

# Platform

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A stylized illustration of a woman with dark hair, wearing a light-colored long-sleeved shirt, holding a large, dark red flag aloft with her right arm. The background is a solid red color. The illustration is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page, partially overlapping the text area.





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# The Tasks of The Proletariat In The Present Revolution (April Theses)

V.I. Lenin

April 1917

I did not arrive in Petrograd until the night of April 3, and therefore at the meeting on April 4 I could, of course, deliver the report on the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat only on my own behalf, and with reservations as to insufficient preparation.

The only thing I could do to make things easier for myself—and for honest opponents—was to prepare the theses in writing. I read them out, and gave the text to Comrade Tsereteli. I read them twice very slowly: first at a meeting of Bolsheviks and then at a meeting of both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

I publish these personal theses of mine with only the briefest explanatory notes, which were developed in far greater detail in the report.

## THESES

1) In our attitude towards the war, which under the new government of Lvov and Co. unquestionably remains on Russia's part a predatory imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government, not the slightest concession to "revolutionary defencism" is permissible.

The class-conscious proletariat can give its consent to a revolutionary war, which would really justify revolutionary defencism, only on condition: (a) that the power pass to the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants aligned with the proletariat; (b) that all annexations be renounced in deed and not in word; (c) that a complete break be effected in actual fact with all capitalist interests.

In view of the undoubted honesty of those broad sections of the mass believers in revolutionary defencism who accept the war only as a necessity, and not as a means of conquest, in view of the fact that they are being deceived by the bourgeoisie, it is necessary with particular thoroughness,

persistence and patience to explain their error to them, to explain the inseparable connection existing between capital and the imperialist war, and to prove that without overthrowing capital it is impossible to end the war by a truly democratic peace, a peace not imposed by violence.

The most widespread campaign for this view must be organised in the army at the front.

Fraternisation.

2) The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is passing from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants.

This transition is characterised, on the one hand, by a maximum of legally recognised rights (Russia is now the freest of all the belligerent countries in the world); on the other, by the absence of violence towards the masses, and, finally, by their unreasoning trust in the government of capitalists, those worst enemies of peace and socialism.

This peculiar situation demands of us an ability to adapt ourselves to the special conditions of Party work among unprecedentedly large masses of proletarians who have just awakened to political life.

3) No support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear, particularly of those relating to the renunciation of annexations. Exposure in place of the impermissible, illusion-breeding "demand" that this government, a government of capitalists, should cease to be an imperialist government.

4) Recognition of the fact that in most of the

Soviets of Workers' Deputies our Party is in a minority, so far a small minority, as against a bloc of all the petty-bourgeois opportunist elements, from the Popular Socialists and the Socialist-Revolutionaries down to the Organising Committee (Chkheidze, Tsereteli, etc.), Steklov, etc., etc., who have yielded to the influence of the bourgeoisie and spread that influence among the proletariat.

The masses must be made to see that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies are the only possible form of revolutionary government, and that therefore our task is, as long as this government yields to the influence of the bourgeoisie, to present a patient, systematic, and persistent explanation of the errors of their tactics, an explanation especially adapted to the practical needs of the masses.

As long as we are in the minority we carry on the work of criticising and exposing errors and at the same time we preach the necessity of transferring the entire state power to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, so that the people may overcome their mistakes by experience.

5) Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom.

Abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy.<sup>[1]</sup>

The salaries of all officials, all of whom are elective and displaceable at any time, not to exceed the average wage of a competent worker.

6) The weight of emphasis in the agrarian programme to be shifted to the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies.

Confiscation of all landed estates.

Nationalisation of all lands in the country, the land to be disposed of by the local Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies. The organisation of separate Soviets of Deputies of Poor Peasants. The setting up of a model farm on each of the large estates (ranging in size from 100 to 300 dessiatines, according to local and other

conditions, and to the decisions of the local bodies) under the control of the Soviets of Agricultural Labourers' Deputies and for the public account.

7) The immediate amalgamation of all banks in the country into a single national bank, and the institution of control over it by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

8) It is not our immediate task to "introduce" socialism, but only to bring social production and the distribution of products at once under the control of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

9) Party tasks:

(a) *Immediate convocation of a Party congress; (b) Alteration of the Party Programme, mainly:*

(1) *On the question of imperialism and the imperialist war;*

(2) *On our attitude towards the state and our demand for a "commune state"<sup>[2]</sup>;*

(3) *Amendment of our out-of-date minimum programme;*

(c) *Change of the Party's name.<sup>[3]</sup>*

10) A new International.

We must take the initiative in creating a revolutionary

International, an International against the social-chauvinists and against the "Centre".<sup>[4]</sup>

In order that the reader may understand why I had especially to emphasise as a rare exception the "case" of honest opponents, I invite him to compare the above theses with the following objection by Mr. Goldenberg: Lenin, he said, "has planted the banner of civil war in the midst of revolutionary democracy" (quoted in No. 5 of Mr. Plekhanov's *Yedinstvo*).

Isn't it a gem?

I write, announce and elaborately explain: "In view of the undoubted honesty of those broad sections of the mass believers in revolutionary defencism ... in view of the fact that they are being deceived by the bourgeoisie, it is necessary with particular thoroughness, persistence and patience to explain their error to them...."

Yet the bourgeois gentlemen who call themselves

Social-Democrats, who do not belong either to the broad sections or to the mass believers in defencism, with serene brow present my views thus: “The banner [!] of civil war” (of which there is not a word in the theses and not a word in my speech!) has been planted (!) “in the midst [!!] of revolutionary democracy...”.

What does this mean? In what way does this differ from riot-inciting agitation, from *Russkaya Volya*<sup>4</sup>?

I write, announce and elaborately explain: “The Soviets of Workers’ Deputies are the only possible form of revolutionary government, and therefore our task is to present a patient, systematic, and persistent explanation of the errors of their tactics, an explanation especially adapted to the practical needs of the masses.”

Yet opponents of a certain brand present my views as a call to “civil war in the midst of revolutionary democracy!

I attacked the Provisional Government for not having appointed an early date, or any date at all, for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and for confining itself to promises. I argued that without the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies the convocation of the Constituent Assembly is not guaranteed and its success is impossible.

And the view is attributed to me that I am opposed to the speedy convocation of the Constituent Assembly!

I would call this “raving”, had not decades of political struggle taught me to regard honesty in opponents as a rare exception.

Mr. Plekhanov in his paper called my speech “raving”. Very good, Mr. Plekhanov! But look how awkward, uncouth, and slow-witted you are in your polemics. If I delivered a raving speech for two hours, how is it that an audience of hundreds tolerated this “raving”? Further, why does your paper devote a whole column to an account of the “raving”? Inconsistent, highly inconsistent!.

It is, of course, much easier to shout, abuse, and howl than to attempt to relate, to explain, to recall what Marx and Engels said in 1871, 1872 and 1875

about the experience of the Paris Commune<sup>5</sup> and about the kind of state the proletariat needs.

Ex-Marxist Mr. Plekhanov evidently does not care to recall Marxism.

I quoted the words of Rosa Luxemburg, who on August 4, 1914,<sup>6</sup> called German Social-Democracy a “stinking corpse”. And the Plekhanovs, Goldenbergs and Co. feel “offended”. On whose behalf? On behalf of the German chauvinists, because they were called chauvinists!

They have got themselves in a mess, these poor Russian social-chauvinists—socialists in word and chauvinists in deed.

## Notes

[1] i.e. the standing army to be replaced by the arming of the whole people.—Lenin

[2] i.e., a state of which the Paris Commune was the prototype.—Lenin

[3] Instead of “Social-Democracy”, whose official leaders throughout the world have betrayed socialism and deserted to the bourgeoisie (the “defencists” and the vacillating “Kautskyites”), we must call ourselves the Communist Party.—Lenin

[4] The “Centre” in the international Social-Democratic movement is the trend which vacillates between the chauvinists (=“defencists”) and internationalists, i.e., Kautsky and Co. in Germany, Longuet and Co. in France, Chkheidze and Co. in Russia, Turati and Co. in Italy, MacDonald and Co. in Britain, etc.—Lenin

# Teachings of Stalin's work for the struggle of today's communists

Manuela Maj | CARC Party (Italy)

## The struggle of today's communists

A little more than one hundred years after the October Revolution, the foundation of the Communist International (CI) and the proclamation of the USSR, the second general crisis of capitalism brought the world to a war situation and revolution similar to that of the first half of the last century, escalated by the fact that it is combined with the environmental crisis that has reached a level jeopardizing the survival of the human species and the planet.

The second general crisis has resulted in the Third World War (WWIII): the genocide that Zionists are perpetrating in Palestine and the war they are extending to the Middle East, the US-NATO hybrid war waged against the Russian Federation through the pro-Nazi Kiev regime, the manoeuvres in the Pacific against the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the military operations in Africa and Asia, the dirty war against countries like Cuba, Venezuela and against those states (Iran, Syria, etc.) that do not open their borders to the trafficking of the imperialist groups.

The WWIII is underway and even if it takes place in different forms from the two previous world wars it mainly has the form of a hybrid war. The current war reflects, even in its forms, the collective character that thanks to the development of capitalism, economic activity has now taken in all countries and the role that the popular masses have taken on in political activity. The WWIII is in competition and alternative to the development of the proletarian revolution (socialist and new democratic) promoted by parties, organizations and representatives of the conscious and organized

communist movement.

On the eve of the First World War, Lenin provided that either the socialist revolution prevented the war or the communists would transform the war into revolution: this was the case. Today for the communists things are so that or with the establishment of socialism in an imperialist country, even only with the establishment of the People's Bloc Government for which the Caravan of the (new)ICP, of which the CARC Party is part, is struggling, we make a decisive leap forward to the socialist revolution in imperialist countries—the fire that will free the world from the imperialist system and in this way we stop the extension of the Third World War—or the downward spiral in which the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie drags the masses of most of the world will just keep getting worse.

Although it has always managed to transform the war into a general leap forward on a world scale the communist movement, however, did not succeed, neither following the WWI nor the WWII, to establish socialism in an imperialist country, except for the Russian Empire, the weakest ring of the imperialist chain. Here is the main reason for the exhaustion of the first world wave of the proletarian revolution (1917-1976). This was the main limit of the action of the communists during the first revolutionary wave: this is the limit we must overcome today.

**Socialist revolution in the imperialist countries and new democratic revolution in the countries oppressed by groups and imperialist powers**



About this matter in the Italian and international communist movement actually two lines collide.

On the one hand, those who argue that the socialist revolution in imperialist countries is more difficult because, thanks to the over-profits deriving from the exploitation of the oppressed countries, the imperialist bourgeoisie corrupts in various ways the working class and the popular masses of the imperialist countries thus reducing their ability to struggle. From this argument they draw the following conclusions:

- that in the imperialist countries the socialist revolution is impossible or in any case they regulate themselves as if it were impossible and rely on multipolarity (that is, in the fact that the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation by making a common front with each other and with other "rogue states" will induce US imperialists and their complicit to refrain from their attacks) and in the revolution in the oppressed countries;

- that [the socialist revolution in imperialist countries] is possible but only as a result of an "international revolution" (that is, a revolution which wins simultaneously at least in the most important countries), which essentially means arguing that the victory of the socialist revolution is impossible as everyone finds that the class struggle advances in ways and with very different times from country to country, that the real socialist revolution is anything but a synchronized movement between different countries. The argument supported by Stalin is still worth today, which by its nature the socialist revolution normally wins country by country.

On the other hand, those who argue that the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries is certainly a more difficult undertaking than the revolution in the oppressed countries, but it is the decisive issue of the future history of humanity: the issue that will end the imperialist era and will put all the world marching towards communism.

This argument was already expounded by Lenin in the Theses for a Report of the Tactics of the R.C.P. at the Third Congress of the Communist International in July 1921: "We seized the power in Russia not because we were convinced that we could put ourselves at the head of the world socialist revolution, but because we found ourselves in a position to be able to take it and we were sure that seizing power in Russia would help the communists of the most advanced countries to take it, so they would have put themselves at the head of the world socialist revolution. So we seize it and kept it at any cost, to advance the world socialist revolution". It is the argument that Stalin upholds and develops in Problems of Leninism in January 1926, in the midst of the struggle within the CPSU (Bolsheviks) against the line headed by the "new opposition" whose major representatives were Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev. According to them, given that the communist movement had not been able to establish socialism in the imperialist countries, namely in Europe, it was impossible to build socialism in the USSR: the latter had to reintegrate into the world imperialist system. Stalin opposed the line of the hegemony of the working class which, headed by the communist party, mobilizes and leads all the popular masses—then in the USSR particularly the peasants who constituted a large part of the population—to build socialism.

Stalin explains that it was possible to build socialism in Russia even if the socialist revolution in Europe had not yet won and would not have won in the short term, that the USSR had to be the red base of the world revolution and that only the victory of the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries would guarantee that the victory in Russia would be irreversible. On the contrary, Stalin also clearly pointed out (see The International Character of the October Revolution—1927) that, if the imperialist bourgeoisie took over the USSR, an era of black and unbridled reaction would have



happened in the imperialist countries.

Therefore, Stalin distinguished between the victory of the socialist revolution (establishment of socialism) and certainty that the restoration of capitalism is impossible, that the exploiters would not have taken over (final victory of socialism) and stated that, until the socialist revolution has not won in the main countries of the world, there was no guarantee against the restoration of capitalism. Also for this reason the Soviet Union was to be the background, the source of inspiration and support for the revolutionary movement in the imperialist and oppressed countries (a line that modern Soviet revisionists, from Khrushchev onwards, denied since 1956). The performance of the events after the WWII confirmed Stalin's forecast.

Why is the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries so decisive? In backward countries, the creation of modern productive forces is an unavoidable task of the socialist revolution but in order to fulfil it, once the new democratic revolution is made, the bourgeoisie could and can propose itself in the single countries as an alternative to the working class.

In the imperialist countries there are already modern productive forces. Here the main task of the socialist revolution is to seize power and promote the increasing participation of popular masses in the management of their social life (political, cultural, sporting, recreational, etc. activities: those activities from which the ruling classes have always excluded the oppressed ones) to the point of no longer needing the state, up to the extinction of the state and the end of the division into social classes. The bourgeoisie by its nature cannot propose itself as an alternative to the working class in fulfilling this task: therefore the decisive clash between the working class and the bourgeoisie takes place in the imperialist countries.

Why is the socialist revolution in imperialist countries more difficult? Because the communists

must break with the long electoralist (participation in electoral struggles as a way to seize power), economistic (attributing to economic-practical struggles the role of way to seize power) and militarist (attributing to military activity the main and decisive role in every stage of the socialist revolution) tradition and, against dogmatism, they [the communists] outline and implement an action plan that is proper to the particular and concrete circumstances.

### **The line of popular fronts and the relationship between anti-imperialist struggle, anti-fascist struggle and struggle for the establishment of socialism in the current stage**

After the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany (1933) and the connected Fascist offensive throughout Europe, the CI passed from the united front line (which limited itself to the working class) to the popular anti-fascist Front line (extended to all classes, political forces and personalities opposed to Fascism) and the popular Front's government. This line, developed and implemented during 1934 and approved by the 7th and last Congress of the CI (July-August 1935), is expounded in the report *The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism* presented by Dimitrov (Secretary General of the CI from 1935 until its dissolution in 1943). It clearly illustrates what the communists had to do to advance towards the establishment of socialism through 1. the mobilization of the popular masses against the reactionary and anti-popular measures of the bourgeoisie, 2. the mobilization of the popular masses to prevent the most reactionary and criminal faction of the bourgeoisie established Fascism, by leveraging precisely on the discontent and the rebellion of the popular masses themselves, 3. the fight against the beginning of the world war in which the imperialist bourgeoisie was again involving the whole world.

Dimitrov's report outlines to the communists of each country the task of fighting wholeheartedly against the effects of the anti-popular measures of the bourgeoisie—an indispensable means of preventing Fascism and world war—and the task of preventing the coalition of imperialist powers against the USSR. The Popular Front had to be in each country the tool to create these two tasks.

What were the results of the application of this line? The USSR led by the CPSU headed by Stalin took advantage of the contradictions within the imperialist bourgeoisie and prevented that the coalition of imperialist powers was consolidated around Nazi Germany. The work of the CI and the USSR could not avoid world war, but brought France, Great Britain and even the USA to take sides against the Fascist axis composed by Germany, Italy and Japan. The French, British and US imperialist groups, as long as Nazi Germany marched towards the aggression of the Soviet Union, had allowed Nazi Germany to rearm itself, to occupy Austria and Czechoslovakia and to extend its influence throughout Eastern Europe including Poland and the Scandinavian and Baltic countries and even in Spain. But in September 1939, when Germany instead of attacking the Soviet Union shares the Fascist Poland with USSR (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, August 13 1939), France and Great Britain only could declare war on Germany. Thus they began a new inter-imperialist war and when in June 1941 Germany launched the aggression to the USSR, the imperialist powers could no longer join it but they join forces with the USSR, even though [Great Britain and USA] fluttered until the end the possibility of a reversal of the alliances.

The USSR took over the Nazi-fascist aggression and promoted throughout Europe a wide armed mobilization of popular masses against Nazi-fascism (Resistance). The Red Army freed Germany from the Nazi army, in the countries of Eastern Europe People's Republics were formed, headed by

the forces that had guided the resistance to Nazi-fascist occupation, the anti-imperialist revolution of national liberation spread to Asia and Africa until the establishment of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to take such roots in Vietnam that neither France nor the US managed to eradicate. The prestige of the USSR and socialism became great all over the world. But in none of the imperialist countries the communist party established socialism and in Latin American and the Caribbean countries the revolutionary movements seize the power only in Cuba and in a less solid extent in Nicaragua. Thanks to the role played in single countries and all over the world by the conscious and organized communist movement, the popular masses of the colonial countries wrenched political independence and, in the imperialist countries, they wrenched great gains of civilization and well-being that only since the 70s the bourgeoisie has begun gradually to eat into.

What made all the communist parties of the imperialist countries powerless to establish socialism? Already Lenin in 1922 (Notes of a Publicist) pointed out that transforming “the old type of European parliamentary party—which in fact is reformist and only slightly tinted with revolutionary colours—into a new type of party, into a genuinely revolutionary, genuinely communist party” would be “a possible but extremely arduous one”. The CI tried to reach this purpose but neither “Bolshevization” (launched in the 5th Congress—1924) nor the Popular Front line made the necessary leap to the CPs of the imperialist countries, although rich in heroic fighters. What was missing in these parties was the ability, even of the most committed representatives to the cause of the socialist revolution, to translate the general line developed internationally into strategy and tactics aiming to the establishment of socialism in their own country. The limit was

not national, given that none of the CPs of the imperialist countries made the necessary leap. Maoism provides the key to understanding it.

Mao Zedong, an advocate of the Popular Front line that applied in the victorious leadership of the revolution in China, already in 1938 made it clear that the Communist Party of China (CPC) would not follow the policy “All through the front” declared by the French Communist Party regarding the implementation of the Popular Front line and also followed by Spanish, Italian and other countries CPs. Mao declares and explains that the CPC had to participate loyally and wholeheartedly in the anti-Japanese united front with the Kuomintang and all the forces that were mobilizing in the resistance to Japanese occupation, but that the CPC had to maintain its freedom of initiative to do also what the others Front organizations did not and give an example to those who wanted to contribute with more strength and to a level higher than the common struggle against Japanese occupation.

