is that it did not let the Shock Therapy privatizations go all the way so that the country could be divided up. Far from letting capitalism run loose, Russia curtailed it and reinstated many controls that allowed it to recover some semblance

of economic vitality. The facts around this cannot be disputed. Russia today retains a state-capitalist economy with roughly a third of all GDP being produced by the state sector.

Moreover, after the Soviet collapse, Russia finds itself in a world that has been at the complete mercy of the capitalist NATO forces. It is surrounded on its left flank by hostile states that were once a brotherly union of Socialist states. Given this, the reaction of Russia with respect to the near-certainty of yet another NATO base being installed next to its borders in Ukraine can be understood well enough as a defensive, if pre-emptive measure. The posture of Russia has otherwise been peaceful, except when facing direct threats right on its borders. This relatively peaceful posture is wholly inconsistent with the type of behavior we have seen typically from the NATO-aligned imperialist states in preceding decades.

This is recognized and appreciated by most developing countries, from Latin America, to Asia, Africa and the Middle East. As an example, after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, the President of Cuba and First Secretary of the venerated Communist Party of Cuba, Comrade Miguel Díaz-Canel expressed Cuba's solidarity with Russia as part of a personal visit to their Duma. Therefore, the stance of anti-imperialists who similarly express solidarity with Russia in its struggle against the NATO-aligned countries lines up well with that of the Communist Party of Cuba. We hope that detractors from the Socialist Left will take a moment to reflect on the significance of this fact.

With that said, if we turn to Russia's economics, which are a key point of contention with the detractors, who assert that instead of the historical context, it is the "burgeoning capitalism" in Russia that best explains its competition with the traditional capitalist powers, we do not see a clear-cut case here that lines up with the critical theories of those opposed to it from the Socialist community.

For instance, one of the key characteristics outlined in Lenin's economic review of imperialism was finance capital. However, in Russia, banking is state-controlled. Lenin's analysis on the contrary discusses financial oligopolies that are in the private sector. That should bring some pause to those who are exclusively focused on the economics.

In fact, if there are any doubts as to who actually controls finance capital, look no further than the incident of Russia's expulsion from the SWIFT system, the vastness of the economic sanctions imposed upon the country, and the \$600 billion of Russian financial assets that have been confiscated with the flick of a finger. Not understanding who controls the world financial system is a gross analytical error on the part of detractors because financial capital is a key economic feature of imperialism.

If one considers the issue of capital exports, we argue that even here, Russia's role is relatively very minor. The World Bank's data puts the average capital per year exported by Russia at a mere \$25 billion per year between 1992 and 2021. Compare that to the collective Russia is pitted against: a gargantuan \$583 billion a year with Britain, France, Germany, Japan and the United States taken together. Thus, Russia exports a mere 4% of the capital versus the states that detractors allege it is having an imperialist war with for the division of markets. Russia's entire economy is also a mere 4.6% the size of the collective, and its GDP per Capita is less than a quarter that of any single country described above.

This data does not support the view of a state with overgrown monopoly capitalism that is waging an imperialist war. What it does demonstrate is where imperialism really sits, and that would be the collection of states that do indeed control the world financial system as well as dwarf Russia's output. The detractors argue that this merely demonstrates Russia's position at the bottom of an "imperialist

pyramid”, but the entirety of facts within the historical context we have presented thus far do not lead us to such a conclusion. And especially so since the political policy that derives from such conclusions is quite convenient for the true great capitalist powers, as we have discussed in the first section of this contribution.

None of this is to overlook the rapacious capitalism in Russia that is plundering what was once the property of the Russian public. But it is important not to get carried away and draw bigger conclusions than the facts themselves suggest.

China’s path to acquiring the technological pre-requisites for Socialist construction

We come now to another highly controversial subject, which is the accusation by Socialists with Ultra-Leftist positions that China has transitioned into an imperialist country. We find this to be a problematic assessment that Socialists must push back against. One of their common criticisms is that China’s Communist Party has allowed capitalist relations to dominate both the base and political superstructure. We deem these views to be incorrect for the same fundamental reasons we have established at the beginning of this paper.

On numerous occasions, Lenin remarked that the practical tasks of building a Socialist society are orders of magnitude more difficult than the preceding period when the proletariat and peasants are in the process of winning power, when it is a time more suited to revolutionary slogans and phrases, or to put it less flatteringly, revolutionary-sounding phrases. But if revolutionary parties are lucky enough to win power and maintain their hold on it, they quickly find that their many idealistic dreams are shattered on the rocks of reality. That is the point when the words concessions and compromise enter their vocabulary.

The reason is that by virtue of circumstances outside of their control, for a country that is

underdeveloped and backwards, acquiring the material and technical means for the construction of Socialism is a herculean task. It is impossible to independently achieve without compromises with the domestic and foreign bourgeoisie. There are thus, no “pure revolutions”. Moreover, a path towards Socialism that does not include a phased approach, particularly a state-capitalist phase, is a fantasy.

The experience revolutionary Russia went through that necessitated the New Economic Policy demonstrates this well. It is heavily implied by Lenin that many attempts were made to secure large loans from bourgeois countries for the development of heavy industry, but that they received none (Lenin, Fourth Congress of the International). It is also clear that they sought technical expertise from the bourgeoisie of the advanced countries like Germany and the United States for the creation of factories and machinery. Moreover, even mixed ownership companies were created where part of the capital belonged to domestic and foreign capitalists. All of this was to encourage economic activity that otherwise would not have been possible. These compromises among many were necessary for the survival of Russia’s revolutionary state and economy during a delicate time. The eventual path Russia was forced to choose to build heavy industry, in the absence of loans which it would have preferred to receive instead, was to subsidize heavy industry from the sale of agricultural proceeds. This was not an ideal scenario, but nevertheless, forced circumstances dictated that this was the path Russia was to follow.

Arguably, the circumstances China faced may have been even more severe. Whether it was famines, floods, a long civil war, having a huge and poor population several times bigger than Russia’s or having an economy even more skewed towards peasant agriculture than Russia, the challenges were already gigantic. Finally, perhaps the

decisive factor in the path China chose may have been its unjust alienation by Khrushchev's heavy handedness, that resulted in starving China of the loans it needed for building its industry, which is precisely what Lenin states is the critical factor for the construction of heavy industry in backwards countries. We are therefore guarded against the mocking of the methods by which China has arrived at the present juncture, which is as we have repeatedly argued, not under circumstances of its own making but by circumstances transmitted from the past. The solutions the Chinese were to produce then were bound to be unique and require many compromises, given their different circumstances.

There are some who groan that China's state-capitalist phase has gone on for far too long, because they are comparing it to the length of time it was established in the USSR. There is however no law or formula in Marxism that dictates the length of time state-capitalism needs to be in force until a country is ready to proceed towards abolition of private property altogether. This goes back to our initial comments on Ultra-Leftist dogmatism, which is the habit of judging something as good or bad based on an idealistic formula or some admired examples from the past.

In the early 1990s, which was the era that Russian Socialism was defeated and demoralization was widespread, China may well never have had any other option but to pursue pro-business reforms and opening up to allow inflows of capital. By maintaining political supremacy however, the Communist Party of China has ensured that capital flows in a controlled and directed way to advance national ambitions, even when it is private capital at work. With such a strategy, the Chinese Communist Party has miraculously provided the conditions not only for the country to acquire the technical expertise to stand up on their own as giants of innovation and development, but also maintained an iron grip on their own bourgeoisie,

so that the possibility of a color revolution is entirely remote.

Naturally, reform and opening up was never going to be a utopia, it would be fraught with issues of corruption, bourgeois excesses and their emergence as a political threat, and the rise of bourgeois ideology or fascination with their lifestyles. Moreover, China has become the greatest threat to the US-NATO allied countries, as defined in their own words, and is swiftly and surely being sized up for war. Once again, just as with Russia, it is one country pitted against a whole group of advanced countries. We have high confidence however, that China will stand tall against each of these threats.

This political-historical perspective that describes the motion of Chinese society and classes that is generating the material basis for a Socialist society does not seem to be of any consequence to those who make Ultra-Leftist critiques of China. Such detractors are only concerned with an economic snapshot in a point in time.

Regarding the economic data, we caution that it is so vast that it would be presumptuous for a Socialist organization no matter their level of prestige in the international movement to claim that they fully understand the economy of China based on a review of just a few patches of its data. Nevertheless, we submit a few arguments for consideration to challenge the narrative that depends on the economics to conclude that China is an imperialist power.

For instance, we believe that a common criticism that is derived from a rule of thumb about the Chinese economy, particularly, that 60-70% of Chinese GDP (or the economy) is attributed to the private sector whereas only 30-40% is attributed to the state-sector, is actually based on a misunderstanding of what it represents. Many cite this rule-of-thumb as evidence that capitalist relations dominate in China. What is being overlooked in regards to this figure particularly is

that this share of the private sector is inclusive of micro, small and medium enterprises, which are in fact the dominant form of enterprise in China by an overwhelming margin. According to some Chinese reports, 98.5% of all enterprises in China are micro or small enterprises, which would imply that most workers work for such small enterprises. For those not familiar with these terms, an example of a micro enterprise is a fruit vendor in an open market who might operate on a cart with the help of a beast of burden. In other words, it is not the bourgeoisie this figure for the private sector describes, but the laboring masses. It is these segments the Chinese Communist Party refers to in its congress document for delivering measures for relief and improvement.

We observe on the contrary that the strategic, commanding heights of the economy continue to be in state hands. Moreover, it is these strategic state-owned firms that lead the way in the development projects being undertaken abroad. We also note that banking and finance remain in state hands, and that government control over lending is in fact among the levers by which the state exerts control over the private sector. All urban land in China is in fact owned by the state, and all rural and suburban land is owned by rural collectives.

Surprisingly, we have also seen some Ultra-Leftist critiques that take a negative view of China's "hunger for resources and fuel" to power its development. It is unclear how the authors of such assessments believe growth can be fueled today, but it seems they regard trade and transactions in general to be problematic if they are not with other Socialist countries. Needless to say, this is a recipe for failure for any country no matter their mode of production.

We can continue to endlessly review economic data; however, our impression is that the critiques of China's economic development that purport to use Lenin's framework are in fact expanding the definition of imperialism to accommodate their

dogmatic prejudices.

In summary, in our view, China is today, alongside Russia, championing virtually all the international causes that Socialists hold dear, from support for Cuba and Palestine to everything in between. Their track record has been to uphold and promote peace, development and trade. They are the only viable counterweight to the US-NATO alliance available to us today. It would thus be our folly to allow Ultra-Leftist attitudes to permeate into our intellectual and political space that engender needless conflict instead of solidarity. Anti-imperialism and the struggle for Socialism require that we combine our efforts to push back against this damaging tendency.

A broad alliance against the descent into the 3rd world war waged by the US empire

Wilhelm Langthaler | Anti-imperialist Camp

The last two decades have been characterised by a gradual loss of consensus by the Washington. They proved unable to win wars, they are crippled by a structural economic crisis and resistance movements and state powers striving to escape their rule across the globe are gaining traction. The once so powerful and all-encompassing neo-liberal globalization is drawing to a close.

In order to keep their supremacy embodied in the monopolar world order, Washington embarked on war drive, a kind of revival of aborted neo-con attempts. They pre-emptively unleash war against forces showing signs of insubordination also to teach the others and to avoid a chain reaction.

