

# Platform

December 2023 No.7

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 flag aloft with her right arm. The background is a solid red color. The illustration is rendered in a flat, graphic style with some shading to suggest form and movement.





# Athens International Conference of World Anti-imperialist Youth League

November 19, 2023

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# Athens International Conference

November 17-20, 2023

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# “We are the inheritors of the revolutionary past of our people”

## Communist Party of Quebec

The people of Québec have been struggling for their national liberation for over 260 years. After the British conquest in 1760, our people took part in the first anticolonial guerilla in Canada led by indigenous chief Pontiac. In 1837 and 1838, we took up arms against the most powerful army in the world to try to establish a plurinational Republic of Quebec, where Quebecois and indigenous peoples would be equals. In 1918, our resistance against the conscription for the imperialist war was met with the machine-guns of the Canadian army, killing workers and students alike. Between 1963 and 1972, a marxist urban guerilla was led by the Quebec libération front, which attacked Canadian colonialism and American imperialism, and provoked the military occupation of Québec by the Canadian army in 1970, the third time in less than 60 years. Members of the Québec liberation front took part in internationalist struggles, notably by fighting the Zionist occupation forces with the PLO. In 1980 and 1995, referendums on the self-determination of Québec were marked by fraudulent and illegal practices by the Canadian government to ensure our defeat. They have taken all means necessary to deny our right and the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, from violent repression to manipulation and corruption, while keeping their false appearance of a democratic country.

Today the people of Quebec is faced with a choice: either our slow assimilation into anglo-American imperialist culture, becoming complicit with imperialism, or national and social liberation. The communist party of Québec has chosen its path. We are the inheritors of the revolutionary past of our people.

The working masses and youth of Québec

are growing discontent with the hardships of capitalism. Our party will lead the struggle among them, to organize them and to make them realize that our brothers are not the Canadian capitalists, nor are they the wall street bankers. Our brothers are in Africa and Latin America, fighting for the resources that the Canadian mining companies are stealing from them. Our brothers are in Donbass, fighting Ukrainian neo-nazis that were trained by Canadian armed forces. Our brothers are in Korea, where the Canadian government sent 23 thousand troops to help the Yankee imperialists in their war of aggression against the heroic Korean people in the 50s. Our brothers are in Palestine, resisting against genocide by the fascist zionist state of so-called Israel that has the backing of the USA and Canada.

Québec is at the heart of North American territory, it occupies a place of privilege to strike a fatal blow to imperialism by fracturing one of the main partner and neighbor of the United-States. It is our revolutionary responsibility to lead our national liberation struggle to victory, to complete independence and socialism.

Camarades,

Vive le marxisme-léninisme !

Vive la résistance palestinienne !

Vive la libération africaine et Latino-Américaine !

Vive la réunification de la Corée !

Vive le Québec libre !

# A tribute to the old generation of my party and to all the comrades like them

## Chilean Communist Party (Proletarian Action)

Since the appearance of civilization in Gobelki Tepe, it took humanity some 11,000 years to witness the rise of the first generation of communists, among them Marx and Engels, that is, people who combine revolutionary thinking with scientific understanding. Since this emergence, the oppressed in large parts of the world have won the greatest victories in their struggles against exploitation in the history of civilization.

This first generation of communists pursued the goal of transmitting communist ideas to the next generation through their writings and political actions (e.g., the national and international organization of the working class through the founding of communist parties and the creation of the Communist International). Building on the achievements of the first generation, the second generation of communists, including Lenin and Stalin, succeeded in consolidating a socialist state in Russia, defeating fascism and raising a socialist camp. Following the basic principle of scientific thinking, the second generation of communists also strove to pass on to the next generation the theoretical tools, including new experiences and new theoretical developments derived from them.

The third generation of communists, including Mao Zedong, Kim Il Sung, Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro, succeeded in consolidating democratic and socialist economies in China, the DPRK, Cuba, Vietnam and Laos. This generation of communists also understood well that they had to pass on communist thinking to the next generation.

Thus, each generation of communists was responsible for passing on communist theory, knowledge and experience to the next generation, so that the new generations would have a more solid theoretical basis and a greater wealth of

experience to advance internationally in the struggle for the final victory of socialism over capitalism, or rather, the victory of socialism over imperialism. In this way, each new communist generation could build on the knowledge and successes of previous generations so that they could make new achievements in the struggles for socialism on a national and international scale. There seemed to be an unbroken and unbreakable chain of transmission of communist ideas, theories and practices from one generation to the next.

However, between these decisive processes there was a first break in this chain of transmission when Khrushchev assumed the political leadership of the USSR, broke with the revolutionary communist tradition and oriented the policy of the USSR towards reconciliation with imperialism. At that moment, the communist forces on an international scale were divided between those who adopted the conciliatory and docile positions of Khrushchev and those who continued to postulate the communist, i.e. revolutionary, path. At the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the revisionists opened almost at once a new chain of transmission, anchored not in the historical past of the communists but in that of the Bernsteinists, the Kautskyists and the Trotskyists, but this time at the head of the First Society of Free Workers and Peoples. This fact made it possible that, for the first time in the history of communist thought, revisionism succeeded in forming a genuine chain of transmission of its thought.

But this was not the most serious event in communist history. The chain of transmission of communist ideas from the present to the next generation continued, although this time the communists faced the serious problem that the First Society of Free Workers and Peoples, the

USSR, was about to lose its way. Later, a real catastrophe occurred:

With the destruction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance in 1989/90, when imperialism won a great victory over socialism (even if it did not succeed in defeating it completely), the chain of transmission of communist ideas seemed to break forever.

There was a double problem:

Faced with such a colossal debacle, most communist militants either abandoned communist structures altogether or became covert supporters of imperialist ideology. Entire communist organizations simply dissolved or were transformed into organizations that kept the name but were emptied of communist content. There were hardly any communists left “crazy” enough to continue spreading the promise of a new society that had just “collapsed”. Only a few communists, scattered sporadically across the face of the Earth, survived in structures that looked more like sects than parties and were relegated to invisibility in the various societies of the world.

On the other hand, there were no longer any young people who wanted to listen. No young person in their right mind seemed to want to adopt “old-fashioned”, “wrong” and “failed” ideas, and a new communist generation seemed impossible. What young person would want to adopt the ideas of a promise of a new society that had just “crumbled”? The new generations of young people with social concerns were absorbed by reactionary ideas disguised as progressive, which neither endangered the system of national and international exploitation nor aspired to do so. It seemed as if communist ideas were relegated to the universities and libraries of the world as academic curiosities, like dinosaur bones in museums. Those were the most dramatic years of the communist movement in its short but fruitful history.

However, there were those few stubborn communists scattered all over the world, invisible

in the various societies of the world, but refusing to give up. Because they were true communists, they possessed the same qualities as the communists before them. The monumental moral strength, the incredible intellectual capacity and the unshakable conviction that, in spite of everything, it was possible to fight for a society superior to the present one and worth fighting for, made these communists neither surrender in the face of defeat nor bow ideologically to the advance of imperialism and the “theoretical” reasoning of its ideologues around the world.

With the knowledge they had inherited from the old communist generations and always with the will to continue fighting and not give up, these comrades who had survived the great defeat, who had survived dictatorships, repressions, tortures and imprisonments, who had fought underground, approached the young people to talk to them about socialism, communism and other strange things. At first they were met with deaf ears.

But they did not let themselves be discouraged, because if they did not do it before the destruction of the USSR, they were not going to do it now. They, who had a thorough grasp of communist theory, knew the most fundamental truth of the universe: if there is anything that can be demonstrated in this reality, then it is the existence of movement. Everything changes incessantly and nothing is eternal. Neither is the defeat resulting from the destruction of the USSR.

With the strength of communist theory and overcoming the vicissitudes of their own difficult lives, these communists set themselves the task of re-establishing the chain of transmission. Like Samson, with immeasurable strength, they grasped with both hands the links exactly where the chain broke due to such a colossal debacle, and over the years, with patience and hard work, they managed to unite the two parts of the chain of transmission: the past piece of communist history with the present generation of new communists. In this way, the communist future was assured.

How many times did they get tired on this road?

I don't know. How many times did they almost capitulate? I do not know. But I do know that they never gave up and after one step they took the next until they had built a real communist party.

They did not give up in the face of the collapse of the first socialist society, nor in the face of dictatorships, nor in the face of a sea of deaf ears. Today, at this very moment that we are gathered here, they have the opportunity to see a new world emerging on the horizon. And that China, a country advancing in the construction of socialism, takes in its hands the destiny of all human society, while imperialism agonizes.

I thank the historical comrades of my party:

Comrade Manolo, Luis, Betti, Roberto, Mauro and above all to the spearhead of our organization, our First Secretary Eduardo Artés Brichetti.

Perhaps they will never be engraved in stone, because these are not the historical moments in which men and women of that stature are immortalized, but they know, and we know, and we will let future generations know that they were the ones who saved the chain of intergenerational transmission of communist thought.

Let us be like them.

Honor and glory to the comrades!



# Long live our unity of action!

## Communist Party of Belgium

Dear Comrades,

Dear Friends,

The Communist Party of Belgium would like to thank you for inviting us to this International Conference and for giving us time to speak and reflect together.

Our Conference is taking place at a difficult and painful time for anti-imperialists and anti-warriors, who need to agree on a common reflection on how to act, how to take action, how to agree on the very nature of imperialism, its definition...

Some people, unfortunately on the left, including within the International Communist Movement itself, are taking advantage of the current conflict in UKRAINE to introduce among us new seeds of division and paralysis by believing that this conflict is an inter-capitalist war (which obviously causes innocent victims on both sides) pitting the Western camp, the self-proclaimed “Free World”, against RUSSIA, a new power, which has also become capitalist, and therefore imperialist. This paralysis led the movement to confine itself to counting blows, until one of the belligerents began peace negotiations, which, in view of current events, the government in KIEV refused, pushing for the internationalisation of the war.

They proclaim that the analysis of PUTIN (obviously) proclaiming that it is necessary to put an end to the latent fascism in UKRAINE would be deception, a lie, of the order of insanity, utopia, delirium, on the part of a degenerate leader...

Of course, we know that, according to our Marxist doctrine, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, BUT that fascism can also be the last stage of capitalism, in its most dictatorial, brutal and bestial form.

But is this also true of RUSSIA, which over the last 30 years has also developed its own multinationals within the framework of capitalist globalisation, which, like all developed countries, are also extending their tentacles abroad in order to develop their own economy competitively?

We doubt it, because imperialism in this case is simply commercial, economic imperialism.

This imperialism is transformed into war imperialism when a State, regardless of its economic system, becomes a danger to its neighbours, to the point of wanting to extend its power by military force, annexations and occupations, provocations, colonial conquests, aggressions, etc.

We all know, and history proves it sufficiently, that the capitalist West (the USA, Western Europe (self-proclaimed “The Democracies”) has had the privilege of these acts for nearly 140 years, since the Berlin Colonial Conference of 1884-1885, with the participation of the “New World”, on the division of AFRICA, the first inter-capitalist world war, the second inter-capitalist world war again (between German imperialism and that of the democracies at its beginnings in 1939-1940) for the conquest and redistribution of the economic markets and the destruction of Bolshevism.

Since the victory over Nazism and Fascism, American imperialism (the world’s leading imperialist power) has continued to strengthen its economic and military presence in Europe.

If America’s sole aim was to come and liberate us, its troops would have returned home at least 75 years ago.

Instead, Western Europe gradually became an American colony. One new occupier drives out the other, and enormous means have to be used to force

it to leave.

The famous Marshall Plan was a great fool's game and a springboard for the creation of the EUROPE of banks and multinationals. The Fulton speech, the "Fear Speech", delivered at Westminster on 5 March 1946, was the start of the anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign, the cold war, the arms race, the remilitarisation of Adenauer's revanchist GERMANY, the creation of NATO, the launch of the bloc policy, the involvement of the West in the war provoked in KOREA, followed by the creation of the WARSAW PACT in response.

Incidentally, according to the Agreements signed between the Allies, GERMANY was to become a peaceful, demilitarised state, and its great pre-war Konzerns could not, because they had produced the Nazi war machine. None of this was achieved, due to Anglo-American and French shenanigans.

From the Korean War and Indochina to Algeria, the dirty American war in VIETNAM, and finally the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, it was to be hoped that a policy of peace would take hold and that other conflicts in the world would come to an end.

Instead, a new politics of blocs has reappeared, NATO, the biggest imperialist alliance in the world, has not been dissolved in its turn, it has even been strengthened and is being used for aggressions and occupations in the world, outside its sphere of influence, in Europe (Balkans), in the Middle East (Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria), in Africa (Libya), under the pretext of replacing tyrants with "democracy", Western sauce. Where, then, have these aggressions brought this "democracy" without merciless destruction, massacres and war crimes?

As for the rest, liberal Europe has not ceased to pursue its "march towards the East", integrating the former socialist countries, strengthening puppet governments and constantly developing its armed wing, multiplying manoeuvres and military

provocations right up to the borders of RUSSIA, which has once again become the beast to be slaughtered. Only one step remains to be taken: UKRAINE!

So they pushed it back, provoking the events of MAIDAN, followed by the installation of a corrupt putschist government. Then came the request to join the new European Empire and, of course, NATO.

To demonstrate its commitment to and alignment with the USA and Europe, the Nazified government in KIEV banned its large minority from using Russian in the country, and therefore in the Eastern regions, as well as freedoms, democracy, more than 20 mainly left-wing opposition parties, strikes and trade union demands, imprisonment, control of the media and information, and racist Russophobia, and has been waging a war of genocidal massacres in the east of the country since 2014, using neo-Nazi legionnaires and volunteers recruited in Europe and elsewhere, thus proving that this war did not only begin on 24 February 2022, while the extreme right is gradually gaining strength everywhere, and is succeeding in gaining power in other countries of war-torn Europe.

Who, apart from RUSSIA, after numerous warnings, is finally capable of putting an end to these dangers of a fascist and neo-Nazi revival and seizure of power, sounding the death knell, and coming to the rescue of our compatriots who have been massacred since 2014, under the complicit silence and military and political aid of the American-Ottoman-Western and Europeanists?

We end this speech by pointing out that the current situation is all the more serious and dangerous because the same American-Western camp is playing the same dirty game, which smells of oil, by unreservedly supporting the Zionist state of ISRAEL for 75 years in occupied Palestine, proceeding with annexations, repeated bombardments, destruction and massacres of

civilian populations at the slightest incident, locking up 2.3 million Palestinians in the GAZA camp for 17 years, once again under the silence of the Western world, and now proceeding with total destruction and massacre in this territory, no doubt with the aim of a new annexation.

Finally, we would like to emphasise that:

- Western neo-colonialism is also the cause of many other horrifying wars in the world.
- The Americanised and NATO-ised West not only proclaims itself to be at war with RUSSIA, but has set itself the ultimate goal of a war with CHINA, which has become too competitive.
- America, God's chosen and protected people, makes no secret of its desire to dominate the world and establish its unique and eternal economic system.
- When it is a question of economic imperialism alone, have no fear, the Communists of Belgium will always stand by the workers and the trade unions, whatever their multinational employers, be they Belgian, Japanese, Italian, American, British, Chinese, Korean, French, Canadian or other.
- Our Party welcomes the development of the BRICS for another model of world economic organisation, in solidarity, peace, understanding and equality.
- Our party congratulates the 3 African countries that have just regained their independence from governments that were subject to colonialism and the presence of France in their countries.

Long live the world anti-imperialist movement,  
long live our unity of action!

Thank you Comrades!

# We, the youth, must now face up to these decisive challenges for humanity and finally resolve them

## Youth of Communist Revival in France (JRCF)

Ukraine, Palestine, People's Republic of China, Yemen, socialist Cuba, etc. Since 1945, world peace has never been so threatened by the unprecedented offensive of US imperialism, which, anxious to safeguard its hegemony throughout the world, is leading it towards a great cataclysm. On 11 November 1918, the day of the Franco-German armistice, against a backdrop of mutinies, uprisings and workers' and people's revolutions all over Europe (starting with Bolshevik Russia, then in the middle of the war), the door was opened to the desire for "never again!" Now that the foul Fascist beast has been crushed by the "Grand Alliance", and in particular by the USSR, to the extent that General de Gaulle recalled in 1944 that "the French know that Soviet Russia played the main role in our liberation", the spectre of a new global conflagration is once again haunting the planet.

This spectre is being fanned by Macron, who, keen to make people forget the destruction of public services, social gains, democratic freedoms, the one and indivisible Republic and even national sovereignty and independence, is anchoring France in the Euro-Atlantic order and "modernising" the armed forces to the tune of €413 billion—announced on 20 January 2021, the day after the first major demonstration for pensions!—to prepare the country to wage "high-intensity wars" in the East. All against a backdrop of rampant fascisation fuelled by the Macronie (anything but an "anti-fascist barrage!"), which is fuelling growing violence against progressives (starting with communists and fighting trade unionists), criminalising popular resistance and destroying even the few freedoms (starting with "freedom

of expression") that the capitalist oligarchy can't stand.

In the face of this death grinder for sovereign peoples, citizens and workers, it is more essential than ever to work for peace and declare a global "war on war", which is being pushed by US hegemonism with its armed wing NATO and its henchmen, led by the EU of Capital.

This 21st century, with its many social, democratic, diplomatic, military and ecological dangers that cannot wait until the next century to be resolved, is also significant in terms of the global rejuvenation of the world's population.

We, the young people of all the nations of the world, have never been so numerous on Earth.

We, who should have our whole future ahead of us, must now face up to these decisive challenges for humanity and, together with our elders, finally resolve them.

We see these dangers as arising from the MAIN contradiction of our time, the contradiction between CAPITAL and LABOUR, which, along the way, tends to be resolved either in favour of the exploited and oppressed majority of the world, or in favour of the exploiting and dominating minority of our time.

The latter, although it may still exist or try to exist within countries which have taken the initiative to get rid of it, is today principally grouped within the dangerous Euro-Atlantic imperialist bloc of the EU-NATO axis.

Exploiting workers and crushing their wages as never before, trampling on democracy, but also and above all over-armed and nuclearised, this bloc pushes its imperialist and predatory logic to the

point of extermination, threatening planet Earth and humanity with the premature extinction of all living things through catastrophic climate change and/or the perpetual escalation of war and the use of the planet's nuclear arsenal, which would lead, in the very short term and beyond the countless foreseeable victims, to a nuclear winter gradually suffocating the vegetation and animal world without which the human species cannot survive.