The bankruptcy implementation of the Popular Front line by the CPs of the imperialist countries is not due to the betrayal of some leaders, but to the limits not exceeded even by the best leaders of these parties in the understanding of the conditions of the class struggle and the form of the revolution socialist in the imperialist countries. What are these limits? The main ones are three and precisely deal with the trend of economic activities, the nature of political systems, the form of the socialist revolution:

1. nature of the economic crisis of imperialist societies (cyclical crisis or crisis due to absolute overproduction of capital, therefore crises that, even born from the economy, become general and have no solutions on economic ground like cyclical crises, but flows into political sphere: war is the solution of the last instance to which the imperialist bourgeoisie resorts to cope with the crisis;

2. nature of political regimes of imperialist countries (“bourgeois democracy” or regime of preventive counter-revolution: CI recognized and cope with terror regimes established by bourgeoisie, but it didn’t understand that regimes of “democratic” countries became regimes of preventive counter-revolution);

3. form of socialist revolution in the imperialist countries (a revolution that breaks out or popular revolutionary war: it was granted among CI’s parties that the working class would seize the power violently, but forms where gathering, training and accumulation of revolutionary forces would occur and the idea of a gradual and peaceful transition from capitalism to communism still smolder in the CPs of the imperialist countries and all this saw the light of the day after the 1956 turning point).

Using the lessons of the past to advance the socialist revolution today. The new general crisis of capitalism that began in the 70s of the last century entered 2008 in its stark and terminal stage. In each of the imperialist countries and internationally the political systems of the imperialist bourgeoisie are in crisis. Popular masses are tortured in all fields by the economic, social, environmental and health crisis. Their resistance to the effects of the crisis not yet directed by the communist movement is expressed in struggles, fronts and claiming groups, electoral or mixed. The Caravan of the (new)ICP is based on this resistance, supports these struggles. But in these ones we mainly aim to promote the formation of workers and popular organizations and we guide them to coordinate themselves and to oppose the measures of the bourgeois authorities until making impossible to the bourgeoisie to rule the country and force it to swallow the establishment of a government (we call it a People’s Bloc Government), formed by people who enjoy the trust of workers and popular organizations.

In some respects, a similar government will be

similar to Popular Front governments formed in the 1930s in Spain and France and the governments that arose in Italy and France from the victory of the resistance against Nazi-fascism. Also the line of clandestinity of (new)ICP and the link between two linked communist parties (the underground (n)ICP and the public CARC Party) that the Caravan of the (new)ICP implements is linked to the conception of the form of the socialist revolution and to the summation that we draw from the experience of the communist movement.

With the line of the People's Bloc Government, the Caravan of the (new)ICP aims 1. to the rebirth of the communist movement and 2. to the gathering of the working class and, in its wake, other classes of the popular masses, around the communist party. We do not aim to create an alternative to socialism nor an intermediate social system between capitalism and socialism: the establishment of the People's Bloc Government is a stage of the popular revolutionary war against the imperialist bourgeoisie that will end with the establishment of socialism. We pursue the two objectives of this stage starting from the conditions in which we find ourselves, that is: 1. the communist party has still very little followers and low influence between the working class and 2. the sincere but non-communist opponents (the bourgeois left) of the Grand Coalition has more followers and influence than the communists among the most popular masses. With the People's Bloc Government line we aim to create a situation in which the sincere but non-communist opponents of the Grand Coalition rule the country on behalf of the organized popular masses, against the Grand Coalition and in general against the institutions of the International Community of US imperialists, Zionists and Europeans (NATO, EU, etc.).

The People's Bloc Government line learns a lesson from the limits with which the Popular Front line was applied by CPs in imperialist countries, in the

sense that it answers to three problems that they left unsolved:

- how to move from struggles and protests to a socialist government;
- how to use for revolutionary purposes the situations in which the ruling class, due to the escalation of the crisis and popular mobilization, is unable to keep the continuity of its political system (of the government, of the guidance of the public administration, etc.) and is forced to give up, adopting the government solution that is possible for the bourgeoisie;
- what purpose we have to set regarding the bourgeois state and the functions it performs in imperialist countries (that is how we concretely apply the slogan "the bourgeois state must be overthrown, it does not change").

Claims, complaints and protests are indispensable and useful to raise the resistance and struggles of the popular masses, but we must guide them towards a goal of power, i.e. towards the establishment of their own government and creating the conditions to be able to take advantage of them and coming to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In certain moments it is possible to the communist party to enter the palace of power: you have to enter, rely on the organized forces of the popular masses and their mobilization to throw out saboteurs and die-hard and gain further positions of power in order to put the ruling class with its back to the wall: either he gives everything up or, rather than giving everything up, it resorts to the civil war and its foreign allies.

This is the conclusion to be drawn from participation to Popular Front governments and, in Italy, to the National Liberation Committee's governments during the first wave of the proletarian revolution. As for Italy, in 1944-1947 the ICP and the progressive parties belonging to the National Liberation Committee rightly entered the government. The error lays in the fact that they

did not benefit from it to gain further positions of power, to purge the state structure, to change the currency, to take the reconstruction of the economic system in their hand, etc. It's not a matter that they couldn't do it: they didn't even propose it. Instead, they adapted to the measures that the bourgeoisie pushed the government to take. This is why at the end of the day the participation in the government helped the ruling class to overcome its difficult moment and, once the situation was taken up, it threw out the communist parties from the government or they adapted and transformed.

At the same time, the communist line to seize power and "to overthrow the bourgeois state" must take into account the functions currently carried out by the state. The state, in Italy and in other imperialist countries, is not the state of the pre-imperialist stage (the one Marx and Engels dealt with) or Russia of 1917 (the one Lenin dealt with).

In imperialist countries it performs much wider functions: it is the owner of a public economy sector, it manages vast services (education, health, waste disposal, networks, transport, etc.), chairs the management of the monetary, banking system and most of the economic system, has a public administration (which in Italy is made up of 5.1 million employees and more in the total of 25 million workers).

The best representatives, groups and organizations of the conscious and organized communist movement of our country aspire to a "strong and with clear ideas" communist party. The experience showed that a communist party becomes strong all the more it has the right and clear ideas. So the fundamental thing is that it has right and clear ideas.

The interests of the popular masses contrast more and more with what the bourgeoisie tries to make them do, with the ideas that it tries to promote among them, with the feelings it tries to

arouse in them. We the communists must bring the masses to have a conduct accordingly with their own interests and gradually promote ideas and feelings corresponding to their own interests. The socialist revolution is not spontaneous. It is up to us the communists to learn to progress it. The rebirth of the communist movement, in particular of the communist movement of the imperialist countries, is the decisive factor: it is the factor that determines the times of the transformation that will end the disaster in which the imperialist bourgeoisie is sinking humanity. Or by promoting the proletarian revolution we put an end to the war or taking advantage of the development of the war we accelerate the proletarian revolution.



# The Significance of Stalin's Work and Deed in The 21st Century

Miloš Karavezić | New Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Serbia)

Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili Stalin, one of the classics of the scientific Marxism and the former leader of the Soviet Union, died more than 70 years ago. Despite that, his works and legacy are widely debated even today, which is a proof that, even in contemporary times, his figure represents great inspiration for his supporters, but also big fear and resentment for those who reject his deeds and struggle. For some, especially those who adhere to the propaganda of the enemies of the working class, his name is still a synonym with controversy, while those whose main task is to spread lies about the history, but also about current struggles and developments, see him as nothing more than a criminal and murderer.

In this text we will not engage in defending the life and work of comrade Stalin—this is a task that has been successfully fulfilled numerous times by large number of sincere and hardworking comrades. Instead, we will focus on explaining focal points of his theoretical and practical work, with the main goal of drawing conclusions that can help us in our current struggle against imperialism and capitalism, for socialism.

The complete understanding of Stalin is not possible without considering Lenin's theoretical and practical contributions. During his life, Stalin was Lenin's closest collaborator, and after Lenin's death, it was Stalin who continued his policies. Both Stalin and Lenin lived and worked in an era of imperialism, which was new to capitalism at that time. Both worked on creating a communist party as a disciplined and educated vanguard of the working class, fighting against both right and left opportunistic currents and "theories" that, in their own way, vulgarized Marxism. Both drew conclusions from the failed 1905 revolution, and based on those conclusions, sound theoretical foundations, and proper tactics, they succeeded in carrying out the Great October Socialist Revolution

and establishing the first proletarian state in the world.

From this period, particularly important are Stalin's discussions against anarchism ("Anarchism or Socialism"), as well as his contribution to clarifying the national question, that is, the relationship communists should have towards various national liberation movements for the purpose of carrying out the socialist revolution ("Marxism and the National Question").

Since Lenin died in 1924, less than two years after the founding of the USSR, it can be considered that the task of building socialism in the USSR was entrusted to Stalin by the Party. At that moment, the communists found themselves in new, unprecedented conditions—for the first time in human history, the proletariat had taken and defended power in a country, which required addressing new practical challenges in managing the economy. Contrary to what anarchists believe, the revolution does not abolish different classes—they continue to exist and to fight for their own interests, threatening the young and, in terms of productive forces and relations of production, still underdeveloped Soviet republic.

The significance of Stalin's leadership lies precisely in his ability to recognize the level of development of productive forces and, based on that, determine the tactics of the communists in the ongoing class struggle. Just as before the revolution, Stalin understood that it was necessary for the proletariat to make temporary alliances with various classes to remove the immediate threat to Soviet power. Stalin knew, for example, that an alliance with the peasantry (including kulaks) was essential to defeat landowners and large capitalists—however, he also correctly identified the moment when the kulaks, from allies, turned into enemies, and he skillfully exploited the class stratification in the countryside, creating an alliance between the proletariat and

small and medium peasants against the kulaks. The very construction of socialism, in the conditions of the USSR's industrial underdevelopment and its devastation after the war, required a temporary retreat before the capitalist class and the introduction of the NEP (New Economic Policy). Stalin correctly assessed how far to go with this retreat and when it was necessary to launch an "offensive" and begin the final confrontation with the remnants of capitalism, both in the countryside and in the city.

Building socialism in such conditions resulted in rich experiences that are still applicable today. Although the development of productive forces and relations between different classes vary from country to country, and especially from era to era, the tactics Stalin employed should serve as inspiration for the construction of modern socialist societies. It is important, however, to avoid the mistake made by some "vulgar" communists, which is simply copying Stalin's tactics without analysis and creative application of what is essential in Stalin's work.

What must not be overlooked is Stalin's role in the victory over the greatest evil the world has ever seen—Nazism. We will not go into great detail about the industrialization of the USSR and its preparation for the war against Nazism—it is part and logical continuation of the struggle for the construction of socialism that Stalin led from the introduction of the NEP, which intensified especially after 1929 with the beginning of the implementation of the five-year plans. Instead, we will focus on what was, tactically, the focal point of the anti-fascist struggle, and that is the policy of the Popular Front.

The significance of the Popular Front policy lies precisely in identifying the main enemy of the proletariat, which in the 1930s was fascism. The communists, led by Stalin, correctly understood that the world proletariat would be defeated if it simultaneously waged war against liberal capitalism and its more extreme form, Nazi fascism. Instead, a temporary alliance was formed both internationally, with liberal democracies like the USA and Great Britain, and nationally in many countries, where communists fought against fascism alongside social-democratic, democratic, and sometimes even conservative anti-fascist parties.

The victory over fascism is itself proof of the correctness of this policy. Its correctness is further confirmed by the fact that after World War II, socialist revolutions succeeded in a large number of countries in Eastern Europe and Asia. Stalin, however, was aware that victory over fascism did not mean the end of the war against the bourgeoisie—on the contrary, he continued the class struggle in the conditions of the Cold War, in a situation where two camps—imperialist and anti-imperialist—clashed.

Modern communists can draw many lessons from how Stalin fought against fascism. The situation, however, changed after World War II, so today the main enemy of working people is imperialism, while fascist movements around the world are almost entirely subordinated to imperialist interests. Today, the main struggle is against imperialism and neo-colonialism, while the fight against fascism, racism, xenophobia, patriarchy, or climate change cannot be waged separately from the fight against the main enemy. Only under the banner of the fight against imperialism can communists lead all the oppressed masses and, at the decisive moment, carry out a socialist revolution. Communists today will achieve the same successes as Stalin, but in the new and more developed conditions.

This text is far too short to fully honor the work and character of the great Joseph Stalin. For decades, billions of working people have found inspiration in Stalin for their struggle, despite the heaps of filth his enemies have cast upon his grave. It is encouraging to know that the winds of history will sweep away all the slander from Stalin's name. However, for us communists, the most practically important task is not merely defending Stalin as such, but recognizing and applying what is essential in his work—what can help us in our struggle today. This task is by no means easy, especially in a situation where many opportunists adorn themselves with Stalin's name, but it is crucial for the success of the proletarian revolution in the future. We are confident that participants in conferences like this will greatly facilitate this task, and that the shared exchange of views and experiences will strengthen the anti-imperialist and communist movement, bringing us one step closer to victory.



# Hold High the Immortal Banner of Marxism-Leninism!

Christopher Helali | American Communist Party (USA)

Comrades,

Once more, we find ourselves on the brink of the abyss. The ongoing war drive of the US-EU-NATO imperialists has immiserated millions of people around the world. The imperialists are unleashing war in Ukraine, in Palestine, in Lebanon, and the risks are great for war in East Asia and the Pacific. In the Kursk region of Russia, German tanks burn today as they did over 80 years ago. In Gaza, Palestinians are being slaughtered in a genocide unleashed by the Zionists with the support of the US-EU-NATO imperialist axis. As I write this, the Zionist state has launched a barbaric bombing campaign against Lebanon.

It is at this precise moment that the past calls to us. A specter is haunting the anti-imperialist movement—the specter of Stalin. Now more than ever the inspiring words of Stalin to the Soviet people commemorating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on November 7, 1941, echo through history.

*Comrades, men of the Red Army and Red Navy, commanders and political instructors, men and women guerillas, the whole world is looking to you as the force capable of destroying the plundering hordes of German invaders. The enslaved peoples of Europe who have fallen under the yoke of the German invaders look to you as their liberators. A great liberating mission has fallen to your lot. Be worthy of this mission! The war you are waging is a war of liberation, a just war. Let the manly images of our great ancestors—Alexander Nevsky, Dimitry Donskoy, Kuzma Minin, Dimitry Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov—inspire you in this war! May the victorious banner of the*

*great Lenin be your lodestar!*<sup>[1]</sup>

Once more the grandchildren of the Nazi invaders are plunging Europe into a third world war. Russia today defends itself against the full weight of the US-EU-NATO imperialist axis. The Axis of Resistance in West Asia resists the onslaught by the Zionists backed by the Western imperialists. The DPRK and China resist the aggression of the United States and its regional allies and puppets in East Asia and the Pacific. The peoples of Venezuela, Cuba, and Nicaragua continue to struggle for their people against brutal sanctions and blockades. African nations like Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger are rising up against their neo-colonial rulers and pursuing a new path of development.

The global order of US hegemony is collapsing before our very eyes. Yet, victory is not guaranteed in the nuclear age. Only a strong, vibrant, and mass anti-imperialist movement can turn the tide of war and bring about the political transformation we need for peace, friendship, and socialism-communism.

The American Communist Party, true to the historical legacy of comrade Stalin, understands the importance of uniting forces that are dedicated to anti-imperialism and anti-fascism. This means building truly popular fronts that bring together forces that are outside the communist tradition. It means staying true to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and not giving in to liberalism, ultra-leftism, and right opportunism. We honor the millions of lives that were sacrificed to rid the world of the scourge of fascism during the Great Patriotic War. Millions answered the call during that sacred war. Once more, we must all answer the call.

The American Communist Party sends its revolutionary greetings and solidarity to this international conference on the work of comrade Stalin. We send our greetings to our comrades in CARC, the Popular Resistance Milan, the Stalin Association, the World Anti-Imperialist Platform, and all comrades and parties participating. We hope this conference is very successful and we salute you all.

Down with Imperialism, Fascism, and Zionism!

Long Live Comrade Stalin!

Long Live the Great Anti-Fascist Victory of the Peoples!

Victory the Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist Forces!

Socialism or Death!

## **Notes**

[1] J. V. Stalin, "Speech at the Red Army Parade on the Red Square, Moscow," November 7, 1941, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1941/11/07.htm>.

# Stalin's Antifascist Line to Victory in World War 2

Stephen Cho | Coordinator of the Korean International Forum

September 29, 2024

Practice is the criterion for truth and the driving force of theory development. The truth of revolution cannot be discussed without practice. Ideological and theoretical achievements are, in other words, revolutionary practical achievements.

The situation of World War 3 has shed new light on the historical experience of World War 2. Unlike World War 1, which was an inter-imperialist war, World War 2 was an antifascist war. It began as an inter-imperialist war but was transformed into an antifascist war when fascist Germany invaded the socialist Soviet Union. One of Stalin's great achievements was to bring the imperialist US and UK into the antifascist camp, which gave him superiority in forces and isolated the fascist camp, eventually resulting in its defeat. This is why Stalin's achievement cannot be left out when discussing the victory of the antifascist forces in World War 2.

The theory of the united front originated from Marx's theory of the worker-peasant alliance, which resulted from reviewing the historical lessons of the Paris Commune. It developed into Lenin's theory of the Soviet of workers, poor peasants, and soldiers through the historical experience of the Russian Revolution, and was developed into the theory of the antifascist front through the experience of the Popular Front in France just before World War 2 and the historical speech at the 7th World Congress of the Comintern. It was later newly deepened into the theory of the national united front and the theory of the national democratic front, reflecting the experience of national liberation revolutions and national democratic revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies, including Korea and China. Although these united fronts have different forms,

they all have the same principle: to promote the victory of the revolution by strengthening the independent identity of the revolutionary forces of the working class, bringing the intermediate forces into line, and isolating the counter-revolutionary forces.

One of the decisive differences between the revolutionary ideology of the working class and opportunist ideologies such as Trotskyism lies in the united front theory. Trotsky's dogmatic theory of the workers' united front was the most dangerous opportunist theory that committed the typical errors of "Leftist" closed-door policy, denied the revolutionary principles of the theory of united front, and caused the division of the revolutionary forces.

The most important organizational line for the revolutionary forces of the working class during World War 3 is the line of anti-imperialist united front. Inheriting the revolutionary essence of the antifascist united front during World War 2 and innovating on it to meet today's conditions, the anti-imperialist united front is a revolutionary and scientific line that can strengthen the capacities of the revolutionary forces of the working class, boost the intermediate forces, and isolate and divide the counter-revolutionary forces.

Imperialism and fascism are closely related but distinct. Historically, monopoly capital has used two ways of domination over the people: social democracy and fascism. It is no coincidence that both coexisted in Europe on the eve of World War 2. The UK chose social democracy because it was able to placate the middle class with superprofits exploited from colonies, and Germany just chose fascism because it was suffering from extreme

inflation after losing World War 1. It is in the same vein that Hitler's Nazi party switched from social-democracy to fascism. Imperialism, as an external expression, concerns a system in which a monopoly capitalist country colonizes other countries to extract superprofits. In other words, imperialism is the external system of monopoly capitalism, and fascism is one of the basic political methods of monopoly capital. Therefore, the war between the UK, a social-democracy country, and Germany, a fascist country, at the beginning of World War 2 was an imperialist war like World War 1. However, the nature of the war changed when Germany attacked the socialist Soviet Union.

This historical truth does not change, even though extreme Trotskyists maliciously distort and define the Soviet Union as "state capitalism" in an attempt to deny the nature of the antifascist war. We must heighten our vigilance against opportunistic theories that dilute the essence of the situation and cause division among revolutionary forces under the pretext of opposing capitalism. Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism" during World War 1 has re-emerged in today's World War 3 in the form of the "imperialist pyramid theory" by the Communist Party of Greece. The same opportunistic organizational line of the "Leftist" closed-door policy, committed by Trotsky during World War 2, is now being inherited by the Communist Party of Greece, repeating the same mistakes in today's World War 3. According to the "imperialist pyramid theory" that the Communist Party of Greece is spreading within the international communist movement, the war in Ukraine is a war between imperialist powers, and all theories of united fronts, such as the anti-imperialist front theory, national liberation revolution theory, and national democratic revolution theory, are denied. The fact that the absurd opportunist theory that defines socialist countries like the DPRK and Cuba as "state capitalist" is still prevalent within the international

communist movement reaffirms the importance of the ideological struggle against opportunism.