Therefore they have been encircling Russia as the second military power in the world since decades. NATO moved step by step closer towards Russia also threatening it with a nuclear first strike capability to force Moscow on its knees. The escalation of the war in Ukraine has a long pre-history even before the decisive turning point of the Banderite coup d'état in 2014 trying to take control over the entire Ukraine. But a popular anti-Nazi uprising partially foiled that.

The aim of the current war is nothing less than to substantially defeat or weaken Russia and even to split it in pieces in order to force it into submission. If NATO succeeds, it would be a major blow to the resistance and liberation movements around the world including the socialist one amounting in another catastrophic defeat like the one expressed in the demise of the Soviet Union.

But apparently NATO plans do not work out. Russia could not be defeated so far and is standing its ground in a war of attrition which could turn

into a setback for the West or even come close to a defeat.

Then also the Palestinian issue re-erupted with the powerful military action of the Palestinian resistance in Gaza making clear to the world that Israel is not invincible. The Zionist aggressor is hitting back on the civil population inflicting genocide. But they will not be able to defeat, let alone eradicate the armed resistance led by Hamas. They also know that if they go too far, the entire region can be set on fire where the US has been steadily losing their grip on their allies which are coming increasingly also in conflict among each other. Washington knows well from experience that unleashing war in the regions threatens the loyal partner regimes by civil war and popular uprising.

The third neuralgic area is the far east with China and Korea. The US came to the conclusion that they need to stop China's ascent in order to preserve their power. So they are imposing sanctions tending towards outright economic warfare which is one of the driving reasons for the end of globalization. But economic war can easily turn also into military conflict and war.

Also in Africa and the Americas the tendency towards a multipolar world is being felt and acted upon.

In a certain point in history, all those fault lines might come together transforming it into an outright global war. In any case, this momentum is not only there, it is also widely felt and feared.

Our task is to stop this war and fight for peace with the broadest possible coalition. The US empire needs to be defeated as precondition for self-determination, development, as well as social

equality and basic democratic rights. Only this defeat can open the gate for a more just world in order to allow for the restart of the struggle for socialism.

In the Rome International Conference for Peace and to Stop the 3rd World War, we have started to compose an international coordination, an alliance of forces from all five continents to take common action and elaborate the programmatic basis.

We also came here not only to present our efforts but also to propose to you common action and co-operation up to the point of staging activities together.

Resisting Together The Generalised Aggression Of United States Imperialism-Hegemony And Its Vassals Against The Sovereignty Of Peoples, Democratic Freedoms And World Peace

Aymeric Monville | Pole of Communist Revival in France (PRCF)

I. DENOUNCING THE ACCELERATED EURO-ATLANTICIST MARCH TOWARDS IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR

The global situation is increasingly threatening, even explosive, for what remains of world peace. It is being methodically torpedoed by the hegemon of today's capitalist-imperialist world, US imperialism, escorted by its zealous Anglo-Saxon vassals ("AUKUS"), but also by Japan, which is in the process of rearming, and by the South Korean regime. Not forgetting, of course, the European Union, unfailingly loyal to NATO and slavishly followed by the Macron regime.

Provoked by the continued eastward expansion of the EU-NATO eastwards at the expense of Russia, the unlimited Western military escalation in the so-called Russo-Ukrainian war and the continued aggression of the pro-Nazi regime in Kiev against the working-class, Russian-speaking people of the Donbass are now accompanied by major destabilisation in the Middle East and a permanent worsening of the potentially genocidal siege of the Gaza enclave organised by the fascist Netanyahu and his Washington godfathers. Confident of the impunity that North American protection seems to confer on it *ad vitam aeternam*, Tel Aviv is now even officially taking the liberty of bombing sovereign Syria too, just as it has already struck Iran. Under these conditions, the risks of a general conflagration between Israel and its Euro-Atlantic protectors on the one hand, and the struggling Palestinian people, the Shiite population of

Lebanon and Iran, and indeed the mass of Arab-Muslim peoples and all justice-loving human beings on the other, are vertiginously increasing. Instead of trying to calm things down, the irresponsible Macron can think of nothing better than to go to Israel to propose the formation of a Euro-Atlanticist "Grand Coalition" around the fascist government of Israel, similar, according to the head of the French executive, to the one that Washington once deployed "to bring down Daesh". Yet who can fail to see that, with its highly predictable geopolitical effects, the realisation of this provocative project could provide a direct trigger for the Third World War!

- At the same time, the United States, obediently assisted by the French Navy 12,000 km off the coast of France (!), is patrolling the Taiwan Strait, violating the diplomatic foundation of Sino-American relations since the historic meeting of Nixon and Mao in Beijing, namely that "there is only one China"! And as if that weren't enough, the Pentagon is using the Philippine navy to "test" Beijing's political and military reactions in the China Sea...

- Washington is also nurturing a high-risk military tension with Pyongyang on the Korean Peninsula where, since the 1950s, the US has maintained a whole armada designed to artificially maintain a state of war between the two parts of Korea;

- While the puppet Euro-Atlanticist government of Georgia is clamouring to join the EU-NATO, Erdogan's Atlanticist and neo-Ottoman Turkey

is taking advantage of the global instability to harass, encircle and, if possible, liquidate post-Soviet Armenia. Openly armed by Israel, Ankara is teleguiding Turkish-speaking Azerbaijan (which has just coldly carried out the ethnic purge in Nagorno-Karabakh) to this end, while the EU-NATO is delighted to be able to destabilise the Caucasus bordering Russia in this way. All this is endangering the lives of the Caucasian populations who once lived in harmony within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics...

- In Latin America, Uncle Sam is laying economic siege to socialist Cuba and trying to strangle the countries of the Bolivarian Alternative of the Americas (ALBA), Nicaragua, Venezuela, Bolivia, etc.

- In Africa, the pitiful and hasty withdrawal of defeated French imperialism has been accompanied by a salutary offensive by the people, notably in Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali, and by manoeuvres by US imperialism to get its hands on the region by activating its local neo-colonial relays, as we recently saw in Gabon. For his part, Macron is starving Niger by setting Nigeria and the CEDAO against it...

As for Kagamé's Rwanda, his ongoing military intervention is bleeding the Democratic Republic of Congo dry, with the obvious blessing of the Western imperialists. The same imperialists have already sown interference, territorial division and chaos in Sudan!

In short, if all the fronts of this pre-world war "come together" at the initiative of NATO (whose leader Jeff Stoltenberg arrogantly proclaims that "it has the means to hold all the fronts"), the geopolitical situation could quickly become that of a globalisation of war. With, in the background, the almost inevitable use, in the long term if world war breaks out, of an enormous nuclear overkill that could exterminate humanity and all organised life on Earth. It is all the more astonishing to see

the Greens, a movement that was once pacifist and opposed to NATO, spearheading Euro-Atlantic interventionism and warmongering in Ukraine and the Caucasus! Not to mention the no less warlike and objectively Atlanticist attitude of the NPA (Besancenot-Poutou faction) on this issue!

The pieces of this possible global conflagration are being fitted together ever more hastily, whereas the serious social, health and environmental problems facing humanity would, on the contrary, require the mobilisation of all existing financial, scientific and technical resources. In short, we need to work together to safeguard the future of our species, and indeed the entire living world, which is under threat! As Marx had foreseen, this distressing state of affairs is the result of the historical degeneration of the capitalist mode of production, which the author of *Capital* had already said "produces wealth only by exhausting the earth and the worker". This means that, more than ever, our epoch bears the objective demand for a revolutionary transition from capitalism-imperialism at the end of its rope to the communist society of the future, the advent of which is becoming absolutely vital. If this does not happen, as Marx once envisaged, humanity will be left with "no choice but between a dread without end and a dreadful end"...

II. IN FRANCE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, RAMPANT FASCISTIZATION, THE EROSION OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTIES, FRONTAL ATTACKS ON WORKERS...

This imperialist march towards world war on all fronts is accompanied by a general trend, increasingly marked in today's American-aligned France, which is in the process of Eurodissolution, towards global social regression, accelerated fascistization and even more concealed wage rollbacks, against a backdrop of erosion of the gains of the Front Populaire and the social advances made by the Communist ministers of 1945/47.

Speaking only of the European subcontinent, it is the EU and its increasingly despotic proxies in France and elsewhere who are orchestrating the regression on all fronts (in our case: the destruction of pensions, social security, the real value of wages, public services, production in France, etc.). It is also the E.U., linked to NATO, which shamelessly supports the fascist-nostalgic regimes in Italy, Hungary, Ukraine, the Baltic states, etc.; it is still the E.U. which is orchestrating a process of continental fascistization by cultivating the monstrous negationist equation “communism = fascism”: the aim being to demonise the USSR in retrospect, and by the same token today’s Russia, to stigmatise all class activists, to profoundly disorientate young people and to ultimately trivialise the racist far right, religious fundamentalism, annealed anti-Semitism and xenophobia in all their forms (Resolution of 16 September 2021, French Parliament resolution on the ‘Holodomor’, etc.), and even to rehabilitate the Ukrainian neo-Nazi battalions which NATO helped to arm. What hypocrisy to then see these same Eurocrats, applauded by stipendiary “intellectuals”, “deplore” the rise of the far right, while the Euro-Powers in power, led by Macronie, do everything to criminalise their anti-capitalist opposition, however inconsequential, while trivialising the alternative of death and hatred promoted by Le Pen, Zemmour, Ciotti and their European counterparts!

Thus, in the last period, fascistization, social regression and euro-dissolution have made a qualitative leap of a pre-fascist nature. Using the “Israeli-Palestinian” conflict, overdetermined by US imperialism, the Macronist government, led by the ministers of “justice” and the police, has issued a scurrilous circular which criminalises in advance all those, non-aligned MPs, internationalist trade unionists, anti-imperialist activists, critical intellectuals and frankly communist organisations, who reject the government’s narrative of the war

between Netanyahu’s “fascist” regime (according to the mayor of Tel Aviv!) and the Palestinian national movement. Freedom of expression is now being severely violated in our country, where parliamentarians who are not strictly aligned with the government and trade unionists of the CGT class are being imprisoned by the authorities, and where the PRCF itself recently had the “honour” of being harassed by “journalists” whose behaviour was crudely cops-like. This fascistization is inseparable from the social destruction of the country (as we can see with the unprecedented proceedings launched by the Macronat against leaders and activists of the CGT-Energie). In turn, this anti-social and anti-democratic ransacking of the country goes hand in hand with the increased vassalization of our country towards the EU-NATO and is accompanied by the liquidation of any vestige of past Gaullist diplomacy (which maintained less unbalanced relations with Russia, China and the Arab world). Euro-defeating France also means dismantling the “one and indivisible Republic” in favour of European-controlled “autonomy” (and therefore greater inequality) for certain “territories” in mainland France (Corsica, Brittany, Alsace, etc.), relegating the French language to a creeping pan-European officialization of Anglo-American, systematically dismantling public services (education, hospitals, postal services, electricity, etc.) and dissolving the French state, not forgetting the ongoing dissolution of Renault, PSA, Alstom, etc. into transnational conglomerates like Stellantis. These attacks on the nation target the working class and the world of work in all directions. Their jobs, their wages, their access to public services, their right to social protection and pensions, their ability to stand up “all together at the same time” on a national scale are all under attack, not to mention the constant demonisation of our people’s mental references to their revolutionary past.