This fateful march, which the EU-NATO axis is tending to condemn us to, is accompanied by an accelerated fascisation of our societies, gagging the freedom of expression of opponents, flouting all democratic freedoms one by one, crushing even the bourgeois parliaments already in their boots and threatening to marginalise young people who, more than anyone else, feel that their future is uncertain.

That's why, at a time when regional conflicts are multiplying and tending to become globalised under the warlike impetus of the EU-NATO, and at the very moment when all citizens and workers are demanding to be able to make a decent living from their work in a truly democratic country, we are launching this appeal: "WE WANT TO LIVE!"

And to do this we are holding out our hands to you, young people from France and around the world, activists, trade unionists, young workers and citizens who love peace, humanity, progress and the future, who abhor sectarianism and are not afraid to make a practical commitment, whether you believe in a god or not and whatever your origins. There is today only ONE MAIN CAUSE that threatens to shorten our lives and those of all our fellow human beings, and that is the predatory and exterminist policies of the EU-NATO axis. We urgently need to get organised and turn TOGETHER AND AT THE SAME TIME against this deadly cause.

Down with US-NATO and EU imperialism!

Atlantic Europe or the peaceful world, now more than ever we have to choose!

Socialism or barbarism, homeland or death, we

will win!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!

# Marxism can channel the anger of our youth into revolution

## Red Youth

*Decaying capitalism offers young people only alienation and misery. The path to a positive future lies in harnessing our energies against the present system.*

Good afternoon comrades, my name is Dexter and I am a member of Red Youth, the youth wing of the Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist). I'm pleased to see so many other youth delegates from around the world attending this important event.

I'd like to talk about the situation of the youth in Britain today.

It's tough to be young in today's age. Climbing rates of depression and even suicide are the result of a bleak future under capitalism. Many feel overwhelmed by climate change. People who don't know what they want to do go to university to try and figure it out, only to be saddled with a lifetime's worth of debt. Some go straight into work but struggle to find a full-time job or work on dodgy contracts in bad conditions.

The future, to many young people in Britain, seems bleak. Pointless, even.

You can't really blame them, can you? How on earth is it the case that the world's sixth-richest economy isn't able to provide its people with work, isn't able to give them a proper healthcare or education system, fails to keep homeless people off the streets, fails to provide affordable and healthy food to its people?

Many young people are rightfully angry about these problems.

And yet this is the system working exactly as intended. We communists know through our study

of Marxist texts that unemployment is a feature of capitalism. Capitalists want cheap labour, so keeping a certain number of workers out of work ensures that those looking for work have to debase themselves in order to get a job—they have to accept lower wages and worse conditions—because they don't want to end up on the streets.

This is the threat that stands behind the talk about 'freedom' under capitalism.

But, comrades, I should be very clear. Although there are many suffering in Britain today, compared with much of the world—or even with the Britons of 100 years ago—the level of deprivation in Britain today is nowhere near the level in the oppressed countries. Why? Because British workers have been bribed by imperialism.

A small portion of profits derived from the superexploited colonies and neocolonies is used to maintain a good enough healthcare system, just about functioning schools and basic unemployment benefits, which together constitute a social wage. This social wage means British workers can rely on the state when things get tough.

It helps stop many millions from falling into abject poverty and outright starvation—it maintains social peace—it prevents revolution by easing the lot of the masses.

Yet our rulers can't keep this up forever. A multipolar world is on its way—a world in which imperialism is having its hegemony challenged. But, perhaps more importantly, British workers are becoming more and more disillusioned with 'democracy'. And by that I of course mean bourgeois democracy.

The average Brit today understands that the



politicians lie, that the newspapers lie, that the TV and radio stations lie. They can see that the national healthcare service—the NHS—is falling apart, slowly but surely. Young people are more disengaged from British democracy than ever before, and voter turnout rates—an important statistic for the liberal democracy-lover—are on a downward trend.

Overwhelmingly popular policies, such as the renationalisation of the railways, just don't get implemented. How do these people in Parliament represent us if they don't do what we want?

The British people are angry, comrades. All that is needed is a spark to light the fire.

Now, it is always in the nature of young people to rebel, certainly in western society. It's part of our culture. A classic way of doing this is by being a 'communist', by hating capitalism, by despising all it espouses.

Yet why do people seem to 'grow out' of this communist phase? Why has society decided that communism is 'just a phase' that people grow out of as they get older and more 'pragmatic'?

It is the state of the left-wing movement in Britain today that must take responsibility for this wasted energy.

The 'left-wing' movement in Britain has been overwhelmed by social democracy. The Labour party is one of the main social-democratic political parties in Britain, and most of the so-called 'socialist' organisations in Britain are intimately connected with it.

They are separate organisations in name only, owing to the fact that the overwhelming majority of them, even those having the guts to call themselves 'communist', in the end just tell their members and supporters to vote for the Labour party as the 'least-worst option'. They act as pressure groups towards that party, not as really independent working-class organisations representing the real interests of the British working class.

So, when young people get involved in these groups that call themselves socialist but don't even study Marx, or study him indirectly with the 'help' of study guides designed to misdirect people, they are doomed from the start. The fire within them—the anger—begins to die out and smoulder.

The lacklustre 'Marxist' education these organisations provide, which should be arming their members with a knowledge of Marxist science which they can put at the service of the wider working class, are pushing them away from Marxism.

This is a great travesty. Young people have an instinctive understanding of all the problems of capitalism, but their energies are being wasted and their enthusiasm destroyed by these so-called 'socialist' groups.

Young people understand, although perhaps not quite in these words, that capital's constant search for new markets to exploit and new resources to plunder has led it to recklessly harm the planet and pollute far in excess of any reasonable metric.

They understand that the de-industrialisation of Britain, owing to imperialism's drive to export capital to foreign countries where labour, land and raw materials are cheaper, has ripped millions of jobs away—mostly in manufacturing or in the production and processing of raw materials.

When these industries were carried on in Britain, they used to be the focus of strong working-class communities. And those communities were plunged into poverty and unemployment when the jobs went, leaving great masses of workers on the social scrap-heap and depriving the British working class of what had been some of its most militant and advanced sections.

Now, I'm sure all the comrades here know why these things have happened. It's in the very nature of imperialism to desecrate its own homeland in this way—as long the result is a higher rate of profit. It's in the very logic of capitalism that the

capitalist becomes the physical embodiment of his capital.

A lot of young people have an instinctive grasp of much of this. It's obvious to them that capitalists are greedy, that they seek out profit, and that's why mining and manufacturing and all sorts of other jobs which used to be done at home are now being done in poorer countries.

However, they don't understand why that really happens. By what mechanism are those big businesses led to act in this way? Why has our economy got to this stage where very little really useful activity happens at home? Why the hell haven't people stood up to stop this? How do we go about changing it?

This burning anger, this passion, will eventually erupt. We must, as communists, do all that we can to stoke the flames. But until a mass organisation is built to handle this correctly, young people's anger will bubble beneath the surface. Bourgeois politicians love to talk about 'voter apathy', sometimes calling it 'hapathy', claiming British workers are so happy they have apathy—they just don't care much about politics any more. Why would they, when they live so well?

No, this anger will bubble beneath the surface and will continue to build with every false news story the lying media promote, and with every promise that is unfulfilled by hypocritical politicians. And as more and more reach the conclusion that this system cannot deliver for ordinary workers, that its representatives cannot be trusted, we communists must be there to educate them as to why that is and what the solutions are.

Our publications are hugely important—we must have a newspaper with a strong analysis to help give people the answers they are looking for. We must have books to provide the depth and knowledge. If what we write is well and truly thought out, people angry enough to take the time to do the reading will inevitably reach the conclusion that what we are

telling them is right and correct.

Comrades, we must simply stand up proudly and put forth the truth! The masses have been presented with so many false news stories, with daily headlines that lie about the Ukraine war and lie about Palestine. Many workers are searching for the truth, but they have to wade through a quagmire of misinformation and misdirection to get to it.

Why? Because we in the Communist party are but a tiny section of the left wing in Britain. Comrades who have come to us have often been members of a number of other groups before they found us. This situation must be corrected, and it is only through valiant struggle and collective action that it can be done.

Engels once said that England might well be the last place to see a socialist revolution. I can assure comrades that we in the Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist) are doing our best to prove him wrong.

Thank you.



# “We must reunite the divided communist movement and direct it towards the struggle against imperialism”

## League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ)

Dear comrades,

In the name of the Central Committee of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ), I greet you all, the participants of this Youth Meeting. We see this meeting as a very important event which can serve for the exchange of experience, as well as establishing and further deepening cooperation between anti-imperialist youth organizations. I wish us all a successful discussion!

The League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia has been active in the international communist movement ever since its foundation in 1992. We have been member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) since 1994, and we participated at the Meetings of European Communist Youth Organizations (MECYO), whose Working group we are currently part of, since 2010. Over more than 30 years of its activity, our organization, together with our Party, have gathered a significant experience regarding the activities in the international communist movement.

To understand the current situation in the international communist movement, we need to go back some 30 years in the past. The early 90's was a hard period for communists. The end of the Cold war and the dissolution of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe lead to the disappointment among communists, which was especially hard in the war torn Yugoslavia. Most of the parties which had experience in building socialism disappeared, and those in Western Europe were weakened by the wave of euro-communist opportunism (its origin can be traced back to the 70's). With the disappearance of the Soviet Union

and the (temporary) victory of imperialist camp, the working class, both in Eastern and Western Europe, was weakened, which further affected the theoretical basis and practical work of the European communist parties and youth organizations.

During that period, the main theoretical task of the communist parties and youth organizations was to explain conditions which lead to the failure of Eastern European socialism. On the practical level, the task was to gather the scattered communist movement, to reorganize our forces and to prepare for new battles against bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) took an important role in reviving the communist movement. Although weakened by its own internal splits (at one point KNE was left with just 100 members), it managed to attract communists around Europe and the rest of the World by maintaining its militancy and infrastructure, as well as expressing a strong anti-revisionist political line. Under the initiative of KKE and KNE, international organizations, such as IMCWP, Initiative and MECYO were created, which gave the aforementioned organizations great prestige in the communist movement. NKPJ and SKOJ, despite having some ideological differences, were able to maintain good, even “fraternal relations with Greek comrades” up until recently, due to fact that KKE was the only massive marxist-leninist party in the Balkans region.

The financial crisis of 2008 marks the turning point, the qualitative leap from the relatively stable development of Western imperialism, to the pre-revolutionary stage we are experiencing today. The crisis, followed by the “tightening belt”

bourgeois policies, have once again woken up disorganized and disoriented working classes of Europe. With the emergence of socialist China as a global economic and political player that is actively undermining the hegemony of the West through policies such as Belt and Road Initiative, the crisis, as well as the contradictions between imperialist and anti-imperialist camp has deepened significantly. Therefore, a new task was set before the communists—to organize and lead an anti-imperialist struggle with the ultimate goal of using it as a precondition for the overthrow of capitalism. In this struggle, the contemporary marxist-leninist theory should be developed on the basis of “Popular front policy”, developed by the Soviets in 1930’s.

Contrary to the objective material conditions and needs of the contemporary moment, the KKE (and subsequently all organizations who follow its line) developed the so-called “imperialist pyramid theory”. The premise of this theory is that, since capitalism have entered its most developed, imperialist stage, and since monopolies dominate every capitalist economy, all countries are imperialist, no matter how small or dependent they are. In the eyes of this theory, there are just quantitative, and not qualitative differences between capitalism in, for example, USA, Serbia or Uganda. For them, Greece is, for example, exactly the same imperialist power as Great Britain, just smaller. As a result of this theory, its followers reject the popular front policy and the people’s liberation struggle in countries like Korea or Palestine. For them, every bourgeoisie and every capitalism are the same, which means that they reject those who can, at a certain stage in the struggle, help defeating the common, biggest enemy. While talking about “developing marxist-leninist theory”, they are actually “developing” trotskyism in its most vulgar form. It must not be forgotten that, on the one hand, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were willing to make alliances with peasants, petty and

even big bourgeoisie in order to overthrow Tsarism and landowners and, on the other hand, Trotsky openly rejected even the idea of the worker-peasant alliance. This “strategy of defeat”, promoted by KKE and KNE did not come from nothing—it can be explained by their position in Greek society, as well as in the international communist movement.

In the decades following the temporary fall of socialism in Eastern Europe, KKE have gradually shifted from sincere anticapitalist party to the “systemic opposition” of capitalism. The use of fiery rhetoric, together with some concessions KKE achieve from time to time, serve as a “steam vent” for the working class in Greece. While displaying “revolutionary” phrases and their admiration of Lenin and Stalin, they do not provide not even an idea, let alone a concrete plan, of how to establish socialism in their country. The KKE, despite being a traditional party with great history, neglects ideological education of its members. Therefore, there are lot of militant comrades who simply do not see the left-wing opportunism of their party leaders.

On the international level, it can be observed that in the recent years KKE, and especially KNE, have created a constellation of their “satellite” organizations. Most of them are small groups who are amazed by the “displays of communism” presented in events such as festivals, camps and congresses. Members of those organizations usually lack proper ideological education—therefore, instead of establishing their own political line based on principles of scientific socialism, they blindly follow the directions of their “big brother”. The sectarian approach of the “satellites” can be observed most clearly in the international events, especially where some sort of common political document should be produced. While “non-pyramid” communist organizations generally try to find a common ground, the “satellites” aggressively impose their positions, which are unacceptable

from the anti-imperialist point of view. The often vague and shallow resolutions are the result of insistence on the phrases like the capitalist/imperialist character of China or imperialist competition between NATO and Russia. The destructive work of the “satellites” have weakened the communist movement to the point where most of its institutions are deeply divided and no longer functional. The unilateral dissolution of the Initiative shows that the left opportunists are ready to destroy even their own creations if they find themselves and their non-scientific theories in the minority.

The sharpening contradictions between imperialist and non imperialist camp, as well as the perspective of the World War III (some can argue that the WWIII is already taking place) has brought the communist movement in the situation similar to the one before the October Revolution. In the revolutionary period, the differentiation between opportunists (left or right wing) and communists becomes apparent. In this moment, the communist movement itself needs reorganization, in order to prepare itself for the battles to come, for the struggle against imperialism, for socialism. Therefore, the communist and anti-imperialist organizations, gathered within the World Anti-imperialist Platform, must reunite the divided communist movement and direct it towards the struggle against NATO, EU and the USA hegemony, the struggle for socialism.

# Youth vanguards should be on the front lines and bring a new era of anti-imperialist struggle

## Progressive Youth League

Looking at the history, youth have always been sensitive to the new, searching for truth, and bravely practicing it. Marx and Lenin had devoted themselves to the communist movement since they were young, and through fierce practice, they revealed the truth of the revolution. Under the influence of the victory of the October Revolution in 1917, Korean youth vanguard rejected the bogus Marxists, fought against sectarianism, and paved the way for the anti-imperialist national liberation and socialist movements. Throughout the history of world revolutions, including Korea's, youth communists have always been active as vanguards in the party, in the armed forces, and in the united fronts.

Today, we are on the brink of a new upsurge in world revolution. Human history will mark 2022 as the year when the Third World War began. In 2022, the war in Ukraine became in full swing, by which World War III broke out, and in 2023, the war in Palestine began and immediately expanded into the war in the Middle East, accelerating the Third World War. If the wars in Taiwan and South Korea break out in 2024, it will be the culmination of the Third World War. The First World War was an inter-imperialist war, and the Second World War was a world antifascist war. The Third World War is a world anti-imperialist war. The Third World War, in which a world anti-imperialist front is formed, and it is conducting a world anti-imperialist war, will be a decisive blow to the imperialist powers and a milestone for global independence.

The war in Ukraine is an anti-imperialist, antifascist, liberation war, and a preventive war; the war in the Middle East, including the war in

Palestine, is an anti-imperialist, anti-zionist, and liberation war; and the imminent wars in Taiwan and South Korea are anti-imperialist, national liberation wars, and reunification wars. In the situation of the Third World War, one front is the anti-imperialist front, and the common character of each war is anti-imperialist and liberation war.

We, youth must be convinced of the scientific analysis of the situation and, along the revolutionary line revealed by it, become the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Fascism in the Second World War was a variant of imperialism that threatened the hegemony of the imperialist powers, but in the present Third World War, fascism is a stooge of imperialism, which is a neocolonial instrument of imperialist domination or a cannon fodder in proxy war. The imperialist forces manipulated the neo-Nazi Zelensky government in Ukraine and the zionist Netanyahu government in Israel to provoke wars. Both neo-Nazism and zionism are fascism, and imperialist forces have utilized this fascism to increase their influence in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

Youth around the world have played a vanguard role in the fight against imperialism and its vassal fascism in each country and region. This is why the imperialist forces and fascist forces preferentially and savagely suppress the youth movement. In the anti-imperialist mass struggle, which is the first task of the world communist and anti-imperialist forces in the present era, the youth fighters must continue to play a vanguard role without wavering.

However, in the current situation, the Communist Youth of Greece, the KNE, defining Russia and China as imperialists, opposes the war in Ukraine as

the anti-imperialist and antifascist war, and follows the imperialist forces including the US imperialism. Right after February 2022, the war in Ukraine was escalated, the KNE held the demonstration in front of the Russian Embassy. This is a prime example of how the KNE has confused the main enemy in the anti-imperialist movement and created confusion in anti-imperialist and communist movements around the world. Why it happened.

In 1956, by the notorious renegade, Nikita Khrushchev, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stated the revisionist line. It was resolutely opposed by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece (the KKE) at that time, Nikos Zachariadis and the other communists, who were expelled from the party. After then, the leadership of the KKE has taken the revisionist line and betrayed the revolutionary principle all the time.

It is no coincidence that the leadership of the KKE, trapped in the mire of revisionism, made the left and right opportunist mistakes in the strategy and tactics of the revolution and betrayed the workers and the people. From the 1980s, the right-biased problem, which it entered the European Parliament and indulged in Eurocommunism, and the left-biased problem, which failed to lead the struggle and shouted ultra-revolutionary slogans when the people rose up in protest in 2009 due to the severe economic crisis, are two sides of the same coin, typical of opportunism.

The Khrushchev's revisionist Communist Party of the Soviet Union intervened the internal affairs of the communist parties in other countries, and established the revisionist leadership. This international sectarianist maneuvers are repeated in present days by the KKE.

The KKE is meddling in the internal affairs of the communist parties in other countries, and forcing the revisionist line, but if the party refuses to accept the line, the KKE manipulates some party members

and youth and splits the party.