Today, in World War 3, the country that has the most thorough socialist principles, the DPRK, the country of socialism with Chinese characteristics, China, and the country with socialist heritage, Russia, form a leading force of the anti-imperialist camp. Compared to the differences between the countries in the antifascist camp—the socialist state, the Soviet Union, and the imperialist states, the US and UK—during World War 2, the differences between the countries in anti-imperialist camp—today's socialist states, the DPRK and China, and capitalist Russia with socialist heritage—in the anti-imperialist camp during World War 3 are far smaller. In fact, for political reasons, Russia's ruling party and government still highly revere Stalin, who led the victory in World War 2, as a great generalissimo. Although the ruling party and oligarchy in Russia cannot be divided, when Russia fights a vital struggle against imperialist forces in the ongoing anti-imperialist war, allying with the socialist countries, including the most thorough socialist country, DPRK, there is no doubt that favorable objective conditions will be created to strengthen the revolutionary forces of the working class and deepen the consciousness of the middle class for independence. However, these changes in the situation are only objective conditions, and whether they actually strengthen the revolutionary forces and weaken the counter-revolutionary forces depends entirely on what role the revolutionary forces of the working class play. This is essentially the same as Lenin's experience of using the war waged by the Russian empire during World War 1 as a decisive moment for revolution.

In today's anti-imperialist camp, in addition to the leading forces of military powers in all aspects, both advanced and conventional, such as the DPRK, China, and Russia, the world's anti-imperialist forces, including the "Axis of Resistance" such as

Iran, form the auxiliary forces. It would be a clear error of the “Leftist” closed-door policy not to include armed anti-imperialist forces in the anti-imperialist camp just because they believe in Islam rather than socialist ideology. In fact, Russia, China, and the DPRK have long maintained and developed strategic relations with the “Axis of Resistance,” including Iran, which are now deepening.

The storm of World War 3, instigated by imperialists, is now blowing from East Europe through West Asia (the Middle East) to the Western Pacific. The imperialist camp is expanding the war from East Europe to West Asia, and is not hiding a ploy, when the wars in the “Republic of Korea (ROK) and Taiwan break out, to expand these wars into the war in East Asia involving Japan and the Philippines and the war in the Western Pacific involving Australia and New Zealand. The Washington NATO Summit Declaration in July 2024 and this summer’s intensive war exercises in the Pacific, such as the “RIMPAC,” confirm that the “Pacificization of NATO” is nearing completion. The prospect that East Asia and the Western Pacific will be the main battlefields of World War 3 is unfortunate but true.

Imperialism has always been the cause of wars over the past 100 years and its aggressive nature will never disappear until it is destroyed. The war in Ukraine began with the Maidan coup in 2014, not the Russian Special Military Operation in 2022, and the war in West Asia including Palestine, began with the Israeli Zionist occupation of Palestine, from 1948 not the operation of Hamas’ “Al Aqsa Flood” operation in 2023. The imperialist powers are insidiously carrying out a widespread Goebbelsian-style propaganda campaign to blame the anti-imperialist camp for the wars that they themselves started by creating the conflicts underpinning the wars followed by constant provocation. But as can be seen through the logical contradiction between the anti-Russian propaganda

and the pro-Israeli propaganda, the limitation is obvious. Rather, favorable conditions are being created for the international communist movement to lead the pro-Russian and anti-Israel public to unite in a single anti-imperialist camp.

Just like the fight against fascism in World War 2, the fight against imperialism in World War 3 is today’s greatest cause. Under this greatest cause, all anti-imperialist forces, including socialist and national liberation forces, are united in a single camp, which is the path to victory. As the war against imperialism intensifies, the ideological battle will intensify against the opportunist forces that serve imperialism, and in this process, the international communist movement will be strengthened and will develop to a new stage.

One of the most important tasks for us will always be to inherit the revolutionary essence of the historical experience of the revolution and to apply it creatively to our time. The dialectic of practice and theory is an eternal issue for revolutionary forces. As the history of the victory in World War 2 shows, the final victory of the communist movement and the anti-imperialist camp, which advance with scientific conviction, is certain.

# The logic of history of the interaction between morality and politics

**Victor Alexeyevich Vaziulin**

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Morality and politics are two spheres of the life of society.

Society is a developing "organic" whole. The organic whole differs from the mechanical patchwork in that within the organic whole, the internal (and not the external) congruence is prevalent, the internal interaction of its sides, its spheres, and so on.

Fully developed internal interaction is an interaction in which the interacting aspects not only necessarily presuppose each other, but also give rise to each other as something else, as something different from each of them.

External interaction is an interaction in which the interacting sides do not transform each other, do not necessarily develop each other.

Society as a developing whole, in its past and present state, progresses through a series of stages. Similarly, during the diagnosis, in the reflective interpretation of society's history, we can discern a series of stages.

There are three major eras in the diagnosis, in the reflection of society, of the whole past and present history of humanity. The first era is the era of the commixed<sup>[1]</sup> perception of society (and not only of society, but also of nature). The most characteristic feature of this era was expressed

by the greatest thinker of antiquity, Heraclitus: "Everything flows, and nothing remains the same".

However, chaos prevailed in the process of diagnosing the universal movement, the universal change, although in this chaos there were "islands" of perceptions, and even concepts.

The second great era in terms of the perception of society and the diagnosis of nature, any kind of diagnosis in general, was the era of the dissection of individual things and objects, of their fragmentary study.

This has led to the dominance of analysis in the cognitive process.

The transition from the prevalence of the commixed and chaotic cognitive process to the prevalence of the analytical cognitive process represented a major advancement in the development of the cognitive process in general, including the process of thinking.

During this period, however, an important historical limitation of the cognitive process and of thinking emerged: the absolutisation of analysis.

This limitation is due to the limitation of the development of society. As long as people could not determine the future of the development of society and of knowledge, of thinking, they regarded their present state of society and of knowledge, of thinking, as basically non transient.

This era, with its achievements and historical limitations, still persists today, although the conditions for the transition to the third era of the development of knowledge and thinking have already emerged and are developing. The third of the great eras of the development of knowledge and thinking, including the diagnosis and reflection of society, is a kind of return to the first era, but it



takes place in the light of the achievements of the second, predominantly analytical era.

There is a “return” to perception, to the understanding that “everything flows”, but now on the basis of the study of separate things, separate objects. At the same time, it is necessary to overcome the historical limitations of one-dimensional analytical knowledge, while preserving its achievements.

In other words, the era of synthetic knowledge, of thinking based on the sum of the separate concrete sciences, is dawning and has already partially dawned, but has not yet prevailed. This knowledge, this way of thinking, will indeed contain analysis as its necessary “organic” moment<sup>[2]</sup>, but an analysis without its absolutisation. This method of cognition, of thinking, is none other than the method of conscious modern dialectics. In this way, the internal link, the internal interaction in its unity with the external link, with the external interaction, is brought to the fore.

I approach the study of the interaction of morality and politics with the attitude of the conscious dialectical method of thinking, which is characteristic of the third of the aforementioned eras of the development of knowledge and thinking.<sup>[3]</sup>

In the light of this approach, the interaction between morality and politics has passed through a series of stages in the past and present history of humanity.

In fact, it is not only the one or the other manifestation of morality, the one or the other manifestation of politics, the one or the other manifestation of the interaction between morality and politics that changes, but also morality in itself, the very concept of morality in itself, politics in itself, the very concept of politics in itself, the interaction between morality and politics in itself, the very concept of the interaction between morality and politics in itself.

This does not mean, of course, that the universal moments are absent from everything we have listed. But universal moments are internally intertwined with the specific and the unitary.

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Given that morality and politics are spheres, aspects of the life of society, it follows that an understanding of them and of their interaction depends necessarily on an understanding of society and its history. A fundamental condition, and indeed a decisive one for the direction of the entire past and present history of humanity, which emerged naturally from nature, was the need to satisfy those biological needs which are necessary for life (food, protection from adverse or dangerous conditions, defence against attack, and so on). As humans became more and more distinct from the rest of nature, from the rest of the animal world, they learned to use natural means, given by nature in a ready-made form, to satisfy their biologically necessary needs. Then they increasingly moved on to processed, we might say man-made, artificial means, to means of production per se, although the means of foraging [hunting, gathering, fishing, mining, extraction of minerals], in no way disappeared, but were preserved to one degree or another and are still preserved to this day.

With the development of the means of foraging and the means of production, human beings have been and are increasingly able to satisfy their biologically necessary needs. However, humanity has not yet reached such a level of development of the means of foraging and production as to be able to optimally satisfy the biologically necessary needs of all human beings, or at least of the majority of human beings. Therefore, throughout history, past and present, a struggle for survival, for biological existence, has been and is being waged among human beings.



The struggle for the satisfaction of biologically necessary needs inevitably presupposes the mutual separation of human beings. In the course of this struggle, various associations may arise in order to safeguard the possibilities of satisfying the biologically necessary needs of some human beings or to increase these possibilities at the expense of other human beings.

And since the possibilities of satisfying biologically necessary needs are primarily determined by the means of foraging and production (in the broad sense, this includes the conditions of foraging and production), it follows that the main element that determines the possibilities of satisfying biologically necessary needs is the disposition of the means of foraging and production.

It is the disposition of the means of foraging and production that is the main element for the sake of which individual human beings, or various associations of human beings, strive to satisfy their biologically necessary needs.

If the means of foraging and the means of production of a society do not allow the members of that society to secure more than the minimum necessary for their subsistence, then in that society the seizure/appropriation by any part of society of a share of those available [goods] which satisfy the biologically necessary needs will simply lead to the death of that society.

The existence of such groups, associations of a part of society which live partly or entirely through the seizure-appropriation of a part of the consumable objects of other people, becomes possible when the means of foraging and the means of production allow the acquisition of objects for consumption in excess of the minimum necessary for subsistence.

In the history of humanity, the period from the moment when the means of foraging and the means of production begin to permit the acquisition of objects for consumption in excess of

the absolute minimum necessary for subsistence, to the moment when the means of foraging and the means of production permit the acquisition of objects for consumption sufficient for the optimal satisfaction of the biologically necessary needs of each member of society, is regarded as the period during which the biologically necessary needs are satisfied, but not satisfied in the optimal way. This is the period in which not only the struggle between individuals, but also the struggle between groups and associations for the necessary objects for consumption is necessary. During this period, the existence of separate individuals, groups and associations is necessary, which concentrate the distribution of the means of foraging and production in their own hands, depriving other individuals, other groups and associations of it, and thus living at the expense of these other individuals, other groups and associations.

Politics, as a relatively independent sphere, begins to become distinct when, and as long as, the means of production and foraging arise which are sufficient to provide objects of consumption beyond the absolute minimum necessary for subsistence. And it continues to exist as a relatively independent sphere, as politics per se, until society arrives at a system in which every one of its members has the real possibility of optimally satisfying their biologically necessary needs.

Until then, politics per se will continue to exist, and its crucial, fundamental and decisive question will be this: who and how will have the means of foraging and production at their disposal as long as the unequal (formally equal from the point of view of the law, but actually unequal) relation to the means of foraging and production of the various people, groups and other associations, is necessary. In other words, the fundamental question of politics per se, as a relatively independent sphere, is the question of the existence of private property in the means of foraging and production, a question

which necessarily presupposes the existence of an unequal relation of all members of society to the distribution of the means of foraging and production, and therefore also to the distribution of the objects of consumption.

Since politics is the condensed expression of the human struggle for real opportunities, for the real means of satisfying their animalistic, biologically necessary needs, it follows that perceptions, thoughts, feelings, etc. of a social, purely human character are not the central element [within it]. Therefore, in the case of a grievance, in politics per se, the goal is achieved by any means. This is the politics of self-interest. And other conditions remaining unchanged, the more relentless the struggle for human survival, the more often and the more easily, more or less consciously, political goals are achieved by any means.

However, all of the above ceases to apply in full during the period of transition of society to such a stage, during which the possibilities for the transition to the optimal satisfaction of the biologically necessary needs of each member of society are being formed.

We can divide the whole history of humanity into two eras: the prehistory of the authentic history of humanity and the authentic history of humanity.

It is precisely the struggle for biological survival, the impossibility of foraging and producing the quantity and quality of conditions and objects of consumption necessary for the optimal satisfaction of the biological needs of all members of society, that characterises the prehistoric era of the authentic history of humanity. It is the development of foraging, and above all, of production, that constitutes over time the possibilities of transition to the authentic history of humanity. And during this transitional period, politics in itself changes accordingly. What then gradually comes to the fore, in contrast to earlier history, is not the conflict of interests, of radical, vital interests, but the

achievement of their inner unity. And then politics itself, as a relatively separate sphere of social life, begins to disappear.

At present, of course, politics dominates in the form that corresponds to the prehistory of the authentically human history of humanity.

Throughout human history, people have felt the need for unity and, moreover, have consciously realised it to varying degrees.

Throughout the prehistory of the authentically human history, the dominant tendency has been to bring people together for the sake of satisfying their biological needs. This is either a more or less civilised animal bond (such as sex), or a bond between self-interested individuals who wish to achieve their own self-interest through association.

In its general form, the principle that human beings should behave as mutually isolated and mutually associated in order to satisfy their own self-interest has been formulated as an imperative: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you”.

If we consider the meaning of this imperative, we can see that it expresses the relationship of equal exchange. And when this imperative is promoted as a universal principle of behaviour, it is nothing more than a reflection of the fact that commodity and monetary relations dominate in society.

In the field of exchange of commodities and money, people form bonds and relationships, they form a unity. But what kind of unity? What kind of relations? What kind of ties? The participants in the exchange of commodities and money are characterised by mutual isolation, both before and after the exchange. The only thing that interests each of them is their own need, while the one with whom they exchange is not interested in them per se, is not interested in them as human beings, but only in terms of whether and to what extent they can satisfy the need of the one with whom they exchange.

Therefore, this is indeed a union, a bond between human beings, but it is a union and a bond that are external to human beings, who are mutually bound by self-interest. If one of the transacting parties cannot satisfy the needs of the other with his money or his merchandise, the other becomes irrelevant, utterly useless to him.

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In addition to the dominant tendency in the prehistory of humanity, from the very beginning of the existence of humanity, there has existed and continues to exist another tendency, which could be called, to a certain extent, an opposite tendency. This is the tendency of the existence and development of internal bonds, internal relations between human beings as a unified whole.

The preconditions for this tendency already exist in the animal world. Such a precondition is “altruism”. It manifests itself, for example, in the nurturing of initially vulnerable and helpless offspring and in protecting them from attack to the point where the individuals who are parents, put themselves in mortal danger, even to their deaths, to save their young. Here, it is not the life of the individual in question that comes to the fore, but the life of the species as an inner need of the individual animal. In such cases, it is clear that what plays the most important role in the behaviour of the individual is not its own survival as a separate individual, but the necessity, manifested in and through its behaviour, of maintaining the life of the species (genus) as a whole.

When that level of development has been reached in which production (and foraging) makes possible the orderly satisfaction of the needs (of the members of society), over and above the very indispensable minimum of resources for subsistence, a differentiation of the interactions of human beings into external and internal takes

place. At the same time, a distinction is made between politics - as the distinct sphere of the predominantly external bonds between human beings (as the sphere of the predominantly external bond of human beings as human beings and as the predominantly external unity of human beings as human beings) - and morality, as the distinct sphere of the expression of the predominantly internal bonds between human beings.

Morality, in its capacity as a sphere relatively independent, among other things, of politics, can of course exist until the sphere of politics is relatively independent.

With the formation of humanity, the necessity of preserving the life of humanity, of humanity as a whole, is anything but extinguished. Moreover, the bond associated with this necessity constitutes the very inner bond of humanity as a whole.

The associations between people for the fulfilment of the necessary individual and specific [private], biologically necessary needs also constitute a certain unity of people, but [a unity that exists] through the external bond, through separation. It is a unity of the alienated that does not transcend alienation.

The inner bond, the inner unity of humanity as a whole, not only emerges primarily in its uniquely human historical form along with the emergence of humanity, but also continues to develop along with humanity, forming one of the necessary aspects of this development. The process of humanity’s conscious self-realisation takes place, to varying degrees and in varying forms, within morality, which over time has been distinguished as a relatively independent sphere.

Morality as a relatively self-contained sphere has arisen, exists and will continue to exist as long as there is a struggle between human beings for their biologically necessary needs, a struggle for their biological survival. And as long as the struggle for survival takes precedence over the need to preserve

the life of humanity as an internally unified whole, there will be a tendency to subordinate morality to politics, to use morality to serve politics, to use morality in a duplicitous way, to use morality in a hypocritical way, to impose the morality of the dominant strata, groups and classes in society on other strata, groups and classes.

In the period of human struggle for survival, people are inevitably divided, alienated and unable to act (and consciously realise society) as an internally unified whole governed by themselves. The forces created by society appear to them as unknowable, alien and often terrible, threatening and destructive. A society that exists as a unified, internally connected whole is seen by people as something alien, unknowable, and so on.

The morality that corresponds to this society is perceived as having no real basis, either internally or externally; they are projected as something that is externally self-evident to human beings and, with a certain degree of abstraction, as something absolute. Similarly, all moral principles are perceived as absolute, as independent of the actual history of humanity. In fact, all moral principles are historical, since they contain in their inner unity both the historically universal and the historically specific and unitary.

Take, for example, the following principle or commandment: “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” (Mark 12:31). One might say: is there any other way, apart from this commandment, which can further promote the establishment of the inner bond between human beings?

But let us look at this formulation. The starting point here is self-love, that is, the starting point is the individual. Therefore, it presupposes that the individual, by definition and primarily, is not internally united with other human beings. That is the first element. Secondly, it is also through love, that the person is brought into in a relationship of equal exchange with the other person. How can

one’s love for oneself be weighed and balanced against the love for one’s neighbour? Does not this principle reflect the world of exchange of equivalent commodities?

Morality will only be able to be realised as morality (as opposed to contemporary morality, which is to a considerable extent subordinated to politics, hypocritical, etc.) when and as long as internal unity dominates society, or, in other words, when society becomes fully an internally unified whole, when the struggle for survival has disappeared from the life of society. But then morality (and not only politics) will disappear. Morality, for the people of the future, will become something akin to fresh air, the presence of which they will not perceive. As long as this air exists, they will be breathing it continuously, without separating it to inhale it through different spheres.

At the present level of the development of production, it is becoming increasingly clear that if humanity does not reach its full degree of existence as an internally unified whole, if it does not make the transition to authentically human history, its death is inevitable.

## Notes

[1] Translation of the ancient Greek term Σύγκρασις, meaning “mixing together”

[2] A term originating from G. W. Hegel. An essential but partial aspect, a stage, a part of a whole.

[3] A more detailed elaboration of the above theoretical approach and methodology can be found in V.A. Vaziulin’s book “The Logic of History. Questions of Theory and Methodology”, which has not yet been translated into English. Apart from the original in Russian [Вазюлин В.А. - Логика истории. Вопросы теории и методологии], the book has also been translated into German: V. A. Vazjulin “Die Logik der Geschichte, Frage der Theorie und Methode”, and Greek (B. A. Βαζιούλιν «Η Λογική της Ιστορίας, Ζητήματα Θεωρίας και Μεθοδολογίας».

# Israel on the Brink of Collapse

Yeni Dönem Publishing (Turkey)

On 17th September, the Zionist state of Israel detonated the pagers used by the members of the Lebanese Hezbollah, which were pre-planted with explosives, and a day later, the same Zionist entity detonated the radio devices used by the members of Hezbollah. Dozens of soldiers, civilians and children were killed in these explosions, which brought the war in the Middle East, or better and more accurately in West Asia, to a new stage.

It would be better to say like this: “The Zionist entity which wants to take the war to a new stage, has blown up the pagers and radios used by everyone, military and civilian, in order to realise this aim. There is no doubt that this was an act of terrorism aimed at instilling fear.

