



# THE RED FLAG

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**On Building up the International  
Marxist-Leninist Movement**



**Resolutions adopted by the  
Sixth International Conference of  
Marxist-Leninist Parties and  
Organisations**



**Comments on Resolutions adopted  
at the Sixth International Conference**



**Theoretical Journal of the  
Central Reorganisation Committee  
CPI (ML) Red Flag**

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THE RED FLAG  
Editorial Board  
Editorial Committee

## **Problems of Building up International Marxist-Leninist Movement**

We had to skip publication of three issues of Red Flag, the October-December 1999 and January-March, and April-June 2000 issues due to technical problems connected with shifting all English and Hindi publications to Delhi. This July-September 2000 issue is coming out from Delhi. We hope to bring out our theoretical journal regularly in coming days. Strengthening our publication work in all languages is one of the important tasks taken up by the CRC as part of our ideological political offensive.

During this period the Sixth International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations was held. During the preparation for this conference we had put forward our views "On building up the International Marxist-Leninist Movement" which was published in the International News letter, no.16 published by the Joint Coordinating Group of the ICMLPO.

In the conference four resolutions were adopted. But these resolutions do not reflect the view points upheld by us on analysing the present world situation, and on developing the line and orientation of the international Marxist-Leninist movement in continuation to the line of Third or Communist International, and the Great Debate positions put forward by the CPC in 1963. So we decided not to sign these declarations. At the same time, we signed the solidarity declaration adopted by the conference, which are already published in Red Star.

We have send a rejoinder explaining the reasons for not signing the resolutions and our differences with it to the JCG. This is already published in International Newsletter, no. 20, under the title, Comments on the Resolutions adopted at the Sixth International Conference.

We are publishing this issue of Red Flag including our first paper, the four resolutions, and our comments.

We are also publishing the contents of the previous issues of Red Flag. Few copies of all these issues of Red Flag are available with us. Please send the contribution amount for the back issues you want by M.O so that they can be send to you.

**Editorial Board**



ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE

# On Building up the International Marxist-Leninist Movement

## Developing the Ideological-Political Line

Even a decade ago, many of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations were very sceptical about building up the Marxist-Leninist movement at the international level anew. But now the picture is different from that of the 1980s when the first international conference of the anti-Dengist, anti-Hoxhaite forces was convened in which our organization also played a role. Many of the organizations who were violent critics of any international efforts then are now active participants in international conferences and seminars. It is a positive development that, contrary to the situation till the 1980s, now many international conferences and seminars are taking place. Multilateral exchanges of views are taking place in addition to bilateral discussions. Joint statements are issued, joint campaigns are organized. All these show the growing awareness among the Marxist-Leninist organizations that, taking lessons from the experience of the First, Second and Third International and the Cominform, a new Marxist Leninist international should be built up step by step to combat imperialism and its compradors and lackeys everywhere to give leadership to the international proletarian socialist revolution. Especially when the imperialist camp is intensifying its efforts to impose its own brand of globalization, the revolutionary forces are recognising the growing importance of proletarian internationalism. These are positive developments and should be promoted by all means.

But along with these positive developments, a negative factor is also gaining strength. A growing aversion to ideological struggle, to taking uncompromising ideological-political positions, is being exhibited by many of these organizations at the international conferences and seminars. Pragmatist approaches are taken towards ideological issues and movements. This "practical" approach is even paraded as virtue by many.

But the Marxist-Leninist teachers' position on this question is basically different. All through their life, they struggled for establishing a revolutionary ideological-political line and declared that the "ideological-political line determines everything." Only through the uncompromising ideological struggle against the

revolutionary ideology also should be developed both in theory and practice. In this class struggle taking place at the global level in this era of struggle between imperialism and the proletarian forces, as the proletariat and its vanguards develop their strategy and tactics, the imperialists redouble their efforts to combat them by developing their own strategy and tactics. It is a life-and-death struggle, which will continue until one of these forces is totally vanquished.