Unfortunately, in these international sectarian maneuvers, the KNE is acting as an assault force. The erroneous line and sectarian behavior of the leaderships of the KKE and the KNE have prevented the World Federation of Democratic Youth (the WFDY) and Meeting of European Communist Youth Organizations (MECYO) from achieving their vanguard role in the world revolution and European revolution. The leaderships of the KKE and the KNE are inciting members of the youth leagues of the countries linked to these international organizations to impose their false line on the communist parties and youth organizations and, if they refuse, to divide the parties, mainly the youth, to create pro-KKE party.

We, the youth of the World Anti-imperialist Platform, must fight against the incorrect line and sectarian activities of the KNE and prevent the division of the international communist movement. Young communists in each country should arm themselves with the revolutionary and scientific line and wage an unwavering, uncompromising, and principled ideological struggle with the highest alertness against the pro-imperialist revisionist line and the international sectarian activities of the KNE leadership.

The leadership of the KKE has created the absurd "imperialist pyramid" theory, which defines all capitalist countries as imperialist, and spread it mainly through the KNE. In order to see through the essence of revisionism, opportunism, and sectarianism, which are the main targets of the contemporary battle of ideas, we must study scientific revolutionary idea and theory in depth. The true youth revolutionaries of our time should dialectically combine ideological study with practical struggle and confidently confront the pro-imperialist revisionist line and international sectarianism.

The Comintern was founded in March 1919 and the young communists of the world founded the Youth Communist International in November of that year. In the historic period of the creation of the first socialist countries after the First World War and the strengthening of the socialist camp around the world before and after the Second World War, the youth were able to stand with the Comintern and follow the right path to fulfill the mission of the times.

Today, as we face a new phase of the Third World War, we stand with the World Anti-imperialist Platform to clarify the correct path of the anti-imperialist struggle through scientific analysis of the situation and revolutionary strategy, to reject revisionism, opportunism, and sectarianism, and to consolidate international communist forces.

The three goals of the World Anti-imperialist Platform—promoting the world anti-imperialist struggle, intensifying the ideological warfare against revisionism, opportunism and sectarianism, and consolidating international communist forces—are the first priority tasks of the world anti-imperialist and international communist forces.

I am confident that we, the youth fighters will always be the vanguard and fighters on the glorious way to fulfill the task of justice given by the times by following the correct line with the World Anti-imperialist Platform. Holding high the slogans “The workers of the world, unite!” and “The people united will never be defeated!”, let us struggle bravely to advance the victory of the anti-imperialist struggle and the destruction of imperialism! The final victory of the workers’ and people’s independent task, and revolutionary task is certain!



# Athens Youth declaration: Youth League of the World Anti-imperialist Platform

We are living through a turning point, during which historical world changes are taking place in the development or regression of human civilisation and human society on a global scale. A characteristic feature of recent decades has been the rise and spread of powerful economic crises in hitherto flourishing capitalist societies of the so-called 'first world', with the immediate consequences being the violent and sudden collapse of the standard of living of the majority of society and the widening of the gap between a numerically small but economically powerful and parasitic elite and the world of labour which witnessed the disappearance of centuries worth of labour and social conquests in very short time.

The very phenomenon of economic crises was founded on a not-so-obvious but nevertheless clear and deliberate lie: that the 'crises' were not crises but a temporary, functional 'anomaly' of the capitalist system that would be corrected and restored. Reality proved that the economic crises introduced a new permanent situation, a new inhuman reality for the majority not only of the existing population but, more importantly, for the still unborn generations that will come in the future and that whenever and wherever they are born, will already from their very first breaths 'owe' exorbitant amounts per capita and per 'piece' and who will spend their entire lives 'managing' an unmanageable debt which they did not cause themselves.

In the other regions of the world, where the world's predatory capital draws the borders of the what it calls 'Third World', in these dependent countries whose peoples have been overexploited

for decades or even centuries, with the youth being the first victims, the much more intractable problems of survival and subsistence, which the latter are confronted with, tend to assume frightening proportions.

The crisis in the fiscal and economic sphere seems to be coming full circle. The escalation of the conflict of interests on a global scale is leading to a challenge to the neo-colonial domination of the strongest imperialist powers. Humanity is now being pushed into the most heated and homicidal phase of securing and actualizing the monopoly of capital: the phase of real war, the military conflict and involvement of more and more states which were, until recently, privileged under the hegemony of the USA against the rising rival pole formed by anti-imperialist-anti-colonialist countries and rising powers which are either socialist or draw their economic and military power from the legacies of the early socialist revolutions of the 20th century (see the 'Socialist Revolution'; People's Republic of China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Cuba, Laos, Russia).

In this imminent and inevitable confrontation between the decadent Western monocacy and the advancing bloc of socialist and anti-imperialist forces, the new generations, the young people of the societies that the Western hegemony maintains under its control and influence, will be brutally and without any hesitation or second thought, turned into cannon fodder by the ruling regime. We are already seeing this happening in Ukraine with the hundreds of thousands of disposable people who in no time are filling the vast new graveyards scattered around the country.

Countless young people, most of them forcibly conscripted, literally beaten and kidnapped from the street or from their homes, are being sent to their deaths at the same time as their somewhat more 'privileged' peers of the 'allied' states are (for now) suffering economic death and the burial of their very future by the wholesale seizure of their economic resources and their being sent as 'aid' to modern-day neo-Nazism by CEOs of supranational organizations who were not elected by anyone and of course are not accountable to anyone. And this generalized attack with the youth as its victims is not limited in a specific locality; we have new outbreaks that are ever more violent and bloody, ever more destructive every day, with the most recent example being the genocidal situation in occupied Palestine and the mass extermination of thousands of children and civilians by the Zionist occupation regime.

In western societies that are increasingly openly revealing their deeply reactionary core, the youth are seen as 'dangerous material' that needs to be treated before it can be released into the Euro-Atlantic 'progressive' environment. The innate rebellious spirit and the tendency to question and oppose the status quo are the first elements to be targeted by the 'reform' imposed by the framework of the dominant 'principles and values'.

Young people are not only not allowed to have any experiential contact and awareness of the social and labour acquisitions that their parents probably anticipated, but they should be 'educated' in such a way that any reference to vital social, labour and personal rights reflexively provokes aversion, to be perceived as something dead, obsolete, even as a criminal remnant from the 'illiberal' past. What is sought is full acceptance of further rapid impoverishment, subjugation, migration, unemployment, job insecurity, existential anguish, addictions, consumer substitutes and manufactured 'identities', and familiarity with death itself on

the battlefields and/or with the use of weapons of mass destruction in escalating war. In contrast, unbridled capital and the elevation of the market and insatiable profit to supreme status, as somehow the prevailing religion, is the absolute and non-negotiable goal.

According to neoliberal 'orthodoxy', young men and women must hate progress and collectivity. It demands this without allowing young people to even begin to grasp and define these concepts; they must become automatons, unable to articulate any progressive theoretical elaboration. This includes any reference to the historical achievements of socialism and Marxist science that propelled the whole of humanity to historical heights in the not so distant past. Nowadays, alienation is reduced to a charisma, a professional qualification, a sign of good taste, a passport to racial superiority, even if it ultimately leads to self-dissolution and individual and social death. In short, the young person must be young in body and congenitally dead in spirit, an absolutely expendable vassal-guarantor of the perpetuation and escalation of the regime of exploitation.

But conditions are changing rapidly. Imperialist domination seems to be tottering and heading for its first defeat in the 21st century, which until recently seemed unthinkable. The pan-Euro-Atlanticist empire seems to be stripped of the metaphysical cloak it had created for itself. The awe of the 'invincible' is beginning to fade. But it would be a mistake to underestimate its immense power, which may be diminishing at the material level but which remains almost intact in another, much more important and decisive field. It is the ideological field of domination, the planetary dispersion and the consolidation of the so-called western culture over generations, which are already nurtured transcendentally from the moment of their birth until the moment of their physical death, incessantly and most importantly subconsciously



by the dominant ideology of capital which, as a perfectly thought out and regulated 'production line', turns human subjects into unwilling, alienated, consumptive and passive beings unable to grasp and understand their own biological core, let alone their social core. A being that is subjected to the assaults of postmodern 'self-definition or self-identification' already from childhood, forced to 'choose an identity' from a supermarket shelf where the multitude of 'social constructions' and 'identities' available for sale dominate in a great variety, qualities and versions for every preference and budget.

The progressive youth of the whole world must awaken and choose the path of life with perspective, the difficult but beautiful path of rising up in a collective liberation struggle with dignity, against all oppression and manipulation, a struggle that it must carry out together with all the forces of anti-imperialism and socialism as a dynamic part of the World Anti-imperialist Platform. The youth must crush the deformation that is being forcibly imposed on them as 'normality' by coordinating all anti-imperialist anti-colonialist and antifascist forces in a militant front in every country and internationally. A necessary precondition for this is the activation and action on every front of the progressive, pioneering sections of labour, such as scientists and intellectuals, as well as the guidance of the youth in the direction of the recognition and rejection of divisive ideologies and doctrines channelled by the regime of imperialism as well as the toxic influence of the opportunism and revisionism of our times which manipulates us by playing with the heroic historical symbols of past struggles and with a peculiar use of phraseology, which, while appearing revolutionary, in practice leads to a renunciation of any struggle today.

In our camp, young men and women are not expendable raw materials for the prosperity of parasitism. For us, the young are tomorrow's

leaders of progress, the continuators of the species and civilization of future humanity. Everything belongs to them, and it is imperative that they take centre stage. It becomes imperative to use the valuable legacies of the early socialist revolutions and to evolve, enrich and transform them in terms of their contemporary implications, to take advantage of the enormous technological possibilities of our time. Particular tasks lie ahead of young people who are inspired by and carry the ideals of socialism and communism: to play a pioneering role of consistency and selflessness in the anti-imperialist struggle of every peoples on a world scale. In this spirit we call for a struggle able to mobilise the youth.

Athens 19 November

# “Russia plays the role of the main force preventing the spread of the far-right, fascist infection to the post-Soviet space”

Tsotne Margia | Socialist Platform

Dear friends,

I would like to convey our comradely greetings of the Socialist Platform of Georgia.

Representatives of various organizations and social movements have gathered in this hall today, united by one common goal. To help to prevent a global catastrophe, where the imperialist forces led by USA and NATO are leading us all!

We fully share the general spirit of all our friends who are speaking at this conference.

As you know, Ukraine is repeating the post-Soviet path of the history of Georgia, which turned us unfortunately into the main anti-Russian country in the South Caucasus region. In 2003, an unconstitutional coup took place in Georgia, the so-called “Rose Revolution”. Anti-Russian propaganda, militarization and the degree of police pressure on the opposition increased sharply. Arrests of politically objectionable people began. Secret special groups were created to physically eliminate the opponents of the regime. This one-man regime of the ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili was established in our country.

A large-scale anti-Ossetian and anti-Abkhaz campaign unfolded. Eventually, in August 2008, the regime began military action against the separate region of South Ossetia. Moscow, which has repeatedly warned the Saakashvili regime not to embark on a military adventure, deployed its armed forces. Georgia faced its most powerful northern neighbor in a direct military conflict, which ended into a disaster. The country de jure fell into three pieces, the economy stopped, and many civilians

lost their lives.

In 2012, against the backdrop of an acute political crisis, the Saakashvili regime fell and a moderate political force came to power.

Regarding one of the main specific issues of the conference—the conflict in Ukraine, we must note that the anti-constitutional Kiev coup of 2014 directly affected the internal political situation in Georgia. The ultra-right revanchist forces immediately became more active and began to attempt to destabilize the situation over and over again.

Over the years, such attempts of destabilization have escalated several times into attempts to break into parliament and other government institutions. In 2019, Kiev intelligence services carried out a special operation against Georgia and ensured the secret transfer of ex-President Saakashvili across the state border in order to lead a coup before the local parliamentary elections. As a result, the adventurer was detained, and the attempt of destabilization was prevented.

The last attempt of a violent coup was prevented by the country’s State Security Service literally a month ago.

The Kiev authorities openly support the far-right forces of Georgia. They have repeatedly called on Georgia to invade the breakaway republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia and repeat the 2008 adventure.

We know that the Kiev junta will not calm down and will continue to organize provocations against Georgia in order to force it to join the anti-Russian

military confrontation and destroy, destroy and destroy the same way it has destroyed (I can't pronounce the phrase "my country") the country under its control and the Ukrainian people. Only Hitler did this to his people!

The US and the EU are coordinating their actions with Kiev and exerting unprecedented pressure on Tbilisi. The Georgian government holds a defensive position and does not allow the country to join the anti-Russian economic blockade, which would lead to an economic disaster. As you know, Georgia receives the lion's share of energy resources, as well as such socially important products as wheat, flour, sunflower oil, buckwheat and other products from neighboring Russia, where it also exports its agricultural products. Even an economic confrontation with Russia, not to mention a military one, would cause us a socio-economic catastrophe and lead to revenge of the pro-fascist aggressive forces.

Dear friends, Russia was forced to stop in time the process of turning a huge neighboring country into a hostile military fist in the hands of NATO.

Today, it is Russia that plays the role of the main force preventing the spread of the far-right, fascist infection to the post-Soviet space. In the event of a military victory for Kiev, interethnic and interreligious confrontations will immediately escalate throughout the post-Soviet space, including Central Asia, and even Russia itself. The fire of war and destabilisation will spread everywhere.

Georgia has already gone through the fascist Saakashvili regime, through war and devastation, and does not want to turn back into chaos.

We are horrified by Kiev's open pressure over Tbilisi, by their blatant attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Georgia. We consider the Kiev regime an enemy not only of the Georgian, but also of the Ukrainian people!

That is why many progressive social and political forces in Georgia support the Russian Military

Operation, considering this operation necessary, caused by the internal logic of the development of the events that took place and a difficult but forced decision by the political leadership of the Russian Federation.

Russia was forced to prevent further advance of NATO to the east and block and stop the further strengthening of the Ukrainian anti-Russian military ram. The Russian Federation could not wait for the moment when the point of no return would come and the United States would gain a decisive strategic military advantage, which would give it the opportunity to dictate terms and turn Russia into an absolutely dependent, colonial entity.

We also support the right of Palestinian people in order to work and live in peace in their own state. The ongoing war in Gaza sector today represents the genocide of Palestinian people and violence of their right. We appeal on both sides especially Israel to cease fire in order to stop the killing of thousands of civilians including women and children. At this stage, the cessation of violence is a vital need and in the end, the issue must be resolved fairly with the full realization of the right and freedom of the Palestinian people.

Thanks again and good luck to your battles!

# A Changing World And The Aggressiveness of Imperialism

Carlos Arturo Garcia Marulanda | Colombian Communist Party

Comrades,

First of all, greetings to the organizers of this new meeting of the World Anti-imperialist Platform, on behalf of our Central Executive Committee (CEC) and our entire militancy.

Our XXIII Congress, held about a year ago, characterized the international situation as one in which, on the one hand, the structural elements of the crisis of capitalism, the problems of realization of surplus value and overexploitation of labor power, with new phenomena such as the climate crisis and its harmful consequences on seasonal balances and natural disasters that tend to become more frequent and destructive, effect of a production system based on the accumulation of capital and fossil fuels, highly responsible for global warming, were aggravated and combined; the Covid 19 pandemic, which is linked to climate change and the rapid evolution of contagion, with more than 6,350,000 deaths worldwide, of which 139,970 occurred in Colombia; the food crisis and hunger affecting 828 million people in the world; the growth of inequalities and social unrest.

Within this framework of crisis of the main centers of world capitalism, the USA in particular is trying by all means and strategies to reestablish an impossible, its decadent unipolar hegemony, resorting once again to the arms race, neocolonialism and the open promotion of Nazi fascist regimes, all desperate and extreme actions in its strategic defense.

It is for this reason that the United States and the European Union have first of all, an aggressive policy to extend their areas of influence on the

border with the Russian Federal Republic, through the enveloping expansion of NATO as the armed wing of imperialism and the offensive that uses the regime ruling Ukraine as an instrument of a long-prepared war provocation to the security of Russia. On the other hand, Washington, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand created AUKUS as a new military pact in the Indo-Pacific against the People's Republic of China, India, Iran, Vietnam, the DPRK and in general all of Southeast Asia. Finally, they have promoted coups, civil wars and the destruction of nations in countries they consider peripheral, but rich in natural and human resources.

This policy seeks to avoid at all costs the reconfiguration of the international system. This leads them to violate and consent to the violation of human rights, international law, their own actions destroy before the eyes of the world their narrative of "a world based on rules", as we see today in the savage action of extermination of the Palestinian people at the hands of the Israeli army, to which from this tribune we send an embrace of hope, solidarity and struggle, while we propose that from this stage to strengthen the global mobilization of November 29 in solidarity with Palestine and its cause of freedom.

The peoples of the world understand more and more that neither militarization nor wars nor provocations represent a solution to the different dimensions of the capitalist crisis and on the contrary may lead to a third World War. Fortunately, the world reality shows a growth of power factors seeking more cooperative international relations

to find solutions to the problems of hunger, poverty, access to social rights and environmental depredation.

Recognizing the above does not mean renouncing the construction of a humanized world, a superior form of social organization, socialism and communism. It does not mean meeting with millions of human beings who seek by different and convergent paths to stop imperialist aggressiveness and its wars against the oppressed peoples of the world, to strengthen the networks of world solidarity and to promote cooperation between nations and states.

In our assessment, each people and revolutionary force contributes to these causes according to its context and socio-cultural particularities. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, Yankee imperialism intends to take refuge and defend its hegemony in decline, with the plundering of the region at the head of the southern command, activating different strategies and plans such as the intensification of blockades to Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela, the legal war against popular leaderships and ultimately the coups d'état. However, the diverse unity of the popular forces have regained a good part of the governments of the region, which is of great concern to the imperialists, many of our governments are advancing in the guarantee of social rights, the nationalization of strategic natural resources, and positions in favor of world peace and a multipolar world. The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean resist and build alternatives to imperialist domination, in the midst of the turbulence of the world economy and imperialist pressures, which are added to the methods and resources of the new transnational right and its neo-fascist tendencies.

In the Colombian case we managed to build a very diverse progressive political convergence, the Historic Pact, to win the government and be an instrument of the yearnings of the people. It is a

difficult battle, the capitalist state is not designed to be governed by the popular classes, however our government, with its limitations, has given millions of hectares of land to the peasants of our country, has made it possible for the youth of the popular slums to attend university free of charge, among many other achievements.

