

**OCML Voie Prolétarienne (France)**  
*Contribution to the International Newsletter*

## **Comments on the Resolutions of the 7th International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (ICMLPO)**

### **1 ) Resolution on the Economic and Political Situation in the World**

The Central Committee of Voie Prolétarienne **agreed to this resolution.**

It underscores the validity of Lenin's analysis ("Imperialism - the highest stage of capitalism") in the current situation and the necessity of understanding the new aspects of this situation on an international scale, as well as in the individual countries.

Imperialism is described as being multipolar, although the USA is a "big power" and although its political influence in the leading institutions of imperialism like the G8, WTO, IMF, World Bank, NATO and UN is often decisive and its hegemony is being contested more and more frequently. On the one hand, other imperialist powers like the EU, Japan and China are becoming stronger and Russia seems to be recovering. On the other hand, the USA itself is also experiencing crises.

Voie Prolétarienne emphasizes the following points:

- With the development of the new productive forces, which are replacing the old ones, the proletariat is constantly gaining importance on a worldwide level. Even if we recognize that the main contradiction in the world is the one between imperialism and the oppressed peoples (as is stated in the resolution), as communists we must fight against imperialism from the point of view of the proletariat by developing its political independence with respect to the other classes participating in the common struggle.
- With respect to the seizure of power, a number of comrades from various non-imperialist countries advocate the proletarian uprising and not the protracted people's war and thereby underscore the role of the working class. We share this view.
- With the development of the capitalist productive forces in all regions, the material basis for the worldwide proletarian revolution is getting stronger.
- In the face of multipolar imperialism, which is expressed in the unity of the imperialists in striving for world domination, as well as in the intensification of their rivalry, the theory of the "Three Worlds", as it is upheld by the neorevisionist parties, must be firmly rejected. Its content is to propose a coalition under the pretext of the struggle against a superpower which is independent of the character of the countries (dominated or secondary-imperialist) and also independent of the class character of the forces involved. In the dominated countries it means an alliance of the proletariat, the poor peasants, the national bourgeoisie and even the comprador bourgeoisie. In the secondary-imperialist countries it means an alliance of all classes, from the working class to the monopoly bourgeoisie. This theory means universal class collaboration and the negation of the historical role of the working class. It can sometimes be observed in France and maintains, for example, that the French government subordinates itself to US policy, especially with respect to military interventions or that it tolerates the economic decisions of the commission in Brussels, the Maastricht Treaty. It maintains that if France were liberated from the domination of European authorities, policies more advantageous to the workers could be attained.

- As we already declared at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> ICMLPO, it remains unanswered whether the crisis mentioned in the resolution is a cyclical crisis of overproduction or a general crisis, as Lenin referred to, i.e. the introduction of a period of the redivision of the world and the massive destruction of the means of production through war, in short, a period of the proletarian revolution and of the weakening of the capitalist system.

## 2 ) Resolution on the Advance of the Struggle of the Proletariat and the Peoples

The Central Committee of Voie Prolétarienne **did not agree to this resolution** although it is more precise concerning the nature of the various struggles on the five continents than the respective resolution of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference.

Although we are of the opinion that a lot of progress was made in the various fronts of struggle, we can only make a positive contribution if we can point out exactly which obstacles the communist militants and the mass movements encountered, which obstacles have held us up and which ones we can overcome.

The resolution essentially deals with the all-round goals of the struggle with which we agree to a priori, but it does not make it possible to draw any conclusions of general use although millions of workers and peasants have been mobilized. Even if there definitely are historical limits, every struggle is rich in experiences on the ideological, political and organizational level. The dialectical-materialist concept of knowledge compels us to analyze the developments and to change them. This is dependent on our strengths and weaknesses. Practicing criticism and self-criticism is the only way to develop the communist parties with a high consciousness and a firm organization.

We of Voie Prolétarienne think that the resolution should contain the following points:

- The condemnation of reactionary populist tendencies that pretend to represent the interests of the workers such as in the Islamic countries, but which are extremely anticommunist. That can also be summarised : "The enemies of our enemies are not necessarily our friends." (See the declaration of the ICMLPO on Afghanistan).
- The criticism of the reformist organizations from which we must dissociate ourselves in all aspects of our activity and today in particular the criticism of the concept of the movement which postpones the founding

and strengthening of the communist organizations and so negated the experience that the revolutionary working class movement has made for centuries.

