

## Contribution to INL No. 27 from CPI (ML) Red Flag (India)

# International Developments and the Tasks before the Marxist-Leninist Forces

### Introduction

1. The invasion and colonisation of Iraq by US-UK imperialist axis, the brutal high-tech aggression savaging the country, the naked show of force being exhibited in Iraqi streets and villages oppressing and bullying the people and Bush's barbarous doctrines of new war and New World Order threatening to extend the occupation of Iraq to Syria, Iran, North Korea, Cuba or to any other country as continuation of the war against Yugoslavia, 1999, and the War on Afghanistan, 2001, imposing US hegemony everywhere and in all fields, turning 21st century in to that of Pax Americana, are measures to extend imperialist globalisation to military sphere, to wars of aggression, for overcoming the new world economic crisis that has broken out at the fag end of the last millennium.

2. Analysing the situation of 1930s, Comintern had explained that "the most profound economic crisis in the history of capitalism" and the relations of class forces changing on world scale more and more against imperialist forces led to the ruling bourgeoisie increasingly seeking salvation in fascism representing the most reactionary sections among them. If Hitlerite fascism represented the interests of finance capital, the big industrial concerns and extreme right wing of political, state and military forces, today Bush administration represents the most aggressive US finance capital which gained enormous wealth and influence during the stock market boom of 1980s and 1990s, together with the neo-conservative forces utilising even the gospels to provide a fundamentalist veneer to their aggressive designs. US imperialism has dwarfed Hitlerite fascism during the post-World War II decades by staining itself with the blood of the people of Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Balkan countries, Afghanistan, Iraq and numerous other countries and has spent hundreds of billions in its barbarous military moves. Through its militarist policy for imposing hegemony over the world it is acting

as a super terrorist and as a fascist like state. According to the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) it proposes to reposition permanently based forces in Southern Europe, Southeast Asia and the Middle East, to further modernize US forces, to develop and deploy Global Defence System (GDS) and to develop strategic dominance over space, further enhancing the defence spending.

3. According to the National Security Strategy of the USA announced by Bush in September 2002, US imperialism claims the right of pre-emptive strikes using chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. "The US national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism that reflects the union of our values and our national interests... we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self defence by acting pre-emptively against such terrorists." It is going ahead with the National Missile Defence (NMD) system. It retains huge numbers of strategic nuclear warheads with its armed forces and much more as reserve nuclear warheads. It claims the right to intervene in any country in the world: "Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in the hopes of surpassing or equalling the power of the US." As part of these hegemonic moves it has established scores of military bases in all continents and is trying to create more. In fact, the September 11, 2001 attack served as a pretext for openly resorting to putting in to practice military plans, which were being prepared for years. Bush administration has threatened the countries around the world with two options: be on the side of, and serve US hegemonism, or, get classified as a terrorist or as a sympathiser of terrorism. US imperialism tries to terrorise the whole world in to submission.

### Imperialist crisis deepens

4. The US imperialism has resorted to militarisation and wars more feverishly than ever as the imperialist system is confronted

with a world economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude from the fag end of the last millennium. The revenues of Fortune 500 companies sharply dropped from the beginning of this millennium. All basic and capital goods sales were hit hard. The over production crisis along with international structural crisis led to unprecedented destruction of productive forces and jobs. Repeated stock exchange crises also followed.

5. In the stock exchange crises from March 2000 to October 2002, the NASDAQ plunged 75.7%, the DAX 66.8%, the TOPIX 62.7% and the Dow Jones by 33.3%. The destruction of productive forces, as a result, in US alone was \$ 172.50b. While this led to an international banking crisis with rapid worldwide increase in insolvency proceedings, unprecedented business collapses and state bankruptcies happened as in Argentina and elsewhere. The banking crisis further worsened the stock exchange crisis in turn. War and increased military spending on the one hand and plunder of Iraqi oil and economic activity connected with the reconstruction of bombed out cities on the other, were the only way to salvage the crisis-ridden economy. Iraqi conquest has further whetted the appetite of US war machine. Now it may be extended to other countries, for unbridled US domination.

### **Further intensification of world contradictions**

6. The US occupation of Iraq and its hegemonic plans along with the fall out of the world economic crisis with its burden dumped over the world proletariat and oppressed nations and peoples have intensified all the major contradictions at international level. The neo-liberal globalisation policies were introduced in the Afro-Asian-Latin American countries with the promise of free competition and of free development of economic forces. But what it really led to was liquidation of any form of competition from these oppressed countries and integration of their economies fully with the global imperialist economy with free flow of speculative capital and MNCs, along with their subjugation to market forces. The massive penetration of MNCs in to these countries with the tenfold increase in their investments in the 1990s has triggered a structural crisis leading to devastation of the native productive forces, massive cut in jobs, unemployment and pauperisation of the masses. Whatever sovereignty existed is systematically destroyed. Hard won democratic and trade union rights are snatched away. IMF-WB-WTO trio is accelerating the neocolonisation of these

countries through imperialist globalisation. With the occupation of Iraq these countries are being threatened with invasion if they do not totally submit to US hegemonism. As a result the contradiction between imperialism led by US imperialism on the one hand and oppressed nations and peoples on the other has further intensified. It is getting manifested in numerous ways.