The task of the revolutionaries and anti-imperialists is to make the wheel of history advance with many and different from us in a sense of social, material and cultural progress.

Long live anti-imperialism!

Long live solidarity among peoples!

# “Catastrophe of Capitalism and Reinforcement of Revolutionary and Anti-imperialist Forces”

Jorge Alberto Kreyneš | Communist Party of Argentina

Comrades.

The horrifying scenes coming from the Gaza Strip and also from the West Bank show the criminal catastrophe of today's capitalism.

Its determination in favor of war and a new mode of Nazi-fascism is becoming more and more evident.

In order to defend the rate of profit of the most concentrated transnational corporations, they place the world in front of a civilizational crisis.

The pandemic of Covid 19 showed the character of privatized health, where those who have money are cured and those who do not have it, die.

In today's capitalism, wealth and power are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few, and the numbers of those displaced from the labor market and from access to housing, health and education are infinitely greater.

Modern science and technology enable the mass production of material goods, but these are denied to the majorities because capitalism itself eliminates consumers.

The strategic centers of big capital design a society of privilege, armored by an iron bell, protected on its margins by armies armed to the teeth to prevent the irruption of the excluded majorities demanding justice.

It is a new form of fascism, but not in the manner of the 1930s or 1940s, but now combined with an ultra-liberalism that is privatizing, inhuman, anti-social, with individual security for a few and insecurity of work, health, food and life itself for the excluded population. But as intolerant, racist and criminal as that of those times.

Zelensky and Netanyahu are these days their bishops, Biden and Trump their politicians, NATO and its military might their main instruments and the financial funds like Black Rock and others,

those who determine and indicate the policies to all of them and their allies of the European Union and other institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, etc.

But they do not have it all their own way.

In hard conditions of correlation of forces the oppressed peoples rise up in struggles and organize themselves.

In several cases they dispute the control of the state bureaucracies and succeed.

Today it is very interesting to observe how some countries, whose governments do not respond totally or partially to the mandate of big finance capital, establish links of a new type among themselves and from their particular processes of construction, some of them with great advances in development and integral democracy and others with diverse contradictions with the main centers of oppressive power.

These spaces manage to impose limits to the voracity of imperialism and constitute a global alternative. Not necessarily as an outpost of a new model of society, although in some cases they are advancing with firm and more than successful socialist strategies.

The hope for a livable world, of peace and security for all, of shared well-being, resides today in the popular struggles, in the role of the workers, in the construction of revolutionary political forces in each country and intertwined, and in the expansion and strengthening of spheres such as the BRICS and other instances of similar searches.

That is why we see with joy the conformation of this Platform of unity of revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in which we will modestly try to contribute with our own and to pay attention to each of the contributions and proposals brought by the comrades of the organizations that participate.



# “Let’s forge unity and work together to preserve democracy and lay the foundations for a popular, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist democracy”

Guiffrey Tejerina Gomez | Communist Party of Bolivia

Dear comrades:

The Communist Party of Bolivia as a political organization of anti-imperialist roots, attends this meeting of the World Anti-imperialist Platform, which internationally articulates progressive, revolutionary and communist forces, behind the fundamental objectives of waging an effective anti-imperialist struggle, proposing the correct line to the forces in struggle and strengthening the international communist movement as the center of the struggle.

In the current international situation, we face systemic problems, generated by the increase of the crisis of capitalism in its imperialist phase whose destiny leads us to a path of greater violence in all fields of human activity, therefore, it is objective to unmask the greater aggressiveness of imperialism, seeking the prolongation of the warlike conflict as it happens in Europe, creating other points of war, as in the case of the genocide against the Palestinian people by the Zionist regime of Israel, whose effects are not only felt in the attacked countries but have a negative impact on the rest of the States, of which the population in general and particularly the working class suffers directly the worst harmful effects.

Faced with the crisis of the capitalist system in general and the economic-financial crisis of the United States, war is a frequent means used by American imperialism to recover its economy through the increase in income provided by the war and pharmaceutical industry, becoming the beneficiary of international conflicts fomented by

the USA. Although, due to the course taken by the Russia-Ukraine conflict, it is not going well for imperialism and its allies, who, as never before, are also feeling the negative consequences of the crisis and imperialist violence.

The main and systematic problems of capitalism, in its superior phase, imperialism, are aggravated by globalization and the failure of terminal neo-liberalism, war (conventional, bacteriological, hybrid, colored, technological), economic sanctions, the uncontrolled growth of computer advances. These are evidence of the decline of the United States and its crisis of hegemony, which includes its servile countries, pushing Western Europe and other allies to be part of the unsustainability of an individualistic, speculative institutional regime of depredation and destruction of nature.

In turn, these facts, in the XXI century, lead the American power to its permanent crisis, which not only sinks the economy, but also increases its inflation levels, increases its poverty and places it as the State with the highest foreign debt, leading it on a path towards the end of imperialism and capitalist domination, from which the developing countries, who based on the public interest reject the political-military interventionism of the prevailing system and instead build the foundations of a new economic order, will be able to free themselves in part.

International relations and conditions reveal another reality different from the pretended unipolarity of U.S. imperialist capitalism, since with the strength of China, a new multipolar

world economic order is taking shape, made up of blocs of countries, where there are still States in which neoliberalism predominates and others that are building their economies differently from the neoliberal orthodoxy, such as the BRICS. But, without leaving the capitalist bases, in the face of these, there is first the vision of multipolarity, which is gaining strength where states such as China converge, building their socialist economy with their own characteristics. Another group adopts anti-neoliberal measures and another subgroup where the economic, productive, social and cultural relations of each country make possible new ways of popular and democratic development.

The aforementioned armed conflicts generate great socio-economic problems not only for the parties formally in conflict, but also include a growing inflation, a permanent rise in costs and prices of energy, food and basic products, from grains to processed products, whose scarcity is increasing, affecting the people who make up the peoples and, above all, the most dispossessed sectors and the working class.

Given its seriousness, this situation must be duly addressed and its effects mitigated for the good of developing countries. In this sense, taking advantage of the situation, due to its real importance, the strengthening of the BRICS is being promoted, whose sustainable development objectives must be addressed in an integral manner, since, bringing together five of the largest developing countries in the world, they would represent 41 percent of the world population, 24 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) of the planet and 16 percent of global trade, a situation that would be permanently improving as more countries join.

In view of this situation, the creation of the New Development Bank of the BRICS countries is a special opportunity for the countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia to build an alternative

international order to the one promoted by the United States through the World Bank, the IMF and regional banks such as the IDB, and other mechanisms to maintain its hegemony in the world economy. As is well known, today in international trade in many of these countries the dollar is losing its validity in commercial transactions.

In this scenario of crisis, the excessive growth of imperialist terrorism that does not hesitate to increase violence and terrorism, plus the submissive complicity of the international organizations that out of fear of their managers and sponsors overlook the growth of pain and hunger, we express our rejection of this type of behavior. We propose that it is necessary to re-found the international organizations and especially the reform of the UN Security Council, which today more than ever is inoperative and obsolete. It is necessary that together we press for the developed nations to commit immediately available resources to overcome the dire consequences of the crisis of the system, the energy and food crisis and to seek world peace with justice.

The axis constituted by the United States-NATO-European Union, joined by the hegemonic media, is waging a hybrid war against Russia with its epicenter in Ukraine as a spearhead, and acts with its sights set on its main enemy and competitor, China, whom they seek to include directly in the conflict and also to generate an alternate front in Asia, a situation that puts humanity on edge because it would end up generating a global conflict, even at the nuclear level.

Specifically, in view of the development of the Russian Federation-Ukraine conflict, we can assure that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as the armed wing of imperialism, as a direct party to the problem, shamelessly seeks to use Ukraine as a springboard for the West, and can defeat and subdue the Russian Federation, for which purpose, the Atlantic Alliance trains Ukrainian military,



resorts to drones, weapons and ammunition, provides intelligence data and sends mercenaries who are part of neo-Nazi battalions.

All this shows that imperialism is not interested in the international legal order, respect for the sovereignty and independence of States, the principle of equality of territorial integrity and international law, so it urges the rest of the countries not committed or allied with imperialism to stop this conflict that, as time goes by, not only increases the number of victims, but aims to promote misunderstandings that lead to new armed aggressions, as in the case of the genocide in the Gaza Strip. The fascist-Zionism, encouraged by US imperialism, does not hesitate to increase its victims in children, women, the elderly, the sick, in order to impose its alleged authority in flagrant violation of the norms of International Human Rights Law and Humanitarian Law, since not only do they commit crimes against humanity, but they also constitute themselves as terrorist States located on the margins of the international community.

Almost all over the world diplomatic means are being sought to return and guarantee peace, but the US government refuses to investigate the situation and the existence of the biological laboratories in Ukraine, which would have been installed by the Pentagon, or pretends to justify these crimes against humanity, with the argument that they are defending against aggressive behavior of third countries.

In the face of the objective advance of multipolarity, the adoption of anti-neoliberal measures and economic, productive, social and cultural relations that make possible new popular and democratic ways of development is perceived in the States, especially in Latin America, but at the same time it generates in US imperialism growing reactions and threats such as the following:

- Inhumane economic, financial, productive, commercial, transportation blockades against

integrated nations such as Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua whose states and their population are subjected to permanent violation of their human rights.

- Installation of military bases in most Latin American and Caribbean states, to generate armed interventions in violation of international law and national sovereignty, in particular, the Southern Command was creating the conditions for future operations of U.S. troops on strategic points,
- Low intensity wars and civil wars of massive destruction and genocide, national and regional, encouraging the organization of fascist groups of paramilitaries and mercenaries.
- Direct coups d'état and through actions disguised as mobilizations, destabilization of progressive governments through "soft coups", use of socio-political opposition protests (using issues such as gender, environmental, anti-corruption, freedom of the press, religion, regional, civic, etc.).
- Cyber warfare or cyber espionage and sabotage made possible by the mastery of current technology (new technologies), generation of "computer viruses" to block and erase government information and affect the security of States.
- Campaigns of national exacerbation, racial discrimination, repression of ethnic minorities, anti-migrant, using at the same time NGOs and xenophobic and paramilitary groups of extreme right.
- Pretexting the lack of effectiveness in the fight against national and international crime (drug trafficking, arms trafficking, human trafficking), they generate police-military interventions, threatening with interventions that violate national sovereignty.
- The existence of bad systems of administration of justice or bad electoral systems (denunciations of fraud) generates the pretext for imperialism

to justify its intervention through international organizations at its service and even to justify coups d'état.

Laura Richardson, head of the US Southern Command, in the sense that China “expands its influence” in South America and the Caribbean, besides “manipulating” their governments through “predatory investment practices”, who specifically pointed out that the so-called “lithium triangle” accumulates “60% of the world’s lithium”. “Argentina, Bolivia and Chile have it and [our adversaries] are subtracting resources from these countries and their people, who are trying to produce, from these democracies that are trying to contribute to their peoples.” This is evidence of the political, moral and ethical degradation of the Pentagon as an institutionalized expression of imperialism, against which countries should be facing resistance and adopting measures to avoid interference and build regional alternatives of defense against imperialism, as well as adopting sovereign actions in defense of our natural resources.

Latin America had the capacity for economic resistance despite the effects of the pandemic, the neoliberal system, the capitalist crisis, the growing effects of the conflict of the Russian Federation with Ukraine by NATO and U.S. imperialism, the rise in interest rates worldwide, the growth of foreign debt, and the inflationary run, a situation that is being reduced by actions of the central banks, but the increase in world prices of some food and energy, plus the failure to solve the problems mentioned, still keeps this problem of the system latent.

In this context, where loans have higher interest rates, low prices of raw materials, dollar speculation (despite the fact that this currency is losing value and international credibility as a standard), growth in Latin America is slowing down both in terms of job creation and consumer spending on goods and

services, which is undermining general confidence.

The economic-financial slowdown in the United States and Europe is highly negative, because it generates losses in the Latin American economy due to more restrictive financial conditions, since the dependence of our countries on the USA still persists, the systemic crisis causes inflation to remain high, and in turn, internally in all countries, it generates greater social pressure, requirements for wage increases and social improvements, because the standard of living continues to rise, generating insecurity with a view to the future.

In the political situation in the continent, either by the effects of the pressure of the United States, which uses the so-called color revolutions or soft coups as part of its imperialist strategy of intervention to overthrow governments that do not share its criteria, or the impositions of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, on the economic, political and military organization of nations, the pandemic, the crisis of the system, economic policies and especially the responses of governments to the requirements of the people, the institutional strength and confidence of the States and their governments are in permanent decline.

The situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, in spite of the electoral triumphs to take over the governments, has a long way to go to reach power, added to the actions of the national right wing, which now encourage the growth of fascism and the known negative action of a wounded and therefore more aggressive imperialism, presents a challenge to forge unity and work together to preserve democracy and lay the foundations for a popular, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist democracy.

The right wing considers that progressivism, populism and leftism, which achieved control of the powers, drive regional integration processes and organizations such as CELAC, Alba and UNASUR. That the region is experiencing a changing

situation materially, economically and politically, as problems such as a growing migratory movement, the supply of raw materials, the safeguarding of strategic natural resources, the world economic crisis, the effects of the war in Europe, and all this denotes a higher level of insecurity and uncertainty.

However, the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) resumed its post-hegemonic and post-liberal role of economic coordination, political coordination and defense of its members. Brazil returned to this organization and it includes a diversity of issues that go beyond the initial political dialogue to include the concerns and needs of the States, such as those related to the environment and water.

In this new period of transition in Latin America, in South America Uruguay, Paraguay, Ecuador and Peru are managed by the right and center-right. That Argentina and Chile are between center-right and populism, that there are very few progressive governments, to which Mexico and Honduras are added. But internal tensions have been generated in coalitions and parties, as in Argentina and Bolivia. In sum, the Latin American left is going through problems and internal political and organic divergences, being Venezuela, Nicaragua, Brazil and now Colombia hopeful realities in the path of emancipation.

Finally, as the Communist Party of Bolivia, we emphasize our unwavering solidarity with Cuba with the support of the international community for the cessation of the criminal blockade at the UN General Assembly, reaffirms the value of unity as an essential factor to move forward in the struggle to consolidate the revolution and its commitment to international solidarity, the role of President Miguel Díaz-Canel, as head of state, ensures the continuity and deepening of the revolution, despite the difficult conditions his country is going through, and makes the participation of the Cuban people in the struggle for the construction of socialism even

more revolutionary.

The communists of Bolivia and the world express our solidarity with the peoples who struggle against imperialist domination and in particular we repudiate the aggressive and oppressive character of U.S. imperialism. We consider indispensable a greater coordination of the resistance and counter-offensive of the trade union and political organizations at the international level that directs the solidarity of all social forces towards a planet without wars and banishes forever the exploitation of imperialist powers against humanity.

Peoples of the world: united against imperialism!

Defeat of the US-led NATO neo-Nazi warmongers and the Zionists of the terrorist state of Israel!

Long live the heroic Palestinian people!

Victory of the resistance!

# “We can restore breath and perspective to workers’ and peoples’ struggles and the international perspective of socialism”

Sandro Scardigli | Italian Communist Party (PCI)

The situation that has been determined in the Gaza Strip as a result of the Israeli bombardment that has been going on for weeks, using the Hamas terrorist attack of last October 7 as a pretext, cannot but shake consciences. We are facing not only an occupation, but a real genocide.

The increasingly dramatic death toll, essentially civilians, has well exceeded 10,000, most of them children and young people.

The risk of a widening of the conflict, at least on a regional scale, is real. The disregard for international law and the systematic perpetration of war crimes are facts of life.

Violence (which the Palestinian people have suffered since 1948) calls for violence and will mark the relationship between the Israeli and Palestinian populations for years to come.

There is a need to end the apartheid suffered by the Palestinian people in their own land and implement the UN resolutions, which provide for an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza.

The immediate imperative is ceasefire, de-escalation. Enough must be said of the spiral that moves ever further away from the necessary and possible solution to the underlying problem, which is and remains that of the unresolved Palestinian question.

We are faced with precise political responsibilities, which the most alert Israeli side acknowledges to its state, namely to the Netanyahu governments and the conservative and reactionary forces that have supported and sustain it, to the U.S., which

such policies have over time covered up. This is in the knowledge that this situation has objectively constituted the “breeding ground” in which the most extremist forces, terrorism, Hamas, those who have an interest in maintaining, for multiple reasons, including and especially geostrategic ones, the status quo.

The PCI supports the right to self-determination of all oppressed peoples and stands for their struggle. We also support workers who refuse to send arms to the Israeli and Ukrainian regimes.

The ongoing conflicts in Gaza and Ukraine are key pieces of a single world conflict that has as its stakes the perpetuation of a U.S.-led unipolar world or the emergence of a new multipolar equilibrium that prefigures democratic and mutually beneficial international relations.

The much-ballyhooed Ukrainian offensive immediately bogged down, and on both sides there are so many casualties. Despite massive arms shipments to Kiev by NATO countries, the Russian Federation has far greater human and industrial potential on its side than Ukraine. This war will have to end with an agreement between the parties.

We continue to believe that the watchword must be an immediate ceasefire and an international negotiation leading to respect for the rights of the Russian-speaking peoples, including the right to choose whether to be part of the Russian Federation or the Republic of Ukraine.

Ukraine must become a democratic country, cleansed of the nostalgic elements of Nazism that are currently in power; it must become a neutral

state that does not pose a nuclear threat to the Russian Federation as NATO membership would entail.

NATO's war in Ukraine first and the invasion of Gaza later have generated in EU countries a systematic campaign aimed at criminalizing dissent and imposing the legitimacy of a single point of view: that of U.S. and NATO imperialism. Russian artists and athletes prevented from performing; Russian media and dissidents blacked out; demonstrations against aggression in Gaza banned; media propaganda unleashed in support of Kiev and Tel Aviv.

The war campaign is accompanied by a narrowing of democratic freedoms aimed at drastically shrinking the permitted spaces of not only political but also ideological agility.

In the face of all this, we communists and anti-imperialists must support the international efforts of the forces and countries opposed to U.S. unipolarity and primarily the People's Republic of China and its Communist Party and support the strengthening and enlargement of the BRICS. China's foreign policy is based on respect for the independence of nations and works to establish a system of economic exchange based on mutual benefit and the replacement of the dollar as the international reference currency.

These are the prerequisites of the multipolar world that can restore breath and perspective to workers' and peoples' struggles and the international perspective of socialism.