III. POPULAR RESISTANCE IS SET TO INTENSIFY AND GREAT REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES AWAIT US

This global, European and French offensive by imperialist and reactionary circles masquerading as defenders of human rights is capitalism-imperialism's response to the general crisis of its system, driven by its quest for maximum profit, by the downward trend in its rate of profit, but also by the decline of the US hegemon, doomed to internal political decay (cf. the clashes at the head of the US federal state), economic decline (indebtedness, growing challenge to the global role of the dollar...) and even decomposition...), and even cultural and societal decay (see the shootings that take place every year in schools, churches and supermarkets in the USA).

Fortunately, in the face of this state of affairs, many countries are witnessing an upsurge in workers' and peasants' struggles and/or strikes (India, United States, Great Britain, France, etc.).

There has also been a salutary awakening among the people of Eastern Europe, and Russian workers in particular, to the terrifying consequences of the counter-revolutionary destruction of socialism.

Similarly, in Latin America we are witnessing a terrible political battle between the worst reaction (libertarian-fascist, cf. Argentina!) and a patriotic and popular left which, alas, is showing itself to be unequally consistent, socially advanced and ideologically resistant, depending on the country concerned.

We should also salute the general awakening of French-speaking Africa, particularly among its urban youth, who are rejecting neo-colonial Françafrique.

Finally, there is a general rise in the power of the BRICS whose contradictions are profound, but which are nonetheless, albeit inconsistently and temporarily, a powerful lever enabling billions of overexploited and dominated human beings

who are fed up with humiliation masquerading as "freedom" to rise up against Euro-Atlantic imperialism, which is currently the main, if not the only, obstacle to a truly humane future for the members of our species.

This is why, without ideologically endorsing everything that is done in the name of resistance to Israeli colonialism or Western politico-military intrusions in Asia, Africa or Latin America, the PRCF will never pit the new Drang nach Osten of the EU-NATO against the Russian Federation allied with the workers' Donbass. NATO and the Russian Federation allied with the workers' Donbass, any more than the Pole will ever draw a line of equality between the Macronist power "traitor to the France of enlightenment" (dixit the Malian representative to the UN!) and the young people of Ouagadougou, Bamako or Niamey who are admirers of Patrice Lumumba, Dulcie September or Thomas Sankara. Similarly, the PRCF rejects any form of equidistance (without endorsing any war crimes perpetrated by anyone against children or unarmed civilians) between, on the one hand, the Palestinian people who have been martyred for decades and, on the other, the colonial army of Israel and its American mentor, which is structurally predatory.

In addition, and without deciding in advance the question worthy of study as to whether or not there are elements (minor or major, in power or in deed) of imperialism or pre-imperialism, in the Leninist sense of the word, in this or that State claiming to be part of the ICSR, particularly Russia (and no doubt the answers will have to be very different according to the 11 countries which today make up the "new BRICS"), we must consider that modern imperialism has today taken on, in its dominant form, the veritable keystone of the world capitalist-imperialist system, the maximally dangerous form of world hegemonism. As our comrade, the historian Annie Lacroix-Riz, has shown, the geopolitics of relatively watertight

imperialist “spheres of influence” periodically divided between complicit and rival imperialisms (even at the cost of periodic violent confrontations) has been methodically and increasingly sabotaged and challenged by US imperialism; this hegemonic tendency has been asserted crescendo and in an increasingly cynical fashion since the beginning of the 20th century, with the two world wars and the disappearance of the U. Each time, the two world wars and the disappearance of the USSR marked new thresholds of aggression and brutal aspirations to planetary hegemony with no possibility of sharing.

This in no way means that the era of inter-imperialist conflicts is over, and that the capitalist world will henceforth be dominated by a harmonious “hyper-imperialism” such as the social-democratic theoretician Kautsky, Lenin’s opponent, once dreamt of. On the contrary, conflicts of this kind are getting worse, and we can see them emerging in an ill-concealed way between the USA and the EU under German leadership over Russian hydrocarbons. But it is precisely in order to bridge these inter-imperialist fault lines and to unite under its leadership all its European, Japanese and other vassals, whether they are satisfied or mutedly dissatisfied with its suffocating hegemony, that Uncle Sam is constantly stepping up its aggression against Russia and China. Yesterday, Washington united its Western and Japanese imperialist vassals and competitors under the banner of the anti-Soviet crusade: Today it is doing the same under the banner of the “high-intensity global conflict” that it is fomenting between the “global West” (plus Japan, Australia and South Korea) and the defensive Eurasian axis, which it senses can be supported by all the counter-hegemonic forces on the planet, with proletarian and popular forces in the lead. And this enables Washington to pull off a double coup by militarily targeting the “non-systemic” rivals Russia and China, while at the

same time ruining its “intrasystemic” rivals in big German industry, which was methodically cut off from the Russian gas that supplied it at very low cost before 22 February 2022 and the economically suicidal “sanctions” imposed by the EU against Moscow under pressure from Washington.

If you have not forgotten the lessons of the materialist dialectician Mao Zedong in his essay *On Contradiction*, calling for a distinction to be made between the principal enemy and the secondary enemies of the moment, between the principal contradiction and the secondary contradiction, between the principal aspects and the secondary aspects of the contradiction, etc., and if you have not forgotten the lessons of the materialist dialectician Mao Zedong in his essay *On Contradiction*, calling for a distinction to be made between the principal enemy and the secondary enemies of the moment, between the principal contradiction and the secondary contradiction, etc, and as long as one has not disavowed, in a Trotskyist way, the recitals and conclusions of the last Congress of the Communist International (introductory report and conclusions of Georges Dimitrov to the VIIth Congress of the Comintern) which, while pointing out the imperialist character of the USA, of Britain and France at the time, nonetheless designated the fascist camp as the No. 1 enemy of the peoples, we must consider the Euro-Atlantic hegemon of world capitalism-imperialism to be the No. 1 enemy of the peoples and of peace, and consequently of all consistent Marxists.

This in no way implies idealising the counter-revolutionary regime of Putin, against which we support the Russian communists politically and ideologically, nor that of Narendra Modi (India) and the other BRICS, against whose leadership we support, if necessary and if they ask for it, our comrades of the Brazilian, Indian, South African CPs, etc. It does not imply that we are idealising the regime of the BRICS, which we support politically

and ideologically.

On the contrary, we should deepen the reflection of the PRCF on the basis of the orientations defined on this point by the national conferences. For all that, there can be no question of summarily relegating the PRC to the rank of “imperialist country”, as some Party leaders are urging us to do. How can we ignore the fact that in China it is a party claiming to be inspired by Marx and Mao—the CCP—which sets the general direction, that the strategic sectors of the economy have remained public in the PRC, that the CCP intervenes in every company, including foreign ones, and that the wages and social benefits sacrificed at the time of the neo-liberal “reforms” of the 2000s have been increased or (partially) restored? And how can we forget that the CCP is undoubtedly the only political force in China capable of guaranteeing the country’s territorial unity, capacity for military resistance and socio-political stability in the face of the subversive ventures of Western imperialism (Hong Kong, Tibet, Sinkiang, etc.). Similarly, it would be hasty, to say the least, to equate China’s “Belt and Road” initiative, supported by over 100 countries in the East and South, with a classic imperialist enterprise. On the contrary, many countries in the South see it as an effective means of catching up technically and scientifically, and even as an alternative to the neo-colonial plundering traditionally practised by the former colonial empires and their noxious institutions (IMF, CFA franc, WTO, etc.). It should also be noted that China’s political and commercial relations are adapted to the languages and customs of its economic partners (e.g. China insists on speaking French to French-speaking Africa, something that “French” CAC companies working in Africa almost no longer do). CAC40 companies working in Africa!) while refraining from interfering in the affairs of its partner states, and even less from periodically provoking coups d’état, or even

outright counter-revolutionary putsches (Burkina Faso, overthrow and assassination of Sankara).

This is why, while reaffirming its great respect for the KKE, for its combative struggles in Greece and for its great anti-fascist history, the PRCF can only reiterate its disagreement with the geopolitical analysis of this party, which pits Euro-Atlanticist imperialism-hegemonism against the countries, large and small, which it attacks at every opportunity from one end of the planet to the other. This kind of political amalgam can only blunt the revolutionary defeatism of Western anti-imperialist organisations; it also encourages a too comfortable “ni-ni” attitude which opens the door to the unbridled Russophobia and Sinophobia of the Western imperialists and even leads them to consider the “resistance” of the pro-Nazi regime in Kiev as partially “legitimate”.

Moreover, there is no opposition in principle between, on the one hand, the building of broad fronts against hegemonism and imperialism and, on the other hand, the indispensable conquest by communist parties of a leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle and, a fortiori, in the anti-capitalist struggle. More than ever, the anti-imperialist struggle, complemented by the counter-hegemonic struggle, is ultimately linked to the battle to emerge from capitalism, which can only be waged by the international proletariat led by communist parties faithful to Leninism. There is no choice between the reaffirmation of the proletarian and Leninist identity of the communist parties and their presence, as offensive as possible, at the head of broad fronts, whether international or internal to one country or another; because a consistent struggle against imperialism, with communist parties firmly anchored to the proletariat at the head of the anti-imperialist fronts, would obviously be the best way to reopen the road to socialism-communism for humanity, as we saw in particular in the years following the victory of the anti-Hitler

Coalition led by the USSR Neither ruinous isolation, signifying the certain defeat of the proletariat and leading to a semi-complacent attitude towards Zelensky's Banderist regime, nor alignment of the national CPs and the International Communist Movement (ICM) with bourgeois forces or with the Soviet Union.) with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces active in existing anti-imperialist fronts, but offensive intervention by communist parties to build such fronts, to direct them towards final victory and thus to put the working class, country by country and internationally, in the best possible conditions to achieve socialist revolution with the broadest possible support, not only of wage-earners, but of all the popular and non-oligarchic strata.

Finally, we must not forget that, as the future founders of the PRCF were already explaining on the eve of the "Euromissile crisis" of 1984, exterminism is asserting itself as a central dimension of imperialist capitalism. The capitalist mode of production has long since become obsolete, so that its increasingly violent and artificial maintenance can only expose humanity to growing risks to its survival on military, environmental, civilisational and other levels. This does not imply any historical pessimism ("declinism" or "collapse"!), but rather an increased commitment to unite around the proletariat all the forces that want to preserve life and make the "common happiness" dreamed of by Babeuf the "goal of society". At a time when humanity now numbers more than eight billion people, the relative majority of whom are young people, Paul Vaillant-Couturier's words "Communism is the youth of the world" and Fidel Castro's declaration "Socialism or death, free country(ies) or death, we shall overcome" are resonating ever more strongly.

IV. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO DEFEND PEACE AND TO RESTORE THE PERSPECTIVE OF A COMMUNIST FUTURE FOR HUMANITY?