7. The impetus to production from introduction of most advanced forms of technological innovations, robotics, information technology, genetic engineering, developments in telecommunication field etc. have only unprecedentedly intensified the basic contradiction in the capitalist imperialist system, between socialisation of production and private ownership of means of production. Fruits of technological development are expropriated by the monopolies. As technological development leads to phenomenal increase in productivity, instead of cutting down working hours and ensuring jobs for more, working hours are increased leading to tens of millions becoming jobless. Besides all social welfare measures are also taken away. As production centres are shifted to the undeveloped countries in order to plunder the cheap labour available there, the workers in the developed countries face massive job cuts. Thus the contradiction between the working class and bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries is intensifying day by day. This has led to increasing politicisation and participation of the working class in the anti-globalisation, anti-war movements.

8. Against the invasion and occupation of Iraq by US-UK axis the working class and oppressed peoples massively participated in the anti-war movement. This has provided a new dimension to the anti-globalisation struggles developing around the world and taking global character from Seattle onwards. The ever-intensifying anti-globalisation, anti-war movements are taking anti-imperialist character. The overthrow of the imperialist system and realising socialist alternative have once again become the immediate agenda before the working class and the oppressed people. The socialist forces along with the working class and the oppressed peoples have started challenging the imperialist system presently led by US imperialism. It is this contradiction which is going to determine the course of history in coming days.

9. The US-UK preparations to launch aggression against Iraq had brought out the sharp conflict of interests between US and other imperialist powers. Though they have voted in the Security Council after occupation

of Iraq by US to allow it to continue the occupation, the differences are not yet reconciled. The European Union (EU), Japan, and emerging ASEAN economic giant including China are posing challenges to the US. Euro is threatening the supremacy of dollar. As US intensifies its hegemonic moves the contradiction between imperialist forces and among monopoly houses are bound to get further sharpened. As far as China is concerned its 'market socialism' is proved downright capitalist path. It is trying to emerge as a major capitalist power. It supported the US-sponsored Security Council resolution in November as well as the one after occupation of Iraq. It is on the side of US imperialism while the contradiction between US imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples comes to the forefront. At the same time, as far as inter-imperialist contradictions are concerned, it has increasing conflicts of interests with US.

### **Diversionsary movements**

10. When US wars of aggression and occupation of countries like Iraq, and devastating consequences of globalisation along with fascist threats are increasingly challenged by the world proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples giving rise to people's upsurges, and when once again socialism is back in the agenda of people's movements, reformist platforms like World Social Forum (WSF) are coming up as a "forum of global civil society" by the New Social Movements (NSMs) and NGOs to divert people to reformist illusions. While WSF emphasise on a civil society led by 'new movements' composed of VOs/NGOs, civil and community based organisations at local, national and global levels, its antipathy towards political parties and "statist" politics is clear. Such forums are diversionsary and are seeking alternatives within the ruling system.

11. A corollary of WSF's post-modern and post-Marxist perspective on civil society is its sectarian approach towards political parties and political movements in general. While, on the one hand, it asserts: "World Social Forum will always be a forum open to pluralism and to the diversity of activities and ways of engaging of the organisations and movements that decide to participate in it", on the other, it says: "neither party representations nor military organisations shall participate in the Forum". Thus, WSF not only prohibits the entry of political parties in its "events" but also, very revealingly, places them in the category of military organisations. It is very obvious that this highly sectarian and illiberal

and hence truly neoliberal position is not at all new nor an isolated one; on the contrary it has been a time-tested escapist attitude systematically pursued by the ruling classes and political reactionaries and recently by the neoliberal Right to keep aloof the working class and its party from the mainstream discussions. As a matter of fact, anti-communist theoreticians who have long been ardent proponents of a "non-party process" in their vision of a "people's alternative" led by what they call "motivated middle class professionals", and who now share common platforms with WSF "events" also share more or less identical views. To be precise, WSF's hatred towards political parties, its affinity towards "pluralism" and "multiculturalism" including its link with NSMs, its distaste of class movements, etc. are all have deeper ideological ramifications whose roots lay deep in the post-Marxist prognosis on the decline or disappearance of working class as a revolutionary force and the ascendancy of NSMs and NGOs as the "new revolutionary subject of history" - an aspect that may be traced to the origins of the so called "critical theory" of Frankfurt School itself.