# “Against “anti-woke”, wake the masses”

Elisabeth Young | Center for Political Innovation

It is the basic duty of revolutionaries in imperialist countries to welcome the defeat of their own ruling class. This is the concept known as revolutionary defeatism. Instead of defending or upholding the imperialist status of one's own country, you welcome its upheaval. Though the ruling class in the imperialist block is against the working people who make its wheels turn and though it cuts into the wages and collective ability of workers at every turn, the expectation of every imperialist society is an ardent defense of the ruling class. Institutional binding constraints workers from approaching the upheaval of this system, to unlock this understanding is truly revolutionary. Even if the targets of US government hostility were imperialist, it would still be correct to welcome their advance, it would still be correct to welcome the victory of Russia in Ukraine. It is never appropriate for a revolutionary to side with its own imperialist bourgeoisie and this is fundamental. In every conflict, the pressure to be swayed is cacophonous and the underlying threat to dissenters is palpable, experts and lies are thrust forward in a sounding chorus, the Revolutionary Defeatist is subject to total social abjection.

It is critical to point out that Russia and China are NOT imperialist. Lenin's definition of imperialism describes “export of capital” and banks and corporations based in western countries seizing parts of the world in “territorial partition” and subsequently preventing the third world from developing. These imperialist countries extract super profits on the basis of preventing economic stability and implementing aggressive destabilization programs. The imperialist powers

must maintain a dependent and subservient relationship with the rest of the world in order to reap their huge profits and sustain their decaying economic system. Russia and China's economies do the opposite of this because they enable the countries they trade with to flourish. They do not rake in “super profits” by seizing parts of the world or by their influence, rather their investment results in a beneficial exchange and structural development. Russia's economy is centered around exporting its own oil and gas. China's economy is centered around state run industries and a heavily controlled private sector. Neither of their economies is held together by seizing the development of any other country in order to extract huge profits. Imperialism has an economic definition, it is not a policy or action, rather it is an economic system.

This definition of imperialism is persistently muddled and mystified through language and the social apparatus. Viewpoints that abstract imperialism away from this economic basis are foisted upon the people of the imperialist countries at every turn. A vague and tenuous grasp of economic systems propel young radicals and dissidents away from a sound understanding of imperialism and they crash back and forth being tossed by every new academic abstraction and news item. There is a reason why so many so-called socialists in the western sphere of influence are neutral or even support the US-NATO position on Ukraine while falling into an easy rhythm of condemning Russia and demonizing China. Any finger wagging at the US military industrial complex is couched in this demonization of anti-imperialist powers and in that way, it perfectly



serves the imperialist agenda that seeks to gin up hostility and support among the masses of people for intervention and military escalation. The expression of talking out of both sides of your mouth comes to mind, the liberal legitimacy of the academic and managerial class in the imperialist countries requires these two faces and this supplants revolutionary defeatism. There is an ease and moral superiority in being against everything and that marks this intellectual and activist class, but a fight that upholds the economic status quo is only play acting revolutionary affectation, it is a put on. The non-profit industrial complex and the academic streams feed the activist workers and students from this poisoned well which produces a perilous confusion. The channels for funding activism are constrained by NGO's which are profitable on the basis of catering to enormous foundations that accrued their money and influence through imperialist plunder and require the maintenance of that imperialist plunder. Similarly, research and publications are constricted by the whims of universities that act in the same manner and require a deference to the supremacy of identity, in this sphere the cultural is primary and academic jargon flourishes in books and media and through the incessant use of arcane language at every institutional level. With all of this nudging, the "proper" views of "woke" and the reaction to them i.e. "anti-woke" become mainstream currents that seem to occur as some inevitability, but in actuality this is calculated social engineering that forwards this limited framework as a single imperative. Marxism is, in the western understanding, a model for cultural deconstruction and articulation but is made to never touch the economics on which it is actually based. In this framework, injustice is a discreet happening to be rooted out but is propelled through institutional systemics and power stemming from an abstraction known as "whiteness". There is certainly an

assurance being made to the ruling class in this intellectual product. Assuredly any word or action, no matter how hostile to capitalism, will never be permitted to touch the material economic system that is imperialism. Assuredly western marxism will be a symbol of rage, an outlet for discontent but completely void of power or incisive ability. As Lenin stated, "It has been shown in practice that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power".

And yet for the first time since the end of the Second World War, economic conditions have led the US working class to be more anti-establishment than ever before. The material realities of extreme wealth disparity and economic stagnation have illuminated unspoken truths and have resulted in a great deal of skepticism toward official media narratives. Working class people are now opposing wars in a number unseen in most of our lifetimes. Even with all of this potential, the prevailing wisdom among "socialists" is that these are "fascists" who are spreading "conspiracy theories". The left mobilizes defense of the establishment against populist dissent and with their condemnation and ridicule they help route this raw dissent into the safe parameters of "anti-woke". We see the proof that there is a great need to go "out of the movement to reach the masses" and cut ties with the primary leftist entities. We take up the directive to get past the western leftist held spaces and methods, the US radical nostalgia and the elitist phrases disguised as Marxism and instead actually approach working class people with an anti-war message and economic populist program of demands.

# Forward to an International Anti-imperialist Movement

Joe Lombardo | United National Antiwar Coalition (UNAC)

Dear Comrades and Friends,

I bring warm greeting from the United National Antiwar Coalition (UNAC) from the United States.

We are at the precipice of great changes in the world. Western imperialism is being challenged as never before and they are losing their empire and their hegemony.

At the beginning of Russia's Special Military Operation in Ukraine, the US imposed sanctions on Russia that they claimed would "cripple their economy", and they claimed that the Russian economy would collapse. When this did not happen, they imposed ever increasing sanctions and today, Russia is the most sanctioned country in the world. However, despite these sanctions Russia's economy is not faltering and will expand by an expected 2.2 % this year. At the same time, the economy of the UK is basically in recession as it is also experiencing an inflation rate of over 10%. Germany, the largest economy in Europe is also officially in recession.

The military side of the conflict in Ukraine is not going much better for the US and its NATO allies. Several areas of Ukraine have now become part of Russia, and the so-called Ukrainian offensive has failed. It has not gained territory. It has in fact has lost some while Russia is building up for an offensive of their own.

As we are aware, the real aim of Western imperialism is China, which has an economy that is rapidly overtaking that of the US. The US and its imperialist allies have surrounded China along its coasts and are making threats around Taiwan.

The world has watched US imperialism and its allies falter in their proxy war against Russia, it

has now become clear that the US and NATO can be defeated, they are not invincible. Perhaps this played a role in the fact that several of the former French colonies in the recent past have felt empowered to get rid of French troops and sever their ties with France. And perhaps the growing weakness of Western Imperialism has played a role in Palestine where Hamas felt it could challenge the Zionists as they have not been able to do before.

The reaction of the Israeli government and of the Western Powers to the Hamas resistance was a genocidal attack on the entire Palestinian people. This genocide in Gaza has been playing out on TV screens throughout the world. The people of the world are reacting with horror. We have poured out into the streets in the millions. In the US, where the antiwar movement was at a low point for many reasons, we are now holding weekly, and in some places, daily actions all across the country. In the past few years, we have not been able to build mass actions but a few weeks ago we brought 300,000 to Washington, DC and have held actions in the tens of thousands in many cities. This as millions have poured into the streets from every corner of the world in support of the Palestinians and against this Zionist and Western imperialist genocide.

The US and Western imperialist countries have come down strongly on the side of Israel and the US president offered more money and more weapons to Israel. The Zionist state has flaunted their disdain for any semblance of international law. Israel has been responsible for war crimes—like not allowing the civilian population to leave the conflict area, bombing civilians, trying to starve the people of Gaza to death, denying them water, fuel



and electricity, using white phosphorus on civilian populations and attacking hospitals, mosques and refugee camps. Though the Western imperialists try to claim they have the moral high ground, it has been clearer than ever that Imperialism and its stepchild Zionism is responsible for this mass murder and genocide.

As we speak, a delegation including leaders of UNAC and other affiliated organizations have made it to the Rafah Gate where they are holding press conferences, interviewing people that have made it across and are demanding that the gate be opened to allow in immediate and sustained aid. This US delegation, led by Palestinian Americans is in answer to a call from Palestinian civil society to get to the Rafah Crossing and demand it be opened.

The millions that have taken to the streets for Palestine represent a new stage in our movement. It represents a changing consciousness on the part of millions of people around the world and is exposing the true nature of Imperialism and Zionism. This changing consciousness is an opportunity to build our movement that we have not seen for some time.

As a young organizer for the US movement against the Vietnam war I helped build the mass movement that brought millions into the streets time and time again. The power of masses of people in motion was clear but it also was clear that this movement played a major role in building the left in the US. As the imperialist project in Ukraine fails and as the people in Palestine and the rest of the world resist the Zionist/Imperialist genocide in Gaza and as Zionism and imperialism become more and more exposed, we can expect that the left in the US and around the world will be strengthened. There are many pitfalls, sectarianism and right/populist demagoguery are key among them. But this is the time that the people of the world need a strong anti-imperialist socialist oriented movement more than ever before. Let's build that movement by building our organizations and our alliances and

coalitions and let's move forward to victory.

# “The main thrust of progressive forces and oppressed peoples worldwide must be directed against the US-led NATO”

Milan Max Rodermund | Communist Organization (KO)

Dear comrades,

The Communist Organization is very pleased to be able to participate in a Platform conference as a guest for the first time. In our short speech, we want to reflect on the developments of the international communist movement from the perspective of our own development. We are looking forward to exchanging ideas with you on this more intensively.

Our small and young organization was founded in 2018 with the aim of initiating and organizing a communist clarification process. What do we mean by that? We had recognized that the communist movement in Germany and, in essence, worldwide is in a deep crisis, despite some large and influential parties. The manifestations of this crisis are still evident today: the communist movement is fragmented, often isolated from the working class, knowledge of the worldwide history of the labor movement and knowledge of scientific communism lie buried. Neither could we identify a comprehensive understanding of the defeat of socialism nor a revolutionary strategy for the class struggles of our time could in the communist movement in Germany and internationally. We ourselves were not in a position to do so either.

We understand the central cause of the crisis to be revisionism, in other words the influence and penetration of bourgeois ideology into scientific socialism. On this basis, theories and strategies were able to grow that led the workers' movement as a whole away from a revolutionary line in the epochal struggle against capitalism. The influence of modern revisionism, anti-Stalinism, the

dissolution and abandonment of positions of the centrally planned economy, the party of new type, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the influence of Eurocommunism and much more could be seen in the German communist movement.

At the beginning, we were particularly interested in the KKE, the Communist Party of Greece. We recognized many of the elements that we had associated with the project of a communist clarification process in their efforts to re-establish the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties after 1990, the analyses of the defeat of real socialism, the struggle against the influences of Eurocommunism, the establishment of the European Initiative of Communist Parties and the Communist Review. Last but not least, we looked with interest at the practical successes of the KKE in building PAME and its continuing, historically grown roots in the Greek people.

From our point of view, the initiative for debate, for a sharp but open confrontation within the worldwide movement was exactly right and the only way to identify and combat the basis of the movement's crisis. It is all the more tragic that this tendency was aborted.

Long before the start of Russia's special military operation in February 2022, one of the KKE's most central concerns within the international communist movement was to assert, that China was not socialist and that an emerging imperialist pole was being organized around China and Russia. The open debate has increasingly been replaced by a demarcation and rallying around a supposedly

“revolutionary pole” and the defamation of the majority of Communist parties as “revisionist”.

With the beginning of the special military operation, the harmful effect of the idea of the “imperialist pyramid” and the KKE’s position that the communists would rally behind a “new, rising imperialist pole” instead of independently putting the socialist revolution on the agenda became recognizable in its dangerous implications. This line of alleged equidistance leads to disorientation and makes a consistent political struggle against NATO more difficult, even if the actions of the KKE and PAME against the arms deliveries and NATO bases must not be overlooked and remain important contributions. Their analyses of the role of China and Russia are one-sided, distorted and misleading. By de facto equating these countries with imperialism, they not only exonerate the West, but also create a dangerously false image of China and its character in particular. The understanding of imperialism as a whole has been gutted by claiming that there are no longer any qualitative differences between the countries in which monopoly capitalist conditions prevail. There would be no oppressing and no oppressed countries, but only a quantitative difference in the share of globally organized exploitation, a relapse into the capitalism of free competition. The essentials of the theory of imperialism were eliminated by them.

In our organization, these events led to sharp disputes and finally to a split, with part of the organization joining the supposedly revolutionary and radical slogans and lines of the KKE. In the context of this split, we not only recognized the falsity and harmful effect of the imperialist conception of the KKE and other parties, but in particular realized that the gathering around a supposedly revolutionary pole dissolves the good and correct impulses of the KKE into a divisive tendency for the international movement. Instead of carrying out the necessary and interesting debate

between the KKE and the Russian Communist and Workers Party on the question of “exported fascism” openly and controversially in the public sphere of the movement, it was ended. Instead of using the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers’ Parties for exchange and sharp discussion in order to develop the movement as a whole, an attempt was made to polarize the parties with statements. The European Initiative of the Communist and Workers’ Parties was unilaterally and without consultation declared dissolved by the KKE. We see here a development in which the KKE, which originally played a leading role in promoting exchange and discussion within the Communist movement by setting up solidnet, is now obstructing exchange and development at a global level. We ask ourselves how this change of course in the KKE could come about. It formulates an ideological and political claim to leadership that it is not in a position to fulfill.

However, we want to emphasize that we are striving for a joint discussion with all parts of the communist movement and especially with parties like the KKE. We need open and controversial discussion for development and clarification. Sharp criticism and probing questions are necessary, but they need not and should not lead to the termination of talks and possible joint action on the basis of common positions. We must fully recognize the problems and contradictions within the worldwide communist movement and must not close our eyes to shortcomings of our own. Harmful and wrong political positions of communist parties do not at the same time mean that they can be understood as revisionist as a whole. A simplistic labeling can hinder an understanding of the contradictory and complicated situation and historical development of communist forces. We recognize this problem especially within the communist movement in Germany and in our own development.

We see that the discussions initiated by the Platform are important and can provide strong impulses for the communist movement. The main thrust of progressive forces and oppressed peoples worldwide must be directed against the US-led NATO, which is waging war against Russia and preparing for war against China. The sharply outlined camps of the class struggle are rapidly forming worldwide. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian people clearly demonstrates the increasing isolation and at the same time completely unrestrained aggressiveness of imperialism. The struggle for socialism is part of these struggles, part of the struggle against imperialist oppression and for national liberation. Only in the midst of and through these struggles will we be able to build the revolutionary workers' movement. The need for international organization is put on the agenda quite practically and strongly by the struggles. We do not need a loose context for discussion, but increasingly binding and politically unified international links between communists. But how can this task be accomplished?

We believe that a link to the discussions and developments of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is indispensable. Although we are entering a more dynamic phase of the international class struggle, the crisis of the worldwide communist movement will not simply be resolved or ended. The revolutionary lines and forces of the workers' movement will only be able to assert themselves through sharp but open debates with and within the global movement. This requires not least intensive work to strengthen scientific communism in our ranks. A new International will not emerge alongside and apart from the historically grown parties of the movement. In many of them there are debates and disputes that we must not simply ignore, even in parties like the KKE. Many of them play an important role in the political struggles, many

of them contain the historical experiences of our struggles. We believe that there is a danger in prematurely writing off the forces that have come together in solidnet, for example, which we would like to discuss further with you and on which we want to improve our exchange.

At the same time, we are watching with interest developments in such plural contexts as the International Peoples Assembly (IPA), in which communist forces are arguing together with trade union organizations, farmers' associations and other social democratic organizations about the strategic lines of the international class struggle. In short, a sharp and clear position and stance on the burning political issues of our time, which is rightly demanded by representatives in the Platform in particular, must not blind us to our own weaknesses or prevent us from recognizing and productively influencing the dynamics and incompleteness of developments in the global communist movement. We need ideological debate, better and more comprehensive Marxist analysis. Only on this basis will we ultimately be able to advance the unity of the revolutionary workers' movement worldwide.

Many debates and questions have recently become clearer regarding the understanding of anti-imperialism and the connection between national liberation and class struggle. The ambivalence, limitations and contradictions of the role of the BRICS, the limitations of bourgeois ideas on multipolarity and also the need for a comprehensive and historically concrete analysis of the balance of power, as exemplified by the complicated situation of the communists in Venezuela. In Germany, we recognize a dangerous tendency to view the dependence of German imperialism on the USA in an absolute and one-sided way.

Progressive positions on national liberation are carelessly transferred to the situation of an imperialist country, with far-reaching implications for a policy of alliance with chauvinist forces.

We will have to exchange and discuss all these questions further and much more precisely, within the communist movement and very gladly also concretely in the Platform.

Dear comrades, in the Federal Republic of Germany we are currently confronted with one of the most violent waves of repression in the country's recent history. With Russia's special military operation and additionally intensified since the heroic resistance of October 7, basic rights are being massively undermined. Describing the war against Gaza as genocide is forbidden, agreement with Israel's so-called "right to exist" is made a precondition for pro-Palestinian protest and possibly even a prerequisite for asylum applications and German citizenship. The Palestinian prisoner solidarity organization Samidoun was banned on the basis of absurd arguments. It is the domestic political facet of an imperialist state at the forefront of the war that is striking at the workers' movement in Germany. Germany's capacity for war is to be increased at breakneck speed, military capacities built up, the population stirred up and any opposition nipped in the bud. Under the umbrella of NATO, West German imperialism seeks to secure and expand its dominance in Europe, to carry out economic transformation processes on the backs of the working class and to take military leadership on NATO's eastern flank. German fascism is being rehabilitated in the context of the war against Russia, fervent Nazi admirers are being celebrated, a disgusting victim-perpetrator reversal of the Second World War is being pursued and mixed with anti-Russian hatred.

The forces that adhere to a consistent anti-imperialist course are few and far between in Germany. For decades, pro-Zionist forces have worked to bring trade unions and the left onto a pro-imperialist course, not only in the question of Palestine. With the start of Russia's special operation, established and organized forces such as

the social-liberal "Left Party" have fully embraced NATO. Nevertheless, resistance is stirring among the working population. Large demonstrations against the genocide in Gaza and protests against the war against Russia have taken place despite media incitement and repression. In many cases, these political struggles are unorganized and politically diffuse. A breeding ground for fascist forces in Germany. A political force, interwoven and connected with the working class and deeply rooted in scientific communism and proletarian internationalism, has yet to be built.