- Methodically link peaceful, anti-imperialist and counter-hegemonic struggles to social struggles— Macron and his police ministers would like to divert the attention of the masses, many of whom are already starving, who have had a very unpopular pension cut imposed on them and who no longer "recognise" the legitimacy of the regime; in order to create a diversion, the authorities are separating international issues from "internal" social issues and are stigmatising, or even attempting to repress, those forces which refuse, more or less, sometimes in an ill-targeted or inappropriate manner, to "stand down". On the contrary, we need to help workers to closely link the commitment to world peace and the struggle for the sovereignty of peoples with the social struggle for wages, jobs, social gains, public services, production in France and democratic freedoms. This is all the more necessary because the EU serves as a European pivot for the external aggressions of NATO, for the arms race in France and Europe, and even within our own country, for the decline in wages, pensions and unemployment benefits, as well as for transcontinental capitalist mergers and the progressive crushing of social protection, pensions and public services.

- In every anti-imperialist action, we must stress the unity of anti-imperialism, anti-fascism, popular patriotism and social counter-offensives. The same capitalist logic drives anti-social attacks, the destruction of national dignity, the Euro-fascistization of the country boosted by anti-communist negationism and the march towards high-intensity conflict described above;

- On the Middle East, we must reaffirm our fundamental positions: without in the least flirting with the reactionary sectors which take advantage of the Israeli-Arab conflict to reactivate anti-Semitism, and no more with the racists and other xenophobes who use it symmetrically to stigmatise "Muslims" no less globally and odiously, nor ideologically supporting the fundamentalist

positions of whatever religious community they emanate from (it must be said that we remain fundamentally secular militants, as has always been the OLP), we nonetheless reject any kind of comfortably “ni-nist” line drawing an equal sign between Israel’s structurally colonial policy (and this is all the more true in the case of the fascist exterminator Netanyahu) and the resistance of the Palestinian people, denied and crushed under the bombs, if not threatened with massive ethnic cleansing, if not outright genocide. The right of the Palestinian people to resist is no more legally, politically or morally debatable than the right of the French people to resist as they did, notably through the armed resistance of the FTPF and the FTP-MOI, during the Second World War!

For the time being, therefore, we demand loud and clear the right of Palestinians and Israelis to have their own fully-fledged state, as required by UN resolutions and the Oslo Accords signed by Israel and the PLO. These agreements have since been violated unilaterally by Israel, which has even stepped up its illegal colonisation and ethnic cleansing of Palestinian land, while organising an apartheid policy characterised by the daily humiliation of the Palestinians. However, the immediate diplomatic solution known as the “two-state solution” in no way precludes the possibility of considering, in the long term, when the current terrible tensions have subsided to some extent and insofar as, of course, the inhabitants of all religions in this region have freely debated and decided, a single democratic, secular and social state, clearly separated from any religion, in which the Hebrew-speaking and Arabic-speaking citizens of the region, whether Arabs, Jews, Christians or free thinkers, could finally build their future together. But it is up to the inhabitants of the two states in this region to decide this in a spirit of mutual respect, a requirement that Tel Aviv’s colonial policy has deliberately torpedoed and

compromised.

- As far as the Donbass is concerned, we affirm the right of its working-class, Russian-speaking population, historically attached to the USSR and Soviet Russia, to free itself from the Russophobic, pro-Nazi regime in Kiev and join the Russian Federation, just as the people of Crimea, by an overwhelming majority, wanted to do before them. Without ideologically endorsing the anti-communist Putin, and while firmly supporting, in Russia as in Ukraine, the courageous communist parties of these countries, we believe that the responsibility for the current war lies entirely with Washington, the EU and NATO. The latter have done everything in their power to set the former socialist countries of Europe, as well as the Baltic republics, Georgia, Ukraine, etc., against Moscow, with the aim of exerting military pressure on Russia, even if it has officially become anti-communist, to recolonise it as in Yeltsin’s time, to separate it from China and, when the time comes, to carve it up territorially, as certain influential circles in the USA are already planning to do very publicly. Both have publicly boasted that they used the Minsk Agreements, guaranteed by Berlin and Paris, as a diplomatic decoy to allow Kiev to continue arming itself while preparing a military offensive against Moscow. The least we can ask in this matter is that official France, whatever the displeasure of the ‘socialist’, ‘ecologist’ and ‘communist’ MPs who shamefully voted for the delivery of French heavy weapons to Kiev, should finally campaign for de-escalation and assist diplomatic efforts (e.g. the Chinese peace plan) to prevent a possible catastrophe of global proportions by demanding the resumption of East-West and North-South dialogue.

- With regard to China, the PRCF condemns any challenge to China’s territorial unity, whether in Sinkiang, Tibet or Hong Kong, where the anti-Chinese and anti-communist disinformation

campaigns of the media under influence must be denounced. Whether in the Taiwan Strait or in the China Sea, the French Navy must stop acting as the U.S. Navy's deputy, even though our country has never had the slightest coercive influence on China. Whether in the Taiwan Strait or in the China Sea, the French navy must stop acting as the US Navy's deputy, even though our country has never had the slightest national dispute with China!

- In the Far East, the PRCF supports the efforts of the DPR of Korea for the peaceful reunification of the Peninsula on the basis of the principle of "One country, two systems"; the only prerequisite for this patriotic and peaceful reunification of the Korean people is the unconditional departure of the American armada from the South of the country.

- The PRCF condemns the massive rearmament of Japan, just as it castigates the return of German militarism to Europe through this revenge on Stalingrad and on the Yugoslav communist partisans of 1940-1945: on the one hand, the massive dispatch of German arms to Kiev to "liberate" the Ukraine (!), and on the other, the provocative presence of German soldiers in certain parts of ex-Yugoslavia dismembered by NATO, and even the encouragement given by the EU-NATO to the mafia-like rulers of Kosovo to try to provoke a new war against the Serbs in the north of Kosovo.

- The PRCF is also fighting against Berlin's pretensions (half-heartedly "accompanied" by Macron!) to seize France's permanent seat on the UN Security Council and to use the French "nuclear umbrella" to cover the entire territory of the EU. Such a renunciation of the French doctrine on the use of nuclear weapons would expose our country to insane risks, including the possibility of its immediate disappearance in the event of a major European conflict.

In the same spirit, we must denounce the strengthening of German hegemony over Europe through the totally undemocratic establishment of

the so-called "European federal state" called for by Scholz and applauded in advance by Washington. This is what is meant by the march towards a "United States of Europe" being promoted by the Macronist and L.R. MPs with the support of the false Euro-Atlanticist left, in particular the Greens.

- Support the anti-capitalist, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist WFTU and denounce more strongly the yellow syndicalism of the ITUC, the ETUC. and the apparatchiks of the French confederations who relay them. The Euro-Atlantic oligarchies, led by MEDEF and CAC40, must have "trade union" intermediaries at the head of the Euro-formatted trade union confederations, which are comfortably ensconced in capitalist society, if they are to succeed in their criminal plans against the workers, but also against sovereign nations and world peace. Heir to the anti-Soviet cold war and notoriously financed originally by the CIA, the CSI is entirely devoted to capital/labour class collaboration, which serves to "set to music" the Maastricht counter-reforms and the ideological-military campaigns of imperialism. The same is true of the ETUC, that "trade union" transmission belt totally subservient to the Brussels Commission. Recently chaired by Laurent Berger, the former leader of the CFDT who has just led French workers to a resounding defeat, the ETUC is also campaigning for escalation in Ukraine. In the face of this attempt to turn the world of work upside down, frankly communist activists are campaigning loud and clear for determined support for the World Federation of Trade Unions which, when the CGT was affiliated to it, contributed internationally to the greatest social and democratic advances of the post-war period in France.

- For the revival of a frankly communist, anti-imperialist and Marxist-Leninist International Communist Movement—It is a pity that, in the midst of capitalist globalisation, the communists who, with Marx, invented the modern concept of internationalism, still do not have a real fighting

ICM, and even less a Communist International, which was dissolved in 1943 without any long-term assessment of this dissolution having been drawn up collectively by the parties which emerged from the Comintern. A rigorous international discussion on this assessment, and above all on the future of communist internationalism, cannot be avoided for much longer, otherwise the battle hymn of all the world's communists will be emptied of all effective content.

The PRCF will therefore support, as it has always done, any effort aimed at the rebirth of a fighting ICM, which is all the more necessary now that, in our era of capitalist globalisation, any major proletarian struggle necessarily has a strong international dimension, at least implicitly. Recent experience shows that the ICM must not attempt to reconstitute itself on the basis of a predefined line imposed by this or that party proclaiming itself to be the guide of the internationalist renaissance without even having carried out the socialist revolution at home; for reasons of principle and effectiveness, this reconstitution should take place on the basis, for each national communist party, of the search for a deep proletarian and popular roots, of the continuous anti-imperialist action of all communist parties, of their common defence of revolutionary memory against historical negationism, their shared commitment to the defence of Marxism-Leninism and against all right-wing and "left-wing" variants of revisionism and dogmatism, a constant effort to develop together a common Marxist-Leninist analysis of the major contemporary problems, the dialectical articulation of the struggles for social emancipation and the struggles for national emancipation in such a way as to bring to life in the present day the Comintern motto "Proletarians of all countries, oppressed peoples of the world, unite!". This would mean not only issuing, from time to time, commendable "joint declarations" with little follow-up in terms of

action, but conducting genuine joint international communist campaigns, for example on the following points, which come under the heading of what we propose to call the practical work of international communist revival:

- unwavering political solidarity with socialist Cuba and with the countries of the ALBA which are linked to it which are linked to it ;
- internationalist class solidarity with the persecuted CPs and class trade unions in Europe and throughout the world
- the defence of communist and revolutionary memory slandered by historical negationism which takes advantage of this to rehabilitate fascism. This requires regular joint campaigns on dates emblematic of historical communism (Paris Commune, October 1917, Stalingrad, etc.).
- resolute support for the Palestinian people and other peoples confronting imperialism and its creatures
- resolute common struggle against the EU, NATO and the other institutions of capitalist globalisation under Euro-Atlantic hegemony.

In order to reconstitute the ICM on a combative basis, and to put an end to its current virtual paralysis, aggravated by the unilateral dissolution of the "European Initiative of CPs" by one party, it is urgently necessary, on the basis of a simple historical routine which has become obsolete, to no longer accommodate in this Movement the parties which have wrecked the socialist camp, and/or which continue to torpedo international communism, whether initially by following Gorbachev or "eurocommunism", nor of course the Trotskyist movements which, from time immemorial, have fought real socialism while cultivating a sterile leftism. In particular, it is counter-productive to continue to welcome into the ICM parties affiliated to the European Left Party, that EU-subsidized social-democratic officine whose sole function is to tie down the working

class to a Euro-Atlanticist “construction” harmful to peoples and world peace.

Finally, a “Fifth International” devoid of class contours and precise doctrinal delimitation and mixing communist parties with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois patriotic parties cannot be considered a legitimate avatar of the Leninist Communist International. This confused way of proceeding would lead to the dissolution of the existing CPs into a non-proletarian conglomerate, whereas all peoples need communist parties, and also a fully independent ICM, not only to achieve social revolution, but to lead the anti-imperialist struggle to victory. This way of operating would be no less counter-productive from the point of view of bringing anti-imperialists together, because confusing the anti-imperialist regroupment with the regroupment of Communist and Workers’ Parties can only atrophy the perimeter of the necessary anti-imperialist regroupment while aggravating the ideological confusion in the Marxist ranks.