Seeking answers to questions such as how the pagers and radios were detonated, who set them up, and how and at which stage explosives were planted inside them is the technical side of the matter. Dealing with this side of the matter no one will take a step forward from a political point of view. The important point is to seek an answer to the question of why Zionist Israel wants to take the war to a new stage and carry it to a wider geography.

It would be appropriate to start by recognising two points. First, Israel which has no roots, past, or historical reason for its existence, is an entity organised as a state. In an article written in 1979, the American writer James Baldwin writes the following:

“The state of Israel was not founded for the liberation of the Jews; it was founded for the liberation of the interests of the West (i.e. the imperialist-capitalist states)”

There is no reason to doubt the truth of this

statement. The terrorist state called Israel did not arise out of a struggle for the right of the Jewish people to self-determination. Nor was it born out of the aim of a nation to establish its own sovereign state. Neither a people’s struggle nor a nation’s struggle was behind the creation of this terrorist state.

Behind the establishment of the Zionist state was not the Jewish people, but British imperialism. The first step towards the founding of the present terrorist state was the Balfour Declaration of the British Empire. This historical fact shows how right the American writer James Baldwin was.

The second point, directly related to the first, is the question of Israel’s population structure. Since Israel was not founded by the uprising or struggle of a people or nation for self-determination, it did not have its own population at the beginning of its foundation. Almost the entire population of Israel was formed carrying Jews from various regions and countries worldwide. Zionists call this “aliyah”. When the State of Israel was declared in 1948, its population was about eight hundred thousand. In about seventy years, the population of Zionist Israel has increased tenfold to 8.6 million. This growth was not mainly the result of fertility but of immigration to the occupied Palestinian territories, encouraged and supported by the world bourgeoisie.

We come to the following important conclusion: The steady increase in the population is a condition of life for the Zionist state of Israel; it is a matter of existence or extinction. The proof of this is the panic of the Zionist circles after the “Aqsa Flood” war, when the so-called “settlers” from the north of Israel, bordering Lebanon, fled their homes for



fear of war. This point is the Achilles heel of Zionist Israel.

To prevent the worsening of weakness, the Zionist state and government leaders are trying to bring back the “settlers” in the north by any means necessary. In order to return the occupying, mostly fascist, population of so-called “settlers”, they want to drive back Hezbollah, which has settled in the south of Lebanon, and build a “safe zone” where so-called “settlers” can feel safe. Therefore, for the Zionist government, the war against Hezbollah and the Lebanese revolutionary forces is not a matter of choice, but of necessity.

This is the biggest dilemma of Zionist Israel. And this is the contradiction that will lead it to destruction. The war leads to the emigration of the population, on the other hand, there is no other way to bring them back but war. The population that fled from Zionist Israel with the last war is not limited to the “settlers” in the north. It was announced that six hundred thousand people fled/emigrated from all parts of Zionist Israel, especially Tel-Aviv, during the war. There are many reasons to believe that the real figure is much higher.

Since the population is a vital issue for the Zionists, during the 70s, the Jewish population living in Ethiopia, called “Beth-Israel” and often humiliatingly called “Falasha”, was secretly smuggled into the occupied territories. However, this was not a solution either. When the Beth-Israelis reached a certain number, ethnic conflicts broke out within Zionist Israel between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews and between the Jews of Beth-Israel.

The Zionists are trying to expand their territory through wars in order to find land to settle their population, which has increased tenfold in seventy years. This is the main reason why they are committing genocide against the Palestinian Arab people and trying to drive them out. It is an extremely shallow approach to attribute the

problem to whether Netanyahu or any other Zionist “politician” remains in the government or not. There is no other way for Zionist Israel to survive than to wage war and capture new and new territories. However, this war has become the most important factor in reducing the population it is trying to increase.

The reason is obvious. With the last war, Israel has reached a point where it is under fire from all sides and where the protection of the imperialist states is of little use. The war that started on 7th October last year was the longest in Israel’s history. Except for the 1948 war, all the wars that Zionist Israel fought ended within days, weeks or even a few months. However, the current war has completed its first year, and it is unpredictable when it will end.

By blowing up pagers and radios with so-called high technology, Zionist Israel is trying to make a show of force, to rebuild its deterrence with this show, and to create the myth of invincible and untouchable. It is trying to give its own people the feeling that they are safe. But all this is in vain. After all, no force can bring back those who fled from the north of the occupying state for fear of their lives. No force can convince the six hundred thousand people who fled (and those who continue to flee) to return.

Everyone understands this: Not only has Zionist Israel’s deterrence and the myth of its invincibility collapsed, but the protective umbrella of the imperialist states, especially US and British imperialism, has also become useless. The fighters of Yemen, who were humiliated as “slippers”, proved the uselessness of that umbrella.

The imperialist-capitalist system is collapsing. Small poodles cannot be expected to survive while this system collapses. Therefore, the collapse of the occupying state is now on everyone’s minds. Including the former Zionist Minister of War Benny Gantz!

# Which imperialism are we facing exactly?

Miguel Ángel | Unión Proletaria (Spain)

The multiform but joint aggression by the G-7 powers against Russia, Palestine, China, DPRK, Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, Mali, Niger, SADR, etc., is evidence of the concrete reality of imperialism today. It is no longer characterized by a struggle between powers to dominate the world, as was the case with the imperialism of the first half of the 20th century. Now, the Third World War in gestation is characterized by a struggle of all those powers together to preserve or regain their domination and exploitation of the rest of the world. The World Anti-Imperialist Platform has refuted the absurdities of labeling non-oppressor countries and socialist countries as imperialist (the “imperialist pyramid theory” and the “theory of social-imperialism”). In the present article, we will deal with how the substantial change in the development of imperialism occurred whereby the capitalist powers were forced to move from struggle to collusion among themselves. This will help us to understand why the present European governments are sacrificing the immediate particular interests of their countries for the benefit of the United States of America.

For this purpose, it is necessary to recall the enlightening analysis that Zhdanov presented to the First Conference of the Information Bureau (Kominform) in 1947, on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union when it was led by Comrade Stalin<sup>[1]</sup>.

The Second World War, which was “in itself a product of the inequality of capitalist development in the different countries—further intensified this inequality. Of all the capitalist powers, only one—the United States—emerged from the war not only not weakened, but even considerably stronger economically and militarily. The war greatly enriched the U.S. capitalists.”

The end of the war “confronted the United States

with a series of new problems. The capitalist monopolies were anxious to maintain their profits at the previous high level and consequently pressed hard to avoid a reduction in the volume of wartime deliveries. But this meant that the United States had to retain the foreign markets which had absorbed American products during the war and, in addition, acquire new markets, inasmuch as the war had substantially reduced the purchasing power of most countries. The financial and economic dependence of these countries on the United States had also increased.”

The United States used its military and economic power, “not only to retain and consolidate the positions gained abroad during the war, but also to expand them to the maximum and replace Germany, Japan and Italy in the world market.”

“The sharp decline in the economic power of the other capitalist states” enabled Washington ‘to speculate on their post-war economic difficulties’ and “to bring these countries under American control.”

The United States embarked on a “frankly predatory and expansionist course,” carrying out a “broad program of military, economic and political measures, designed to establish U.S. political and economic domination in all countries destined for U.S. expansion, to reduce these countries to the status of satellites of the United States.”

This frankly expansionist program of the United States was the successor to the program of the “fascist powers, which, as we know, also bid for world supremacy.”

Washington justified its “feverish accumulation of armaments, the construction of new military bases and the creation of bridgeheads for U.S. armed forces in all parts of the world... on the false and self-righteous grounds of ‘defense’ against an imaginary threat of war from the USSR.” Today it



also justifies its military expansionism by accusing Russia and China of being a threat.

Since even before the end “of World War II, they set to work to build a hostile front against the USSR and world democracy, and to encourage reactionary anti-popular forces,” as well as to protect and use for their purposes the cadres of the defeated Nazi-fascist powers.

The Cold War anti-communist campaign led “to attacks on the fundamental rights and interests of the American working people, to the fascistization of American political life, and to the spread of the wildest and most misanthropic ‘theories’ and visions,” such as McCarthyism.

“Obsessed with the idea of preparing for a new, a third world war, American expansionist circles” did their utmost to stifle any possible resistance to military adventures abroad, poisoning politically backward and ignorant minds ‘with the virus of chauvinism and militarism’, and stunning the average citizen with the help of all the various propaganda media: cinema, radio, church and press; media to which today we must add the internet and social networks.

“The expansionist foreign policy inspired and directed by the American reactionaries envisages simultaneous action on all fronts:

1. Strategic military measures,
2. Economic expansion, and
3. Ideological struggle (defense of bourgeois pseudo-democracy and condemnation of communism as totalitarian).

Thus, the “expenditure on the American army and navy” in 1947-48 was eleven times greater than in 1937-38; and, since then, it has multiplied<sup>[2]</sup>. “At the outbreak of World War II, the U.S. Army was the seventeenth largest in the capitalist world”; by 1947, it was already the first.” The United States was not only accumulating stockpiles of atomic bombs, but was already preparing bacteriological weapons.

Economic expansion was “an important complement to the realization of the U.S. strategic plan.”

It took advantage of “the post-war difficulties of

the European countries, particularly because of shortages of raw materials, fuel and food in the Allied countries that suffered most from the war, to impose exorbitant terms on any assistance given to them.”

Driven by the economic crisis of 1947-50, the United States was in a hurry to find new monopolistic spheres of capital investment and markets for its goods. U.S. economic “assistance” pursued “the general aim of making Europe the slave of American capital. The more drastic the economic situation of a country, the harsher the terms which the American monopolies are determined to dictate to it.”

Inspired by the profitability of the Dawes Plan (1924-29) after World War II, the U.S. imperialists have become accustomed to “assisting” countries in difficulty in exchange for stripping them of “every vestige of independence. American ‘assistance’ almost automatically implies a change in the political line of the country to which it lends: the parties and individuals who come to power are prepared, following Washington’s instructions, to carry out a domestic and foreign policy program befitting the United States.”

In this sense, one of the lines taken by his ideological campaign “is an attack on the principle of national sovereignty, a call for the renunciation of the sovereign rights of nations, to which the idea of a ‘world government’ is opposed. The purpose of this campaign is to mask the unbridled expansion of U.S. imperialism, which ruthlessly violates the sovereign rights of nations, to portray the United States as a defender of universal laws and those who offer resistance to U.S. penetration as adherents of an obsolete and ‘selfish’ nationalism. The idea of a ‘world government’ has been adopted by bourgeois intellectuals and pacifists, and is being exploited ... as a means of pressure to ideologically disarm the nations that defend their independence against the invasions of American imperialism”. Today they express it under the name of a rules-based world.

At the end of World War II, the expansionist ambitions of the United States find their concrete

expression in the “Truman Doctrine”—military bases abroad, support for reactionary regimes and interference in uncontrolled countries - and the “Marshall Plan”. “Although differing in their form of presentation, both are an expression of a single policy, both are an embodiment of the U.S. project to enslave Europe.”

The unfavorable reception which the “Truman doctrine” met explains the necessity for the appearance of the “Marshall plan,” which was “a more carefully veiled attempt to carry out the same expansionist policy.”

“The vague and cautiously secretive formulations of the ‘Marshall plan’ amounted to a scheme to create a bloc of states subject to obligations to the United States, and to grant American credits to European countries as a reward for their surrender of economic and then political independence. Moreover, the cornerstone of the ‘Marshall plan’ is the restoration of the West German industrial zones under the control of the American monopolies.”

It is “to bring under American control the main sources of coal and iron needed by Europe and Germany, and to make the countries needing coal and iron dependent on the restored economic power of Germany,” where to this day the bulk of the American presence in Europe is located.

“Whereas the Truman plan was designed to terrorize and intimidate these countries, the ‘Marshall Plan’ was designed to test their economic steadfastness, lure them into a trap, and then shackle them with the shackles of dollar ‘assistance.’”

Since then, through the Marshall Plan and its subsequent European version (European only in appearance), the United States builds “a ‘Western bloc,’ ... like an American protectorate,” which “essentially attacks the vital interests of the peoples of Europe, and represents a plan for the captivity and enslavement of Europe by the United States.”

The “Marshall Plan” (and, years later, the European Economic Community and the European Union) attack “the industrialization of the democratic countries of Europe and, therefore, the foundations of their integrity and independence”.

The above expressions in quotation marks are taken from the Report read by Zhdanov. They explain the origin and essence of the present Euro-Atlantic institutions.

In this design, the United States took inspiration not only from its public experience (Dawes Plan), but also from the simultaneous experience of collusion of private monopolies on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean: on the one hand, the Pan-European Movement created in 1924 in the face of the advance of communism, promoted by German and American bankers; and, on the other hand, the German trusts (the “konzern”) that sought to organize a Euro-American exploitation and domination of the world, playing a key role in Hitler’s rise to power. It was even the Nazis, fervent supporters of Europeanism, who coined the name European Economic Community. The U.S. merely appropriated the Nazi project, showered it with its dollar “democracy” and put it at its service.

One of the “founding fathers” of the EU (at that time, EEC) was Walter Hallstein, President of the European Commission between 1958 and 1967, after having been re-educated in the United States as a German prisoner of war. He had declared in 1935 to be a member of the Association of National Socialist German Legal Professionals (Bund Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Jurister—BNSDJ) and the National Socialist Teachers League (Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund—NSLB)<sup>[3]</sup>. In 1936 he was elected dean of the Rostock faculty. He was in charge of representing the Nazi government in Rome between June 21 and 25, 1938, during the negotiations with Fascist Italy for the establishment of the legal framework of the New Europe.

The origin of the European Union is to be found in the “Schuman declaration” that would give birth to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). This declaration was given to Robert Schuman—a member of the collaborationist Vichy government—by Monnet after it had been drafted by the services of the US State Department <sup>[4]</sup> Monnet was repeatedly accused by General de Gaulle, the French Communist Party and others of being a covert agent working for US interests.

It is significant that the Charlemagne Prize—awarded annually to distinguished pro-Europeans—was given in 1959, two years after the signing of the Treaty of Rome establishing the EEC, to the American general George Marshall, promoter of the homonymous Plan.

In 1965, the US services advised the Vice-President of the European Economic Community, Robert Marjolin, to “surreptitiously pursue the objective of a monetary union”, according to declassified US State Department documents.

At present, the subordination of the EU’s “common security and defense policy” to the interests of the US-led military NATO is endorsed by Article 42. 2 of the Treaty on European Union: “The common security and defense policy shall include the progressive framing of a common Union defense policy (...) The policy of the Union in accordance with this section shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defense policy of certain Member States, shall respect the obligations arising out of the North Atlantic Treaty for certain Member States [22 out of 27 countries!] which consider that their common defense is conducted within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and shall be compatible with the common security and defense policy established within that framework.”

Moreover, the motto of the “European Army” or Eurocorps is: “European Corps: a force for the European Union and the Atlantic Alliance”.

With the sole exception of D. Trump, all U.S. presidents have enthusiastically endorsed the Western European union. The European institutions are full of agents of American influence, such as members of the CIA or representatives of transatlantic financial institutions: Monnet, Durao Barroso, Sutherland, Draghi, Monti, etc.

Even the lobby of Europe’s big bosses, the European Round Table, takes its name from the Yankee equivalent, the Business Round Table.

The US ensures its domination through the agents of influence it has infiltrated in the States, companies, the media, universities, NGOs, etc.; as if

this were not enough, even greater is their presence in the bureaucracy of the Community institutions to which the national States must submit; moreover, the mechanism of decision-making by unanimity facilitates the stability of the Yankee domination over the so-called European Union.

Of course there are contradictions between the European and American monopolies, but the still dominant tendency is towards the collusion of interests of one and the other, in the face of the independent States (Russia, China, etc.) and with the aim of jointly organizing the exploitation and domination of the rest of the world. The great central-western bourgeoisies of Europe subject their nations to dependence on the USA.

As World War III unfolds, tensions will also sharpen within the imperialist camp, between the U.S. and its allies. The working class and communist forces will have to reckon with this perspective in drawing up their strategy and tactics, but starting from the awareness that a solid dependence and unity of all the imperialists against their enemies has been built up over more than half a century. It can only be broken by developing the mass struggle against the international and national financial oligarchy, in close solidarity with the current vanguard of the world revolutionary movement: the socialist countries, the independent countries and the oppressed peoples who are rising up against imperialism.

## Notes

[1] [https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B6ashtYNJL6xWW9FYm00LU9wVUk/edit?pli=1&resourcekey=0-if4cnWC96ulQHUIE\\_C9WpQ](https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B6ashtYNJL6xWW9FYm00LU9wVUk/edit?pli=1&resourcekey=0-if4cnWC96ulQHUIE_C9WpQ)

[2] [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gasto\\_militar\\_de\\_los\\_Estados\\_Unidos#/media/Archivo:Defense\\_spending.png](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gasto_militar_de_los_Estados_Unidos#/media/Archivo:Defense_spending.png). <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/omb/budget/Historicals>

[3] Thomas Freiburger, *Der friedliche Revolutionär: Walter Hallsteins Epochenbewusstsein, in Entscheidung für Europa: Erfahrung, Zeitgeist und politische Herausforderungen am Beginn der europäischen Integration*, de Gruyter, 2010.

[4] Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, *Euro-federalists financed by US spy chiefs*, Daily Telegraph, September 19, 2000.

[5] Ibid.

# The political stance of the Communist Party of Greece... a communist stance?

## Chilean Communist Party (Proletarian Action)

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*(The previous sections have been published in past issues.)*

#### Production structure of Russia, China and other countries

Throughout this writing we have been astonished by the CPG's capacity for data management and economic analysis..., and let it not be misunderstood, not because we think it is an outstanding capacity, admirable for its seriousness, thoroughness and objectivity, but on the contrary, because it is careless, simplistic and, above all, covered with subjective subterfuges. A piece of information thrown into the air, without destination, like a ball in a soccer game thrown to the public, would be, according to the CPG's vision, an accurate, precise and concise piece of information. It seems that the capacity for reflection and self-criticism is absent in that game, because if he had it, he would have realized that the ball must reach the opposite goal, not the public, and not the goal itself. Indeed, the analytical color blindness of the CPG does not only consist, as we have seen throughout this work, in shots in the air, but in something worse: goals against one's own goal. The CPG has converted in its mind into imperialists and enemies of the peoples of the world those countries which in reality are neither imperialists nor enemies.

If this idea were kept silent in the "master" minds

of the CPG, and did not make noise within reality, there would not be a problem. But this is not the case. The CPG has dedicated itself to spread that idea like a tree its seeds to the four winds, with the “small” difference that seeds generate life and the ideas of the CPG, on the other hand, are rather comparable to a toxic air.

With the propagation of its absurd idea of the “Imperialist Pyramid” the CPG has caused a part of the international communist movement to end up separating itself from the important struggles that are taking place today in more and more parts of the world. A very serious fact!

The actors of such struggles, either by a real capacity of analysis of reality (and not apparent, as is the case of the CPG) or by an accurate instinct, understand that Russia and China are not enemies, but friends of the peoples of the world. And precisely the communists should be today not only assuming that understanding, but leading it. But the CPG sleeps dreaming of chimerical purism?

The essence of this writing, as we have pointed out throughout this article, is to break with the idea of the CPG, particularly with that crude idea of the “imperialist pyramid”, which, as we have seen, is based neither on a rigorous nor on a dialectical analysis of reality. The idea of the “imperialist pyramid” is obstinately mechanistic, simplistic and covered with subterfuge. Therefore, it cannot be qualified as a scientific idea.

We, as the Chilean Communist Party (Proletarian Action) and member of the World Anti-imperialist Platform, unlike the CPG, do not ask ourselves questions about whether we “like” a capitalist Russia, product of the liquidation of the USSR, whether we like an anti-communist Putin, because a communist does not understand reality according to his subjective tastes. Nor do we consider it relevant to ask ourselves whether we “like” that China continues to maintain strong capitalist structures in its economy to this day. What interests

us is the important and fundamental role that China is playing today in overcoming imperialism and how it is advancing with sure steps in the construction of a socialist society. Objectively, neither Russia nor China are imperialist and, objectively, they are playing (again) an essential role in the international anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle. This is the only fact that should matter to a communist.