We see our role as to contribute to this task, which we would also like to tackle in a joint process with you and the international communist movement.

Long live international solidarity!

# The escalation of the opportunist drift and the consequent revisions of revolutionary theory

Dimitrios Patelis | Revolutionary Unification (Greece)

On some objective and subjective conditions of developing or undermining the subject.

## **Introductory remarks: opportunism, dogmatism and revisionism.**

In modern 'partisan'/sectarian jargon, the word 'opportunist' is used merely as an insult, as a reproach, which is used with prejudice against anyone who does not blatantly, and submissively, in terms of pack mentality, conform to the 'correct line' of a leadership... As a rule, the ones that are out of breath stigmatising those that are diverging from the line as 'opportunists':

1. are also unable to grasp this concept/category in the literal sense of its meaning, within the context of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, as indicative of a) the practice of various forms of promoting the interests of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement, b) the drift of the movement into positions convenient to the bourgeoisie, imperialism and the financial oligarchy at national and international level, c) adventurism, d) the absence of revolutionary theory/methodology (and its substitution with revisionist versions, apologetic for the practices of the pro regime drift), e) the absence of a dialectical link between strategy/practice, means/ends, etc.

2. fail to realise that such a pack/conformist mentality and behaviour is a blatant symptom of opportunist bureaucratic degeneration of formerly revolutionary partisanship; and

3. have the illusion that they themselves are not the literal embodiment of opportunism...

Opportunism (French: opportunisme, from the Latin: opportunus, meaning favourable, advantageous) in the labour movement, is that 'theory' and practice which contradicts the actual interests of the working class and pushes the labour movement along a path beneficial to the bourgeoisie. Opportunism, in various ways, directly or indirectly adapts and subordinates the labour movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie: 'Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working-class movement is bourgeois socialism, not proletarian socialism. It has been shown in practice that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power.' (July 1920, Lenin's Collected Works, 4th English Edition, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Volume 31, pages 213-263)

After the victory of Marxism in the labour movement, opportunism, as a rule, appears under the cover of Marxist phrases.

In its class nature, opportunism is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois ideology and politics within the workers' movement.

As far as theory is concerned, opportunism manifests itself initially as dogmatism, and then evolves into scepticism and revisionism.

Dogmatism and revisionism are two at first sight diametrically opposite and mutually exclusive tendencies of the degeneration of revolutionary theory. In reality, they both involve doctrines and ideological constructions that are fabricated and



employed by opportunists to justify their respective drifts into positions that serve the interests of the class enemy of the workers' revolutionary movement.

The dogmatists advocate the unconditional and absolute validity of their 'truth' everywhere and always, reducing revolutionary theory to a reservoir of fragmentary, incoherent, disconnected, ahistorical and irrefutable 'positions', e.g. passages from the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism free for any use...

The revisionists promote the unconditional and absolute relativity of every truth, invoking the historically variable character of every theory, ultimately rejecting truth in itself. Thus, they strive to underestimate, to ignore the qualitative and essential differences of Marxism from any previous, contemporary or more modern bourgeois philosophy and theory, they strive to pair Marxist science with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, in order to finally arrive at commonplace, vulgar bourgeois positions.

The dogmatists who will stumble upon circumstances, which are presented or perceived as overturning the validity of their dogmas, easily shift to revisionism. The ease of this shift constitutes an inevitable tendency of degeneration, having as a common basis the inability to grasp and apply Marxist dialectical logic and methodology. The common methodological foundation of dogmatism and revisionism is metaphysics.

In the organisational field, opportunism is initially presented as sectarianism, in order to evolve into practices of undermining and dismantling the party and the movement (into 'liquidarism'). The opportunists do not hesitate on occasion to instrumentally employ sectarian and disruptive practices as long as they promote the strategic interests of the ruling class within the movement.

Regarding the political direction of its influence on the movement, opportunism shows itself to

be 'flexible': sometimes as 'left' and sometimes as right opportunism. Indeed, it is common to see opportunist degenerative drifts towards sordidly conservative or even reactionary positions, draped in 'left' or even 'leftist' phraseology.

Right opportunism is swimming in a slurry of reformist practices and compromising tactical positions, which are aimed at the direct subordination of the labour movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie and which abandon the fundamental and strategic interests of the working class in the name of temporary and secondary benefits. This is why right-wing opportunists resort to a variety of revisionist dogmas, such as: the fatalistic conception, which substitutes the sober study of the contradictory nature of the objective conditions of the development of society with the worship of spontaneous economic evolution (economism, evolutionism), which projects certain micro-reforms within the bourgeois system as the 'gradual realisation of socialism', which effectively rejects the leap of revolutionary transformation, replacing it with gentle continuity and gradual evolution, and is basking in the expectation of the 'automatic ripening of conditions', with the 'evolution of capitalism into socialism'.

The ideological basis of right opportunism is: the principle of 'cooperation' of the classes, the renunciation of the idea of socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rejection of revolutionary methods of struggle, the devaluation or disregard of the role of the subjective factor in the revolutionary process, the gradual resignation from the preparation itself (theoretical, practical, social, political, ideological, cultural, etc.) of the formation of the subject, since history is seen as a 'process without a subject'; the adoption of bourgeois nationalism and/or the substitution of communist internationalism with the cosmopolitanism of capital, with the ideologies of imperialist regional integrations (e.g. the EU); and

finally, the fetishisation of legality and bourgeois democracy.

More often than not, right-wing opportunism is a reflection of the dispositions of those strata of the petty bourgeoisie or certain groups of the working class—labour aristocracy and bureaucracy—who have relatively tolerable living conditions and privileges.

‘Leftist’ opportunism is a rather volatile mixture of ultra-revolutionary ideological schemes/dogmas and adventurist tactics, which force the revolutionary workers’ movement into unjustified actions and unnecessary sacrifices and defeats. ‘Leftist’ opportunism is animated by bourgeois concepts that overvalue and/or absolutise the subjective factor (with a corresponding undervaluation and/or disregard for objective conditions), which rely on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. It is unilaterally oriented towards the fetishisation of ‘revolutionary violence’ as a panacea for all ills. It ignores the contradictory process of the socio-economic law of development through stages, emphatically advocating discontinuity, ‘pure strategy’, ‘rupture and overthrow here and now’, ‘regardless of the conditions’, as well as for the hasty acceleration of the revolution, looking forward to immediate conquests of the ‘cavalry charge’ type in the economic sector, etc.

‘Left’ opportunism expresses, as a rule, the psychology and dispositions of those groups of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the representatives of the middle strata, who, under the pressure of brutal exploitation and insecurity, or in view of the difficulties of socialist construction, drift towards anarchist-like ‘radicalism’.

Right and ‘left’ opportunism are two interconnected tendencies of degenerative drifts of the movement, which clash, alternate, complement and reproduce each other in various historical forms, through which the manipulation and

subordination of the movement to the interests and strategic aims of capital and the financial oligarchy is achieved.

Lenin in his work ‘Left-Wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder’ (1920) highlighted the essence and the various forms of ‘leftist’ opportunism during the period of the formation of the world communist movement. In his works devoted to the degenerative phenomena of legalism, economism, evolutionism, the fetishisation of parliamentarism and peaceful means of struggle in social democracy and the bankruptcy of the Second International, he thoroughly analysed the characteristics of right opportunism.

Let us briefly see how opportunism manifests itself and how it acts in the revolutionary workers’ movement.

### **Reference to some typical degenerative drifts into opportunism.**

‘Cult of personality’?

Here it is appropriate to make a clear distinction between degenerative phenomena and drift into opportunism in ruling parties of early socialist countries and corresponding processes in parties that have acted and are acting in capitalist countries. In socialist countries, these phenomena require a different type of specific study, with emphasis on the historical specificity of each country and the existence or non-existence in them of a subject capable of bringing about the resolution of their fundamental contradiction. In any case, I offer a few brief remarks on the subject. To the extent that the process of socialist construction is accelerating, the very existence of the working class as we know it under capitalism is called into question (wage labour does not exist as a commodity, hence, without its counterpoint in the fundamental contradiction of labour vs capital, the pole of labour ceases to be a social class, to the extent that both the mode of production that gave

rise to it, and the formation that shaped labour as a class, are sublated and therefore do not exist), and therefore also the party of the working class existing as an element of the superstructure. Under socialism, the party and its allies—to the extent that they exercise their new role—are transformed into a cadre devising strategy and tactics of planned development, into an organic element of the administrative apparatus, while the very process of command and control gradually loses its characteristics established under capitalism.

In any case, the approach that reduces the problems of the right or wrong direction of socialist construction or even the course of a large social formation—such as a historical communist party—exclusively to individual will, is metaphysical rather than scientific and Marxist. The decisions and actions of a leading personality, however brilliant or sinister the latter may be, cannot justify in full the existence or otherwise of a ‘correct line’, viewed irrespective of the objective and subjective conditions under which this line was drawn and established, in terms of actual social needs and specific historical balance of forces.

There are, for example, certain traditions which, while identifying themselves as ‘anti-revisionist’, attribute the ‘right line’ exclusively to the will of a leading personality of the movement (Stalin, Mao, Kim Il Sung, Enver Hoxha, etc.) in a rather metaphysical, and therefore revisionist way. In some cases, for example, there are people who claim that until Stalin’s death on 5/3/1953 there was socialism in the USSR, while the next day, 6/3/1953, the USSR suddenly became ‘capitalist’, ‘social-imperialist’, and so on! The scientific Marxist-Leninist approach, without underestimating the specific role of personality in history, never elevates it to the main and decisive role. For communists, Stalin’s contribution to the achievements of the rise of socialist construction, to the triumph of the anti-fascist victory, to the epic reconstruction after

the enormous catastrophe suffered by the USSR in World War II, etc., is undoubtedly extremely important. However, the above is neither reducible to, nor condensed exclusively into the personality of any great historical leader. They are organically integrated into the comprehensive and concrete historical study of the laws governing each era, the correlation between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution in connection with the resolution or not of the contradictions of socialist construction by the heroic Soviet people under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party.

The same ‘cult of personality’ and its ‘critique’ under Khrushchev is a clearly metaphysical idealist ideology and practice with disastrous consequences. Thus, the recognition of the unique historical achievements of the USSR under Stalin versus certain post-Stalin transitions and decline may well be a necessary condition for a scientific understanding of the correlation between revolution and counter-revolution, but not a sufficient one.

Of course, also after Stalin, starting with Khrushchev, we have a sequence of a generally downward trend in the depth and reach of the leaders of the USSR. However, for the science of Marxism, this fact is a manifestation of deeper processes within society and leadership rather than the decisive factor towards the eventual prevalence of bourgeois counter-revolution. Quite simply, scientifically, both the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary process cannot be metaphysically and idealistically reduced to the subjective-personal factor and voluntarism. Moreover, revisionism and counter-revolution did not and could not come to the surface instantaneously after Stalin’s death. It takes rudimentary knowledge of the subsequent historical achievements of the USSR to shatter this view: the formation of the military-industrial complex, development of the ‘nuclear triad’,

aerospace, the peaceful use of nuclear energy, internationalist assistance (economic, political, military, technological, scientific, etc.), to the world revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement (China, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, India, etc.).

### **Brief mention of the case of Nikos Zachariadis.**

Equally complex, for different and partly similar reasons, is the process of degeneration and drift into positions of opportunism and revisionism, of a historical communist party operating in a capitalist country. The course of the formation and development of the working class movement and the Communist Party of Greece, especially what we call the 'Bolshevisation of the party', with the catalytic help of the Third International, a course of heroic struggles and sacrifices, which led the party to the leading position of the massive national liberation and revolutionary movement against the Axis, against the triple occupation during WWII and afterwards, in the heroic civil class war against the new occupation (by the Anglo-American imperialists), is of course linked to the great heroic figure of our leader Nikos Zachariadis. However, in no way can it be reduced to it. The same applies to the subsequent leaderships of the KKE and its gradual drift towards ever more pro regime and opportunist positions, until we reach the unprecedented wretchedness of the current leadership...

Zachariadis' leading figure is undoubtedly a landmark in the history of the revolutionary movement of the country. This figure is organically integrated into the contradictory course of the movement in extremely adverse conditions. Here I will simply point out a tragic aspect of history. Zachariadis served for 25 years as General Secretary of the CC of the KKE. Naturally for communists,

no great leader is above criticism. However, the way in which this leader was deposed and ousted from the party that was actually consolidated and had developed under his leadership, is unacceptable in every respect. He was faced with unsubstantiated accusations, vilified, and sentenced to 17 years of exile and solitary confinement until he was driven to death (by suicide?), without even given the opportunity to answer, to respond to the party base.

All this took place in the small community of Greek partisans who, as political refugees, found refuge in the USSR (Tashkent) and other European socialist countries. There were then two broad plenary sessions of the KKE (6th, 11 - 12/3/1956 and 7th, 18 - 24/2/1957), where in a blatant coup d'état, with the crude intervention of the CPSU and summary procedures, it was decided to remove Nikos Zachariadis from the position of General Secretary and to expel him from the KKE, invoking 'arguments' corresponding to the deplorable 'fight against personality cults' in the CPSU!

Special research is required into the mechanisms and processes through which a historical revolutionary party finally accepts such putschist actions and manipulative machinations, where revolutionaries are ultimately transformed into passive conformists, into people ready to accept any 'new leadership' and any 'new line' as correct by definition, with a manner reminiscent of a disciplined herd and/or congregation of believers...

According to the decision of the Panhellenic Conference of the KKE 16/7/2011 for his reinstatement, 'N. Zachariadis had a significant contribution to the development of the KKE in the period 1931-1936. He was a pioneer in the creation and heroic struggle of the Democratic Army of Greece in 1946-1949, showed unwavering faith in the existence and strengthening of the illegal organisations in the period 1949-1956, in the combination of illegal and legal action... He was a popular leader, with an uncompromising,

pioneering and militant spirit and disposition... However, N. Zachariadis demonstrated an inability to lead the KKE to draw comprehensive conclusions in relation to the contradictions in the party's strategy, with weaknesses in programmatic elaboration that weighed negatively on the Party during the decade of the 1940s. He is also responsible for having shown weakness in formulating a programme at the 7th Congress in 1945 that would have included the experience of assessing the mistakes of the three agreements, Lebanon, Caserta and Varkiza!

Essentially, here, Zachariadis is accused of 'opportunism' because as a communist and internationalist, he applied the strategy and tactics of the Third International for the frontal anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle. It is precisely for this reason that the current leadership of the KKE accuse him of having 'made programmatic mistakes'... based on the now infamous 'theory of stages'! It is clear once again that for the current leadership of the KKE this 'rehabilitation' of our historical leader is also part of its generalised effort to escalate the manipulation of the masses by using and abusing the symbols and heroes of the movement. The 'rehabilitation' is nothing but another miserable ritualistic act of hypocrisy, which is effectively annulled by the 'new' indictment of Zachariadis 50 years after his unjust death, now also accusing him of 'opportunism'!

#### **Reference to some aspects of the escalation and imposition of the opportunist drift.**

Let us return to current events and to the urgent need to form a front of the forces of anti-imperialism and socialism.

*Any delay, oversight, inefficacy and—above all—any divisive intervention on the formation of this militant subject, any undermining action against it—irrespective of intentions and motives—constitutes a strategic objective of the financial oligarchy, a loss*

*of forces of the movement, an act of war in favour of the attacking axis. Preventing the formation and development of this front, with the leading role of the actual revolutionary communist forces within it, constitutes a strategic decision of the axis.*

More broadly: in conditions of decay and degeneration, the regime of capital bases its domination not so much on the popular active support of the perspective it advocates for, but mainly on the timely and effective hindrance and dismantling of any actual or potential subject that can challenge its domination and overthrow in a revolutionary direction.

Here we will refer to some elements of the second degenerative process that takes place under capitalism.

#### **The 4 pillars of preventing the formation of the subject.**

This prevention of the formation of a subject is based throughout time on 4 proven pillars:

1. The takeover of leaderships and groups (intellectuals, academics, trade union and political cadres, etc.) of those 'below' by those 'above' and their overt or covert integration into the mechanisms of the superstructure of the capitalist regime. This is achieved in terms of the creation of a 'labour aristocracy' (as was demonstrated in a classic way in the works of F. Engels and V.I. Lenin on the degeneration and bankruptcy of the Second International) through the sharing of resources from the monopoly super-profits of the imperialist countries and their satellites, especially after long peaceful periods of the movement and integration into bourgeois parliamentary mechanisms, with emphasis on peaceful—consensual modes of action, bureaucratic degeneration, corruption, etc. Extremely widespread is the buy-out/corruption using state and transnational (e.g., EU, NATO, etc.), public and private resources ('sponsorships', 'official' privileges, conference tourism,



contingency aid/allowances, financial packages, 'representation expenses'), which ultimately lead to the transformation of political and social organisations, parties, etc. into 'non-governmental organisations' (NGO-isation of politics) controlled by the state and capital. Generalised corruption, involvement in scandals, etc. lend themselves to the creation of records of defamatory intelligence and/or disinformation, which are used for extortion in order to secure desired positions on the part of cadres, activists, etc.

2. Deception and manipulation through demagoguery, based on the distinction between words and deeds, on the use and abuse of historical revolutionary traditions and symbols, etc. This manipulation is made effective by means of political marketing, flexibly adapted to the idiosyncrasies, traditions and perceptions, and even to the conditioned reflexes of portions of clients, supporters, voters, etc. The more the critical mindset, the rational/scientific and conscious element is weakened against the element of integration in terms of faith, the visceral, the irrational and the collective unconscious of the pack, the more effective the pacification of the public and its readiness for further manipulation becomes.

3. Application of 'divide and rule' variants, cloning, causing splits and subversion—dismantling of any subject dangerous to the regime when it is strengthened and threatens to become massive. Sowing discord and causing confrontations with adjacent ideological-political groups, in a cultivation of pack mentality where each group determines themselves through negating the position of the opposing group. This leads to mutual cannibalism and the extermination of those below, leaving those above in the clear. To this end, the personal weaknesses, ambitions, vanity and toxic petty-bourgeois attitudes of intellectuals and leaders, capable of sacrificing every cause of the

working class, the movement and society for the applause of a small group, are duly exploited.

4. Where the above 'consensual' means fail, direct violence and repression are employed: persecution, extortion, terrorism, imprisonment, exile, torture, exemplary physical extermination of dissidents, even genocide, to force compliance upon the rest.