- The emphasis of the significance of the necessary progress in the unity of the proletariat: the relationship between men and women, the unity of the struggle of the unemployed and the employed, the unity of the domestic and the immigrant working class, especially in the imperialist countries, but also in the dependent countries with the additional issue of the national minorities.
- The underscoring of the importance of the struggle against the workers' aristocracy, already mentioned by Marx and Lenin, which takes influence on a large number of trade union leaderships in those countries where the working class is most highly developed.

To summarize the reasons for our not agreeing with this resolution, we declare that this resolution keeps silence about the difficulties of our communist work: the contradictions within the working class and the people. Today reformism manifests itself in new forms like anti-globalization, but also in its old forms like anarchist-syndicalism.

## 3) Resolution on the Perspective of the World Communist Movement

The Central Committee of Voie Prolétarienne **agreed to this resolution.**

It is very useful in precisely naming the tasks of the communists, differentiating correctly between the exploited and the dependent capitalist countries on the one hand and the imperialist countries on the other.

It describes the various aspects of the struggle which the Marxist-Leninists must lead against reformism, revisionism and Trotskyism. We add anarchist-syndicalism which obstructs the building up of Marxist-Leninist organizations, not only in France.

Let us also be reminded (see the resolutions of the 6<sup>th</sup> ICMLPO) that this struggle within the people's masses must avoid the two traps of sectarianism and opportunism.

We have also avoided using the term "parasitic and dying capitalism", which implies that capitalism might disappear by itself, condemned by its own inner contradictions, without the intervention of the masses under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Within the framework of the antiimperialist struggle in the dependent countries, the necessity of the protracted peoples' war is correctly confirmed. It also calls into mind that this is only one path serving a policy with the clear objectives of the national democratic revolution, socialism and communism.

#### 4) Resolution on the Perspective of the 7<sup>th</sup> International Conference and the Preparation of the 8<sup>th</sup> International Conference

The Central Committee of Voie Prolétarienne **agreed to this resolution**, in particular to the following changes which must play a positive role in the future.

- The introduction of the rotating leadership of the JCG, even if that means having to overcome new difficulties.
- The International Newsletter shall become a public magazine, an instrument of discussion and unity.
- A solidarity committee with the people of Afghanistan against the imperialist intervention demonstrates the desire of the conference, not only to deal with principled issues, but also with current political issues. (Lacking contact to Marxist-Leninist or allied organisations, Voie Prolétarienne organised a tour in France with a woman representative of RAWA, the association of revolutionary women from Afghanistan, in October 2002.)

We insist on reminding of the reservations we already expressed at the 6<sup>th</sup> ICMLPO with respect to the main criteria for participation in the conference: "Struggle against modern revisionism and a positive attitude towards Stalin and Mao."

With respect to Stalin our platform declares the following: *"In the 1930's, the Soviet proletariat was already robbed of its power and a new bourgeoisie was established within the state and the party. We cannot forget that Stalin was at the head of the state and the party at that time. This must lead us to pose questions about his responsibility and to be very careful about having a "positive attitude toward him".*

The necessary examination of the causes allowing the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, which was a bitter defeat for the working-class movement and was taken utmost advantage of by the bourgeoisie, leads us to mention at least two important points which involve the responsibility of Stalin and the CPSU. During the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China the Maoists developed the criti-

cism of the "theory of the productive forces" and reassumed Lenin's principle again, namely that the class struggle continues during the entire period of the transition to communism. Voie Prolétarienne insists upon reminding of the importance and the validity of this aspect.