Conclusion

More than ever, communists must combine the effort to reconstitute, wherever they do not yet exist, Leninist parties linked to the workers, and the work aimed at bringing together anti-oligarchic, anti-monopolist and counter-hegemonic forces, while respecting the specific characteristics of each of the levels of intervention considered. The PRCF, which, following the work of its international commissions over several decades, corresponds abroad with more than a hundred communist parties and organisations, will deepen this work by linking it closely to the work of rebuilding the communist party in France: for the greatest service that the PRCF can render today to the ICM is to contribute with all its forces, still modest admittedly, but dynamic, to the rebirth of a great fighting communist party in France itself.

No to fascism! Resist US-led NATO war!

Jozef Bossuyt | Communist Party of Belgium

War and World Anti-Imperialist Resistance

After the destruction of socialism in the Soviet Union (1991), a series of wars began, which today threaten to turn into a third world war and degenerate into a nuclear catastrophe.

No longer hampered by a socialist state equal to its adversary, the Soviet Union, the United States, together with its NATO allies and proxy mercenaries, organized the invasions, mass bombings and occupation of Palestine, Yugoslavia (1999), Afghanistan (2001), Iraq (2003), Libya (2011), Syria (2011) and Donbass (2014).

The world economy is going through a deep crisis. This crisis of world capitalism is accelerating the decline of the United States, which rose to the top of the imperialist world after the powers of old Europe were weakened by two world wars. Although the imperialists received a major boost to their failing economies after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, their economic system is again in crisis and their hegemony is failing, as more and more countries break away from their economic and political control.

The great power that is the United States is weakened because its hegemony is increasingly challenged by China in particular, which surpasses the United States economically, and Russia, which is positioning itself independently and against American dominance. China and Russia are targeted by the United States because they stand in the way of complete US global dominance. It is clear that the decline of US hegemony is increasingly orienting NATO policy towards a military confrontation with China and Russia.

Propaganda wars, trade and sanctions wars, military wars

In its desperation to save its economic system and international dominance, the United States has engaged in relentless wars against any country that tries to get out or remain free from its control. “Proxy” wars, in which the army of a small dependent country is deployed to fight the wars of the United States. Relentless trade wars and sanctions aimed at crushing the growth of emerging economies. Support separatist movements aimed at undermining sovereignty and destabilizing territories. Creating and financing national opposition movements and propaganda wars: manipulating the mass media. All avenues are followed to try to achieve so-called “regime change” in any country that has friendly relations with the People’s Republic of China, the Russian Federation or any other nation that has chosen the path of sovereignty and independence. All over the world, poor and oppressed peoples and workers face the same enemy: the imperialist bloc led by the United States, whether represented by the European Union, NATO, the OAS, the Five Eyes, AUKUS, the IMF, the World Bank or any other front for US imperial interests.

Asia, Africa, Latin America

In addition to Russia, many other countries are still subject to threats and aggression from the United States.

In East Asia, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) has been living in the shadow of war for decades, while provocations and aggression against the People’s Republic of China are intensifying at an alarming rate. The peoples of the Middle East have suffered from an endless series of aggressive and barbaric wars in recent decades, particularly in Iraq, Libya and Syria, in addition

to the constant provocations against the Islamic Republic of Iran since its founding and the almost daily massacres of the Palestinian people since 1948.

Meanwhile, the plundering of the African continent has been accompanied by the instigation of an endless “resource war” by the imperialists. In Congo, it’s cheap coltan hunting. Behind the war in eastern Congo, there is the Rwandan regime, and behind this regime, there is the United States, which wants to take control of the Congo. The Rwandan regime exports minerals that are not on its territory, but on that of its neighbor. Sub-Saharan countries are also characterized by violent repression and armies sponsored by former colonizing countries and Israel. Against the Republic of Eritrea, the United States organized a border war with Ethiopia in 1998. In Niger, since July 26, 2023, a new popular government is expelling the occupation forces of French and US imperialism. The same liberation process is happening in Burkina Faso, Mali and Sudan.

In Latin America, considered by the US as its “backyard”, two centuries of imperialist exploitation by the US have resulted in plunder and poverty. In order to break the unity and integration of peoples, and to keep them divided and weak, we have seen: military interventions, as in Panama, Chile and Grenada; an endless succession of coups, as in Honduras, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, Guatemala and Brazil. Occupation of the Malvinas Islands in Argentina and Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, from where the imperialists are strengthening their military domination over the region. Today, inhumane economic sanctions are suffocating and ruining Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua.

War in Ukraine

It is in this light that we understand NATO’s provocation of a proxy war against Russia on the territory of Ukraine. At any moment, this war

threatens to lead to a wider regional conflict and a direct confrontation between NATO forces and the peoples of the world. NATO’s aggression is directed not only against Russia, but against any state or movement that seeks to pursue a policy of independence or sovereign development.

In this sense, NATO member states have been invited to increase their military spending by at least 2% of their GDP and to militarily support the US offensive war in Ukraine.

- extending NATO to Sweden and Finland
- by sending financial aid, soldiers and military equipment to the Zelensky regime:

Abrams, Challenger, Leopard I (later Leopard II) battle tanks, ammunition (every day as much as a small NATO country orders per year), artillery, howitzers, (long-range Stinger, Javelin, Himars 80km) (Patriot 160km) missiles, soon F16 fighter planes (pilots are already in training), machine guns, cannons, armored cars, (Iveco LMV lynx), anti-tank guns. Submarines and battleships are on the wish list.

These weapons are used to bomb cities in Donbass, Crimea, Ukraine and to strike targets on Russian territory.

NATO and Belgium

In Belgium, the purchase of new F35 fighter-bombers for an amount of 6 billion, increased maintenance costs by an additional 6 billion, an increase in the Belgian military budget of 100%. Spending more money on the so-called “defence”, the arms industry, is done directly at the expense of the social needs of the population, public services, hospitals, social housing and schools.

Belgium has sent €316 million in military aid to Zelensky’s fascist regime, soldiers to Bulgaria, F16 fighter jets and soldiers to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Michel Hofman, Chief of Staff of the Belgian Army, argues for the introduction of conscription

in the future, because “a potential necessity could arise that we must defend ourselves”.

Belgium is not only participating in NATO’s offensive against Russia. This is largely organised from Belgium, from NATO Headquarters in Evere and NATO’s Central Command Centre in Europe in Mons.

Belgium maintains nuclear weapons ready at the Kleine Brogel base. There is an American military air base in Chièvres.

European Commissioner Thierry Breton promises that by the end of 2023, European companies will have produced one million grenades, that the European defence industry will switch to a “war economy”.

STOP THE U.S. WAR

Palestine

Since October 2023 it became clear to the whole world that the Israeli regime is a fascist regime, installed by the US, committing genocide to the Palestinian People. United Nations votes condemned the criminal, colonial Israel war, and the US blocked any condemnation or sanction against the war they have provoked.

Libya

In secular and independent Libya (2011), the United States directly supported religious fundamentalists and al-Qaeda terrorists. The UN Security Council (in which China and Russia) did not oppose the NATO bombing at that time. As a result, all infrastructure, water, electricity, schools, hospitals, jobs were destroyed. A tsunami of heavily armed mercenaries, such as ISIS, has risen, murdered thousands and invaded the world, destabilizing regimes in the service of imperialism. A tidal wave of refugees has risen from Africa to Europe.

Syria

The turning point in the attitude of China and Russia came after the US aggression against Syria. In 2011, the US organized the “Free Syrian Army”, with the aim of overthrowing the secular and independent regime in Achad.

When that failed, the mujahideen and ISIS emerged in Syria, backed by the proxies of Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Israel and Qatar. From 2015, Russia and China actively support Syria against this aggression, Russian warplanes are deployed for the liberation of Syria.

DONBASS – UKRAINE

This war is an aggressive imperialist war waged by the United States.

Today, on the part of US imperialism (led by a small group of people, the US military-industrial complex), the real war is a coherent, imperialist and aggressive world war waged by the US. The main frontlines of this war today are in China, Korea, the Middle East and Ukraine.

The United States sends its allies and mercenaries to Ukraine, equipped with enormous military equipment. The goal of this war is for Russia to weaken and realize strategy of global hegemony by forcing Ukraine to fight with Russia. International society, witnessing the grave situation caused by the actions of the United States, understands who is the main culprit and destroyer of peace that disrupts stability and provokes wars around the world.

As US presidential adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski put it in 1997:

“The political goal of the United States: to perpetuate America’s dominant position, exercise America’s global primacy, be the world’s first and only superpower, and remain the world’s last superpower.” Given Eurasia’s central position (Europe and Asia): “Preventing the emergence of a dominant and antagonistic Eurasian power—which challenges America—remains central to America’s

ability to exercise global primacy.” “Potentially, the most dangerous scenario would be a grand coalition of China, Russia and perhaps Iran, an “anti-hegemonic” coalition.”

MILITARY ALLIANCES

On the international scene, we see the existence of two military alliances.

On the one hand, there is the aggressive imperialist alliance led by US imperialism, which includes 30 NATO countries and armies, and in East Asia also Japan, South Korea and Australia.

Against this alliance, on the other hand, a de facto military alliance of China, Russia, North Korea, Iran, Syria, Palestine, Belarus, Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua was formed and strengthened after the installation of US sanctions against Russia and China.

Already in 2001, on June 15, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization was established with China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan as members. Their first joint military exercises took place in 2003.

On May 24, 2022, following a provocation by the United States, Russian Tu-95MS and Chinese H-6K strategic bombers jointly patrolled the waters of the East China Sea.

On 15 May 1992, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) was established. Since 1994, its members have been Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. From 5 to 11 January 2022, CSTO armies were deployed to Kazakhstan in response to attempts to overthrow the Kazakh government.

The military alliance between China and DPR Korea has existed since DPR Korea’s existence began in 1945. It was reinforced by President Xi Jinping’s visit to the DPRK on June 20-21, 2022. The alliance between Russia and the DPRK has historical roots in the Soviet Union’s military contribution to the Korean Liberation War and the

liberation of Korea in 1945. This contribution was mentioned by President Putin during North Korean leader Kim Jong-un’s visit to Vladivostok in April 2019.

Military cooperation exists between Russia and Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela. After President Chavez condemned the invasion of Afghanistan and nationalized the oil industry, President Obama called it a “threat to the security of the United States”, ending all cooperation. Chavez turned to Russia, which supplied military equipment, including fighter jets, in 2008 for its security.

Global solidarity—votes at the UN

In addition to this close military alliance against US imperialism, a global alliance is being formed. This became clear on March 2, 2022, when the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution condemning Russia and demanding the withdrawal of Russian forces from Ukraine. 114 countries supported the resolution, including the United States and its NATO allies, as well as Japan, Australia and South Korea. Five countries voted against: Russia, Belarus, Syria, the socialist Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and Eritrea. 52 countries expressed their opposition by abstaining or not voting. Among them, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and China. It should be noted that the large number of African States expressed their dissatisfaction by abstaining: Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Morocco. From Latin America, there were the Alba countries such as Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, El Salvador. In Asia, the abstentions of Iran, India, Pakistan and even Iraq are remarkable. On October 12, 2022 (and later in March 2023), the general vote of the UN Assembly showed a similar picture. The United States condemned Russia for the Lugansk, Donetsk, Zaporizhia and Kherson

referendums. The US resolution was supported by 143 votes, 5 against and 48 abstained or did not take part in the vote.

This US resolution was a call to President Zelensky to continue and prolong the war and try to conquer Donbass and Crimea.