To deliver arguments as solid as possible, to those who are immersed in the debate about the imperialist character or not of Russia, but also of China, and who seek to defend the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist role of these two countries, that has been the sense of this article. And one of the most relevant data, if not the fundamental one, is the productive structure of the countries. The productive structure of a country determines the character of its economy and, therefore, whether it can be described as imperialist or not. This part, although it is perhaps the most fundamental of the whole writing, has been left at the end because of its complexity. For this part, we have broken down thousands and thousands of data and we have taken many weeks to do it..., very different from the practice of the CPG, which in a matter of minutes takes some data from somewhere and honestly believes (it must be admitted) to have done a great work of investigation.

Since a detailed study of the production structure of a country, especially when it affects several countries, is an almost impossible task to carry out, since it would require collecting information from all the companies in each country, which is not available in an aggregate form in the IMF, WB and other databases derived from these, we decided to use the export structure of the countries, which, although not an accurate reflection, is a good reflection of the production structure of the countries, since each country exports according to its own production capacity.



The data analyzed corresponds to 2022, the latest year for which processed data is available. The following tables and graphs have been compiled from the BACI<sup>[1]</sup> database, which contains almost 11 million data records.

We have classified the exported goods according to their level of industrialization from 1 to 6 as described in the following table:

Graphic 1: Scale of industrialization level

Level	Level of industrialization in words	Description	Grouping
1	very low	Labor intensive, low intensity in the use of technology. For example: production of meat, fruits, wood and in general raw materials. Low level of industrial development of the country	Low level of industrial development in the country
2	low	Labor intensive, low intensity in the use of technology. For example: production of cereals, condiments, oils, seeds.	
3	low medium	low medium Labor-intensive, with low to medium intensity in the use of technology. For example: antibiotics and medicines, vaccines, fertilizers.	
4	medium	Less labor intensive, with medium intensity in the use of technology (machinery). For example: pipes, electrodes, generators, turbines. Medium level of industrial development of the country	Medium level of industrial development in the country
5	high	Low level of labor use, with a high intensity in the use of technology (machinery). For example: cranes and derricks, elevators and hoists, pneumatic lifting conveyors, railcars. High level of industrial development in the country	High level of industrial development in the country
6	Very high	Very low level of labor use, with a very high intensity of technology use (machinery). For example: cruise ships, tankers, nuclear reactors, fishing boats, yachts, tugs and pushers, drilling or operating platforms, tanks.	

According to our classification, 97 % of the products exported by Russia belong to categories 1, 2 or 3 (see the Table 5), which indicates a low industrial level of the country (it should be noted that these data were collected before the lifting of the sanctions packages against Russia as a “response” to the start of the special military operation in Ukraine).

Table 5: Russia’s export structure in 2022 Values in thousands of U.S. dollars

Russia			
Nivel	Total exports (thousands of US\$)	% of total exports	Sum %
1	5,643,883.11	2.10	97.06
2	181,044,132.11	67.46	
3	73,812,042.72	27.50	
4	1,906,095.96	0.71	0.71
5	5,650,760.71	2.11	2.23
6	321,132.10	0.12	
<b>Total Result</b>	<b>268,378,046.71</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Graphic 2: Curve corresponding to Table 5 (Russia 2022) in percentages

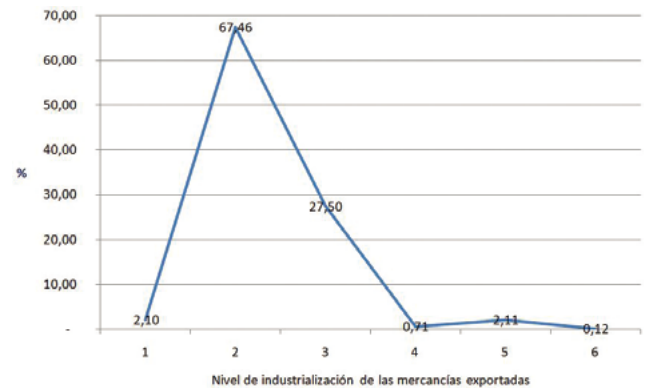


Table 5 shows an export curve with a shape similar to that of a mountain and a valley (see Graphic 2). It can be seen that most of the goods exported by Russia belong to category 2 and, secondly, to category 3, i.e. they are goods which for their production do not require a medium or high level of industrial development. Exports of goods of categories 4, 5 and 6 account for less than 3% of total Russian exports in 2022. Since the export structure is a very reliable reflection of a country’s production capacity and industrial development and, moreover, taking into account that the production structure of a country does not change rapidly, it can be concluded that Russia is mainly an exporter of raw materials, reflecting the low level of Russia’s industrial development in the post-Soviet era.

However, it should be emphasized that Russia has embarked on a process of industrialization since the sanctions were imposed. It will take time, but in the future we will see a Russia with a higher level of industrialization. We wish this process were faster, in consideration of the increasing risk of war that NATO imposes on Russia. In this regard, we welcome the appointment of the new Minister of Defense, Andrei Belousov, who was educated during the Soviet years and is in favor of maintaining a strong industrial base in the hands of the state. Andrey Belousov was born on March 17,

1959. He graduated from Moscow State University in 1981 with a degree in cybernetics and economics. He was Deputy Minister of Economic Development and Trade of the Russian Federation and Director of the Department of Economics and Finance of the Russian Government. From 2012 to 2013, he headed the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation. From 2013 to 2020, he was Assistant to the President of the Russian Federation for Economic Affairs. On January 21, 2020, he had been appointed first deputy chairman of the Russian Government.<sup>[2]</sup>

Let's look at the export structure of other countries, for example the G7 countries. Will they have a similar structure to Russia?

No.

At least 20% of the total goods exported by each of the G7 member countries are of categories 4, 5 and 6 (see Table 6). With the exception of Canada, in all the other six G7 member countries, 25% of the total exported goods belong to categories 5 and 6.

This indicates a high to very high level of industrialization in these countries.

Table 6: Export structure of G7 countries, year 2022  
Values in thousands of US dollars

<b>Germany</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	29,483,436.15	1.84
2	167,033,900.05	10.44
3	566,685,068.28	35.41
4	125,039,039.16	7.81
5	675,807,368.50	42.23
6	36,393,562.64	2.27
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,600,442,374.79</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Canada</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	23,647,645.02	4.03
2	254,939,285.21	43.40
3	172,740,514.57	29.40
4	23,448,398.74	3.99
5	102,223,583.86	17.40
6	10,470,691.57	1.78
<b>Total</b>	<b>587,470,118.97</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>EEU</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	37,493,721.09	2.91
2	434,216,532.64	33.68
3	337,474,374.65	26.17
4	86,027,602.13	6.67
5	363,582,452.56	28.20
6	30,626,273.52	2.38
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,289,420,956.59</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>France</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	9,983,059.00	0.30
2	229,016,306.00	6.78
3	1,356,093,058.00	40.12
4	542,019,296.00	16.03
5	1,215,137,086.00	35.95
6	28,002,966.00	0.83
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,380,251,771.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Italia</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	16,061,939.39	2.53
2	90,743,578.82	14.32
3	279,019,821.99	44.03
4	55,382,787.56	8.74
5	179,625,643.41	28.35
6	12,811,849.34	2.02
<b>Total</b>	<b>633,645,620.52</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Japan</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	3,089,607.76	0.42
2	55,885,821.27	7.68
3	189,439,824.68	26.03
4	53,487,938.99	7.35
5	414,166,598.43	56.90
6	11,797,824.89	1.62
<b>Total</b>	<b>727,867,616.02</b>	<b>100.00</b>

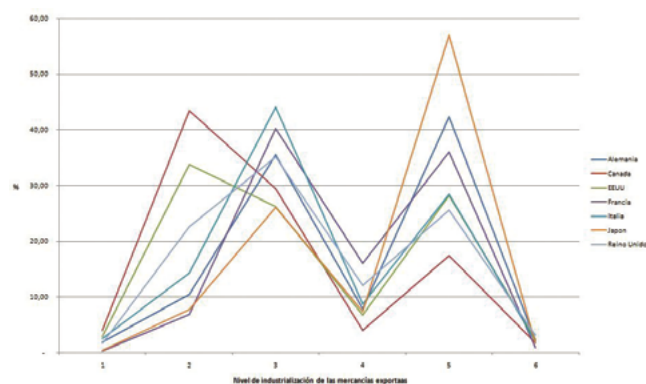
<b>United Kingdom</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	7,724,169.37	1.65
2	106,021,005.91	22.63
3	164,247,406.49	35.06
4	56,583,243.35	12.08
5	119,430,371.37	25.49
6	14,517,241.07	3.10
<b>Total</b>	<b>468,523,437.56</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The graphical export curve of these countries resembles two mountains with a valley in between. One can also imagine the humps of a camel. (see



Graphic 3):

**Graphic 3:** Curve corresponding to Table 6 (G7 2022)  
Values in percentages



We have assessed a total of 64 countries, which is sufficiently representative of the global situation. We will complete the missing countries at a later date. However, this will only confirm the conclusions drawn on the basis of these 64 countries assessed so far (33% of the total number of countries recognized by the United Nations), since the countries we have examined include all representative countries, from an economic and territorial point of view, as well as in terms of population. Thus, what is valid for these 64 countries is even more so for all the countries recognized by the UN.

Among the 64 countries selected, there are all NATO countries (except the Czech Republic, whose data are not available, i.e. 30 countries), the BRICS+ (9 countries), Mexico, all socialist countries (in alphabetical order: China, Cuba, Laos, DPRK and Vietnam), and the largest countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia. If we have missed any representatively relevant countries, we will correct them in a later publication.

The first 9 countries considered are Brazil, Greece, Iran, Chile, India, Jordan, Congo, Indonesia and Kazakhstan (see Table 7).

With the exception of India where the figure reaches 20.4%, in none of the remaining 8 countries do exported goods of categories 4, 5 and 6 exceed

20% of the total goods exported by the country.

**Table 7:** Export structure of the countries of the Global South, year 2022  
Values in thousands of US dollars  
(Brazil, Greece, Iran, Chile, India, Jordan, Congo, Indonesia, Kazakhstan)

<b>Brazil</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	27,101,164.85	7.95
2	210,526,692.17	61.76
3	65,195,556.03	19.13
4	6,673,590.39	1.96
5	27,075,540.12	7.94
6	4,283,526.86	1.26
<b>Total</b>	<b>340,856,070.42</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Chile</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	16,581,672.61	16.75
2	45,474,566.45	45.93
3	34,964,053.92	35.31
4	410,772.76	0.41
5	1,500,166.52	1.52
6	85,479.33	0.09
<b>Total</b>	<b>99,016,711.60</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Congo</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	5,450.01	0.04
2	8,591,702.18	69.29
3	3,782,008.09	30.50
4	4,327.53	0.03
5	14,957.40	0.12
6	338.56	0.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>12,398,783.77</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>Greece</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	3,947,334.90	7.29
2	26,468,853.67	48.89
3	18,443,722.19	34.07
4	1,244,274.49	2.30
5	3,947,982.01	7.29
6	86,090.13	0.16
<b>Total</b>	<b>54,138,257.39</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<b>India</b>		
Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	14,726,086.98	3.15
2	160,848,346.60	34.41
3	196,452,589.95	42.02
4	17,944,680.98	3.84
5	73,214,856.38	15.66
6	4,322,699.82	0.92
<b>Total</b>	<b>467,509,260.72</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**France**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	9,983,059.00	0.30
2	229,016,306.00	6.78
3	1,356,093,058.00	40.12
4	542,019,296.00	16.03
5	1,215,137,086.00	35.95
6	28,002,966.00	0.83
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,380,251,771.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Italia**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	16,061,939.39	2.53
2	90,743,578.82	14.32
3	279,019,821.99	44.03
4	55,382,787.56	8.74
5	179,625,643.41	28.35
6	12,811,849.34	2.02
<b>Total</b>	<b>633,645,620.52</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Japan**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	3,089,607.76	0.42
2	55,885,821.27	7.68
3	189,439,824.68	26.03
4	53,487,938.99	7.35
5	414,166,598.43	56.90
6	11,797,824.89	1.62
<b>Total</b>	<b>727,867,616.02</b>	<b>100.00</b>

With the exception of India, the countries listed in the Table 7 are thus characterized by a low level of industrial development. Their economic structure is therefore the opposite of that of the G7 countries. As highly industrialized countries, the G7 countries are not only economically dominant, but also have to absorb large quantities of raw materials to feed their production chains. It is precisely countries such as those in the Table 7 that supply these raw materials.

The same is true for the following nine countries (Russia, United Arab Emirates, China, South Africa, Egypt, Tajikistan, Sudan, Ethiopia and Afghanistan), with the exception of China, which has an export share of goods in categories 4, 5 and 6 of a remarkable 62 %. In other words, 62 % of the goods exported by China belong to categories 4, 5 and 6, indicating a very high level of industrial development in the country.

All the other countries follow a curve similar to the one we have seen for Russia.

The case of Iran deserves a special mention: Iran has a strong industrial development that is not mainly focused on the export of goods, but on national security and development.

Iran has a prominent position in international politics, both because of its geographical position and its military might. The Islamic Republic of Iran has always opposed US imperialism, NATO and Israel. It has also carried out actions of solidarity with national liberation struggles in West Asia and Latin America (especially Cuba, Nicaragua and Venezuela) and has expanded its relations with several African countries, China and Russia despite the economic sanctions and the continuous terrorist and interventionist actions of imperialism against it. Iran is the only country in the region that poses a real threat to Israel.

**Table 8:** Export structure of the countries of the Global South, year 2022  
Values in thousands of US dollars  
(Russia, United Arab Emirates, China, South Africa, Egypt, Tajikistan, Sudan, Ethiopia, Afghanistan)

**Russia**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	5,643,883.11	2.10
2	181,044,132.11	67.46
3	73,812,042.72	27.50
4	1,906,095.96	0.71
5	5,650,760.71	2.11
6	321,132.10	0.12
<b>Total</b>	<b>268,378,046.71</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**South Africa**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	6,204,692.04	4.22
2	42,176,065.17	28.69
3	75,040,546.48	51.04
4	4,482,020.83	3.05
5	18,515,045.25	12.59
6	591,077.68	0.40
<b>Total</b>	<b>147,009,447.46</b>	<b>100.00</b>



<b>Sudan</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	1,658.05	0.30	
2	518,605.69	95.27	
3	22,357.78	4.11	
4	257.93	0.05	
5	622.60	0.11	
6	835.95	0.15	
<b>Total</b>	<b>544,338.01</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>United Arab Emirates</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	4,755,654.50	1.18	
2	202,248,822.52	50.32	
3	123,675,380.74	30.77	
4	9,187,275.94	2.29	
5	57,498,409.10	14.31	
6	4,566,721.06	1.14	
<b>Total</b>	<b>401,932,263.85</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Egypt</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	4,163,230.06	7.72	
2	22,428,130.62	41.61	
3	22,905,331.25	42.50	
4	372,594.04	0.69	
5	3,851,203.02	7.15	
6	175,544.86	0.33	
<b>Total</b>	<b>53,896,033.86</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Ethiopia</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	963,272.06	22.73	
2	1,961,011.48	46.28	
3	1,122,976.60	26.50	
4	103,106.12	2.43	
5	49,271.23	1.16	
6	37,565.56	0.89	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,237,203.05</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>China</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	31,447,739.88	0.84	
2	265,219,343.19	7.11	
3	1,120,228,819.14	30.02	
4	324,857,536.51	8.71	
5	1,959,363,778.40	52.51	
6	30,077,214.24	0.81	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,731,194,431.36</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Tajikistan</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	57,942.51	2.41	
2	830,881.09	34.53	
3	1,488,379.92	61.85	
4	2,405.92	0.10	
5	25,589.49	1.06	
6	1,134.74	0.05	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,406,333.66</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Afghanistan</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	585,554.54	39.35	
2	613,603.09	41.24	
3	277,170.65	18.63	
4	3,569.71	0.24	
5	7,463.43	0.50	
6	668.90	0.04	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,488,030.32</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

In the next group of countries, there are two exceptions: Mexico and Vietnam. Sixty-seven percent of the goods exported by Mexico are of categories 4, 5 and 6. In the case of Vietnam, the figure is 56%.

The remaining seven follow a structure similar to that of Russia, or, conversely, Russia has an average structure of the countries of the so-called Global South.

Vietnam is a country that corresponds to the contemporary socialist camp, that is, a country that is advancing in the construction of socialism (not without setbacks, of course). The Russian president's trip to this country, which took place just as these lines were being written, is significant above all because of the historical moment and the political context in which it takes place: the International Court of Justice has issued an arrest warrant against the Russian president, which obviously has no effect; the Russian army has recently made remarkable progress in the fight against NATO and fascism in Ukraine, and the sanctions imposed on Russia have proven to be completely ineffective. But there is another important development that has taken place and is taking place precisely in the host country, i.e. Vietnam:

In recent months, there has been a stark political struggle there between two factions: one supportive of the United States and the West in general, and one supportive of China. In March, Vietnam's hitherto incumbent president, Vo Van Thuci (his term lasted from March 2, 2023 to March 21, 2024),

was removed, one year after his appointment, by parliamentary decision. Vo Van Thuong is the second Vietnamese president to resign in the last two years.

Both he and his predecessor, Nguyen Xuan Phuc, pursued a policy of rapprochement with the West, especially the US and its allies in Asia, particularly Japan. His resignation is related to the political purge being carried out in the country by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Nguyễn Phú Trọng, who maintains very close contacts with the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China . Since May 22, 2024, the so-called “strong man of the party,” supporter of the confrontation with the United States and member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Tô Lâm, took over as President of Vietnam. Tô has a good chance of being Nguyễn’s successor in the post of general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

It is no coincidence that Putin arrives in Vietnam after the pro-Chinese-Russian faction in Vietnam has been defeated, which may indicate that this faction has gained a definite foothold in the country.

**Table 9:** Export structure of the countries of the Global South, year 2022  
Values in thousands of US dollars  
(Mali, Kenya, Laos, Algeria, Nigeria, Mexico, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Argentina)

<b>Mali</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	19,637.66	1.29	
2	97,813.25	98.15	
3	7,422,657.91	0.04	
4	2,654.79	0.26	
5	19,766.83	0.00	
6	347.45	0.26	
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,562,877.89</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Algeria</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	159,622.63	0.27	
2	54,585,454.81	93.22	
3	3,673,799.11	6.27	
4	53,290.13	0.09	
5	74,859.13	0.13	
6	5,557.81	0.01	
<b>Total</b>	<b>58,552,583.62</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Bangladesh</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	542,585.58	0.85	
2	864,620.02	1.35	
3	61,908,977.93	96.49	
4	244,073.36	0.38	
5	560,247.92	0.87	
6	41,192.07	0.06	
<b>Total</b>	<b>64,161,696.88</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Kenya</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	1,471,863.49	19.39	
2	3,574,640.17	47.10	
3	2,179,570.06	28.72	
4	98,267.57	1.29	
5	254,564.16	3.35	
6	11,225.87	0.15	
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,590,131.31</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Nigeria</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	462,798.56	0.65	
2	64,616,381.20	91.37	
3	4,638,459.35	6.56	
4	52,396.00	0.07	
5	133,899.18	0.19	
6	816,963.48	1.16	
<b>Total</b>	<b>70,720,897.77</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

<b>Vietnam</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	13,689,329.60	3.43	
2	29,431,336.94	7.38	
3	134,177,609.11	33.65	
4	11,384,867.26	2.85	
5	208,680,724.59	52.33	
6	1,429,146.21	0.36	

<b>Laos</b>			
Level	Exports (USD)	%	
1	439,893.07	4.70	
2	1,516,205.82	16.20	
3	6,737,200.78	71.97	
4	13,032.95	0.14	
5	654,628.33	6.99	
6	391.42	0.00	
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,361,352.36</b>	<b>100.00</b>	



**Mexico**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	23,132,651.48	4.22
2	81,497,705.41	14.86
3	78,219,506.90	14.26
4	47,451,927.29	8.65
5	316,227,286.57	57.64
6	2,062,937.87	0.38
<b>Total</b>	<b>548,592,015.52</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Argentina**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	9,044,316.14	10.38
2	55,799,220.42	64.02
3	12,559,098.73	14.41
4	1,063,448.38	1.22
5	8,659,465.58	9.93
6	38,783.00	0.04
<b>Total</b>	<b>87,164,332.25</b>	<b>100.00</b>

None of the following twelve countries is an exception. Cuba, Norway, Belgium, Niger, Albania, Burkina Faso, Iceland, Montenegro, Tanzania, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Syria, for example, are countries with a low level of industrial development whose main production function is the extraction of raw materials and their export to the rest of the world.