Historical materialism teaches that, as the most advanced class hitherto in human history, the proletariat is bound to become victorious irrespective of the present setbacks, that is, the proletariat is bound to become victorious and imperialism is destined to get vanquished in the protracted struggle. This historical process can be accelerated only if the proletariat and its vanguard forces, the communist parties, are capable of advancing their ideological positions based on the changes in concrete conditions, are adept in combating the changes made by the imperialist camp in its strategy and tactics from time to time, and in resisting the numerous reformist thoughts generated by the petty-bourgeoisie and promoted by the imperialist and their lackeys. The history of great advances made by the ICM till the early 1950s substantiate this.

It is a fact that all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations accept the reality that the ICM has suffered severe setbacks in the last four decades following the great advances made up to the mid-50s. How do they evaluate the reason for these setbacks? This is a question of fundamental importance.

It is also a fact that all the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations rallying around the JCG denounce Khrushchovite revisionism which rejected the path of class struggle, embraced class collaboration, degenerated the Soviet Union to capitalist path, and tried to liquidate the ICM. But is there unity of approach in evaluating the Brezhnev-to-Gorbachov regimes which, through different stages of bureaucratic state capitalism destroyed all the gains of the socialist path and paved the way for the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and for the total integration of Russia and the other former Soviet republics along with the East European countries into the imperialist system? Once again this is a question of fundamental importance, because only on the basis of this evaluation we shall be able to evaluate the class stand of the different parties existing or emerging in Russia and the East European countries.

Further, it is also a fact that the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations rallying around the JCG uphold Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism, as some

organizations like to call it. But, whether Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism, do they differentiate Mao's contribution from Lin Biaosim, which dominated some of the basic formulations like the "new era" concept put forward by the Ninth Congress of the CPC held in 1969 ? Again, do they uphold the Great Debate position of the CPC under Mao's leadership, which drew a clear line of demarcation between Khrushovite revisionism and revolutionary Marxism on all fundamental questions, the theory and practice of continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat put forward during the Cultural Revolution irrespective of the many weaknesses which surfaced during this period, and the protracted struggle waged under the leadership of Mao against the capitalist-roaders within the CPC ? This is again a question of fundamental importance, because to evaluate present China and the present leadership of the CPC as socialist or not is of vital significance to the ICM today.

Again, as far as we understand, the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations rallying around the JCG are opposed to the erroneous formulations put forward since 1978 by Enver Hoxha which played a significant role in the degeneration of Albania and in accelerating the setbacks to the ICM. But utilizing the recent mighty upsurge of the heroic people of Albania against the capitalist-roaders ruining their country, vested interests and misguided forces are trying to obliterate the line of demarcation between the erroneous line of Enver Hoxha since 1978 and revolutionary Marxism. Where do the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations stand on this question is also of vital importance in building unity among them.

Finding Marxist-Leninist answers to these questions and evaluating the setbacks suffered by the ICM from the time of Khrushovite revisionism, in our opinion, are integrally linked with the development of our understanding about the strategy and tactics resorted to by the imperialist camp in the post World War II period, and about the weaknesses of the ICM in combating them.

### **Defining the Major Contradictions in the World**

From the time of the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels pointed out that with the emergence of the capitalist system and the two antagonistic classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the contradiction between the capitalist system and the proletarian revolution which aims to overthrow it and to carry forward the socialist transformation towards an exploitation-free world of communism has come to the center stage. With the transformation of capitalism to its moribund

stage, imperialism, Lenin and following him the Comintern pointed out the present era as the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and the resolution of the fundamental contradiction between the social character of production and private ownership of the means of production in the capitalist system reflected through the resolution of the contradiction between the imperialism and the socialist forces as the determining factor in this era.

From Lenin's time up to that of the Great Debate positions of the CPC under Mao's leadership, the four major contradictions in the world (the contradiction between socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups), had been put forward and, at the same time, their interrelation and interpenetration were always stressed. It was also pointed out that any deviation from linking the struggles waged by the proletariat and all oppressed people to the struggle against imperialism and for socialism, will inevitably lead towards reformism.