From the above it becomes clear that the systematic undermining of any potentially dangerous for the regime collective subject is a complex and multilevel task, which cannot be carried out only from the outside and from above, by its main mechanisms (state, transnational, deep state, media, education, administration, local government, etc.). Its implementation also requires the involvement of members and cadres from the party base, being manipulated by the aforementioned 4 pillars. This involvement can be conscious and/or unconscious, in a commissioned capacity or in the form of 'useful idiots' who think they are performing a 'function' and a 'revolutionary duty' with naive sincerity and self-denial.

For the revolutionary movement, the subjective motives of the individuals and groups involved in this manipulation and subversion of the movement are of little or negligible importance. What matters is that the drift of parties and organisations into positions and roles undermining the movement, and acting as agents of the interests of the regime, of the financial oligarchy from within its ranks, is most effectively carried out by individuals and groups with mentality of janissaries<sup>1</sup>.

### **Degradation of theory and revisionism.**

Here we will concentrate on some aspects of the drift of formerly revolutionary parties into opportunist positions, accompanied by the corresponding veneer of revisionist ideology/propaganda.

In some circles, any reference to Marxist



revolutionary theory and methodology, to scientific philosophy and to any science is viewed with suspicion as something foreign and unwelcome. This is not by chance. It is organically linked to that aversion to authentic dialectical science which is an indispensable condition for the degeneration of the left in countries under Euro-Atlantic imperialist control, such as Greece.

How did this come about? The process that led to such a lamentable outcome, while very simple, is not directly visible on the surface, unless its deeper law governed mechanism is scientifically diagnosed. Here I will briefly touch on some aspects of the manipulative mechanism of the law governed association of degenerative drifts with the necessary for their consolidation, revisions of Marxism.

Actual revolutionary theory performs its fundamental scientific functions: description, explanation and especially prediction (anticipatory conception of the laws and the imminent range of possibilities for the optimal revolutionary engagement of the subject). For the authentically revolutionary action established by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, it is precisely these functions of theory that constitute an indispensable condition for establishing and formulating the dialectical relationship between strategy/tactics, politics and organisational practice.

On the contrary, in the escalating degenerative routine of integration into the capitalist regime, linked to the consolidation and reproduction of practices of long-term peaceful operation in terms of legality and bourgeois parliamentarism (in combination with the phenomenon of 'labour aristocracy'), law governed phenomena emerge, which have been scientifically described/explained by the classics, and especially by Lenin, with reference to the degeneration/breakdown of the Second Socialist International. A characteristic feature of the ideologues of the latter (of Austro-

Marxism, Kautsky, Bernstein, etc.) was the gradual drift towards tactics of managing protest and negotiating the conditions of the movement and the party within the regime, a de facto renunciation of the revolutionary programme, to practical and ideological collusion with the bourgeoisie and its imperialist coalitions, with a corresponding muddying of the waters, with lofty oaths of loyalty to the working class, to 'pure class struggle', 'Marxist orthodoxy', 'unmediated strategy', and so on.

### **The 'zone of proximal regression'**

This process of manipulation is based on objective tendencies of mass integration of the workers by the regime at the level of production and everyday life. However, in order for this manipulation to be effective, in order for it to be led in directions desired by the regime, it also requires planned, systematic, and gradual intervention by its special agents ('commissioned' and/or 'volunteers').

After more than a century, admittedly, the methodical interventions have been scientifically optimised, into effective manipulative technologies of subconscious imposition and suggestion (employed by bourgeois 'scientific marketing'), but the law governed manipulative degenerative path is still intact, taking into account the respective 'zone of proximal regression' of the public, the supporters, the electoral clientele targeted by the manipulators, always with an emphasis on emotion and the cultivation of intolerance to rational critical approach in all sciences.

Here I introduce the 'zone of proximal regression' as the reverse and diametrical antithesis to the category of L. Vygotsky's cultural-historical school of Soviet psychology, the 'zone of proximal development'. The latter is considered as the range of possibilities of optimal creative contribution to the psycho-pedagogical development of the personality (in terms of learning, consciousness, emotions, practice, etc.). This contribution is

achieved within the collective and with the catalytic intervention of the 'more knowledgeable other' (parent, teacher, etc.). In order for it to work, the level of psychosomatic development of the trainee, the acquired level of knowledge, skills, perceptual representations and abilities is taken into account, so that by basing the approach on this *acquis*, in a suitable way, and by activating motives that are linked to needs, an upgrading of the subject can be achieved in the process of development of the whole personality and also of the collective as a reference group.

It is a creative activity of psycho-pedagogical science and art par excellence, which, by analogy, does not only concern pedagogy. It can also be used, adapted and developed in the field of the science and art that is the ideological and political activity, of the theory and practice of the revolutionary movement. It can function as a gradual, step-by-step constitution, formation and development of the revolutionary subject. Throughout time, it has been linked to the consciousness and practical struggle of the collective subject for the accomplishment of the tactical and strategic tasks of the movement.

On the contrary, in the manipulative interventions of the above degenerative type, what is sought is the more effective manipulation of each personality and of the collective, the imposition of and subjection to opinions, stereotypes, dogmas, ideological constructions and especially attitudes to life, which downgrade and ultimately deconstruct any critical and creative abilities (learning, consciousness, emotional, practical, etc.). Thus, those who attempt such manipulations seek through technical means to have an understanding of the level of perceptual representations of the individuals and groups of the 'manipulation target group', i.e., the range of possibilities of the 'zone of proximal regression', within and through which effective manipulation in the desired direction is achieved.

This manipulation, to the extent that it becomes

effective, leads to skepticism and aversion towards any logically coherent dialectical research, substantiation and proof, while it presupposes classification reflexes of inclusions and exclusions on the basis of demarcating 'red lines' of distinction between allies/enemies, etc., at the level of conditioned reflexes.

The more this drift/degeneration in opposition to revolutionary thought and practice escalates, the more methods of repetitive ritual reaffirmation of the unanimity/uncritical acceptance of the a priori 'eternally correct line of the leadership', which presents itself and is perceived as the unconditional and unlimited embodiment of the 'collective wisdom of the party', are employed...

The drift/degeneration in question may concern:

- the relationship between strategy and tactics (where appropriate, the reduction of the former to the latter, and the opposite, with the common denominator of creeping tacticalism),
- the relationship between the strategic objective and tactical means, ways, subjects, intermediate tasks/stages of achieving the strategic objective (without which this objective becomes a metaphysical principle of the beyond, an unscalable peak, a moral imperative of Kantian type, a co-expressive element of manufactured identity, etc.),
- the wholesale rejection of early socialism based on the adoption of the bourgeois view of equating the existence of all types of commodity and monetary relations with capitalism,
- the rejection of the anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist movement as a necessary component of the world revolutionary movement (through the revision of the Leninist approach to imperialism and the renunciation of Marxist political economy of global capitalism),
- the rejection of the dialectic of development through law governed stages (shadow boxing with some construction called in neo-Marxism 'theory

of stages’) and the passage to metaphysical evolutionism,

- the adoption of neoliberal bourgeois institutional arrangements that deconstruct/degenerate the social & cultural functions of the family through the undermining of the very biological core of personality and the family (on the basis of reactionary postmodern ideologies/doctrines) etc.

### **The gradual introduction, escalation and foundation of the drift and its consolidation by revision.**

This drift/mutation is being carried out on the one hand deliberately, consciously and methodically by members of the regime’s staff, but also through the routine of a bureaucratised mechanism, in terms of a spontaneous reaction to each problem that arises within the daily drudgery of this mechanism<sup>2)</sup>:

1. At the beginning, a predetermined decision is taken from above to drift into unfamiliar, unacceptable and repugnant regime positions (tentatively formulated by a representative of the leadership) in a mild way, among a number of other positions familiar to the specific target audience (members, executives and supporters/voters) and generally correct and acceptable positions, based on the given perceptual representations and views.

2. In case of a serious reaction from the audience, follows a partial and temporary fold, pending a better opportunity, possibly with different phrasing. In the meantime, this unacceptable position, which triggers reactions of taboo in the relevant audience, is ostensibly transferred to the scientific field, where ‘there are no taboos’. The verdict of the ‘sage community’, the ‘ideological committee’, will initially find and invoke the proposed drift as existing in principle under certain conditions.

3. Then the relevant reports of cadres and ‘those in charge’ in the media and in public statements/ceremonial events become denser, until

the preselected drift begins to be put forward as a topic tolerated for discussion, until it becomes established through repetition and reinforcement in a ‘critical mass’ of the target audience, to the extent that it is considered initially an existing, then debatable and then ‘scientifically valid’ position.

4. The storm of repetition is accompanied by hints and whispers against those who continue to object, as if they were ‘old-fashioned’, ‘uncompromising’, ‘stubborn’, ‘fanatics who oppose the development of theory’ as well as irredeemably quaint...

5. Gradually the drift becomes an established position of the political body, something universally accepted and respectable, presented as ‘reasonable in principle’ and ‘popular’. Eventually, the imposition of opportunist drift as a reasonable and now self-evident ‘innovation’ also acquires the official validation of the institutions.

6. Then, in parallel with the escalation of the relevant references, cadres in charge of the ‘ideological work’, i.e., propaganda in terms of religious indoctrination, undertake the role of consolidating and reinforcing the ‘validity’ of this practical and/or organisational drift. They are responsible for providing a veil of a posteriori scientific and theoretical coverage to the drift that originates from above and imposed as a predetermined decision.

7. Here the fragmentary and detached from the specific historical period and context selection, invocation and quotation of such passages from the classics of Marxism-Leninism is employed, which seem to conform to and confirm the ‘validity’ of the drift. Any anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, etc. position ought to be plumed with passages from the classics and marketed as ‘the one and only orthodox Marxist-Leninist position’.

8. If this type of ‘foundation’ is not enough, i.e. if the opposition of the words and meanings of the classics to the drift becomes evident, the

ideological leaders begin to spread rumours of the obsolescence of, if not all, at least some of the positions of the classics, even censoring the latter, suggesting ‘what we should and should not read from the classics’, but also promoting guidelines/recipes on how we ought to ‘interpret’ them, so that the self-evident correctness of the predetermined drift is duly ‘brought out’. Thus, Lenin’s works such as ‘The Two Tactics of Social Democracy...’, ‘Left-Wing’ ‘Communism: An Infantile Disorder’, etc. may be banned.

9. However, this entire package of eclecticism, one-sided manipulations, blatant distortion of revolutionary theory and methodology, must not be seen for what it is: a brutal revision of Marxism. That is why the whole project is blatantly presented as a ‘creative development’ of revolutionary theory, as a further confirmation of the ‘collective wisdom of the party’, i.e., of a leadership that is always infallible and above criticism...

10. This is why systematic measures are taken which are inscribed in the degenerative mutation. Measures that prioritise administrative/bureaucratic control and repression, the prohibition of any criticism and dialogue ‘on such issues that have already been resolved’! The measures move to the level of imposing taboos and terrorising dissidents, which leads to the gradual abandonment of the principles of democratic centralism and the establishment of manipulative practices of authoritarian bureaucratic centralism. Measures that lead to a practical degeneration to the point of eliminating any trace of independent, innovative scientific thought and action.

Besides, the fruitful study, the critical adoption, creative development and application of revolutionary theory and methodology presuppose corresponding organisational arrangements favourable to scientific research as ‘universal labour’ (Marx) and a climate of fruitful, cooperative,

genuinely functional public dialogue on the most contentious issues of theory and practice. This atmosphere requires organisational principles of genuine electoralism, thorough bottom-up control, systematic and effective public accountability of the responsible organisational and ideological bodies to the base and the mass circle of influence, rotation in positions of responsibility, genuine recall of bodies and cadres not fulfilling the tasks assigned to them by the base, etc.

Thus, every degenerative practical/organisational drift into positions of integration into the state and transnational structure and functions of the regime of capital and its dominant ideology, in a ‘coherent package’ with the necessary apologetic revision of revolutionary theory, is projected, imposed and submitted as a self-evident fact. Every possible question, criticism, opinion, etc., that can be perceived as questioning of the aforementioned factual package is practically cancelled and forbidden from the outset.

In the past, existed conditions, albeit problematic, of acceptable internal and broader public, written and verbal debate on a number of key issues of theory, practice and current affairs. All this, within the rapidly mutating bureaucratic, opportunist apparatus, has now been nullified by summary ritualistic and authoritarian procedures, with little short-lived room for deviation/release of pressure during the pre-conference debates. On the basis of the prevailing procedures, even the very submission of questions and/or interventions in party assemblies, in meetings of bodies, in party cadres, in public events of broad appeal, even in controlled mass organisations, associations, etc. is systematically prevented.

The proactive prevention of any possible or improbable ‘deviation’ from the approved and hierarchically sanctified package of institutions/revisions is recommended. Thus, any questions/interventions ‘should’ have been discussed/

approved in individual ‘collaborations’ with the leadership, always in a close circle. Only some of these, having passed through such filtering may be pronounced as ‘safe and fully subscribed’ to the one and only ‘correct line’. Anything else is perceived as suspect, against the party and divisive and is stamped out. Thus, an audience is nurtured, which regards the above as ‘party normality’ and the consequent revisions of the ‘coherent package’ as ‘development of theory’... If these revisions even overturn previously established principles and traditions, they are presented as ‘proof of a courageous self-criticism that led to a bold change of position’!

In this way, the most important contentious issues are considered by the above mechanism as once and for all ‘solved’ by means of taboo, at least until the next drift, which, in order to function as such, must be set in the above terms of a well-timed escalating mithridatism<sup>3</sup>). Any other approach, criticism, opinion, etc. is to be banished as ‘opportunist’, ‘anti-party’, ‘anti-communist’, ‘deceitful’, etc.

Where the above are not sufficient, the ad hominem ‘argumentation’ is used in tandem. In other words, a campaign that focuses the attention of the ‘specific target group’ of the manipulation, on insulting, defaming and/or vilifying the person or group/collective that expresses a differing opinion and not the viewpoint espoused by the leadership. The ad hominem ‘argument’, in the most innocent case, constitutes a logical fallacy, where inadvertently, incidentally or due to ignorance, etc., someone thinks that a direct insult to the person making an ‘annoying’ argument is supposedly a response to the argument itself, taking any denigration of the person as a valid reason for rejecting the argument outright as false, without even bothering to make any substantial demonstration of any flaws in the argument.

As such it is deliberately chosen by nimble manipulators to invalidate the opinion of

‘dissenting’ individuals, not through open, public, rational and scientific confrontation with it, by means of developing arguments, but by morally, etc., smearing, undermining and denigrating them, by reducing their whole attitude to ‘vicious qualities, deceitfulness, and despicable intentions’. This not only avoids confrontation with a theory, a scientific view, etc., but also prevents a public susceptible to such manipulation from its very reception through principle.

Do these manipulative methods seem to be a sign of security and self-confidence on the part of their carriers? Not at all. The more blatant the degenerative drift/regression, the more insecurity possesses its bearers. An insecurity that manifests itself more and more intensely as the above decalogue of disaster escalates...

The audience, conditioned in such terms of instrumental use and revision of revolutionary theory, perceives science, Marxism... as words, aphorisms, stereotypical expressions, slogans, which simply signal predetermined decisions, positions and views beyond any criticism and suspicion...

## **In conclusion**

Without the activity of opportunism, without the successive drifts of the movement into positions that serve the strategic interests and choices of capital, imperialism could not maintain its domination.

Various forms of dogmatism and revisionism are constructed as an ideological coating of these degenerative drifts.

We have found that the great revolutionary achievements and the degenerative phenomena in the revolutionary movement and socialist construction are linked to the work of specific historical personalities, but they cannot be universally reduced to the position and role of the latter.



In the stage of decline and decay of imperialism, the ruling class resorts to methods that allow it to manipulate effectively in the direction of preventing the formation of a revolutionary collective subject. An organic part of this obstruction is opportunism.

The imposition and prevalence of opportunist drifts is not achieved instantaneously. A necessary condition for this, is the degradation and the eventual rejection of revolutionary theory, through various versions of its dogmatic and revisionist ideological distortions.

The probing of the respective 'zone of proximal regression' and Overton Window style of manipulation techniques are necessary for the gradual introduction, escalation and consolidation of any opportunist drift, and for it to be cemented by dogmatism and revision.

There can be no revolutionary movement today in which the forces of anti-imperialism and socialism are not organically integrated as component parts. And yet today there are leaderships of parties and forces that deny the necessity and the very existence of forces of anti-imperialism and socialism. These forces have been led to such positions through successive drifts into opportunist positions and corresponding revisions.

This is an unprecedented and extremely dangerous retreat from the revolutionary movement. Those who reject these components of the present movement not only place themselves out of it, but also act as forces for its subversion and disintegration. Any undermining action within the front under the conditions of the WWII constitutes a hostile act of war.

Without exposing and smashing this column, which pretends to be communist while in practice it acts in the interests of the US-led imperialist axis, it is impossible to unite the victorious anti-imperialist front promoted by the Platform.

## Notes

1) Originally an elite military unit of the Ottoman empire made up through child levy, enslavement of children of occupied nations, then converted to Islam and made to serve the sultan, its use here meaning 'radicalised converts viciously attacking their groups of origin'.

2) This machination has many similarities with the mass manipulation technique used in politics, usually referred to as the Overton Window, after Joseph Overton (1960-2003) who first described it.

3) Mithridatism is the practice of protecting oneself against a poison by gradually self-administering non-lethal amounts, here meaning the process by which (unpleasant) changes that come gradually, very slowly, over time become imperceptible.



# Statement of World Anti-imperialist Joint Struggle in Athens: A seismic shift is taking place in the global balance of class forces. Anti-imperialists everywhere must play their part

November 17, 2023

It cannot have escaped the attention of those gathered here today that a seismic shift is taking place in the global balance of class forces.

Particularly significant events have transpired in the last year and a half—events that were triggered by the deepening of the global capitalist crisis and by the accelerating drive to war and domination that is the imperialists' response to this crisis.

The launch of Russia's special military operation on 24 February 2022 was the first and most crucial of these events. This was the date on which the Russian government and people declared 'no more' to the slow war of aggression being waged against them all along their borders, and most especially in Ukraine.

The installation of a new, popular government in Niger on 26 July 2023 was the next big event to shake the imperialists' complacency. This was a clarion call to the superexploited people whose effects are being felt all over the African continent.

And then on 7 October 2023 news reached us of the launch of the Al-Aqsa Flood battle by the united forces of the Palestinian resistance. With the onset of this operation, another line in the sand had been drawn, another call sounded whose echoes are reverberating around the world.