In the case of Cuba, it should be noted that export data do not accurately reflect the country's production structure due to the sanctions imposed on the country. Cuba is internationally recognized as a leading country in medical technology.

**Table 10:** Export structure of the countries of the Global South and poor countries of Europe, year 2022

Values in thousands of US dollars

(Cuba, Norway, Belgium, Niger, Albania, Burkina Faso, Iceland, Montenegro, Tanzania)

**Cuba**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	95,117.83	8.92
2	681,713.12	63.91
3	278,268.70	26.09
4	8,232.73	0.77
5	3,331.93	0.31
6	85.40	0.01
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,066,749.71</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Niger**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	52,973.79	1.64
2	749,662.58	23.16
3	2,378,907.71	73.50
4	5,158.35	0.16
5	39,782.48	1.23
6	10,329.25	0.32
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,236,814.16</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Iceland**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	2,457,787.83	33.62
2	1,096,483.79	15.00
3	3,213,701.52	43.96
4	53,197.84	0.73
5	436,341.58	5.97
6	52,689.15	0.72
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,310,201.71</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Norway**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	15,762,195.59	5.52
2	227,782,308.67	79.84
3	28,364,357.62	9.94
4	1,999,035.41	0.70
5	8,779,819.09	3.08
6	2,610,168.97	0.91
<b>Total</b>	<b>285,297,885.36</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Albania**

Level	Sum of Valor	%
1	211,387.08	4.91
2	803,548.17	18.68
3	2,808,521.21	65.27
4	71,984.03	1.67
5	385,992.49	8.97
6	21,284.38	0.49
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,302,717.36</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Montenegro**

Level	Sum of Valor	%
1	40,604.11	3.08
2	483,536.36	36.69
3	665,832.83	50.52
4	13,300.34	1.01
5	100,488.86	7.62
6	14,250.53	1.08
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,318,013.03</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Belgium**

Level	Sum of Valor	%
1	15,076,197.58	3.17
2	149,534,275.88	31.48
3	219,320,243.60	46.17
4	13,108,353.35	2.76
5	76,912,010.55	16.19
6	1,091,260.91	0.23
<b>Total</b>	<b>475,042,341.88</b>	<b>100.00</b>



**Burkina Faso**

Level	Sum of Valor	%
1	222,036.69	2.71
2	566,957.87	6.91
3	7,332,141.60	89.38
4	9,190.39	0.11
5	67,323.39	0.82
6	5,332.05	0.07
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,202,981.99</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Tanzania**

Level	Sum of Valor	%
1	934,915.59	9.33
2	2,558,351.43	25.54
3	6,400,300.89	63.89
4	20,892.84	0.21
5	93,715.94	0.94
6	9,014.93	0.09
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,017,191.63</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Saudi Arabia**

Level	Sum of Valor	%
1	2,267,150.57	0.63
2	311,181,623.80	86.07
3	45,327,813.87	12.54
4	863,634.27	0.24
5	1,451,573.89	0.40
6	438,486.24	0.12
<b>Total</b>	<b>361,530,282.65</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Syria**

Level	Sum of Valor	%
1	225,787.43	29.29
2	325,360.39	42.20
3	206,559.24	26.79
4	6,128.46	0.79
5	6,817.62	0.88
6	289.52	0.04
<b>Total</b>	<b>770,942.66</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Graphic 4 includes all the countries of the Global South that we have seen, except those that represent an exception: China, Vietnam, Mexico and India. All the other countries present a similar curve shape: a mountain and a valley with a small hill. It can be said that the shape of this curve is the shape of the non-imperialist countries and resembles this:

The G7 curve resembles the two humps of a camel:

The G7 countries are at the same time strong in the export of raw materials—such as, for example, grain, meat or oil (which the EU now buys from the USA)—but they are also strong in the production of goods with high added value, i.e. they have a high level of industrial development.

Graphic 4: Curve corresponding to the Tables seen for Global South and poor countries in Europe 2022. Values in percentages (35 countries)

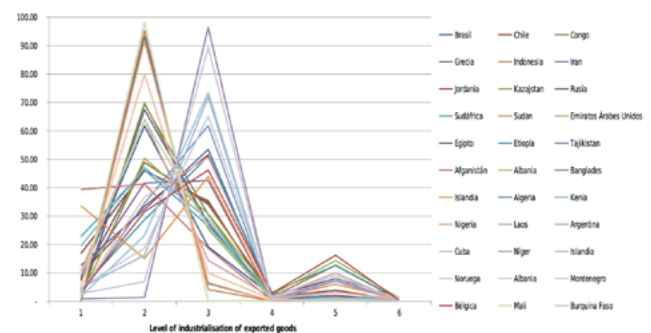


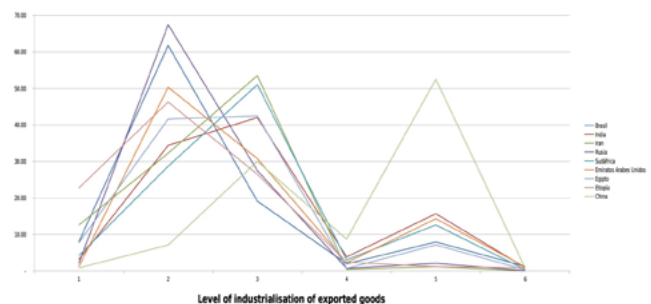
Table 11: Export structure of the countries of the Global South, year 2022 in thousands of US dollars (Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Syria)

**Yemen**

Level	Exports (USD)	%
1	249,739.41	14.40
2	1,056,591.41	60.93
3	390,694.04	22.53
4	6,165.85	0.36
5	14,082.46	0.81
6	16,777.20	0.97
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,734,050.37</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The more deindustrialized the country, the flatter the mound on the right. The curves for the BRICS+ countries are shown below.

Graphic 5: Curve for BRICS+ (Global South 2022) in percentages

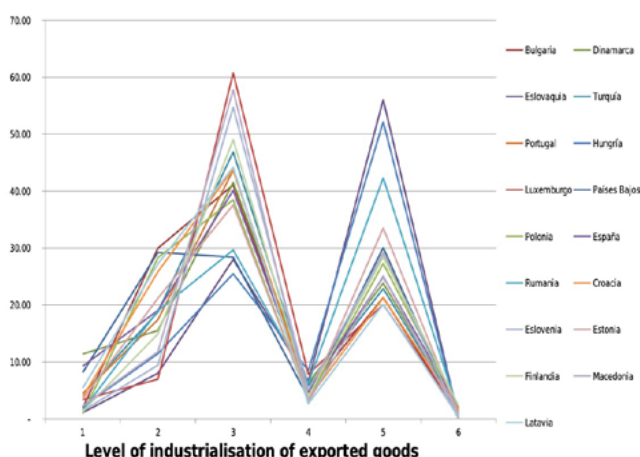


Only China exceeds 20% in the level 5 category and has a curve similar to that of the G7 countries.

The penultimate chart shows the NATO countries that are not members of the G7, with the exception of seven countries that have been included in the Graphic 4 as poor EU countries (Greece, Norway, Belgium, Albania, Iceland, Montenegro and the Czech Republic):

**Graphic 6:** Curves corresponding to the export quantities of NATO member countries according to the classification of the level of industrialization of the exported goods, according to the classification of the level of industrialization of exported goods, excluding the G7 countries and excluding the following seven countries: Greece, Norway, Belgium, Albania, Iceland, Montenegro and the Czech Republic, Albania, Iceland, Montenegro and the Czech Republic.

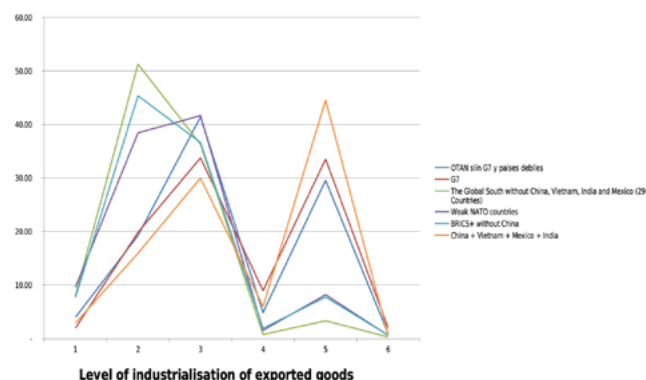
Values in percentages



An interesting fact is that these other 17 NATO members also present a curve similar to that of the G7, i.e. a curve that resembles the two humps of a camel. In other words, 80% of NATO countries have an industrialized production structure. This leads to the conclusion that, although not all NATO countries are imperialist per se, they are imperialist in systemic terms, i.e. because they are part of the international structure of exploitation. These 17 NATO members benefit from the present form of economic and political exploitation because they are on board the NATO military ship, even if only as ordinary members of the crew.

Greece is part of the small 22% (7 countries) of NATO member states to which this logic does not apply. It can also be said that Greece is a small island in the global south in the middle of the NATO sea.

Finally a summary of all the curves:



We have, then, two forms of opposite curves: one of the dependent countries and the other of the imperialist world. In addition, there is a third one, which is that of the countries which are not imperialist, but which, due to the size of their population and/or their economic structure, have managed to industrialize. In the next publication we will draw conclusions on this and on the rest of the data presented in this article.

### Notes

[1] This can be downloaded from here: [http://www.cepii.fr/CEPII/en/bdd\\_modele/bdd\\_modele\\_item.asp?id=37](http://www.cepii.fr/CEPII/en/bdd_modele/bdd_modele_item.asp?id=37), under “Downloads”.

Direct download link to the zip file: [http://www.cepii.fr/DATA\\_DOWNLOAD/baci/data/BACI\\_HS92\\_V202401b.zip](http://www.cepii.fr/DATA_DOWNLOAD/baci/data/BACI_HS92_V202401b.zip)

[2] In “Deutschland Funk” it reads:

“This Moscow-born economist is considered an advocate of state industrial and economic policy. In terms of economic theory, he is therefore more a follower of the teachings of John Maynard Keynes (state control of the macroeconomy) than of Milton Friedman (the market regulates everything). ‘Belousov was one of those who saw the state as the main driver of everything, and at the same time he analyzed the same data as we do, unlike most other pro-state economists, who just juggled with abstractions,’ says Konstantin Sonin, an economist and professor at the University of Chicago.”

# Justice, War and The Prospect of The Revolutionary Unification of Humanity

Dimitrios Patelis | Revolutionary Unification (Greece)

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5. What is the necessity for planning and how does it relate to planning?
6. Morality, politics and law as aspects of social conscience
7. Justice as a criterion for the preservation or change of the objective conditions of human existence
8. Just and unjust wars. War & revolution
9. Some conclusions

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. Introduction

Does it make sense for people to think about justice when World War III (WWIII) is rapidly escalating into a series of war zones? What historical causes determine the different forms of unity and struggle among people? How do human needs and interests escalate historically? How do they relate to morality, politics and law as aspects of social conscience? Under what conditions can justice function as a criterion for maintaining or changing the objective conditions of human existence? What is the relation between politics, war and revolution? Are there just and unjust wars?

What is justice? The concept of justice has a double meaning: 1. It refers to the application and administration of law, its practical enforcement as an institution and action of the state. 2. It

is a concept of moral philosophy and moral conscience, which is also linked to political and legal conscience. It concerns the “δέον”<sup>[1]</sup> and is linked to historically changing conceptions of the nature of man and his inalienable rights. It implies the demand that the social position of a given individual or historical community (group, class, nation, state, etc.) should correspond to the practical role it plays in the life of society, that there should be a correspondence between consciously understood needs (interests) and practical possibilities for their satisfaction, between rights and duties, between labour and reward, between crime and punishment, between people’s contribution and its social recognition. A mismatch between the above is seen in the context of moral conscience as injustice. Here we will emphasise the second meaning of the term.

Understanding the concept of justice and its significance for the prospects of humanity requires the study of the structure and history of society as a whole in the Logic of History (Vaziulin 2004, p. 73-97). It also requires the dialectical study of the relations between social conscience and social being, i.e. the relations between man as a conscious being and the objective conditions of his existence, as well as the interaction of ethics, politics and law (as above, p. 229-293).

### 2. On the structural conditions of unity and struggle between people

An essential structural element of humanity is the fundamentally different survival strategy of the human race compared to animals. Man, as the culmination and dialectical sublation of earlier biological development, instead of adapting to the

changes in his environment, turns this survival strategy into its opposite: he changes, transforms his environment, nature, through his labour activity in order to survive by satisfying his needs. In this way, he creates a man-made, artificial environment, developing a system of technological and, in a broader sense, social, culturally mediated processes to satisfy his vital needs through foraging (gathering, hunting, fishing, mining, extraction of resources) and production. This fact essentially distinguishes the process of man's exchange of matter with nature from that of animals: while animals metabolise instinctively (either as individuals or in herds), man metabolises in a socially mediated way, with the help of the means of foraging and production, through the social division of labour, as a being with conscience and self-conscience (as above, p. 99-201).

The type of relations that develop between people depends on the type and character of human labour activity on nature. If we outline the conditions of this activity, we find that they are summarised in aspects concerning: 1. the quality and quantity of the results of this activity, 2. the type of effort that the subject of this activity has to make, and 3. the type of subject required for this activity to be carried out. (as above, p. 221-228)

1. From the point of the results of man's labour activity on nature for the satisfaction of his vital needs, namely the products derived from foraging and production, this activity can:

1a) provide people with goods that are just above the minimum threshold for the survival of the members of society, but below the optimum (the combination of quantity and quality that would ensure the optimal development of their organism). In this case, as long as some members of society satisfy their needs at the expense of others, relations of rivalry, hostility and competition develop between people. "Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of

misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital" (Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, 645). The competitive nature of these relations derives from the struggle to seize, secure and control this super-product, the struggle to possess and redistribute it: "Darwin did not know what a bitter satire he wrote on mankind, and especially on his countrymen, when he showed that free competition, the struggle for existence, which the economists celebrate as the highest historical achievement, is the normal state of the animal kingdom. Only conscious organisation of social production, in which production and distribution are carried on in a planned way, can lift mankind above the rest of the animal world as regards the social aspect, in the same way that production in general has done this for men in their aspect as species. Historical evolution makes such an organisation daily more indispensable, but also with every day more possible. From it will date a new epoch of history, in which mankind itself, and with mankind all branches of its activity, and especially natural science, will experience an advance that will put everything preceding it in the deepest shade" (Engels, *Introduction to Dialectics of Nature*). This is the basis on which the historical sequence of the types of private property, of socio-economic class formations, characterised by exploitation and oppression, emerges and escalates.

1b) The above-mentioned activity as a historical tendency governed by laws<sup>[2]</sup> develops to the point where it is able to provide people with goods sufficient for the optimal satisfaction of the vital needs of all members of society; therefore, from this aspect, the causes for the development of rivalries, exploitation, oppression, enmity and competition for survival disappear, and consequently conditions for the development of cooperation, friendship, solidarity, comradeship and mutuality are created.



2. From the point of the character of labour, of the type of effort that the subject of this activity has to make,

2a) as long and insofar as this action is predominantly repetitive, strenuous, unhealthy, tedious, etc., there is a tendency on the part of individuals and groups to avoid this kind of labour, a tendency to impose and assign this kind of labour to certain people so that others can get rid of it and avoid it. Wherever and whenever historical forms of labour such as slave labour, serf labour or wage labour dominate, labour is usually projected as repulsive, as “external forced labour; and not-labour, by contrast, as ‘freedom, and happiness’” (K. Marx Grundrisse: Notebook VI—The Chapter on Capital). There is then a tendency for conflict between people, so that some (the few) can parasitise at the expense of others (the many), in order to afford the privilege of leisure.

In this case, to the extent that the level of development of man’s labour activity on nature does not allow society to ensure access to creative activities that promote personal development (e.g. research or artistic activity) for all its members, the struggle between people, the competition for access to this type of activities, which allow man to develop, becomes more intense. Consequently, in this society, as long as and to the extent that a certain level of development of the personality of some people is achieved, it is usually at the expense of others, in conditions of incomplete development, in conditions of a development deficit, of underdevelopment of some other people; therefore, in any case, it also bears the stigma of this one-sidedness, of cultural inequality. Man, whose development on the basis of competition is antithetical of the underdevelopment of others, is marked by one-sidedness and alienation. He who enslaves others cannot be a free man. This is also true—as the classics of Marxism-Leninism have shown—of the relations between historical

communities and groups (classes, peoples, states, groups of states, etc.).

2b) From the point of the character of labour, of the type of efforts the subject of this action has to make, as long as and to the extent that it becomes a developing, interesting and creative activity par excellence, “in which labour becomes attractive work, the individual’s self-realization” (as above), and when this type of labour becomes accessible to all members of society, the tendencies of parasitism and the conditions of rivalry, competition, etc., born of unequal access to creative forms of labour, disappear. Society can ensure the satisfaction of the need for creative labour for all its members, as long as and to the extent that the character of labour changes radically, when the developing type of labour takes precedence over the repetitive one, when, due to broad automation, man is expelled from the direct process of production as a physical presence, having become the creator, regulator and operator of automated processes. In this case, the complete development of one’s personality through creative occupation/activity is not achieved as a process that takes place regardless of, or at the expense of, the development of the other person’s personality. On the contrary, labour is transformed into a creative activity, social culture/education, in the context of which the mutual enrichment of knowledge, skills and creative abilities of fully developed personalities is achieved. Then, the conditions are created for the all-round development of the personality within creative collectives, the characteristic feature of which is—now based on this historical criterion—relationships of cooperation, friendship, solidarity, comradeship and mutuality.

3. The type of subject (individual or collective) required for man’s productive activity on nature, i.e. whether it is an individual or a group or the whole of society, depends primarily on the degree to which the character of the means and ways of



man's labour activity on nature has been socialised.

From this aspect, there are means of labour activity that:

- can be used by a single person,
- can be used by small or large groups of people (manufacture, industry)<sup>[3]</sup>, but also
- the monitoring and control of their power, operation, scale and impact on the environment and society (potentially catastrophic if out of control) requires, in a sense, the unification and coordination of the whole of humanity.

The latter means, which require the coordinated intervention of humanity, initially on a planetary scale, are not the speculations of science fiction, nor do they concern distant potential prospects. To a large extent, their presence is already a rapidly unfolding active reality, to the extent that systems of productive processes with globally networked productive forces are being established and developed. Think, for example, of the global networking of productive processes, the operation of global positioning and navigation systems via satellite networks, systems of satellite telecommunications and remote monitoring (of meteorological, geotectonic, etc. processes), the prospect of the biologisation of production, and so on. The possibility of mass self-destruction, mutual annihilation, generalised suicide of humanity by peaceful and/or warlike means and ways (weapons of mass destruction, technogenic ecological destruction, degeneration/destruction of the biological core of the personality and the family) is a negative manifestation of the scientific and technological possibilities and the necessity of unifying humanity's efforts on a planetary scale.