Resistance of China, DPR of Korea, Donbass, Palestine

In China, the war of national liberation, unleashed by Mao Zedong, liberated mainland China from occupation by Japanese imperialism on October 1, 1949, and began the socialist revolution and transformation of the country into a socialist country. The United States occupies and arms Taiwan as a base against the mainland. On China's side, this current, still unfinished war aimed at the reunification of the country is a just, legitimate, defensive and progressive war.

In the Middle East, in Asia, the United States invaded and bombed Afghanistan in 2001, Iraq in 2003, Libya in 1986 and 2011, Syria from 2011.

In the People's Republic of Korea, the Korean People's Army overcame the Japanese occupation in 1945 and Kim Il Sung founded a socialist state in the North. South Korea was occupied by the United States, which (along with 7 NATO countries) fought a war from 1950 to 1953, killing 4 million people. This war is not over and continues to this day. The United States has signed a ceasefire, but no peace agreement. They still occupy South Korea with 80 military bases and 24,000 soldiers. Every year, they organize military maneuvers with the South Korean military with the scenario of an invasion of North Korea. From South Korea, THAAD missiles threaten both North Korea and China. On the part of the DPR of Korea, this war is still a just, legitimate and defensive war of liberation, aimed at the reunification of their country.

In Donbass, Donetsk and Luhansk, the people are fighting in a just, defensive, liberating, legitimate

and progressive war. Russia's intervention is positive insofar as Russia supports this war of national liberation on the territory of Donbass. Without Russian help, the Donbass republics would have been brutally oppressed and the population massacred by the fascist regime of President Zelensky.

The Poroshenko-Zelensky regime in Kiev is a fascist regime

"Fascism is an open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinist and imperialist elements of finance capital."

The current Zelensky regime in Ukraine meets all the criteria of a fascist regime.

After the overthrow of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States encouraged conflicts and wars between former Soviet republics, such as Russia and Ukraine. The US acted to keep the nascent Russian capitalist state weak. In November 2013, the US financed and organized the pro-fascist Maidan uprising in Kiev against the pro-Russian government of Yanukovich. The United States mobilized the most reactionary nationalist forces, the supporters of the Nazi collaborator of World War II, Stepan Bandera. In February 2014, these gangs destroyed government buildings, offices of communist and workers' organizations, monuments to Lenin and commemorating the Soviet Union, and overthrew the government. The newly installed regime was fascist in its essence, Ukrainian in its forms, and American in its aims and policies. Especially in eastern Ukraine (Donbass, Mariupol, Odessa), resistance has grown. Poroshenko, president of Ukraine since May 25, has violently suppressed this growing resistance. On May 2, 2014, fascist gangs burned alive 40 people in the Odessa trade union building. In Donbass, a popular uprising drove out fascist representatives. The working class, especially miners and metalworkers, confiscated weapons

from police stations and army barracks, and erected barricades around government buildings. Poroshenko launched a military campaign against Donbass, bombing schools, hospitals, homes and power plants, killing 14,000 people between 2014 and 2022. But neither he nor the future President Zelensky was able to take the capitals of Donetsk and Luhansk from the inhabitants of Donbass, who were fighting in a just, defensive and legitimate war of liberation. Russia's intervention is positive insofar as Russia supports this war of liberation on the territory of Donbass.

China's peace proposal for Ukraine

On February 24, 2023, China proposed a 12-point peace plan, including

- Respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity of all countries
- The legitimate security interests of all countries are to be respected
- Cessation of hostilities. Cease firing. All countries should help Russia and Ukraine to resume direct dialogue
- Peaceful resolution of the crisis through dialogue and negotiation
- Protect civilian populations and prisoners of war. Do not attack civilians or civilian institutions. Protection of women, children and other victims. Exchange of prisoners of war.
- No attacks on nuclear power plants. Engage the International Nuclear Energy Agency.
- Promote grain transport along the Black Sea
- Stop unilateral sanctions
- Maintain industrial and supply chains

Joe Biden and Volodymyr Zelensky rejected this proposal. Their ambition is to conquer Donbass and Crimea militarily, to move NATO to the border with Russia, and then Russia: to weaken, conquer and divide, as happened with Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile, Ukraine is attacking on the territory of Russia. As early as December 2022, there were

heavy blasts at two major air bases in Russia hundreds of kilometers from Ukraine, probably by drones. The largest Russian city on the border with Ukraine, Belgorod, has been under attack for more than a year, ammunition depots or fuel depots exploding. Ukraine dynamited the Nordstream pipeline from Russia to Europe, attacking all the Kremlin in Moscow with drones. On Tuesday morning, May 30, 2023, drones attacked residential neighborhoods in Moscow and hit three apartment buildings.

Self-determination

Already on March 16, 2014, the people of Crimea decided in a referendum to secede from fascist Ukraine and reunite with Russia. On 11 May 2014, 89% of the population of Donetsk and 96% of the population of Lugansk voted in referendums for the establishment of the independent Donetsk People's Republic and the Lugansk People's Republic. Since then, their territory no longer belongs to Ukraine. In September 2022, 98% in Lugansk, 99% in Donetsk, 93% in Zaporizhia and 87% in Kherson voted in referendums to become Russia territory. Chapter 1, Article 1, Part 2 of the Charter of the United Nations states: 'the principle of the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination'.

Our country, Belgium, was part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands until 1830. In 1830, Belgium separated from the Kingdom of the Netherlands by a revolution and became an independent state and was recognized worldwide. The United States of America was founded by breaking away from the British Empire. Hawaii officially became the fiftieth state of the United States on August 21, 1959. It is clear that the United States recognizes only for itself the right to self-determination and secession, and the right to accept new territories in the state.

Lenin concluded in his book "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" that the right to self-

determination of all nations includes the right to secede and exist as a separate independent nation-state. He cited Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who from the 1840s supported Poland's demand for independence and, in 1869, Ireland's struggle for independence from England. Lenin approved the Norwegian people who seceded from Sweden in 1905, after an overwhelming majority in a referendum. Lenin had great appreciation for Rosa Luxemburg. But in a lively and deep polemic, Lenin condemned her policy, which did not recognize the principle of self-determination and the separation of nations, nor the struggle for the independence of Ireland and Poland.

Rosa Luxemburg's refusal to support Lenin's struggle for Polish independence was considered by Lenin as "support for the people of the 'Black Hundred—Great Russians'".

Stop this U.S. war

For the peoples to be free, every (of the world's 800) U.S. NATO base, military installation, biolab and spy facility must be dismantled. Every imperialist soldier must be sent back to his homeland. We must refuse to write, print or broadcast NATO war propaganda. We must expose the lies of the imperialists in our own media and show the people that they have a side in this war; that it is urgent and in the interest of all suffering humanity that the imperialists be defeated and that we must fight together with all those who are willing to work for this purpose. Wherever NATO armies are reckless enough to start a war, they must be defeated on the battlefield and behind the lines. Workers must refuse to fight in the armies and proxy forces of the US. We must refuse to move their men and machines. We must boycott and disrupt every aspect of the aggressive and criminal war machine.

Belgium out of NATO, NATO out of Belgium!

In Belgium, the fight against US imperialism and in particular against NATO is the first priority. Our country has been a founding member and an unconditional servant of NATO since its founding in 1949. We demand:

- Belgium out of NATO, NATO out of Belgium, dissolution of NATO
- The closure of NATO headquarters in Evere, SHAPE (NATO Central Command Centre in Europe) in Mons, and the US military airbase in Chièvres.
- The departure of the nuclear bombs from Kleine Brogel, no placement of update B61-12
- No increase in military budgets to 2% of GDP, the reduction in military expenditure and the cancellation of the government's agreement to purchase F-35 fighter jets whose final estimated cost is EUR 15 billion. Spending this money on public services, hospitals, schools, social housing.
- No transit of US/NATO troops and armoured vehicles through the territory of Belgium for transit
- No participation of Belgium in the NATO war against Donbas and against Russia. Return home of Belgian soldiers from Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and of all Belgian troops on foreign missions
- Return of the Belgian F16 from Latvia
- No Belgian money, weapons, training of soldiers to the NATO war of Biden and Zelensky against Russia and Donbas

For an international front of nations and working class against the US imperialist war

The first responsibility of all peoples throughout the world and the international working class is to build a global alliance, to resist the US-led imperialist war and to eliminate US imperialism and NATO. This: in every country, on every continent and all over the world.

We invite all social movements, parties and countries to join us in our efforts to unite the peoples of the world. Together, we have the power to stand up to the US-led imperialist bloc and overthrow the colonial system that brings instability, poverty and human rights violations to the masses through political repression, economic plunder and military coercion. The participants in this alliance must develop broad front organizations in their own countries and concrete and practical mass actions against the United States and NATO. As a communist party, we must therefore actively intervene in peace movements, in Belgium and internationally, and contribute to their revival and radicalization by building an anti-imperialist front.

People of the world: unite against imperialism!

Defeat of the US-led neo-Nazi NATO warmongers;
Victory for the resistance!

Yankee go home!

The perspective of a world without war:

Socialism

The defeat of NATO and the elimination of US imperialism is a necessary step. This defeat and elimination will open the possibility and prospect of a new phase. In this new phase of history, a world of permanent lasting peace can be built. The struggle for peace is inextricably linked to the need to demolish capitalism and its criminal institutions and to fight for socialism. This is only possible when revolutions and socialism have eliminated the source of war: capitalism and imperialism.

We live in the stage of imperialism. The world is divided under capitalist financial monopolies. They fight for a redistribution of the world, they have to compete for sources of raw materials, areas of investment and export of capital, markets and cheap labor. They turn countries into colonies, semicolonies and dependent countries. In this struggle for a redistribution of the world, the most powerful monopolies can survive only by launching

wars of aggression and annexation, to eliminate the weak.

These wars can only be stopped once and for all when the revolutionary parties of the working class around the world overthrow the capitalist states and create socialist societies, where the working class and workers own the means of production.

The lessons of our history

Joti Brar | Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

Comrades, since last we met, we cannot but feel the sea change in the conditions in which our struggles against imperialism and for socialism are being waged. We cannot but be aware that the imperialists of the US-led Nato block and their allies and stooges around the world are looking increasingly weak and vulnerable, even as they beat the drums for war and menace the people of the world.

The foundations for this turning in the tide of class struggle have been in the process of being laid for some time.

They were laid by the heroic resistance to imperialist wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and Yemen.

They were laid by the steadfast refusal to submit to economic brigandage by the DPRK, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Iran, Syria, Venezuela and Russia.

They were laid by eight years of antifascist resistance in Donbass and by 75 years of anti-zionist resistance in the middle east.

They were laid by the rapid advance in development levels in the People's Republic of China, which has set itself the target of becoming technologically independent by 2025.

And they were laid by the deep crisis of the global capitalist economy, which has been inflicting wave after wave of austerity and war on the masses, particularly since the banking collapse of 2008. As we meet, a new downward lurch of this crisis is expected to break out into the open at any moment—and to bring with it consequences that will make the problems of 2008 look like a walk in the park.

At such a time, comrades, it is vital that we are doing everything we can to prepare our movement to overcome the obstacles that lie between us and

a successful conclusion to our struggles against imperialism and for socialism.

Meeting in Athens gives us the opportunity to reflect on the experience of comrades here in Greece during the last great wave of revolutionary struggle—a wave that was unleashed by another crisis of overproduction and another global war drive. And as we examine afresh the great victories and defeats of our Greek comrades in the 1940s, we can see that this history contains many vital lessons for our movement today.

