

## Contribution of the MLPD to the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations

### *Part 1 (Items 1 and 2 of the Agenda)*

# The Reorganization of the International Production

There is no doubt that during the last 15 to 20 years we have witnessed such far-reaching changes in the economic and political development of the world as hardly ever before in the history of mankind. From the start, since 1969, the MLPD in its party building has done comprehensive theoretical work in the sphere of political economy in order to understand reality in an all-around way. Before Willi Dickhut, head of the theoretical organ of the MLPD for 23 years, died in May 1992, he drew the attention of the CC MLPD to deep-reaching changes happening in the imperialist world system and said that the utmost attention had to be paid to them. In 1991 he pointed out *"that imperialism today has changed from national production to international production and politics. The national aspect of imperialism has receded in relation to the international aspect"* (Stefan Engel, *Twilight of the Gods – Götterdämmerung over the "New World Order"*, p. 26).

### A New Phase in the Development of Imperialism

Since then, the MLPD has concerned itself with the new development of the internationalization of capitalist production; in 1993, it set up the thesis that the internationalization of capitalist production had reached a stage which we called the **reorganization of international production**. It was obvious that the entire imperialist world system went over into a new phase in which the **process of social production and reproduction adopted an international character**. We studied about 3,750 Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois books, writings, essays and articles, drew up hundreds of tables, made a huge number of analyses and had an intensive discussion in the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class

movement before, in 2003, we published the issues Nos. 29-31 of our theoretical organ *Revolutionärer Weg*, entitled *The Reorganization of International Production*, under the editorship of the party chairman Stefan Engel. This appeared as a book edition under the title *"Twilight of the Gods – Götterdämmerung over the 'New World Order'"*, meanwhile also available in English and Spanish. Editions of the Russian, French and Turkish translations are being prepared.

The reorganization of international production is a preliminary climax of the internationalization of the capitalist mode of production which as a tendency has been innate to capitalism from the start and, with the era of imperialism, had already adopted a new quality. The reorganization of international production introduced a **new phase of the development of the imperialist world system**. An unprecedented cross-border process of concentration and centralization in industry, agriculture, trade and banking changed the political and economic landscape of the whole world profoundly. The result of this cross-border centralization and concentration was the emergence of the rule of imperialist supermonopolies over world economy. From then on, the stratum of the world's 500 biggest supermonopolies, as ruling international finance capital, took control of the world markets and the worldwide process of production and reproduction. The rule of international supermonopolies over the capitalist world production led to a **new and higher order** in the framework of the capitalist mode of production to which the individual national economies were more and more subordinated. The development strongly confirms what Lenin pointed out on the *"universal law of capitalism"*: *"Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national ques*

tion. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc. Both tendencies are a universal law of capitalism. The former predominates in the beginning of its development, the latter characterises a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society." ("Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 27)

The new, unified and for the international monopolies relatively freely accessible world market radically questions all the traditional, still mainly nationally organized structures of production and exchange as well as the accompanying forms of communication, competition and collaboration. The nation states were forced by international finance capital or its international institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to open their borders widely and to discard national measures of protection against international competitors. Like a swarm of locusts, the international monopolies invaded the neocolonially dependent national economies of Asia, Africa and South America. In an unprecedented raid, they appropriated their manpower, raw-materials bases, their state institutions and lucrative industries and subordinated their markets. At first, the reactionary governments of the neocolonial countries readily opened the gates to imperialist finance capital. They hoped for an appropriate share of the loot from the sellout of their countries. However, they had to experience how their traditional national industries had to give way to the international systems of production of highly productive monopoly industry or the cheap trade flows from all over the world. In this way, these countries were often deprived of the last remnant of economic sovereignty and independence. This is anything but a peaceful process as suggested by the term of "globalization" which, in our opinion, is a misleading term.