Each of these events has been long in the making. Each represents a decisive turning point in the development of these three separate but related struggles against imperialist domination of the globe.

Each one has struck a mighty blow at the imperialist system and revealed an essential impotence at the heart of the seemingly all-

powerful US-led Nato war machine—an impotence which has left their vicious fascistic proxies glaringly exposed.

For all their firepower, for all their economic might, for all their undoubted ability to inflict horrendous suffering on a targeted people, the imperialists are unable to beat down the forces of resistance, and the more those forces work together, as they are increasingly doing, the more impossible the task of defeating them becomes.

In Ukraine, it is clear that, however long the war continues to be fuelled by western money and weapons, the days of the fascistic stooge regime of Zelensky and co are numbered.

In Niger, too, the imperialists have been unable to muster a reliable proxy force capable of reimposing their diktat. Compradors across the region are starting to worry that their days, too, might be numbered.

And in Palestine, we see that the harder the Zionist criminals push to achieve their genocidal aims, the more surely do they create the conditions in which a united middle-eastern response will emerge and prove decisive. Not only the rabid government of Netanyahu and co, but the entire settler-colonial population of Israel are waking up to the fact that their days as a supremacist outpost of western imperialism are coming to an end.

In each case, the sympathy and increasingly active support of all progressive humanity is on the side of the anti-imperialist forces.

In each case, the unconditional support of the imperialist and stooge politicians and media for the forces of reaction is exacerbating the crisis

of legitimacy that their governments are already facing.

As we stand here today, commemorating the anniversary of the heroic antifascist uprising of students at the Athens Polytechnic 50 years ago, we note that the student rebellion was expressing the sentiments of the wider working class, many of whom flocked to join it once the standard had been raised.

The call of the risen workers and peasants for 'Bread, education and liberty' echoed the demand of the poverty-stricken, war-torn masses of Russia who demanded 'Peace, land and bread' in 1917. These demands are so simple, yet the self-styled 'masters of the universe' cannot fulfil them. They can only answer with more violence, more repression, more hunger and more misery.

Understanding this simple truth was what impelled the Russian people to carry out the October Revolution. And it is what has driven every national-liberation and socialist struggle that followed in the footsteps of October.

This is the understanding we must once again bring to workers everywhere. Imperialism cannot be reasoned with, and it cannot solve the most basic problems of the masses.

It can only loot, pillage and burn. And it is willing to drown the world in blood in order to hang on to its ill-gotten gains and maintain the lords of finance capital in their position of dominance over all.

This lesson has been taught to the working masses over and over again in blood.

Let us learn from our history and throw all our weight behind the forces of resistance in the titanic battles to come. Let the next wave of struggle be as earth-shaking as was the first!

Death to the warmongering Nato imperialist bloc and all its fascistic proxies!

Victory to the resistance!

Onward to socialism!

# Athens declaration: The world is entering a new era of anti-imperialist struggle

November 18, 2023

## ***Understanding:***

That we are emerging from the period of deep reaction that followed the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and east European socialist bloc, when the strength of the capitalist-imperialist system seemed overwhelming and the forces of national liberation and socialism were in retreat.

That as a result of this shift in the balance of forces, the remaining socialist and anti-imperialist countries and movements became isolated and exposed and were forced to make difficult compromises in order to survive (developing the tourism industry in Cuba, signing the nuclear agreement in the DPRK, agreeing to nuclear disarmament in Libya and Iraq, accepting the US-brokered peace processes in Palestine, Ireland etc).

That the era of the stabilisation of global capitalism, during which the imperialist powers escaped their economic crisis and grew rich through the unbridled looting of the wealth and resources of the Soviet and east European peoples, has come to an end. The latest downward lurch of the global economic crisis of capitalism is being felt in the economic and social life of every country that is connected to the global market economy.

That global economic crisis cannot be avoided while the capitalist-imperialist system remains; while a few monopolists dominate the entire world economy and create chaos and instability in their desperate quest for maximum profits.

That the main threat to world peace is imperialism, in particular the criminal, aggressive US-led Nato imperialist bloc, and that we have entered a new historical phase: one in which the final defeat of imperialism has become both a real possibility and a vital necessity.

That communists, socialists and anti-imperialists everywhere have a duty to join hands and do everything possible to maximise the power of the anti-imperialist camp in the titanic struggle that now confronts humanity.

That recent uprisings in west Africa and the middle east remind us once again of the unfinished struggle for national liberation, launched in earnest by the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 and carried on in every corner of the oppressed world, which can never be quenched so long as imperialism remains in the world.

That the rewriting of history to whitewash Nazi crimes, combined with the continuing provocations by the USA/Nato and its proxies in so many countries bordering Russia and China, as well as in Serbia, Korea, Taiwan and the middle east, make it absolutely clear that the imperialists will use any means to achieve their ends, and would rather drown the world in blood than leave the world's people to advance peacefully towards liberation and socialism.

That the lighting up of landmarks and hoisting of Israeli flags in Washington, London, Berlin, Paris and Brussels serve as the latest reminder of the unconditional support of finance capital for its proxies in the Israeli terrorist state, and its routine export of fascism to maintain its domination around the world.

## ***We, the participants at the World Anti-imperialist Platform international conference in Athens, declare the following:***

That the history of the last century proves conclusively that the imperialists can never be appeased. All attempts at 'peaceful coexistence',

ignoring the realities of the class struggle, have led only to the emboldening of and further aggression by the imperialist powers, and of the dominant US imperialist cabal in particular.

That to break the power of finance capital—to do everything possible towards cutting off its access to the huge superprofits that are extracted at the expense of the oppressed masses in the colonised world, who are thus held back from development and denied a chance to live in dignity and prosperity—is the first duty of communists, socialists and anti-imperialists everywhere.

That whether by the nationalisation of essential raw materials such as oil, uranium and lithium, by building alliances to counter imperialist economic sanctions or by evicting imperialist troops and their fascist proxies from their territories, every movement that strives for political, military and economic independence and territorial sovereignty in the oppressed countries is blocking the imperialists' drive for domination and holding back the ability of monopoly capital to loot freely.

That there is thus an absolute necessity to bring together the struggle for socialism with the anti-imperialist and antifascist struggles, and to unite all those who are struggling separately into one unstoppable force. In particular, we must demonstrate to the workers in our own countries the essential unity of those fighting for their liberation in Donbass, in Palestine, in Burkina Faso and in Niger. We must demonstrate that the wars being planned by the imperialists against the DPRK and China are a part of this same quest for domination, and we must maximise support for the forces of liberation.

That this means doing everything possible to increase the economic, military and logistical difficulties for the imperialists and to strengthen the solidarity and support for those who are fighting on the front lines.

That during this titanic struggle, those who play

the decisive role will not be those who claim to have exclusively 'inherited' the right to be viewed as the 'vanguard' of the struggle, but those who actually play the part of a vanguard. Those who wish to play this role must be unafraid to oppose all vacillation and conciliation with the enemy; must be ready to expose all those who confuse the masses and prevent them from understanding that there are two sides in this war, and that to refuse to take a side means, in practice, to strengthen the side of reaction—to help the imperialists and to neutralise the working and oppressed masses.

That, just as before in the case of Russia and the Donbass, when the special military operation was launched to denazify and demilitarise the fascistic proxy regime that had been imposed on the Ukrainian people by the USA and Nato, so today we refuse to be intimidated by the barrage of hysterical bourgeois propaganda that is demanding our condemnation of the actions of the Palestinian resistance, although these same imperialist media and politicians have been silent during the 75 years of slow genocide, with all its attendant atrocities, that gave rise to this latest outbreak of war in the middle east.

That we will do everything in our power to bring the missing context regarding the national-liberation struggle in Palestine to the attention of workers in our countries, just as we have been doing regarding the liberation struggle of the people of Donbass and the ongoing aggression against the Russian Federation, and as we will surely do in the case of any future war between the imperialists and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea or the People's Republic of China.

That, while preferring peace for the sake of human life, we recognise that the only way out of the ongoing holocaust being perpetrated by the imperialist system is through liberation wars. While the US congress declares that the USA can fight successfully on many battlefields and

should prepare to launch a war against China, the truth is that the imperialists are losing their proxy war against Russia in Ukraine and will surely be defeated if they dare to launch wars in several major theatres at once.

That, refusing to take a pessimistic view of the global situation, we instead look with optimism at the prospects for our movement and for humanity, recalling the words of Che Guevara in his message to the Tricontinental conference of 1967: “How close we could look into a bright future should two, three or many Vietnams flourish throughout the world, with their share of deaths and their immense tragedies, their everyday heroism and their repeated blows against imperialism, impelled to disperse its forces under the sudden attack and the increasing hatred of all peoples of the world!”

That, meeting today in Athens, we uphold the spirit and legacy of resistance leaders such as Aris Velouchiotis, and most especially of Nikos Zachariadis, great son and leader of the Greek revolution. It was Comrade Zachariadis above all who guided his people on the basis of socialist science and who never lost faith in the strength and ability of the working class, affirming that whatever the difficulties and defeats along the way, history is made by the masses. There is no doubt in our minds that the imperialists will ultimately be defeated, opening up once more the possibility for human progress and civilisation to advance.

That we commit ourselves to advancing towards the final victory of socialism by following in the footsteps of those heroic communists who stood steadfastly at the forefront of Greece’s national-liberation struggle in the 1940s. These comrades showed how it is both possible and necessary to combine the anti-imperialist and antifascist with the socialist struggle in order to harness the widest possible forces for the immediate stage of the revolution, even while growing the communist forces and creating the best possible foundation for

their further advance.

That the building of the broadest possible anti-imperialist movement, willing and able to sharply confront, oppose, obstruct and defeat the hegemonic drive of the US-led Nato bloc, is the main task of progressive humanity today.

*No cooperation with the imperialist war machine and its fascist proxies!*

*Defeat for the criminal US-led Nato imperialist bloc!*

*Victory to the united forces of anti-imperialist resistance!*

# Palestine declaration: From the river, to the sea, Palestine will be free!

November 18, 2023

## *Understanding:*

- That the partition of Palestine by the United Nations in 1948, which was pushed through the United Nations according to a plan set out by British imperialism and without any consultation with the local population, is a historic injustice that must be recognised and whose consequences must be addressed if a meaningful peace is to be achieved in the middle east.
- That zionism, the official ‘justification’ for the creation of the state of Israel, is a pernicious ideology, whose growth and development was fostered by British and later US imperialism, which works to confuse Jewish people into thinking of themselves not as part of a religious group but (incorrectly) as a ‘nation’—and one whose members, alone amongst the people of the earth, will never be able to live in peace in any place outside of a separate ‘Jewish homeland’.
- That the zionist leaders of Israel have consistently made clear by their words and actions that they have never had any intention of settling for less than total control of the entire territory of historic Palestine and more (the Golan in Syria, southern Lebanon, etc).
- That zionism, by holding that the Jews are God’s ‘chosen people’ is a racist, supremacist ideology that justifies every kind of barbarity against the Palestinian people on the basis that they are not full human beings ‘like us’. And we note that in this context that many religious Jews are opposed to zionism and to the occupation of Palestine.
- That the horrific tragedy of the rise of zionism amongst Jewish people in Europe was the transformation of those who had been the victims of fascist persecution in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s into the perpetrators of an equally fascistic and genocidal enterprise in the postwar middle east.
- That with its pass laws, ghettos, segregated infrastructure, checkpoints and prison complexes, its conversion of the small areas of land that remain ‘free’ for Palestinians to occupy into concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire and policed by tanks and fighter planes, and with its daily routine of violence and humiliation practiced against the native inhabitants, zionism is the inheritor and continuer of such barbaric and inhuman regimes as Nazi Germany, settler-colonial British Kenya and apartheid South Africa.
- That zionist Israel has been enabled to commit its terrible crimes unhindered because of the special function it performs for Anglo-American imperialism—that is, it acts as an armed outpost of imperialism whose fundamental role is not to ‘protect the Jewish people’ but to keep control of middle-eastern oil for British and US oil monopolies.
- That Israel’s vital importance to modern imperialism stems from the central importance of oil to the modern economy—since oil remains the most important source of energy not only for industry but also for the imperialist war machine.
- That this importance is reflected in the insistence of the imperialist ruling classes that every career politician in Britain, the European Union and the USA must demonstrate their total loyalty towards zionism, which is simply another way of expressing total loyalty to British and US imperialist interests.
- That this importance is also the real reason why Israel is consistently granted immunity for its repeated crimes by the imperialist-dominated ‘international community’, and why imperialist media work so hard to drop and deny all the above context, instead presenting an apparently ‘unsolvable’ narrative of ‘two sides at war’, all the while emphasising unforgiveable nature of



any violence by the resistance while bending over backwards to justify the far more extreme violence of the oppressors.

- That scores of UN resolutions over seven decades at the UN general assembly have asserted the international community's desire to find a just solution to the Palestinian question, have objected to the numerous crimes (including apartheid and ethnic cleansing) of the zionists and have even explicitly underlined the right of the Palestinians to resist by whatever means necessary, including by force of arms.
- That the USA's control of the UN security council has essentially neutered all options for seeking a meaningful resolution via that body.
- That the genocidal nature of the zionist state has been made clearer than ever by its recent response to the Al-Aqsa Flood battle launched by resistance forces. This response has included:
  1. The indiscriminate massacre of more than ten thousand civilians, half of them children, including refugee columns and those taking refuge in hospitals, schools and UN facilities;
  2. Open calls by Israeli leaders to "wipe Gaza off the map" and attempts to implement a plan to transfer all of Gaza's 2.3 million people into the Egyptian desert;
  3. Fake atrocity propaganda claiming that the resistance has "beheaded babies" and "massacred civilians", all of which have been debunked, but which continue to be referenced by Israeli and imperialist politicians and media;
  4. Israeli army killings of Israeli civilians in order to promote the narrative of resistance 'barbarism' and to avoid the chance of them being taken prisoner to Gaza.

***We the undersigned parties and organisations declare:***

- That the struggle of the Palestinian people against the imperialist-backed settler-colonial state of Israel, with its illegal occupations, its apartheid system, its supremacist zionist ideology and its stated policy of genocide, remains at the forefront

of the world struggle against imperialism.

- That the Palestinian people made huge sacrifices in the quest for peace when they signed up to the Oslo Accords in 1993, giving up 78 percent of their historic homeland in return the promise of a viable Palestinian state on the 22 percent that remained.
- That, just as the imperialist-backed Ukrainian junta repeatedly undermined the possibilities for a peaceful settlement of the war in Donbass (first by deliberately undermining the Minsk accords and then by tearing up the peace deal they had agreed to in Istanbul), it is imperialist-abetted Israeli intransigence and double-dealing that has essentially undermined all possibility of implementing the two-state solution plan that was agreed upon at Oslo.
- That given the total failure to hold Israel to account for its flagrant violations of the terms of Oslo and the repeated statements of its leaders that they have no intention of being bound by those terms, no one has any right to expect the Palestinians to continue to be bound by the terms of Oslo either.
- That the Palestinian people have both the moral and legal right, recognised in international law, to struggle for their freedom by any means necessary, including by the use of armed force.
- That we will accept no correlation between the force used by a brutal regime of occupation and the force used by those struggling for their liberation: the zionists are waging a fascistic, genocidal, unjust war of conquest and national oppression on behalf of US imperialism, while the Palestinians are fighting a just war for national liberation and self-defence.
- That given these facts, all progressive, anti-imperialist and socialist forces have a duty to side firmly and unconditionally with the Palestinian people and to do everything in their power to provide them with material solidarity.
- That we in the Platform note the growing desire of the masses to show material support to the brave struggle of the Palestinian people. We

commit ourselves to promoting every existing example of concrete solidarity and expanding this campaign to every corner of the globe, helping workers to understand that this is the only way we can assist our Palestinian brothers and sisters on the front line to victory:

1. We call on manufacturing workers not to make munitions or other supplies that are intended for use by Israel;

2. We call on transport workers not to move munitions, troops or any other supplies that are bound for Israel;

3. We call on all dock workers to block the shipment of arms and other supplies to Israel;

4. We call on all journalists to refuse to write or broadcast information that justifies or whitewashes the zionists' crimes or reinforces their fake narratives, remembering that journalism which justifies aggressive war crimes was classified at the Nuremburg tribunals as a war crime in itself;

5. We call on all media and communications technicians to refuse to print or broadcast such lies;

6. We call on all supermarket workers to refuse to put Israeli products or zionist-promoting newspapers and magazines on the shelves of their stores;

7. We call on all workers to force their governments to break diplomatic ties with Israel—there must be no normalisation of genocide;

8. And we call on workers everywhere to apply the same non-cooperation stance to every part of the Nato imperialist war machine, which backs and is coming to the aid of its proxies in the middle east.

Savra savra hatta nasr! (Revolution until victory!)

• That, along with all progressive humanity, we demand:

1. An end to western imperialist military, financial, diplomatic and media support for Israel;

2. An immediate end to Israel's genocidal bombing of and armed incursions into Gaza, including the zionists' use of internationally banned white phosphorous and other undeclared chemical and uranium-tipped weapons;

3. The immediate opening of the borders for free passage of Palestinians into and out of their homeland;

4. The release of all political prisoners and internees from Israeli jails;

5. The end of the occupation of 1967 Palestine, including the withdrawal of Israeli military forces, the tearing down of separation walls and military checkpoints, the dismantlement of illegal settlements and the abolition of segregated infrastructure across Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip;

6. Freedom for the Palestinian people across all of 1948 Palestine to choose their own representatives to represent them in talks towards a meaningful peace settlement;

7. All US troops and bases out of the middle east.

Savra savra hatta nasr! (Revolution until victory!)

• That a just peace in Palestine will only be achieved when the Palestinian people are free to decide their own future, a future in which we are sure the following conditions will need to have been met:

1. An end to the existence of any racist, supremacist ethnostate on Palestinian territory, which means the dismantlement of every legal and physical structure of apartheid discrimination;

2. The establishment of secular, democratic rule across all of Palestine, allowing all to live on terms of equality and fraternity, no matter what their ethnic or religious background;

3. The guarantee and implementation of the universally-recognised right to return of all the Palestinian refugees who have been forcibly evicted from their land and their homes since 1948;

4. An end to imperialist interference in the affairs of all countries of the middle east.

*No cooperation with the criminal zionist war machine!*

*Death to imperialism and its fascist zionist stooge regime in the middle east!*

*From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free!*

*Savra savra hatta nasr! (Revolution until victory!)*

# Platform



The World Anti-imperialist Platform