The KKE was founded, as were communist parties around the world, out of the upheaval and crisis of the first world war and following the triumph of the Bolshevik party in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

That earth-shaking event proved decisively the necessity of Bolshevising our movement—of building in every country a party of the Leninist type. Parties founded firmly on the principles of scientific socialism and experienced in the art of popularising this Marxist understanding amongst the masses. Parties capable of attracting the best elements of the working class and training them. Parties able to navigate the complex waters of class struggle and hold firmly to the main objective at any particular moment, pointing out a clear line of march to the wider masses. Parties organised so that their cadres can carry out party decisions with the flexible manoeuvrability and iron discipline of a highly-motivated army.

Comrades, a movement and parties of this type are still what the working class needs if it is to succeed in freeing itself from exploitation once and for all. We must study seriously and in detail the experience of the Bolsheviks in building such a party, as well as the experience of doing the same in

our own countries. Where did they succeed? Where did they fail? How can this understanding help our movement to develop today?

In the early days of the new Communist International, most of the parties that made it up were small. In many parts of the world, no meaningful socialist movement had existed before the October Revolution electrified the nascent national movements against colonialism, catapulting a new awareness of Marxism into their midst.

In Europe, new communist organisations were formed from the revolutionary wings of the old, rotten social-democratic parties that had failed the workers so badly during the interimperialist carnage and revolutionary crisis of World War One.

And here is another important lesson for us today: it is not the size or the age of an organisation that determines its success, but its ability to find and stick to a correct line; its ability to withstand the constant pressures of bourgeois ideology and bourgeois political and social life; its sincerity in striving for a really revolutionary outcome; its success in training cadres who study deeply and who learn to put theory into practice, doing everything possible to raise the level of the collective's wisdom even as it learns to act in a united and disciplined way.

In every country, these new, small parties took strength from the success of the October Revolution in overthrowing Russian tsarism and imperialism, from the solving of the national question by the young USSR, from the liberation of Soviet women, and from the immense successes of the world's first planned economy—which unleashed the latent power and creativity of the working masses even as the global capitalist economy was sinking into its worst ever crisis of overproduction.

And, of course, Soviet socialism wasn't merely a distant example. It was a base for the world revolution in a very practical sense. From all

over the oppressed world, young revolutionaries came to train—in Marxist philosophy, history and economics, in party-building and in the techniques and logistics of underground organisation and liberation warfare.

The great Greek communist leader Nikos Zachariadis is a case in point. As a young man he travelled to the Soviet Union and studied at both the International Lenin School and the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. He returned to Greece with the knowledge and experience necessary to help his party overcome its theoretical confusion and internal divisions, leading the KKE in a phase of rapid growth and development.

Looking at this period, we see how our movement was able to grow rapidly in a situation where the communist forces were united and working together across international boundaries. Small communist parties were able to grow with the Soviet example and support at their back, and with a meaningful analysis and programme to offer to the workers at a time when the economic crisis was exposing the inescapable and obscene contradictions of the capitalist system.

This combination of the rise of an effective communist movement and the deepening crisis of the capitalist system forced the imperialists to resort to fascism, for fascism is the ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie facing a deep economic crisis and the threat of its revolutionary overthrow. The imposition of fascist regimes in so many countries created an extremely difficult situation for the workers, who had to learn to wage the struggle in illegal ways.

Here again, the Bolshevik example was of great help, for they had been the first to really successfully combine legal and illegal forms of work, and had a great store of experience and knowledge to share.

In Greece, the KKE was banned and its leaders imprisoned by a pro-fascist regime that had the

backing of British imperialism. The party was disorganised and had to adjust to illegal methods of work. But even from a prison cell, Comrade Zachariadis was one of the first leaders in Europe to call for a national front against fascism, galvanising the workers to action by writing his legendary letters from jail, in which he set out a communist approach to waging the antifascist and anti-imperialist struggle.

Communist leadership of the Greek national-liberation war, waged first against Italian and then against German fascist occupation, has many parallels with the anti-Japanese war waged by Mao Zedong and his comrades in China—a war in which the communists had to overcome their own internal divisions and also to force the unreliable and anticommunist nationalist forces into cooperation.

Much can be learned about communist strategy and tactics in an oppressed country from studying these two examples.

In Greece, the communists made their first important advance in the battle against hunger, which had struck with a vengeance in the wake of the Nazi invasion of May 1941. The German occupiers, commandeering food and other resources for themselves, left the masses so bereft that a full one-third of the Greek people starved to death. The communist-organised National Liberation Front (EAM), recognising that this was its first duty, organised public dining rooms to ensure the physical survival of the people.

The communists also founded the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS)—the only anti-Nazi resistance movement not supported by the British, which actually helped it to gain the loyalty of the masses. The revolutionaries soon established liberated areas in the countryside and grew strong enough not only to mount guerrilla attacks but to wage full-scale warfare against the German and Italian occupiers.

In the liberated areas, a new form of government was established. Not only was the population saved from hunger, but for the first time ordinary Greek people, including women, were involved in determining their everyday lives, and for the first time they could be involved in political life under the leadership of the Communist party. This was the first time that women had been given the right to vote in Greece.

As in China, such activities immensely enhanced the reputation of the communists and won for them a huge and loyal following. The National Liberation Front grew to include two million members, one-third of the population—the biggest organisation ever to have existed in Greece.

Many lessons are encapsulated for communists in this history. We can see how, by mobilising the broadest possible section of the masses behind the immediate slogans of antifascism, anti-imperialism, liberation and self-determination, but without subordinating their communist programme and outlook, the best possible conditions were created for connecting Marxism with the masses.

Within such a movement, it was possible for all those involved to learn quickly and from experience that the most steadfast, the most dependable friends of the people were the communists, since they worked with selfless discipline and were seeking nothing for themselves, only wishing to share the lot of the workers and to help them come to the understanding that the only permanent solution to their problems lay in replacing capitalist anarchy with planned socialist production.

Of course, the Greek revolutionaries were helped enormously in these efforts by the example of Soviet socialism, whose light shone like a beacon across a world that seemed otherwise consumed by the darkness of imperialist fascism and war.

The question of how the Greek revolution came ultimately to fail even when victory seemed firmly within its grasp is one that is still debated today.

Undoubtedly the absence of the party's most experienced practical and theoretical leader in Dachau concentration camp for four years played its part. So, too, did the complex geopolitical situation, in which the Greek partisans had essentially won their war against Nazi Germany before the war as a whole was over.

The compromises reached with British imperialism, which was officially on the same side of the global antifascist alliance as the Greek partisans, but in practice had been a long-term sponsor of fascist and monarchic forces in the country, also proved catastrophic. The perfidious British took full advantage of the terms of the peace deal to instal a government of their own choosing while breaking every one of the promises they had made to the revolutionary forces during negotiations.

Forty thousand English soldiers entered Athens, and they had no hesitation in using fascist security organisations that had been set up by the Nazis to establish the authority of the new regime. Britain's role in attempting to crush the Greek revolution was ruthless and bloody: it armed and directed the old monarcho-fascist organisations that were loyal to its interests, while bombing and starving working-class populations without hesitation—in particular during the 37-day Battle of Athens in December 1944.

The release of Zachariadis from Dachau in 1945 returned him to Greece and restored him as general secretary of the party. The armed struggle was organised once again and elections organised by the British occupiers were boycotted, since it was clear they could be neither free nor fair under such circumstances.

The British Labour government that had come to power in 1945 was fully committed to the same path that Britain's wartime leader Winston Churchill had taken in Greece. Despite all the brutalities inflicted on the Greek people, however, British imperialism

was unable to sustain the military and economic effort required to suppress the revolution, and this role had to be handed over to the increasingly dominant power of US imperialism.

Under the 'Truman doctrine', the USA had committed itself to intervene anywhere in the world to protect any regime that was faced with imminent socialist revolution. In 1947-8, US forces launched a series of major offences in the mountains of Greece against the partisans. It was here that the US army used napalm bombs for the first time. This weapon has become synonymous with imperialist brutality since the Vietnam war, but the truth is that such weapons have been used by the imperialists in almost every war they have waged from 1948 until today, when the latest iteration of napalm—white phosphorous—is being dropped on civilians in Gaza.

During this vicious anti-insurgency campaign, partisans were beheaded, young men were driven out of the countryside en masse in order to deprive the democratic forces of recruits, and a network of prisons and concentration camps was established housing nearly 30,000 leftists, militants and their families. Every form of torture and degradation was inflicted on those unfortunate enough to be sent to such notorious dungeons as Makronissos and Yioura.

Meanwhile, the American soldiers acted as an army of occupation. As in Korea and elsewhere, they lived as a privileged caste, able to commit crimes against the local population with total impunity. From that day forward, the US embassy acted as a behind-the-scenes shadow government in Greece.

The last straw for the Greek partisans was the betrayal of Yugoslavia's leader Josip Broz Tito. Navigating a difficult international situation, in which the Soviets were working night and day to effect the recovery of their war-torn homeland, and in which the USA had an atom bomb but the Soviet

Union did not, Josef Stalin's USSR officially gave no military assistance to Greek forces. Clearly an unofficial agreement existed in the socialist camp, however.

When Tito made the first rupture in the world socialist ranks, breaking with the Soviet Union and insisting on a 'third way' towards socialism, to the great delight of the imperialists, one of his many hostile acts was to close the Yugoslav border to Greek partisans in July 1949, the KKE leadership having taken the principled position of supporting the CPSU's correct position regarding the socialist line of advance.

Trapped between the closed border and the US bombardment, the National Army of Greece was finally defeated. As the vicious campaign of suppression and retribution unfolded, 60,000 Greek partisans, communists and family members were forced into exile in the socialist countries.

Thus we see that the ravages of revisionism within our own movement can be said to have claimed their first victims even before the death of Stalin.

The next great challenge for our movement was the change of political and economic line in the USSR that accompanied the change of leadership after Stalin's death in 1953. This was an ideological onslaught that very few parties proved able to withstand.

The theoretical gutting of many communist parties was a process already beginning to get underway in the imperialist countries, where welfare provision to the masses under the threat of socialist revolution had persuaded the communists of Britain, France and the USA to believe that there was now a peaceful road open to socialism. And this process was given a decisive and worldwide impetus by the ascent of Nikita Khrushchev to the position of CPSU and Soviet leader.

Very few parties had the kind of leadership that was able to see the danger in the new lines adopted by Khrushchev during this period. One of the great

tragedies for both Greece and the world is that one of the first and most principled of those who did see and did speak out against the problems he saw developing was KKE leader Nikos Zachariadis.

In many ways, Zachariadis was uniquely positioned to understand what was happening, both because of his former experience and training in the USSR and the Comintern, and also because of his first-hand experience of the changes that began to take place inside the Soviet Union after 1953. But given a situation in which he and his comrades were entirely dependent upon Soviet hospitality, Zachariadis needed both principle and bravery to speak up.

The reward for his courageous stand was to find himself effectively excommunicated from the movement. The Khrushchev clique had him removed as leader and then expelled entirely from his party. He was exiled to Siberia and his ability to influence the debate and strengthen the forces of anti-revisionism was cut off.