3a) As long as the labour processes are dominated by means of activity the operation of which requires the efforts of individual persons or isolated groups of persons, the possibilities of the unification of society are limited. On the other hand, it is possible and (under certain conditions)

necessary for individuals and social groups (classes) to be indifferent to each other and to function in different, unequal, opposing or even antagonistic ways on the basis of the labour processes they carry out and their results.

3b) To the extent that the technological conditions of these processes require the unity of collective subjects on an ever-larger scale, with greater intensity and complexity, the social character of production increasingly escalates and becomes a technological necessity. With the upgraded position and role given to productive processes the safe execution and development of which require the joint efforts and conscious coordination of the whole of humanity (initially on a global scale), the unification of humanity becomes not only feasible, but necessary for its survival and development. Then, solidarity and cooperation among the members of humanity will also become a technological necessity.

The above definitions of the character of human labour activity on nature and the consequent division of labour in the context of this activity (division of labour in the narrower sense of the term) constitute the basis on which labour relations, relations of production and the overall matrix of relations between individuals, social groups, classes (the social division of labour, positions and roles in the broader sense of the term) and society as a whole are established accordingly, on a national, transnational and global scale. These relations involve the distribution of the means, conditions and results of human labour activity on nature among individuals (private persons), groups and society as a whole, with a corresponding distribution of burdens and reliefs, damages and benefits, unfavourable and favourable effects, and so on. The historically specific type of these relations (common, private and social property) functions as a mechanism for securing, establishing and reproducing the social division of

labour, positions, and roles in the broad sense of the term, in favour of or against certain individuals, groups or society as a whole. The dominant type of relations in each historical period indicates whether and to what extent people act in favour of or against individuals, groups, classes or society as a whole in the activities they develop and the relations they establish.

### **3. Concerning the historically differing degrees of unity and conflict among human beings**

Society, as a developing whole, goes through a series of stages in the course of its history. So do the type, the character, the position, the role and the interaction of morality, politics and law. Indeed, changes occur not only in the various manifestations of morality, law and politics, or in the interaction between them, but also in each of the above-mentioned spheres of social development and in the perceptions of them.

The need to satisfy the needs necessary for survival (food, protection from adverse or dangerous conditions, self-preservation, sexual relations, reproduction of the species, etc.) has been and still is a fundamental and decisive concept in human history. Human beings, having adopted a survival strategy clearly different from that of other living beings and their evolutionary process, in order to satisfy their necessary biological needs, started using ready-made objects provided by nature as means of foraging; then they gradually moved on to the use of functionally and morphologically processed artificial means, means of production per se (tools). However, the role of foraging has remained, and for the most part still remains important.

The use and development of means of foraging and means of production have radically improved the ability of human beings to satisfy their vital biological needs, although the optimal satisfaction

of the biologically necessary needs of the whole of humanity, or at least the majority of its members, has not yet become possible. The above-mentioned insufficiency leads to rivalry between human beings, to a struggle for survival and to the domination of some over others, a fact that is indicative of the incomplete nature of human socialisation, the still unfinished transcendence/dialectical “sublation” of the animal kingdom.

The struggle for the satisfaction of biologically necessary needs requires, causes and reproduces various groupings and divisions among individuals and groups, inclusions and exclusions, etc., so that certain people impose, establish and extend the conditions and limits for the satisfaction of their own biologically necessary needs at the expense of other people.

As society emerges and begins to form and develop, the possibilities for satisfying basic needs are primarily and increasingly determined by the available means of foraging and production. The disposition and distribution of the means of foraging and production thus becomes the factor that determines the ability to satisfy the biologically necessary needs; as a result, production becomes the object of dispute and struggle par excellence between individuals, groups and associations of people in order to satisfy their biologically necessary needs.

During the historical period marked by the use of means of foraging and the means of production that begin to allow the acquisition of goods for consumption beyond the absolute minimum necessary for survival, until the moment when these means allow the acquisition of goods for consumption sufficient for the optimal satisfaction of the biologically necessary needs of each member of society, the biologically necessary needs are satisfied in a way, but not optimally satisfied. This period is characterised by various forms of conflict, inclusion and exclusion of individuals,

groups, classes and associations of people for the distribution and securing of the necessary goods for consumption. “During this period, the existence of separate individuals, groups and associations is necessary, which concentrate the distribution of the means of foraging and production in their own hands, depriving other individuals, other groups and associations of them, and thus living at the expense of these other individuals, other groups and associations.” (Vaziulin V. A., The logic of history of the interaction between morality and politics).

Under the conditions of human unity and conflict, the history of humanity is divided into two eras: the prehistory of humanity (in which the external bonds between human beings prevail over the internal ones) and the authentically human history (in which the internal bonds between human beings prevail). In the first era, unification and conflict between human beings is mainly a matter of biological survival, while the main external bonds between human beings are either essentially animal bonds (civilised to one degree or another, such as e.g. sexual bonds), or bonds between self-interested individuals who, through their association, with varying degrees of inclusion and exclusion, aim to achieve their self-interest, so that the other person is either a means to an end/instrument, or an obstacle to the achievement of said self-interested ends. To the extent that the development of foraging, and especially of production, over time establishes the possibilities for the optimal satisfaction of the vital and other needs of the whole (and not a part) of society, the transition to the authentic history of humanity, where the existence and development of internal bonds, internal relations between people as a unified whole is dominant, becomes a law-governed necessity. This law-governed necessity matures, the necessary and sufficient conditions for the socialist revolution, for the transition to unified

humanity, to communism, also mature.

#### **4. What is the meaning of an upcoming “biologisation” of production?**

The historical development of the division of labour has escalated with the continuous qualitative and essential upgrading of the leading use of forms of motion of matter in technological devices and production processes and their respective combinatorial use in systems and processes of increasing complexity: mechanical interactions of escalating degrees of complexity, chemical, thermal, electromechanical, electronic, nuclear, digital, informational, networked, biochemical, neuronal and biological. Through this contradictory escalation, with the cascading transformation of science into a direct productive force (Marx), humanity is moving towards the abolition of the competitive type of division of labour from the universal creative activity of man.

Mature society will be established on a unified automated complex, on production of automata by automata (further automation of branches and of all branches) with a broad biologisation of production, on a radical improvement of the network of automated production with the pioneering and then dominant role of technological devices and processes based on the biological form of motion, to which things, interactions and processes will belong.

Automation on the basis of biologisation will involve the global and combined synthetic creation, selective and planned development, co-development and assembly of diverse forms and species of life, diverse artificial habitats and ecosystems (with organically integrated subsystems within them, structures and functions now partly based on and linked to other forms of motion and activity), the morphology and functionality of which will be subject to productive purposefulness based on human needs.

The transition to mature automation, with the pioneering, prevalent and dominant role of biology within it, is what will place the process defining human development, the necessary functional and morphological transformation of nature through technologically and socially mediated exosomatic metabolism, on a basis corresponding to itself.<sup>[4]</sup>

The organically interconnected automation of this exosomatic metabolism of society on a now predominantly biological basis will function as the logistical infrastructure corresponding to a mature, unified humanity. Human beings will no longer have to transform nature in an eminently mechanical way or navigate rigid mechanical/engineering etc. configurations in order to optimise specific processes of activity. On the contrary, biologized universal automation (with the other forms of interaction and motion embedded and arranged within it) will provide the material substrate corresponding to the mature unified and unifying substance of humanity. A substrate that will inherently embody the potentiality of the organic unity of its parts, the law-governed necessity of planning<sup>[5]</sup> for which, as a spectrum of possibilities, will dictate the optimal research approach, goal setting, planning and practical intervention of the conscious collective subject as an actual organic whole. The biologisation of the material substrate of the unified substance in the mature unified whole of humanity entails a radical improvement, a transition to a different type of research and technology, conscience and self-consciousness, and is linked to the abolition of the fragmentation of disciplines and divergent tendencies in research and technology. A synthesis of the above is envisaged, on a dialectical basis, which simultaneously performs research and productive-technological functions, organically fed back and interrelated in their relative independence, creatively and inventively integrating research, production, relations and communication between

people.

## **5. What is the necessity for planning and how does it relate to planning?**

As the social character of labour activity develops, as science becomes a direct productive force, planning itself emerges as a necessity both for man as the subject of developing/non-repetitive labour, and for the objective conditions for the performance of this labour. There arises and matures, in a law-governed way, the necessity of planning as an indispensable condition for the operation and development of the material/technical substrate and the substance, the organisation of the subject's activity, of labour activity, as an internal necessity for the involvement of a certain type of subject of this activity in the implementation and development of this activity, through goal-setting, through planning and through the implementation of this activity. Planning is carried out as the selection of the best potential prospect from the range of possibilities revealed by the objective insight into the logic of the laws governing the activity in question. This subject has to understand this existing necessity for planning and its potential prospects; therefore, it has to be able to develop the best creative abilities for the execution and implementation of plans, planning abilities. The optimal combination of the necessity for planning and planning itself is not an automatic, linear and spontaneous process. The particular goal-setting for an activity proposed by planning and carried out by the subject may not be the optimal form of intervention in the range of development possibilities objectively encompassed by the given conditions of production, as dictated by the necessity for planning. In fact, to the extent that other factors are involved in this relationship, the divergence, the difference between the necessity for planning and planning itself can take on the attributes of a contradiction.

Streamlining, conscious regulation, cannot be confined to technical means alone, but must apply to the whole of humanity's relations with nature and to mutual relations between human beings. The necessity for this conscious regulation is not of an abstract ethical nature. This necessity matures according to laws, together with the maturation of the social character of labour. This necessity emerges as the law-governed objective necessity for planning, which directs the conscious planning of the above-mentioned relations as a condition for their functioning and development.

In capitalist society, this coordination is highly contradictory, which manifests itself in the need for planning within the productive unit (especially in the context of multinational monopoly groups under imperialism) and in the spontaneous element of extreme unevenness, inequality and competitiveness within the framework of the economy and society as a whole.

Therefore, the necessity for planning, which is required by laws, calls for the timely and optimally recognised and conscious collective planning of the organically connected parts and the whole of the unified productive processes on the scale of unified humanity, the initial forms of which are manifested in the early socialist societies.

Thus, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production of society is historically resolved. This contradiction is resolved in the mature internal socialisation of production, where it is now transformed into the non-competitive contradiction between the necessity of planning imposed by the technology of unified production (first on a planetary scale, then in space) and planning on the part of humanity constituted as a collective subject.

## **6. Morality, politics and law as aspects of social conscience**

The relations of human beings as social beings

to the objective conditions of their existence (first of all, the conditions of labour action on nature and the relations between human beings within, around and because of it, and its respective results) are revealed within social conscience<sup>[6]</sup>. The latter is on the one hand con-science, i.e. the cognitive relation of the subject to the object (matter that can be scientifically known), and on the other hand con-science, i.e. the awareness and anticipatory perception of the interaction of people, their mutual relations and their communication (of people as subjects). The characteristic of social conscience is the reflection of the subject as a subject, and the effect on people as subjects through actions, feelings (and emotions) and thinking. Depending on the predominance of one of the aforementioned forms of reflection and action, social conscience is divided into three basic forms: moral, aesthetic and philosophical (for a more detailed elaboration, see Vaziulin 2004, p. 233-279 and Patelis 1999).

The moral form of conscience concerns the field of the realisation and performance of actions (attitudes, behaviours, deeds, enterprises, etc.) which are considered in terms of the benefit or harm they can bring to individuals, groups and society as a whole, i.e. in terms of good and evil. The highest good (excellence, virtue), is that action which best contributes to the preservation and development of society, of humanity as a whole. Therefore, within the framework of moral conscience, in principle and in various ways, the possibility and necessity of the unification of humanity, of a universal human society, is realised. In those stages of social development in which conflicting and contradictory interests prevail, this form of social conscience acquires two additional necessary and interrelated manifestations: politics and law.

Political conscience is a complex field of feelings, emotions, experiences, thoughts, but above all actions, driven by the awareness of the essential



difference, antithesis and contradiction of the actor with the one against whom the action is directed, for the achievement (satisfaction, assertion, etc.) of certain material interests. Political power is exercised in order to ensure (violently or non-violently, repressively or consensually) the obedience of people to the rules and ostensible general social purposes of the (historically specific) type of authority in question. The main stake of politics is the struggle for domination and subordination, in which the question of who and how will have the means of foraging and production at their disposal is central, as long as the unequal relation to the means of foraging and production of different people, groups and associations is necessary. This struggle is intertwined with the existence of private property in the means of foraging and production, and will continue as long as there is unequal access by members of society to the means of foraging and production, and therefore to the means of consumption. Thus, the main feature of power in class society is the relations of domination and subordination.

Biologically, necessary needs are common to humans and animals; they are largely animal needs. Therefore, politics, as the condensed expression of man's struggle for the actual means and ways of satisfying these essentially animal needs, is a manifestation of the inherently non-humanised character of human relations. Consequently, political views, thoughts, feelings and actions are not characterised by the purely human, the purely social element. As the political conflict intensifies, the opponents and class antagonists use every means, they try to achieve their ends by legitimate and illegitimate means, in every way. This is true to a degree that directly corresponds to the selfishness of the aims defended by each antagonist, but also to the severity, the inexorable character of the struggle for survival. To the extent that this is the case, self-interested political expediency subordinates moral

questioning.

This struggle for dominance, for the power and domination of one part of society over another part of society as a condensed manifestation of the struggle for survival, passes historically through various phases: from intense relentless conflicts (revolts, revolutions, wars), to periods of relatively peaceful coexistence of the warring parties, to the next change in the balance of forces and of the warring camps (Vaziulin 2004 p. 260-263). Hence the interconnectedness of politics and war.

From the above conflict, law emerges as a set of rules and regulations governing the actions of people, which (rules and regulations) are either enacted or ratified by the state, by the political authority. Law is primarily the codified framework of action of the agencies of the victors, of the dominant material interests of a given time, aimed at imposing on the defeated those conditions and rules which safeguard, preserve and reproduce the dominant material interests.

Historically, law emerged as a gradual validation of customs and morals ("customary law") during the transition from the system of primitive community to class society (see also Vecchio). The first systems of law appeared in antiquity and the Middle Ages (e.g. Attic law, Roman law, Justinian's Code, Justinian's Novels) and are associated with the relative development of commodity and monetary relations. Under slavery and feudalism, however, law was not independent of other aspects of social life (economic, political, religious, etc.). As a field of social life, social conscience and the superstructure which is as independent as possible, law arises under capitalism, in the rise and consolidation of which it plays an important role (see also Pasukanis, Tigar & Levi). Legal systems are developed and refined on the basis of the formal/legal equality of individuals/citizens (egalitarianism), which is indispensable for capitalism.

## **7. Justice as a criterion for the preservation or change of the objective conditions of human existence**

As we have seen, justice is a concept that touches on aspects of morality, politics and law. The concepts of good and evil are placed at a higher level of generalisation and abstraction, allowing the formulation of moral judgements about certain moral phenomena as a whole. In contrast to the concepts of good and evil, which characterise morally certain phenomena (attitudes, behaviours, actions, inactions, omissions, etc.), justice characterises more specifically the interrelation of certain phenomena or even the overall assessment of the state of society in terms of the interrelation and distribution of good and evil in the relations between people. In this light, it is through the concepts of justice and injustice that people assess the totality of the social conditions of their existence and form their perception of the necessity and desirability of maintaining or changing these conditions.

The ways in which scarce goods (e.g. optimal access, in terms of quantity and quality, to material goods and services to satisfy primarily biological needs, optimal access to creative activities that help develop the human being and to the acquisition of material and spiritual culture) are distributed among people, are examined through the lens of justice. It is therefore concerned with the way in which people relate to each other, mediated by access or lack of access to desirable and coveted goods.

From this aspect, as long as this access is unequal, that is, as long as the existence of exploitation of man by man is historically necessary, injustice prevails and the prospect of eliminating this exploitation is presented as the prospect of justice. However, the objective conditions of this perspective, which appear, develop and mature historically, are understood through

corresponding conceptions of justice. The latter are divided, different and opposed, to the extent that the material interests of individuals, groups (classes) and society as a whole are divided, different and opposed to each other, while the dominant conception of justice at any given time is consolidated and internalised at the level of everyday practice within the dominant relations, but is also generally imposed by the agents of the dominant material interests as a pseudo-universal justice that supposedly expresses the whole of society (through law, institutions, etc.). In fact, these perceptions have changed historically and locally. In antiquity, for example, slavery was seen as the natural state for Aristotle's "talking tools", while feudalism and serfdom were seen by the rising bourgeoisie as unjust and undignified anachronisms that deserved to be overthrown.

From a certain point of view, justice can be seen and function as the moral dimension of the limits of the consent of the underprivileged, the exploited, the oppressed, or (in the case of exceeding these tolerable limits, which is realised as social injustice, corruption, etc.) the demand for a change in their conditions of existence. In the latter case, we have clear symptoms of the manifestation, on a mass scale and at the level of everyday consciousness, of the moral deterioration of historically obsolete economic and social relations and institutions.

However, if philosophical reflection does not wish to indulge in abstract moralising and arbitrary deontological constructions from a position of safety, it must not limit itself to philosophical reformulations of the experiences that cause the above-mentioned symptoms in the bearers of everyday consciousness, nor to schemes outside historical time and place, in the name of timeless, unchanging principles. Abstract notions of justice, perceived as an ahistorical self-righteousness, as well as feelings of justice, cannot replace the theoretical (philosophical and interdisciplinary)

study of the real possibilities and the law governed necessity of a way out of the social impasses that are experienced by people as situations of injustice. Even more, they cannot replace the practical and organisational struggle for changing the balance of power, for the revolutionary transformation of society.

The bourgeois concept of justice is linked to formal equality (egalitarianism) and to theories of natural law. In the bourgeois “neoliberal” ideologies of “meritocracy” we have the degeneration of the original demands of the rising bourgeoisie for equality, justice and freedom (see also Young). The neo-liberal revision of the original bourgeois values that prevails today is manifested in that extreme social minimalism that renounces any positive definition of the fight against injustice, inequality and lack of freedom, and is negatively limited to the conditions of consolidating the now unquestionable inequality and lack of freedom, or to the conditions of managing these conditions in order to secure consensus.

## **8. Just and unjust wars. War & revolution**

War and politics are interrelated forms of imposition, domination and subjugation based on the balance of power between the camps of conflicting interests. They differ in the means and ways of settling the conflict for power: in the first case, armed violence and the suppression and elimination of the opponent predominate; in the second, consent and obedience to the dominant order, with the threat or even occasional use of repression by the ruling class organised in institutional power (state or inter-state), as long as it maintains a monopoly on the exercise of organised violence over society.

According to the above approach, in the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, wars are linked to the question of justice (as is revolution), and are divided into just and unjust

wars, depending on the position and role of the social forces involved in each camp. The sense of justice, questions of justice and their consequent theoretical and ideological/political foundations differ according to the interests at stake in each camp of the conflict.

The collective interests and the selfless aims of the camp of the progressive forces involved in a conflict go hand in hand with an objective, scientific and universal knowledge of the nature of the irreconcilable contradictions that lead to it, as well as of the tactical and strategic prospects that are important for the working class, the people and society, and that drive these forces in their just struggle.

On the contrary, the selfish to predatory interests and aims of the camp of the exploiters and oppressors, of the reactionary forces involved in the same conflict, are not compatible with an objective, scientific and universal knowledge of the nature of the irreconcilable contradictions that lead to it, because they reveal the deceptiveness of their tactical and strategic aims, that is, they reveal the misanthropic and antisocial character of these forces. Therefore, in order to subjugate the popular masses into mobilising in a war for interests alien to themselves, these forces resort to the concealment of their predatory interests, to take-over, to deception (lies, disinformation, ideological manipulation, nationalism, chauvinism, racism, fascism, religious fanaticism, etc.), to “divide and rule”, but also to violent conscription, mass terrorism, police/military rule and the fascisation of society

Therefore, just wars are the wars of the social forces suffering from exploitation and oppression (in the imperialist stage of capitalism): Classes, peoples, nations, countries and groups of countries against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, for their social/class and national liberation (“civil” class war, war of national

liberation), for the defence and consolidation of their national independence and popular sovereignty, for the defence, consolidation and development of the achievements of the development of early socialism and anti-imperialist movements, as well as wars waged to repel the aggression of imperialist countries, forces and coalitions.