12. The WSF charter is eloquent in its opposition to "all totalitarian and reductionist views of economy, development and history and the use of violence as a means of social control by State". As is obvious the terminologies "totalitarian", "reductionism" and "Statism" are part of the usual mudslinging carried out by imperialist think tanks and postmodernists against the class approach upheld by the communist party. The WSF is simply parroting this malicious slander. According to WSF theoreticians who are trained in imperialist research institutions, the Marxist emphasis on class itself is reductionism as, in their perspective, classes are being replaced by fragmented and diversified cultural identities of gender, race, sexual preference, etc. In fact, Marxism has never denied the importance of these identities in social life but only emphasised the wider and broader social system that generates them. Thus a systematic confrontation with the ideological underpinnings of WSF, NGOs, and such other diversionsary efforts is essential to lead the anti-imperialist, anti-globalisation and anti-war movements coming up around the world with a revolutionary perspective.

13. The struggle against the alien trends can be successfully waged only when it is extended to an uncompromising struggle against all manifestations of social democracy on the one hand and sectarianism on the other. Sectarianism preaches a theory of easy victory, abandon mass line and alienate the

revolutionary movement from the broad masses of people. Instead of preparing the working class and the broad masses to become "the creators of history", instead of making the revolution a "festival of the masses", it reduces revolution to the heroics of few armed bands cut away from the masses; to something subjective, determined by arms, military might and by strategy and tactics of war alone; to something alienated from the working class organisations and organised mass movements.

14. In the present world situation, when ICM has suffered severe setbacks, when the organised strength of the Marxist-Leninist forces is very small or they do not exist as an organised force in many countries, many revolutionary sections nurture the illusion that imperialism and its lackeys can be combated by aligning with social democratic forces. The conclusions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern expose the absurdity of such a line. Post-Comintern developments have proved the correctness of these conclusions repeatedly. Developing the ideological-political line and the General Line of the ICM is possible only by uncompromisingly struggling against social democracy. It is possible only by pursuing an independent revolutionary initiative. As Comintern explained: "the communist parties, communists, must increase their vigilance in guarding against the danger of right opportunism, and must carry on a determined struggle against all its concrete manifestations.... Every Communist party should wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendencies to gloss over the differences in principle between Communism and reformism, against weakening the criticism of social democracy as the ideology and practice of (class) collaboration with the bourgeoisie.". This struggle against social democracy is all the more important today when on the one hand it has become the advocates of market socialism implementing the neo-liberal policies and integrating itself with the imperialist system. On the other hand, embracing post-Marxism, post-modernism like ideologies it has become part of the diversionary moves like WSF.

### **Anti-imperialist movement intensifies**

15. Presently as the mighty anti-war movement is getting strengthened across the continents, even the monopoly media is compelled to admit that the US super power led imperialist forces are challenged by the mighty anti-war mobilisation of the working class, oppressed peoples and all democratic

forces. The occupation of Iraq has led to massive people's protest and armed resistance there against colonisation by US forces. Resistance fighters have started targeting the US troops reminding the Vietnamese struggle. Along with this, once again the anti-globalisation movements have started gaining further strength with massive mobilisations against the G-8 Summit and the Cancun ministerial meet of the WTO.

16. Once again the working class and oppressed people of the world are on the move against imperialist globalisation and military aggressions. From Seattle onwards the anti-globalisation movement has attained international character. The aggression by US-UK axis on Iraq witnessed massive mobilisation of people across the continents in the anti-war movement. With the protest movements gaining strength day by day against the Cancun ministerial meet of WTO, the anti-globalisation movement along with solidarity to the resistance struggle of Iraqi and other peoples occupied and oppressed by imperialism, especially US imperialism, is attracting more and more sections to its ranks.

17. These developments substantiate the analysis of the then international situation put forward in the 1997 International Document of CPI (ML) Red Flag which stated: "the broadest possible unity at international level in fighting against the world imperialist system is needed today. To lead this struggle forward consciously in order to wipe out the imperialist system as a whole and to realise worldwide victory of socialist revolution, a correct ideological political line and polarisation around it are basic pre-conditions. For arriving at this Marxist-Leninist ideological political line, healthy ideological struggle at international level should be developed.

18. "Considering the absence of an international forum for more than five decades and the gravity of challenges faced by the international communist movement both at theoretical and political levels, no hasty efforts should be made to form an international organisation immediately. At the same time in continuation of the efforts initiated by the Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from the late 1970s all attempts should be made to develop fraternal relations at international level leading towards the formation of a platform of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations to begin with".

19. This proposal is all the more relevant and urgent in the present world situation when the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples

are on the move and they need revolutionary orientation and leadership to create a world without imperialism with socialism as the only alternative.