The reorganization of international production also generated **new economic laws**. The *Revolutionärer Weg*, Nos. 29-31, says on this:

"The striving to dominate the world market is the primary motive force of the actions of the international monopolies. This new compulsion modifies the basic economic law of capitalism. In the phase of the reorganization of international production this law must be formulated in this way:

Conquest and defense of a position of domination in the world market by the international monopolies; securing of maximum profit by building international production systems, by constantly increasing the exploitation of the international working class, by ruining or destroying the foundations of life of entire peoples in all countries of the globe without exception, by plundering entire states to the point of bankruptcy, by redistribution of social wealth on a gigantic scale in favor of the monopolies and to the detriment of all other strata of society, by abrogating the sovereign statehood of the neocolonially exploited and oppressed countries, by military action to secure dominance, including even a possible world war for the redivision of the world." (Stefan Engel, *Twilight of the Gods – Götterdämmerung over the "New World Order"*, p. 265)

### The Emergence of an International Industrial Proletariat

But there was also another significant development. With the reorganization of international production, there emerged an **international industrial proletariat**:

"These blue and white collar workers are the **carriers of an international production system that breaches all national borders....** This international proletariat includes:

1. Workers directly employed by the international monopolies. In the year 2000, there were 47 million workers in the factories of the biggest 500 international monopolies alone....
2. Workers of enterprises directly integrated into the production process of the international monopolies ("outside firms")....
3. Workers at independent enterprises producing for the international monopolies, which tell these enterprises what to do...." (Ibid., pp. 74-75)

But these workers and low-level salaried employees remained part of a national class antagonism. "This will not change until the imperialist world system is replaced by the *United States of the World*, by a socialist

society." (*Ibid.*, p. 75) The MLPD came to the conclusion:

*"A principal result of the reorganization of international production, therefore, is a tendency towards the leveling of the working conditions and productivity in the industrial plants of the international production system. In the end, this in turn speeds up the process of the emergence of an international industrial proletariat that produces on a relatively unified level worldwide."* (*Ibid.*, p. 86) The tendency towards the leveling of the ways of living of the masses of workers on an international scale, however, does not pertain to the wages: *"in the phase of the reorganization of international production the characteristic feature of wages worldwide is not a tendency towards their leveling but their uneven development."* (*Ibid.*, p. 96) The MLPD also states: *"However, the unification of the international proletariat will not develop primarily through equalization of working and living conditions; unification requires consciously joining together by coordinating and revolutionizing the struggles on an international scale."* (*Ibid.*, p. 97)

An important concomitant of the process of the reorganization of international production as regards class structure is the **tendency towards the disappearance of the petty-bourgeois producers** caused by the industrialization of all areas of production and life as well as the accelerated urbanization of the world population.

*"For the development of the class struggle, urbanization is a favorable condition. The concentration of wage and salary earners in the cities provides them with better opportunities for effectively organizing themselves, for developing their class consciousness, and for achieving a greater effectiveness in the class struggle.... The tendency to urbanization carries the separation of town from country that became established with the development of class societies, with all its negative implications, to an extreme. At the same time, it makes the prerequisites for overcoming this separation more complete.... Along with the emergence of the international industrial proletariat, the progressive urbanization of the world is a further factor which significantly enhances the material prerequisites for the struggle for socialism."* (*Ibid.*, pp. 124-125)

Among the participants of the International Conference, a discussion has emerged on the significance of the international industrial proletariat for the world revolutionary process, a discussion which, in our opinion, is very important. In *RW*, Nos. 29-31, the MLPD comes to the result: *"The most important result of this social change is that the working class has become the main force worldwide in the struggle for social and national liberation. The worldwide line of development of the class structure emphasizes the role of the working class as the leading force in class struggle and as the only consistently revolutionary class. This recognition is a fundamental component of Marxism-Leninism. It is also valid for those countries, whose number is declining, where the working class is still a minority in terms of numbers, and where the peasants are the main quantitative force."* (*Ibid.*, pp. 116-117)

### **The Reorganization of International Production Undermines the Role of the Nation States**

The core of the reorganization of international production is the change of the role of the bourgeois nation state. Its previous function as a central regulator of the national economy increasingly gives way to a system of worldwide competition among the nation states over the best services for the international monopolies. A **tendency emerges towards the relative dissolution of the nation-state organization of the relations of production and exchange.** Its place is taken by a cross-border association of the most progressive modes of production and exchange under the rule of the international finance capital. The problem of the new world order is that, on the one hand, the productive forces, capital, production, etc. have adopted an international character but that, on the other hand, a working international political superstructure for this reorganization of the economic base – a superstructure that conforms to this revolutionization of the productive forces – could not be built successfully. The law of the correspondence of the productive forces with the relations of production requires that the relations of production are adjusted to the new development of the internationalized productive forces. However, this problem cannot be solved in capitalism. The book says:

*"Today the internationalized forces of production rebel against the narrow frame of the nation-state production; they demand new relations of production which allow them to cross borders to unfold freely in every country. Correspondingly, the economic role of the bourgeois nation-state is more and more replaced by a kind of international cartel of finance capital and the leading imperialist states. Within this frame a bitter struggle for predominance takes place between the international monopolies. All this brings about **a new phase of the struggle among the international monopolies for the redivision of the world**, exacerbates the international competitive struggle to the point of battles of annihilation, and increases the general danger of war.*

*The process of the reorganization of international production with which the international monopolies attempt to adapt the relations of production to the international character of the productive forces **cannot be finished under the conditions of capitalist relations of property**. The international monopolies, too, are in further need of the bourgeois nation-state as their instrument to rule and dominate, as national base camp for their international activities, so to speak. It is exactly this contradiction which characterizes the new phase in the development of imperialism, which has to be defined as the beginning of a new historical phase of transformation." (Ibid., pp. 539-540)*

The result is a real **international political disorder**. Destruction of the environment, poverty on a mass scale, state bankruptcies, crises and wars are the law-governed consequences of this new political disorder which will undermine the entire structure of power of the ruling world finance capital. In the Iraq war, we saw how these social contradictions come to a head and deeply shake the social stability of the imperialist world system. The economic compulsion to decide the international competitive struggle by force of arms is an expression of the dimension which the struggle of the international monopolies for the world market has adopted. The ultimate cause of the Iraq war was the emergence of international super-monopolies for which striving to dominate the world market has become the main driving force, because this is the only way in which they can realize their maximum profits.

But at the same time the revolutionary productive forces rebel against the fetters of capitalist production. The masses do not want to sink in capitalist barbarism. This is shown by popular uprisings as in Bolivia, as a link of the cross-border revolutionary ferment which seizes South America. It was shown by the new peace movement which developed against the Iraq war, coordinated on a worldwide scale for the first time. More than 17 million people took part in 660 cities! It is shown by the failure of the "pacification" of Iraq where an active resistance has developed against the US occupants and their allies, the resistance against the counterrevolutionary warfare of Bush's "New War" in particular in the Middle East and Southwest Asia. It is shown by the strikes and mass protests against the anti-people crisis management in many European countries. In all these struggles, uprisings and movements the international working class as main force increasingly assumes a leading role and gives them momentum and perspective. They level their sights on the international monopolies and their organizations. In order to beat them successfully, the struggles must be coordinated and revolutionized on international level. This is supported by the MLPD, on equal footing with other revolutionary forces, such as also are linked in the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, as well as with the militant movements of the masses and their organizations all over the world.

Whereas the economic function of the nation state subsidizes, the political function of the





nation states even gains in importance. Because of the sharpening of international competition, the monopolies increasingly need the states as power apparatuses armed to the teeth to assert their interests domestically and externally. This, too, became evident in the Iraq war. This war will boost the arms race, and rivalry between the USA and the EU becomes more evident also in the military sphere. Within the country, the bourgeois state is currently pursuing an all-around armament and dismantling of bourgeois-democratic rights and liberties under the slogan of "struggle against terrorism." This shows that the state remains the crucial instrument of oppression of the dictatorship of the monopolies against the masses.

At the same time, one effect of neoliberal policy important for the future is the extreme weakening of the state apparatuses in the neocolonial dependent and oppressed countries. In the RW, Nos. 29-31, the MLPD comes to the result:

*"The strength of the mass movements and the weakness of the neocolonial states also explains the increasing militarization of the relations between developing countries and imperialist countries. More and more often the imperialists find themselves forced to maintain a military presence in the neocolonial and semicolonial countries in order to sustain the relations of power and exploitation. This tendency is an expression of the aggravated crisis of neocolonialism. The crisis of neoliberalism made the class struggle in the neocolonial exploited and oppressed*

*countries a focal point of the international class struggle." (Ibid., p. 393)*

### The Perspective of Liberated Socialist World Production

The wheel of history can neither be halted nor rolled back as the petty-bourgeois critics of globalization hope. Their reactionary dreams of "civilized" or "tamed" capitalism express their fear of revolutionary changes. The problem of the petty-bourgeois critics of globalization, but that of the revisionists, too, is that they did not analyze the current development in a dialectical way. Otherwise they would have realized that the reorganization of international production has generated not only devastating destructive forces, but also **material conditions** that are of utmost importance **for the liberation of mankind from exploitation and oppression.** The book points out on that:

*"From an objective point of view, internationalized production is progressive because it uses the productive forces on their most advanced level, i.e., coordinating them worldwide, in a highly systematic fashion and with great effectiveness, within the globally operating concerns and their now international systems of production, and also because the **social accumulation is internationalized**, too. But this is opposed by devastating **destructive forces**, which arise from the **reactionary essence of imperialism**: they are based upon the private appropriation of the fruits of this developed international production by a handful of international monopolies, who contend with each other for the dominating position on the world market." (Ibid., pp. 540-541)*

In our analysis we realized that every step that shattered the national-state fetters of the productive forces in favor of a reorganization of international production simultaneously meant a bit of material preparation of socialism. All the new factors of the material preparation of socialism affect the material preparation of the united socialist states of the world – that is, of a higher developed stage of socialism. It is not the problem of imperialism that its productive forces would retrogress. Rather, the revolutionary development of the productive forces is now confined by the state-monopolistic relations of production to such an extent that their further development is tied to a simultaneous destruction of a vast amount of capital and

manpower. The revolutionary character of the productive forces as already analyzed by Marx is misjudged, though, if emphasis is one-sidedly put on the destructive forces of the imperialist world system alone as the petty-bourgeois enemies of globalization do. The constantly sharpening contradiction between the revolutionary development of the destructive forces and the state-monopolistic relations of production shows the rotting and parasitic nature of imperialism; it surely does not show that there is no further development of the productive forces. The contradiction between developed productive forces and outdated relations of production and power does not dissolve on its own, as the MLPD's analysis sometimes is misinterpreted as saying; instead, it can be resolved only by the socialist world revolution. This is not a utopian dream, but a task the accomplishment of which has matured with the reorganization of international production. Due to this confidence in a new upswing of socialism, our book comes to the following résumé:

*"The reorganization of international production, with all its forces which burst imperialism asunder, has **ushered in a historical phase of transformation.** Imperialism comes up against a relative historic limit which it cannot overcome...*

*What was only recognizable as first signs over ten years ago is today recognizable in the irresistible drive of the revolutionary productive forces to burst asunder imperialism. Deep, insoluble crises have seized hold of imperialism. The awakening of class consciousness on a broad front became an international phenomenon. The upswing of liberation struggles, mass rebellions, strikes and an international mass struggle for world peace are unmistakable signs of developing social changes. The liberation from exploitation and oppression and finally from classes and class rule will take a different road in the economically advanced and imperialist countries than in the great number of neo-colonially exploited and oppressed countries. But the internationalization of capitalist production has created an international industrial proletariat which unites all peoples in the world. This proletariat is capable of coordinating beyond the national limits the struggles in the different nations and developing higher the struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist world system.... When the battalions of international finance capital marched out to reorganize production, dis-*

*tribution and finally the world in their interest, they had no idea that their crusade would only accelerate their general decline. Drunk from their own propaganda about the "end of history" they also were not aware that by unfettering the international productive forces they would give new strength and perspective to the revolutionary aspiration of mankind for a new society without exploitation, oppression and war. The twilight of the gods, the Götterdämmerung of international finance capital has broken. It is the eve of a genuinely new world order – of the united socialist states of the world. (Ibid., pp. 547-549)*

In the international discussion, the MLPD is sometimes questioned where in its opinion *"the chain of imperialist exploitation and oppression will be torn."* In the documents of the Sixth Party Congress of the MLPD, party chairman Stefan Engel says in a contribution: *"The party program of the MLPD refrains from a statement on where and when the international socialist revolution will have its starting point or center. The first reason for this is that we cannot simply predict from where the revolution will start because the contradictions come to a head in an all-around way on a worldwide scale.... The subjective factor will play a very big role in the future. Therefore, the doctrine of the mode of thinking is of worldwide significance. The subjective factor plays a big role on the issue whether there will be a revolutionary ferment or not. This is why we cannot predict where the future revolutionary center will be.... The objective development must get together with the subjective factor. Therefore, we do not tie ourselves down on this issue. I think the world is full of surprises."* (Documents of the Sixth Party Congress; German edition, pp. 288-289)

The changes of the mode of production generate cross-border forms of struggle which absolutely require answers of the Marxist-Leninists. The answer of imperialism is a militarization of the world, an increasingly stronger presence in many countries of the world. It is an important task of the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement to unify on the analysis of the new developments and substantial changes in the imperialist world system, to intensify cooperation also related to theoretical work and develop conclusions for coordinated strategy and tactics in the struggle against imperialism. ☆