- The "theory of the productive forces" has its roots in an economic concept of socialist society, namely that after the revolutionary proletariat has changed the ownership of the means of production and exchange, its role would be reduced to the development of the material production to satisfy the needs and the liberation of the productive forces which were formerly kept under control by the capitalist relations of production. (Marx, "Foreword to Critique of the Political Economy")
- The Marxist concept opposes this and underscores the reverse effect of political factors upon economic ones, the role of the human factor in technical progress. It advocates the necessity to organize labor in a different way after the seizure of power, not only to satisfy the basic needs of the workers, but also to revolutionize the social relations and to promote the participation in all important decisions, especially in the political decisions in their own organizations, whether they be called Soviets, committees, cooperatives or communities.
- The revisionist concept denies the necessity of mobilizing the masses in the three key spheres of social life: the struggle for production, class struggle and scientific research. It implies that all of these are neutral, that the division of labor, which is the reason why the proletariat strives to seize power, is not determined by capitalist social relations. This also applies to the conflict between the city and the countryside, the one between men and women, as well as the contradiction between mental and physical labor. "The working class must take the lead in everything" – that is what the partisans of the cultural revolution declared.
- Of course the criticism of the "theory of the productive forces" means the continuation of class struggle in transition to communism. The revolutionary proletariat with the working class in the lead must take all power out of the hands of the bourgeois experts, one after the other and in all spheres, and create new political instruments. This affords intensive work in the political and ideological preparation.
- Voie Prolétarienne sees a certain continuity between Stalin and Khrushchov concerning the relations between production and class struggle. Stalin maintained that at the beginning of the 1930's the bourgeoisie had

ceased to exist because it had lost ownership of the means of production and exchange. Khrushchov declared that the transition to communism was possible after replacing the term "the party as the vanguard of the working class" with the term "party of the whole people". Under the direction of Khrushchov, the 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of the CPSU systematized a policy of capitalist restoration which had already begun under Stalin. This did not happen like thunder out of the blue.

- It seems indispensable to us to criticize the 3<sup>rd</sup> Internationale in order to gather our Marxist-Leninist forces for a clear line and to create a firm basis for a new Internationale.

The various resolutions of the International Conference give a general political orientation, thereby taking the different conditions into account. This political line must be made more precise in connection with the debate and cooperation among the different parties and the improvement of their work. We welcome that the ICMLPO has overcome the stage of being a forum. Differences were expressed and a higher stage of unity in discussion was aimed at.

Even if the conditions are not yet ripe to transform into an Internationale functioning according to the principle of democratic centralism, a further step has been made: The considerable number of resolutions, even including their shortcomings, signify a first draft for a common policy of the Marxist-Leninists.

The fact that it has given itself the means, for example with the International Newsletter, to debate with other associations like the seminar in Brussels shows that the participants of the ICMLPO desire unity and clarity.

### **5) The Declaration "International Solidarity – No to the Imperialist War of Aggression of the United States against Afghanistan"**

The Central Committee of Voie Prolétarienne did not sign this declaration.

We already made our intervention at the conference and emphasised the shortcomings. We want to repeat our criticism here and make it more complete.

- The declaration is correct in stating that US imperialism is the main aggressor in Afghanistan and the biggest imperialist

power, responsible for the misery in the world.

- It is also necessary to expose the other imperialists which are responsible for the catastrophic situation of the Afghan people, including French imperialism which supported and further supports the Northern Alliance, the Russian, British and German imperialism, etc., so that the peoples of these countries are able to play a concrete role in the anti-imperialist struggle. It is our responsibility to expose the reality of this situation, i.e. the unity of the imperialists who are intervening together, but also their rivalry which gives way to conflicts.
- If only the imperialist superpower USA is denounced and the other imperialists which are just as responsible for the misery are forgotten, runs the risk of supporting the theory of the "Three Worlds", as expounded by the revisionists, in particular by Deng Xiaoping. This is a simplification of history, which takes only the main contradiction into consideration and does not allow us to act independently on the basis of the interests of the proletariat. In the end it quickly leads to the complete rejection of Marxism-Leninism. Do we not claim that the contradiction is universal and that every class society develops on the basis of many and various contradictions, even if one of them is the main contradiction?
- In addition to exposing the various imperialists, it seems to be necessary in the case of Afghanistan and elsewhere to emphasize that we have nothing in common, either with the Taliban nor with the Northern Alliance, nor with Bin Laden. But the declaration refrains from doing this. We do not want to be sectarian, we rather want to defend our political independence.
- In order to get a positive way out of this denunciation we must declare, for example, that we support the democratic or progressive forces, especially the Marxist-Leninists, which is regrettably not done in the declaration. It is our task to support the most progressive forces. This allows us to establish contacts with those forces representing the perspective, to break through the wall of misinformation or the silence imposed by the capitalist media, to point out the common interests of the proletariat of the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples and to educate the proletariat and the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. ☆

*Person in charge  
of the international relations of the Central  
Committee of OCML Voie Prolétarienne*