### **On developing the general line of the ICM**

20. Developing a correct ideological political line in the concrete conditions of contemporary world, developing the General Line of the ICM accordingly, and polarisation of the struggling classes and sections around it calls for uncompromising struggle against all alien trends, against all manifestations of revisionism and sectarianism, which Lenin called two sides of the same coin. From Khrushchevite revisionism to Deng's "black cat white cat" theory to Jiang Zemin's Three Represents, the underlying feature of all revisionist lines is their subservience to theories of the omnipotence of the market and capital, to market fetishism, all under the banner of socialism. All of them advocate 'market socialism' as the capitalist-roaders in China presently do. Lenin explained revisionism as nothing but bourgeois thought in command under the garb of socialism. By pursuing revisionist path all of these trends inevitably degenerate to social democracy. Starting as apologists of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and as apologists of ruling class politics, they become part of the imperialist camp and ruling class politics.

21. While explaining how to develop the General Line of the ICM, the CPC had pointed out in its 1963 Proposals: " The general line of the international communist movement should reflect the general law of the development of world history. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the people in various countries go through different stages and they all have their different characteristics, but they will not transcend the general law of development of world history. The general line should point out the basic direction for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and people of all countries. While working out its specific line and policies, it is most important for each Communist or Workers party to adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution and construction in its own country."

22. In line with the teachings of Comintern, analysis of Cominform and the Declaration and Statement of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings of the Communist Parties, the CPC had summarised the General Line of the International Communist Movement as follows

in its 1963 Proposals: " Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed people and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; strive for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without exploitation of man by man. This general line proceeds from the actual world situation taken as a whole and from a class analysis of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, and is directed against the counter-revolutionary strategy of US imperialism.

"This general line is one of forming a broad united front, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as its nucleus, to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries headed by the United States; it is a line of boldly arousing the masses, expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the reactionary forces.

"This general line is one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end; it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace."

23. Though all the countries constituting the then socialist camp have deviated to capitalist path inflicting a severe set back to the ICM, the socialist forces across the world are still active and more and more people are rallying around the slogan, "Socialism is the only alternative." Thus, in spite of tumultuous developments during the last four decades, this General Line of ICM put forward by the CPC in 1963 is still basically correct and constitute the basis on which the General Line should be further developed according to concrete conditions of the contemporary world. At the same time the reasons why the Comintern was dissolved in 1943 and the limitations of post-World War II positions of the ICM in evaluating the new tactics adopted by imperialism led by US imperialism initiating neo-colonisation call for serious study. It is all the more important since all the deviations in the ICM from Khrushchevite revisionism onwards were basically linked to the wrong evaluation of post-war imperialism. The formation of a platform of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations fighting against social democracy, sectarianism and all other alien trends shall create favourable conditions for taking up the task of this crucial evaluation, summing up the hitherto experience of the

ICM and developing this general line through a healthy ideological struggle.

### The immediate tasks

24. The unprecedented intensification of all major contradictions, the contradiction between the socialist forces and imperialism, the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and peoples on the one hand and imperialism on the other, and the contradiction among the imperialist forces and among the monopoly capitalist groups have given rise to mighty upsurges of people in different countries as recently seen in Argentina and Bolivia and at global level challenging the imperialist system led by US imperialism. These struggles of the world proletariat, oppressed nations and peoples are bound to intensify in coming days. The immediate task before the communist forces around the world is to get organised and become capable of providing revolutionary leadership to these movements.

25. Till the late 1970s many of the communist forces were sceptical about building up the Marxist-Leninist movement at the international level under the influence of erroneous lines or as a reaction to the absence of any international forum for long. But the picture has changed now. Even many of the former violent critics of any international efforts are now active participants in international conferences and seminars. It is a positive development. Multilateral exchanges of views and bilateral discussions are taking place. All these reflect the growing awareness among the communist forces for reorganising the Communist International through a step by

step process. When imperialist forces are intensifying their own globalisation through neo-liberal policies, the task of bringing together the communist forces based on proletarian internationalism has become more important.

26. There is an urgent need to build an international anti-imperialist front uniting the working class, the oppressed peoples and all democratic forces in the broadest possible manner. The US imperialist onslaughts including occupation of Iraq, suppression of Palestinian and other peoples and intensification of imperialist globalisation devastating the countries and pauperising the masses can be combated only by building such a broad front. And the alien trends like social democracy and sectarianism along with diversionary moves like WSF need to be combated. All these tasks can be fulfilled if the communist forces are coming forward utilising the present favourable objective conditions in which world proletariat and oppressed peoples are participating in unprecedented manner in the anti-globalisation, anti-war movements.

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!**

**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS  
AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!**

**OVER THROW IMPERIALISM  
AND ITS LACKEYS!**

**MAKE 21ST CENTURY  
ONE OF WORLDWIDE VICTORY  
OF PROLETARIAN SOCIALIST  
REVOLUTION! ☆**