In this way, Nikos Zachariadis's legacy was also buried. So effectively was information about his life and work hidden away that very few communists outside of Greece today remember his name. This must be reversed and the true nature of his revolutionary legacy brought to light, for his example in standing up against opportunism and revisionism, no matter what the cost to himself, is one that must be followed by all those who sincerely work towards the defeat of capitalist-imperialism.

Let us take good note of this, the most important lesson of all. The strongest blows that have brought the most devastation to our movement have not come from outside, but from within our midst.

The troubles brought upon us by Khrushchevite revisionism and the steady descent into bourgeois parliamentarism and 'Eurocommunism', the fratricidal warfare resulting from the Sino-Soviet split, the gutting and degeneration of parties

that gave up a serious and independent study of Marxism ... these have done more damage than have the combined military assaults of German, Japanese, British and US imperialism.

Let us learn from the example of Comrade Kim Il Sung in Korea, who almost alone amongst communist leaders was able to navigate the turbulent ideological waters of this most difficult period. Not only facing the unremitting hostility of US imperialism but managing to maintain respectful and fraternal relationships with the USSR and China.

The key? Comrade Kim Il Sung and the leaders of the Workers Party of Korea did not give up their independent study of Marxism; did not give up their right to question the decisions or proposals of the leaders even of the biggest communist parties in the world.

This is a lesson to communists everywhere. Not one of us should hand over the entire burden of thinking to our leaders, no matter how well they have proved themselves in the past. Our movement is one that relies on deep knowledge and collective decision-making, and our discipline must be based on this knowledge.

Without this basic requisite of Bolshevik organising, we are left with only blind obedience and unquestioning loyalty, which is a perverse mockery of the communist unity we are striving to build. Indeed, blind obedience and unquestioning loyalty are the hallmarks not of communist but of fascist organisations.

The better educated each one of our members becomes, the more they strive as individuals to master the science of Marxism, the more effective and capable will be the collective of which they are a part—the better able their parties will be to reach correct decisions, the more confident will the members be in carrying out the party's programme, and the more quickly will our parties discover and rectify their mistakes.

As this new period of revolutionary upsurge develops, this is the task that is urgently put before communists everywhere, whose firm presence is desperately needed to give theoretical clarity and organisational discipline to the workers' movements against imperialist war and exploitation. The stakes could not be higher.

Let us rise to this challenge, comrades, and take this message back to our comrades all over the world:

Now is the time to master Marxism!

In preparation for imminent world war, let us consolidate the anti-imperialist front and strongly carry out the anti-imperialist struggle

Stephen Cho | Coordinator of the Korean International Forum

When looking at Greek revolutionary history, we focus on the life and struggle of Nikos Zachariadis. Especially because when Nikita Khrushchev proposed the modern revisionist line at the 20th congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union in February 1956, he was one of the representative four leaders who stuck to a revolutionary line, opposing Khrushchev's revisionism. At that time, the four main defenders of anti-revisionism were Nikos Zachariadis, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), Enver Hoxha, the General Secretary of the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA), Mao Zedong, the Chairman of the Communist Party of China (CPC), and Kim Il Sung, the General Secretary of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK).

Under Khrushchev's orders, the KKE expelled a large number of resolute communists, including Zachariadis. Following this, the revisionist and opportunist line of the leadership of the KKE was set, and it gave full support to the *Perestroika* (Restructuring) and *Glasnost* (Openness) policies of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Even after leaving Greece and living in exiles, determined communists like Zachariadis held fast to their revolutionary principles, struggling against the revisionist line until the end of their lives.

The life and struggle of Zachariadis are particularly instructive in the light of the realities of the Greece revolutionary movement today. The historical root of the problems of revisionism, opportunism and sectarianism of the present leadership of the KKE cannot be found elsewhere. In the history of the revolutions of humanity, there are more than one or two examples of individuals and parties that, having taken a revisionist line, stayed on it until the

bitter end. This problem in ideology is deep-seated and stubborn.

The consequences of the Kautskyite and Trotskyist tendencies of the present-day KKE leadership, embodied in the ridiculous sophistry of the "imperialist pyramid theory", and resulting in such practical outcomes as the recent unilateral dissolution of the European Communist Initiative and the division and disempowerment of SolidNet, are very serious.

The importance of the KKE leadership correcting its historical errors, moving away from the wrong line of revisionism, opportunism and sectarianism, holding once more to revolutionary principles and returning to the correct line of communism as soon as possible cannot be overemphasized.

The current situation is a very dangerous one, in which World War III will soon be in full swing. As of the end of 2023, the probabilities of escalation of the war in Eastern Europe and of outbreak of war in East Asia are rising fast. A new war has begun in the Middle East (West Asia). The mood of war is spreading from Ukraine in Eastern Europe to Palestine in the Middle East, and then to Taiwan and South Korea in East Asia.

In February 2022, Russia launched an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist war, a war of liberation that was also a preventive war against the provocations of NATO imperialism. The flames of this war are fueling the struggle for justice amongst anti-imperialists all over the world.

The struggle for the freedom and liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea, has reached a turning point today. The war in Palestine is an anti-imperialist war, an anti-zionist war and a liberation war against 75 years of occupation and oppression.

In the Middle East, anti-zionist and pro-Palestinian forces are becoming unprecedentedly united and Israel is deeply divided. Above all, the military and economic power of US imperialism and European imperialism has been seriously weakened by the war in Ukraine.

If the threatened war in East Asia breaks out, the US and European imperialist powers will have to wage armed struggle against the strongest anti-imperialist forces in three battlefields. And if we consider the East Asian war as two battles, Taiwan and South Korea, the imperialists will be fighting on four fronts: Eastern Europe and the Middle East, Taiwan and South Korea.

It should be noted that Russia, China and North Korea are powerful nuclear and missile powers. The strategic cooperation between these three countries is getting stronger and stronger, as confirmed by the North Korea-Russia summit in September and the China-Russia summit in October.

Against the provocations of US imperialism, China and North Korea are increasingly affirming their view that anti-imperialist, national-liberation and national reunification wars are going to be inevitable.

As we know, in Eastern Europe, as part of the anti-Russian maneuvers, based on the infamous “Grand Chessboard” strategy and using the well-worn tactic of “color revolution”, massacres of ethnic Russians in Odessa and Donbass were perpetrated after the Maidan coup d’état in Ukraine in 2014, and the Ukrainian fascist authority tried to join NATO in 2021.

In East Asia, under the imperialist provocations to disrupt China by separating Taiwan, Hong Kong, Xizang (Tibet), Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia, Taiwan’s secessionist maneuvers have already crossed a dangerous line, illustrated by the US Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi’s provocative visit to Taiwan in August last year and Taiwanese President Tsai Ing Wen’s visit to the USA in April this year.

The US-backed puppet Yoon Suk Yeol, who came

to power in May last year, has turned South Korea into a darkness with fascist repression, just as much as Petro Poroshenko and Volodymyr Zelensky did in Ukraine, and the Korean Peninsula has become the brink of war through his anti-national belligerent policies.

The current situation in Taiwan and South Korea is so precarious that it would be no surprise to find that war had broken out there tomorrow. If either the war in Taiwan or the war in South Korea breaks out, war in the other will automatically follow.

All these military tensions and war crises are obviously being caused by the US imperialist policy of disintegrating China and of crushing North Korea. China and North Korea, which have been struggling to uphold the principles of socialism after the counter-revolution that swept the Soviet Union and the eastern socialist bloc in the early 1990s, are in a historic period in which they have no choice but to make decisive counterattacks against the persistent and vicious provocations of the imperialist forces.

One of the anti-China war signals of imperialists is the “New Washington Consensus and de-risking”. In April, US National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan declared the “New Washington Consensus” at an event of the Brookings Institution, emphasizing that the US’s approach to China is not about “decoupling” but “de-risking”.

On the surface, it seems that the Biden administration is pushing for partial “de-risking” rather than the full decoupling which the Trump administration claimed to seek, but this is a fiction, a distorted reflection of the essence. The truth is that a “new cold war” is being fought, as part of a full-scale drive towards World War III by the imperialist powers, and through this, they are forming a new front through which to demonize Russia, China and North Korea and to try to escape from their own political and economic crisis.

In other words, the announcement of the “New Washington Consensus” is a deception by the imperialist forces, which continue to provoke war

in East Asia, particularly in Taiwan and South Korea, following their failure in the war in Ukraine, and hoping to shift responsibility for the outbreak of war onto China.

In fact, during the time of the Donald Trump administration, there was no war in Ukraine, no provocation of Taiwan's secession, and President Trump held three summits with North Korean chairman Kim Jong Un. By contrast today, it is as if Joe Biden is trying to shake hands with Xi Jinping by extending his right hand in a "de-risking" gesture even as he hides the sword of Taiwanese separation behind his back with the other.

While pushing for a "peaceful rise", China, which is aware of the US's two-faced tactics, makes no secret of the fact that it will not give up on reunification with Taiwan, describing the restoration of China's territorial integrity as a "core of core interests".

We must not fall prey to imperialist deceptions. We must consolidate the anti-imperialist front and organize the anti-imperialist struggle over the world ever more vigorously in the face of the growing spread of world war.

The World Anti-Imperialist Platform (the Platform) has been launched in this period of great historical transition, holding high the banner of anti-imperialism in Paris, France in October 2022.

Since its establishment, the Platform has consistently adhered to its three main goals: organizing and participating in mass struggles against imperialism; waging an ideological battle against revisionism, opportunism and sectarianism; and strengthening the revolutionary forces of international communism.

The Platform has held international conferences with communist parties and anti-imperialist political organizations all over the world, has organized anti-imperialist mass rallies and demonstrations in Belgrade, Serbia (a neighbor of Ukraine and a weak link of NATO in Eastern Europe) in December 2022, in Caracas, Venezuela (the epicenter of the Bolivarian Revolution, on

the 10th memorial anniversary of Hugo Chavez's death) in March 2023 and in Gwangju, South Korea (the site of the 1980 anti-fascist armed struggle, on the occasion of the third party congress of the PDP) in May 2023.

In addition, we launched the "Platform News" website to strengthen our daily solidarity activities, propaganda and practice, and published the "Platform" monthly journal.

In the coming year, the Platform will continue to engage actively in solidarity activities and joint struggles, especially with the people of the oppressed countries who suffer from imperialism's direct and constant economic exploitation, political repression and war manipulations.

Against the barbaric repression of imperialism and the fascist forces, in the face of the slander and divisive efforts of the international sectarian opportunist forces, and in order to achieve its three goals, the Platform has not taken a single step back or faltered, and has always bravely faced and overcome trials and difficulties.

We will continue to move forward with our indomitable struggle, chanting the slogans "Proletarians of the world, unite!" and "The people, united, will never be defeated!" from the ranks of the struggle.

Just as World War II resulted in the formation of the world anti-fascist front, defeating the fascist forces and dealing a major blow to the imperialist powers, bringing with it a great high tide for the communist and anti-imperialist movements, World War III is leading to the formation of a world anti-imperialist front that can deal a decisive blow to the imperialist powers and achieve a new great upsurge for the communist and anti-imperialist movements.

We are convinced that this historical path will be the path of fear and defeat for the imperialist powers and their puppet, fascist and opportunist proxy forces; and that it will be the path of hope and victory for the anti-imperialist forces and working masses everywhere.

Platform



The World Anti-imperialist Platform