Unjust wars are usually waged by the social forces of exploitation and oppression. In the imperialist stage of capitalism, it is the financial oligarchy, the imperialist states in which it is dominant and the groups/coalitions of countries under its leadership, the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, which instrumentalise fascism, engage in “proxy wars”, regime-change operations, border changes, the seizure and redistribution of economic, natural and human resources, etc., for the social/class and national subjugation and enslavement of peoples, in civil wars, wars of conquest, etc., for the defence and consolidation of their domination, for the defence, consolidation and intensification of the mechanisms of super-exploitation of the peoples with the extraction of monopoly super-profits, for the reversal and destruction, through interventions and subversive counter-revolutionary actions, of the achievements of early socialism and anti-imperialist movements, etc.

A war can be unjust on both sides if both camps have selfish predatory interests (as in the First Imperialist World War). Then the forces of social progress must use the conflict to create opportunities to strike at the “weak link” created by the conflict and weaken the opposing parties. A war can—and most often does—be just for one side and unjust for the other.

In the course of a war, its character can change: the case of the Second World War is typical: it began as an imperialist war and then, with the participation of the USSR, it was transformed into

an anti-fascist war.

Wars have different effects on the development of society, on social progress or regression.

Just, revolutionary wars, waged by the oppressed against the oppressors, are a motive for social progress, break outdated regimes and dominant relations, liberate and develop revolutionary potential, open up prospects for the development of society on the way to the unification of humanity.

The unjust, predatory wars launched and waged by the oppressors and exploiters are regressive and destructive for the peoples and, in our time, can lead to the total destruction of humanity.

Throughout history, however, predatory wars have “awakened” society, bringing to the surface the obsolete and regressive character of the dominant relations of production, institutions and regimes, and bringing to the surface contradictions that trigger large-scale social changes and revolutions.

Of course, no war can artificially impose revolutionary changes, it cannot be a mechanism for “exporting revolution”, if the mature objective conditions (including the revolutionary situation), but also the subjective conditions, do not exist in a country or a group of countries. Only as long as these necessary and sufficient conditions exist, war can bring out and under different conditions, trigger latent forces and motives for revolt and social revolution.

## **9. Some conclusions**

Unbridled self-interest is often presented as a supposed biological law. In higher animals, however, “altruistic” behaviour is observed, where the main role in the individual’s behaviour is not the survival of the individual, but the need to maintain the life of the species (genus) as a whole. Such behaviour is required for acting in the interests of the unity and survival of the human race.

When it becomes possible to satisfy the needs

of the members of society beyond the absolute minimum of resources necessary for survival, the interactions of human beings are divided into external and internal. Consequently, politics and law—as particular expressions of the predominantly external bonds between people (as expressions of the predominantly external similarity of people and the predominantly external unity of people)—and morality—as a particular expression of the predominantly internal bonds between people—are distinguished as relatively independent spheres of social life (Vaziulin 2006, p.21). To the extent that internal and external bonds are opposed, the fields of morality, on the one hand, politics and law on the other, are also opposed and to a large extent mutually reproductive, mutually defined and mutually exclusive. This relation is expressed, on the one hand, in the subordination of morality to self-interested politics (always invested with rampant moralising) or to legal formalism (of double standards), in Pharisaic hypocrisy, in the imposition of the dominant version of morality, etc., and, on the other hand, in the reduction of morality to the absolute and abstract ahistorical principles of an academic deontology that lies above social reality.

In competitive society, various associations of people, on the basis of self-interest, form a certain unity through separation, an alienated and alienating unity. In the formation of humanity, the inner bond is first of all projected as a necessity for the survival of humanity, by preventing the destructive effects on nature and society of means and actions that are not controlled by the whole of humanity. What we are dealing with here is the negative manifestation of the inner bond of humanity as a condition of its existence.

The positive manifestation of the inner bond of humanity consists in the maturing of such necessary and sufficient objective conditions (overcoming the struggle for survival and

dominance, optimal satisfaction of needs, universal access to creative activities, actual socialisation of the character of labour, etc.) that lead to the revolutionary struggle for the unification of humanity, to its authentically human history.

When this becomes possible, it will also mean the realisation of morality and the achievement of authentic, universal justice, in parallel with the withering away of the state, politics, war and law. Thus, morality will also disappear as a separate and externally influenced sphere, and will become an inseparable aspect of the multifaceted conscience and attitude to life of the universally developing personality.

However, the radical reconstitution of humanity as an internally unified whole, the transition to an authentically human history, is not a mere moral demand for the restoration of justice, but an inescapable necessity the failure of which will inexorably lead to self-destruction.

Therefore, from the point of view of the forces of social progress, of revolution, the just character of military conflicts—especially of the imperialist world wars—is linked to the global revolutionary process:

WWI was imperialist, it led to a series of revolutions and uprisings, the greatest of which was the Great October Revolution, the first victorious early socialist revolution, which inaugurated the transition of humanity to another type of development, the path to the revolutionary unification of humanity.

WWII, which began as an imperialist war but was transformed into an anti-fascist war with the attack of the anti-communist axis on the USSR, led to the emergence of the global system of early socialism and initiated the dissolution of colonialism.

WWIII is by definition a just war from the point of view of the anti-imperialist forces under the leading role of the forces of early socialism (PRC, DPRK, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba). For the first



time in history, we are witnessing the drastic initiation of a process of separating the imperialist countries and their transnational coalitions from their established sources of parasitism based on the neo-colonialist type of extracting monopoly super-profits from dependent, semi-independent, formally independent, etc. countries. The most vital task of the progressive and revolutionary forces of the time, with the communists in the forefront, is to unite with the most consistent forces of this camp, the pole that has justice on its side. The victory of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces will launch a new wave of victorious socialist revolutions.

There is a lack of study of the deeper causes of the conflicts between the early socialist countries in the 20th century. The revolutionary movement and humanity cannot afford to leave room for spontaneous recurrence of such ruptures and conflicts between early socialist countries! Such phenomena are not only unjust, but they go against the essence of socialist transformations.

These transformations are impossible and repulsive to the working class and the peoples if they are marred by a revival of primitive regionalism, collective egoism, nationalism, big-state chauvinism and short-sighted geopolitical bureaucratic self-interest.

These transformations can only develop with impetus and inspire the progressive forces if they are consciously launched on the basis of scientific planning, not only of individual parties and countries, but on an inherently internationalist basis, guided by the strategy of revolutionary unification of humanity as a whole.

The question of justice is particularly relevant today as WWII is rapidly escalating. The World Anti-Imperialist Platform consciously joins the forces waging a just war for the survival and prospect of the unification of humanity and coordinates their struggle. It exposes and counteracts the divisive and deceptive role of the

ideology and practice of the apostate opportunists, servants of the imperialist axis, and takes the lead in reorganising and developing the leading role of the communists in this struggle, which paves the way for the coming victorious socialist revolutions.

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[6] Conscience, from Latin conscientia is a calque of Ancient Greek συνείδησις (suneidēsis), σύν: prefix meaning “with” + εἶδησις: meaning knowledge.

## Notes

[1] Δέον (déon), ancient Greek for that which is binding, needful, right, proper.

[2] Law-governed or governed by laws is used as the translation of the German term Gesetzmäßige, , Greek: Νομοτελής.

[3] For the type of subject in relation to the historical forms of the division of labour in the making of capitalism, see Marx, Capital, Volume I, Part IV: Production of Relative Surplus Value.

[4] The unifying effect of this functional and morphological transformation, as long as it proceeds mainly on the basis of mechanical interaction, can only be detected a posteriori and in its results. In fact, it requires insight and theoretical effort on a large scale to first detect and discern this unifying basis at the level of the material substrate of the social mode of production in developed capitalism (with K. Marx’s brilliant discoveries in philosophy and political economy). As we have noted, the systematic diagnosis of this unifying effect of the internal unity of the material substrate and human substance in the historical development of society as a whole comes much later, under existing early socialism, i.e. at a radically different historical and cognitive juncture, with Vaziulin’s discoveries in the “Logic of History”.

[5] See next part.

# People Armed with the Best Weapon, Unity, Will Win

Stephen Cho | Coordinator of the Korean International Forum

September 15, 2024

*Speech at the debate organized by the Communist Party of Belgium in the Fête de l'Humanité on September 15, 2024*

The current world situation is, in short, a world war. There have been two world wars, the first and second, so this time is the third. To put it metaphorically, the storm of World War 3 is blowing from Eastern Europe through West Asia (Middle East) to the Western Pacific. This war is caused by imperialism, like all wars since the 20th century. Imperialism systematically promotes wars to deflect its own political and economic crises, for the high monopoly profits of monopoly capital, for the militarization of the economy, and for the interests of the military-industrial complex. Consequently, the people are uniting in solidarity on a global scale, not just on a national scale.

The current state of the war in Eastern Europe is not limited to Ukraine, as reported in the media, but is on the verge of expansion following the Ukrainian attack on Kursk in Russia. Russia cannot tolerate the attack on its country by NATO, including the US, which is behind Ukraine. The war in West Asia is not just moving from the fourth to the fifth round but is moving toward ending the Zionist occupation of Palestine since 1948. This is a common goal of not only Hamas but also the “Axis of Resistance,” which includes Iran. It is because the war in West Asia is being fought in conjunction with World War 3.

Ukraine’s attack on Kursk is a major threat to Russia because Kursk has a gas valve from Russia to pro-Russian countries in Eastern Europe, Slovakia and Hungary, as well as to Germany, Austria, and Italy in Western Europe, and there is one of the

four Russian nuclear power plants there. Ukraine carried out reckless and dangerous drone attacks against nuclear power plants in Zaporizhia and Kursk, which is extremely provocative to Russia. Furthermore, if the US and others allow Ukraine to attack Russia without restrictions with missiles provided by them, Russia has no choice but to make a serious decision. NATO, including the US, is constantly provoking Russia.

This is also true in West Asia. Israel’s attack on the Iranian consulate in Damascus, Syria, in April, and even its attacks on Beirut, Lebanon, and Tehran, Iran, in July, killing Hezbollah’s military commander and Hamas’ political leader, respectively, are provocations and aggressions that Hezbollah and Iran will never tolerate. Iran is playing a waiting game as strategic patience, but its decisive retaliatory strike is inevitable. The “Axis of Resistance” is united, and its counterattack continues unabated.

In East Asia, the “Republic of Korea (ROK)” and Taiwan are the most dangerous. If Japan and the Philippines are added, it will be the war in East Asia, and when Australia and New Zealand join, we will have the Western Pacific war. Japan has the strongest military alliance in Asia with the US and the “ROK” and is the center of both the “first island chain” connecting Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines and the “second island chain” connecting Japan, Guam, and Papua New Guinea. In short, Japan is the starting point, common point, and center of the US plan for the Western Pacific war.

The US is trying to provoke the war in the “ROK” with Japan as its stronghold and immediately escalate it to the war in East Asia, which Taiwan

and the Philippines would join, and then to the Western Pacific war with Australia and New Zealand included. This is exactly the “Second Pacific War,” a replay of the Pacific War during World War 2. At that time, Japan, which was in the fascist camp, waged war against the US, which was in the anti-fascist camp, while now the US, which belongs to the imperialist camp, is trying to wage war against the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK), China, and Russia, which are in the anti-imperialist camp.

The Washington NATO Summit in July 2024 declared the de facto “Pacification of NATO” with having IP4 countries (Japan, the “ROK,” Australia, and New Zealand) as its partners, and from June to August this summer, with the RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific Exercise) as its peak, NATO held its largest and most provocative military exercises and war games in history, including “Freedom Edge,” “Pitch Black,” “Pacific Skies,” “Pacific Dragon,” and “Ulchi Freedom Shield” exercises aimed at the DPRK, China, and Russia. In other words, the “Pacification of NATO” is not just organized but is in the stage of full-scale realization through practical exercises. Imperialism had “Atlanticized” NATO, expanding it from the North Atlantic to the South Atlantic, and now completed its “Pacification”. Ten percent of NATO’s approximate 750 bases are in Latin America, mostly on the Pacific side, from Mexico to Chile.

At the end of July, the defense and foreign ministers of the US and Japan gathered in Japan to make the Japan “Self-Defense Forces (SDF)” a war-capable Japanese army and to transfer the operational command authority from the Indo-Pacific Command to the US Forces Japan (USFJ). In other words, the USFJ and the Japan “SDF” completed a command system that allows them to wage war on their own at any time. This means that the subordinate military alliance system has already been established to complete the “Pacification of

NATO” with the already formed “AUKUS” of the US, UK, and Australia, while the US, Japan, and the “ROK” virtually formed the “East Asian NATO” at Camp David in August last year, and the US, Japan, Australia, and the Philippines formed the “SQUAD” this year. In other words, the imperialist forces, including the US, have already systematically and strategically prepared to expand the war not only to Northeast Asia, but also to East Asia and the Western Pacific.

For the US, Japan is the “invincible aircraft carrier” and the central base in the Western Pacific, while the “ROK” provides the “storm troops” and the base for advance. Unlike the wars in Ukraine and West Asia, in the East Asia and Western Pacific, the moment the war in the “ROK” erupts, the wars in Northeast Asia, East Asia and the Western Pacific will be triggered almost simultaneously. This fearful battlefield, where even tactical nuclear weapons may be mobilized, will be the arena for largest battle between anti-imperialist military and imperialist military forces and will decide the fate of World War 3.

That is why Yoon Suk-yeol of the “ROK” shows violence and belligerence as a fascist and a pro-US puppet, surpassing Zelensky of Ukraine and Netanyahu of Israel. Yoon fascist power has gone berserk in its fascist witch hunt so-called “anti-state forces” by simultaneously raiding and searching the People’s Democracy Party and the Democratic party, which are respectively the leftmost and the rightmost except for the right-wing fascist party in the political spectrum of the “ROK,” on the same day in last August. The scheme to provoke a local war and then use it as an excuse to impose “martial law” has already been exposed by the public remark of the leader of the main opposition party, which has a majority in the National Assembly. In the “ROK,” all political forces, except for the far-right fascist forces, are engaged in a common struggle to end the Yoon Suk-yeol fascist government.



With Yoon's government having formed the "Northeast Asian NATO" with the US Biden and Japanese Kishida governments last year and practiced it this year, the recent fascist crackdown in the "ROK" is the signal for the "martial law on the pretext of war" and the most obvious sign that war in the "ROK" is on the horizon. Again, the "ROK" is in a situation where it would be little wonder if the war exploded tomorrow. The communist and anti-imperialist forces worldwide should be alert and not overlook the political and military significance of the war in the "ROK" as a trigger and a detonator in the war in East Asia and the Western Pacific.

The reason why the imperialist powers are launching a world war is because their economic and political crises are unprecedentedly serious and there is no way to overcome them except war. The downward spiral manifested by repeated economic depressions is reaching an extreme after the 2008 global financial crisis in the US and the pandemic, and the deceptive left and right two-party system designed to hide the polarization of the rich and poor is no longer working. The awakening of the world's people is accelerating under the situation of world war. The imperialist powers are deluded thinking that they can win as they did in the Cold War system by denouncing the anti-imperialist camp as a "new axis of aggressors" and creating the "New Cold War" system as a last resort to extend their lives and buy time.

However, the anti-imperialist camp is taking the initiative in the confrontation with the imperialist camp because it has a just pretext, overwhelming forces, and superior operations. The imperialist camp is being pushed into a corner in every aspect of its pretext, forces, and operations in this world war, which stems from its fundamental vulnerability and inability to escape its own general and acute crises. It is no coincidence that the imperialist powers are losing against Russia and

the "Axis of Resistance" in Eastern Europe and West Asia, respectively, which are the battlefields of ongoing wars among the three major battlefields of World War 3. The imperialist forces are trying to reverse the situation by making the Western Pacific War the main battlefield of World War 3, but their humiliating defeat is inevitable.

Just as the antifascist camp won the antifascist war, World War 2, the anti-imperialist camp will be the final winner in the anti-imperialist war, World War 3. The banner of justice of anti-fascism, liberation, and reunification is on the side of the anti-imperialist camp. Russia, China, and the DPRK, the leading countries in the anti-imperialist camp, are all armed with nuclear missiles. The DPRK, the most steadfast socialist country, China, a socialist country with Chinese characteristics, and Russia, a country that has a socialist heritage, have not only an anti-imperialist line but also socialism in common.

The 2 billion Muslims, including the "Axis of Resistance," such as Iran, colonized and semi-colonized countries, and developing countries, are joining the anti-imperialist camp, as evidenced by the increasing number of countries joining BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The conflict between the G7 and NATO, the imperialist tools, on the one side, and BRICS and the SCO, the collectives of the anti-imperialist camp, on the other side, is deepening the political and economic crisis of imperialism.

Specifically, if Saudi Arabia, an Arab leading power, decisively turns its back on the US and turns to BRICS, the US petrodollar system will collapse, and the US economy, which has been printing almost unlimited amounts of dollars and suffering from astronomical national debt, will be plunged into hyperinflation on par with Germany. The US is trying to change its "Asia-Pacific Strategy" to the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" to isolate China and attract India, but the deceptive nature of its "de-risking"

has already been exposed, and India, a founding member of the BRICS and a member of the SCO, chose a summit with Russia instead of participating in the Washington NATO Summit. The “Quad” is ineffective and the “Indian Oceanization of NATO” has failed.

The imperialist camp has made proxy, expeditionary, localized and hybrid warfare the doctrine of its military operations, which is a proof that it recognizes the limit of its forces’ ability to overwhelm the anti-imperialist camp, and that the monopoly capitalists who enjoy the greatest wealth and benefits are afraid of suicidal mutually assured destruction (MAD). There is no doubt that the anti-imperialist camp which is firmly committed to the cause of justice recognized by humanity and the times, and which will desperately fight near its mainland by all means necessary, will be victorious. The anti-imperialist forces, including the communist forces, do not want war and are doing their best to prevent it, exerting their strategic patience to the limit. However, if the fatal imperialist provocation makes war unavoidable, we will crush the imperialist war of aggression with an all-people’s resistance in which the entire army and people fight as one, just as the antifascist camp did during World War 2, and make it a decisive opportunity for the great change and great upheaval in the revolutionary direction of permanent peace, global independence, and a society where the people become its masters.

Launched in Paris in October, 2022, the World Anti-imperialist Platform (the Platform) announced the Paris Declaration based on the scientific analysis of the current international situation and the revolutionary strategies of the communist forces and has been striving with communist political forces worldwide to realize the three major goals; the world anti-imperialist struggles, the ideological battle against opportunist, and the strengthening of the communist movement.

The Platform held various international events, including the anti-imperialist international conference, and mass struggles in Paris, France, in October; in Belgrade, Serbia, in December, 2022; in Caracas, Venezuela, in March; in Gwangju and Seoul, the “ROK,” in May; in Athens, Greece, in November, 2023; and in Washington, US, in July, 2024. Currently, it is preparing for events and struggles in Dakar, Senegal, in October.

The logical contradiction between the imperialist camp’s anti-Russian and pro-Israeli propaganda is pushing itself to the brink in a fight that already had no convincing pretext. The Platform is now actively working to enhance the leadership role of the communist forces in solidarity with the pro-Russian and pro-Palestinian peoples.

The Platform, holding high its two main banners “Workers of the World, Unite!” and “The People, United, Will Never Be Defeated!” is moving forward unwaveringly on the path of peace, independence, liberation and revolution together with communist and anti-imperialist forces around the world. The people are the masters of their own destiny and history only moves in this direction. As history has proven, science and truth must triumph. Unity is the people’s best weapon. The united people and united anti-imperialist camp will certainly win.