According to Marxist-Leninist teachings, the existence of the contradiction between the imperialist system and the forces of socialism in this era, in whichever form it is explained, is not determined by the existence of the socialist countries alone. Irrespective of the existence of the socialist countries, so long as the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution continues, the contradiction between the imperialist system and the forces of socialism shall continue as the determining factor.

This aspect becomes more clear if we analyze the interrelation between these four major contradictions at global level, that is, the contradiction between the socialist forces or socialist camp and the imperialist system, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist-imperialist countries, between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism, and among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups. The intensification of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist-imperialist countries leads to socialist revolutions, and that between the people of the oppressed countries under the leadership of the proletariat and imperialism and its compradors leads to new-democratic revolutions, both being integral parts of the world socialist revolution, and in turn continuously strengthening the socialist forces as a whole. Similarly, the intensification of the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups also serves as favourable



factors for strengthening the socialist forces, if there are subjective forces available to utilize this objective situation. So irrespective of whether socialist countries are existing or not, nobody can obliterate the fundamental contradiction between the socialist forces and the imperialist system, the existence and development of which is the basic factor which serves as the motive force leading human society forward.

But following the usurpation of power by the capitalist roaders in China and the degeneration of Albania immediately after Mao's death, and under the pernicious influence of the "Theory of the Three Worlds" (TTW) put forward by the Deng-Hua forces in China as the strategic line of the world proletariat, thus obliterating all class positions, most of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations rejected the contradiction between the socialist forces and imperialism as one of the four major global contradictions. Even those forces which had opposed the "TTW" from the beginning also committed this serious error, mechanically linking the existence of this contradiction with the existence of a socialist country or countries. As far as we know, most of the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations have not rectified this error so far. It has done and is doing incalculable damage to the ICM, and is making the struggle to combat the present setbacks very difficult.

The rejection of this fundamental contradiction is affecting the ICM mainly in two ways. One, even when the imperialist forces are launching vicious attacks against the working class in their own countries as well as intensifying the plunder of the vast masses in the countries under neocolonialization, this erroneous stand weakens the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in uniting their forces at the global level as a core around which the broadest possible unity of all forces fighting against imperialism and its lackeys can be built up. Two, it is weakening their proletarian class stand and leading them to make compromises with numerous NGO-like agencies created by the imperialists and their agents to disarm ideologically, divide and degenerate the revolutionary movements, or even to reduce them to being apologists of imperialists manoeuvres.

In the former colonial/semi-colonial countries, all of which are presently under ever intensifying neocolonialization, the pernicious effect of this stand is more serious. Though all the four major contradictions in these countries – between imperialism and the people, between feudalism and broad masses of people, capital and labor, and among the ruling classes – are intensifying day by

day, and although numerous conscious as well as spontaneous struggles are breaking out there, many of these movements often degenerate into reformist positions, or come under the influence of many deviations, or compromise with NGO-like forces, or one-sidedly project issues of nationality, women, ecology, caste and race, delinked from proletarian class positions. Linking all these struggles to the central task of seizing political power, overthrowing the state serving the interests of imperialism, feudalism and the comprador classes, completing the new democratic revolution as part of the world socialist revolution, and building the communist party as the vanguard of the proletariat at the country level to fulfill this task, are pushed behind or limited to mere lip-service.

In a way, by rejecting the existence of the contradiction between the socialist forces and the imperialist system at the global level, though indirectly or unknowingly, the revolutionary forces themselves are reinforcing the imperialist propaganda that the challenge of socialism is over, and it is the "end of history".

Therefore, reiterating the existence of the fundamental contradiction between the socialist forces and the imperialist system whose existence and development is the motive factor driving history forward, and arriving at Marxist-Leninist positions on the issue of fundamental importance cited above are of vital significance in strengthening the JCG as a step towards building the platform of Marxist-Leninist parties at the international level. Once these issues are resolved, or the ideological struggle to resolve these issues is initiated, the process of polarization among the revolutionary forces will get accelerated. It will also speed up the present efforts to build up an anti-imperialist front at the global level, uniting the broadest possible forces. As Lenin often reiterated, "without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."

Instead of giving importance to the vital issues obstructing the struggle to combat the present setbacks and to carry forward the revolutionary movement, and instead of promoting the ideological struggle to develop the revolutionary theory according to the concrete conditions of today, if the pages of the International Newsletter and the valuable time of the International Conference are utilized to glorify any "backward" movements going on in any "backward" areas, it will only weaken our efforts to develop Marxist-Leninist theory as the most advanced ideology of the most advanced class. Let us hope that the Sixth International Conference will try to focus on the theoretical questions of fundamental importance, some of which are briefly outlined above.

**Sixth International Conference  
of Marxist-Leninist Parties and  
Organisations 1999**

**Resolucion No.1**

**On the Development of the World Economy**

1. When Southeast Asia plunged into a crisis in July 1997, the imperialists argued that its effects would remain restricted to that region. In fact, at the background of the collapse of the "Asian tigers" was an extraordinary flow of surplus capital from the major imperialist powers to this region. They had tried to solve the problem of the fall of the profit rate by tremendous speculation and by extraordinary over-expansion of the productive capacities which was absolutely disproportionate to the market's capacity to absorb this production. This is a contradiction which the imperialist system engenders in the world. The fall of the Brazilian Real characterized the beginning of a new wave of the crisis which has been going on for 18 months. This is the third great wave after the first one which began in 1997. The second wave took place in August 1998, when the Russian crash occurred and Russia declared that it would no longer fulfill its obligations to pay. This had repercussions in Europe and the USA. The development of the crisis has shown that it is a worldwide crisis. It deepened the on going crisis in Japan, extended to Russia, the East European countries and Latin America, and is threatening to spread to Europe and to the US economy itself. The imperialists declared it was only a stock market and financial crisis, but it is the result of economic wars and of relative over production. This cyclical crisis of over production demonstrates the contradiction in capitalism between the social character of production and the private appropriation of the product. It is a deep crisis which progresses in waves and has a domino effect; there was economic collapse in some countries while others entered into a recession. The crisis will intensify and aggravate all contradictions of the imperialist system in the current epoch. Bourgeois propaganda, which speaks of a mere "financial or stockmarket crisis", veils the fact that speculative capital is not independent of productive capital. The gigantic explosion of speculative capital during the past years is the expression of overaccumulation of capital. Overaccumulated capital is going on a massive scale into speculation in search of investment opportunities yielding maximum profits. The feature of this speculation is that it is speculating on surplus value which has not yet been realized. The fact that speculative capital is growing at an increasingly rapid pace is an extreme manifestation of the decay

and the parasitic character of imperialism. These will only disappear with the disappearance of imperialism itself, but not through the reformist and revisionist concept of "control of finance capital." Finance capital signifies the merger of industrial and bank capital. On the basis of finance capital an all-dominating financial oligarchy has formed. Neither capital can be separated from the other; both dominate the state machinery. The working class and the working masses, instead of pinning illusory hopes on a control of finance capital, must unite and resist the consequences of the crisis, must attack state monopoly capitalism and its rule as a whole.

2. The development of the world economic crisis deepens and aggravates the general crisis of capitalism. This fact is in complete contradiction to the bourgeois ideology of "globalization," which promises industrialization, prosperity and peaceful development to all countries. In reality, however, the uneven economic development has worsened, particularly between the imperialist and the oppressed countries. The internationalization of the production-a result of the capitalist restructuring of international monopoly production-sharpens the contradictions of capitalism to their highest limit, rendering the transition to socialism mature and necessary. The material conditions for such a transition are developing. However, only the imperialist countries and a few dependent countries are included within this internationalization. But only the imperialist countries benefit. The much vaunted technological progress advances exclusively in the sectors which are interesting for capital. At the same time, this rapid technological progress is accompanied by a great destruction of the productive forces. Manifestations of the destructive effects are mass unemployment of 1.2 billion persons increasing on a worldwide scale, and deindustrialization in many countries, even including certain regions of the imperialist countries. The destructive effects of the capitalist mode of production can only be overcome if the productive forces are freed from their capitalist fetters. Only if the capitalist productive relations are overthrown can the productive forces develop in such a way as to be able to satisfy the continuously increasing material and intellectual needs of the society.

3. The consequences of the ongoing economic crisis on the world situation will be far-reaching. These will not develop in a straight line. The reactions to the crisis will be not only economic but principally political. Neither the USA nor Europe, Japan, Russia and China will come out of the crisis in the same shape as when they entered it. It is impossible to foresee the changes that will take place. As of now, great masses of the working people in the city and the countryside, hundreds of millions of people all over the world are reeling under the results of

the crisis. A drastic increase in unemployment, cuts in already starvation wages, increased exploitation, massive displacement of peasants from their land, greater misery, severe problems in the fields of health, housing and education: these are the results of the crisis. Equally, the high concentration of land, the low international prices of produce and the usurious banking interest rates are generating the bankruptcy of millions of peasants in the oppressed countries, forcing them to migrate into the cities and to an unbearable misery. The monopolies and the reactionary states are taking every opportunity to make the working people pay for the consequences of the crisis. An example are the plans for overexploitation and sellouts being imposed by the IMP and other international instruments of imperialists, and the growing foreign debt. The imperialist plundering of the working class and oppressed peoples and nations has intensified to the extreme. But, at the same time, the crisis has created the objective conditions for enormous mass movements, which can be observed in various countries of Asia and Latin America, and also in some imperialist countries. Currently we are witnessing a growing revolutionary resurgence and a strengthening of Communist parties which have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism. The crisis is a bad thing. But we will gain nothing if we are afraid of it, because it obeys the objective laws of capitalism. We can understand these laws with the help of Marxism-Leninism. Victory will neither be easy nor achieved in a short time. But if the Marxist-Leninists tackle the situation caused by the crisis with a revolutionary line, the people will draw strength from their sufferings and will advance in struggle against the crisis programs of their respective governments as well as the IMF and the World Bank. The masses will advance through revolutionary struggle until the revolution for national and social liberation is victorious, until socialism is achieved. □

**Sixth International Conference  
of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations 1999**

**Resolution No.2**

**On the Political Changes Within the  
Imperialist World System**

I. We are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The revisionist betrayal has left no socialist bulwark, such as Lenin's and Stalin's USSR and Mao's China, thus the contradiction between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp, for the time being, no longer exists. Nevertheless, the fundamental contradictions that the capitalist-imperialist world creates, the contradiction

between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the capitalist countries, the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopolist capitalist groups, and the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples and nations remain unsolved and have even worsened. Within these objective and subjective conditions, national and social revolutions inevitably mature.

2. The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples and nations still is the sharpest and the main contradiction. This is confirmed by the great political mass struggles, insurrections and people's wars for national and social liberation. The workers and peoples of Palestine, Iraq, Turkey and Kurdistan, Philippines, Indonesia and East Timor, Congo, Mexico, Ecuador, Columbia, Peru, Nepal, South Korea and Afghanistan and other countries are fighting for their sovereignty and national independence. The vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to be the focus of contradictions. The struggles of workers and peoples of these areas are a significant support of the struggle for socialism of the working class in the imperialist countries.

3. The contradiction between the working class and the monopolies is currently sharpening worldwide due to the intensification of the exploitation of wage labor, the rise in mass unemployment and underemployment, through the introduction of the flexibilization of working hours and lean production.

4. US imperialism is the most important economic, political and military power in the imperialist camp. It has the leadership in industrial and military technology. However, as history shows, it only appears to be invulnerable and omnipotent. Its colossal foreign debt, its huge commercial deficit and the real threat of being seized by an economic crisis mark the beginning of its decay.

5. The New World Order, a dream being repeated today by the US imperialists, leads to forms of relations between states, regions etc. that are maintained under this international gendarme's heel. The embargoes, the interventions, the punishing campaigns and the bombardments are decided by this most powerful world policeman of imperialism, ratified by the "international" organizations, and carried out by the armed branches of "the international community".

6. After the collapse of the USSR, a new rivalry is growing. Other poles are emerging in the midst of a complex process of arrangements and rearrangements between the different capitalist and imperialist blocs and powers, in the midst of an unleashed struggle for markets and a growing polarization between a handful of rich countries and the huge majority of poor countries and, within them, between the exploited workers and excluded people and the monopolies whose economic

power and privileges are growing more and more. It is increasingly obvious that a situation of multipolarity is developing.

7. The strongest opponents at the turn of the millennium are the dominant European states led by Germany and the leading imperialist state in the Asian region, Japan. The European Union has been relatively more hit by the crisis than the US. However, it is taking measures to consolidate its monetary market and economic strength, and it is in an advantageous position of exploiting the former Soviet bloc countries. The rivalry between the United States and the leading European states for the dominance of Central and Eastern Europe explains many developments in these regions, such as the conflicts in former Yugoslavia. Japan is in the worst position among the three global centers of capitalism. Its domestic economy has been in a prolonged state of stagnation since seven years ago. Among the imperialist allies of the United States, Japan is suffering most from US economic competition and the contradiction between its domestic economy and its plants in the United States, Asia and elsewhere. At the same time it colludes with the United States in exploiting the peoples of East Asia and threatens them with the US-Japan security partnership.

8. Russia and Japan are two basic links in the international system. Russia is the second largest military power. It is suffering from an unprecedented crisis/collapse, and this prevents it from playing a decisive role in the international developments. But it aspires to play such a role. China has the potential, due to its former socialist accumulation, to be a serious competitor of the US in the near future. But it also faces the consequences of savage capitalist activities.

9. Imperialism carries in itself the origin of wars of conquest, of plunder and domination, and even if the conditions for a new world war are not yet present, it is behind, directly or indirectly, the more than 60 regional and local conflicts that are waged in different parts of the world. Its arms race is relentless, more than 800 thousand million dollars are spent in it. The United States alone is spending 250 thousand million dollars in this race.

10. But in response to these wild ideological, economic and military attacks on the masses, we also observe that the consciousness of the working class is growing again. Powerful strikes and large mass movements in different imperialist countries aim at the development towards the workers' offensive. They join the militant popular movements of women, the immigrants, the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist movements, the ecologist movement and the rebellion of the youth. Thus a huge mass movement of working and popular masses emerges where



socialist ideas can be raised. Better conditions for the development of Marxist-Leninist parties are arising, as well as for a strong support for national and social liberation struggles of oppressed peoples. □

### **Resolution 3**

## **On the Strategy and Tactics of the Marxist-Leninists in the Struggle for National Liberation, the New Democratic Revolution and the Struggle for Socialism**

1. The Sixth International Conference held an extensive exchange of views and experiences on the strategy and tactics of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in the struggle for national liberation, the new democratic revolution and the struggle for socialism. These exchanges showed that, in individual imperialist countries, there is an upswing of an awakening class consciousness of the working-class movement; in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America oppressed by imperialism and local reaction, there is an important upsurge of mass struggles and revolutionary movements, in the struggle for national and social liberation. We are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. As Mao Zedong said, "The seizure of power by armed force is the central task and the highest form of revolution". According to Lenin, "the proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one" and "socialism can be realized by no other means than the dictatorship of the proletariat, which combines force against the bourgeoisie, that is, against the minority of the population, with the full unfolding of democracy". In the struggle for socialism and communism, the working class cannot accomplish its historical role without Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. To this end, the Marxist-Leninist party must be closely linked with the masses. Each party, on its own responsibility, must formulate and carry out its strategy and tactics on the basis of a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions in its country. This must be done by struggling against reformism, revisionism, opportunism and sectarianism. The experience of all countries must also be considered. The proletariat and the masses of the people have engaged in and developed various forms of struggles based on their own experience, and it is the task of the Marxist-Leninist party to develop these struggles of the masses and raise them onto a revolutionary level.



2. The strategy and tactics in the imperialist countries In the imperialist countries, the strategic objective is to overthrow imperialism, the rule of monopoly capital, and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. With the struggles taking a revolutionary upswing, the ruling forces, according to all historical experience, will attempt to maintain their power by means of brutal violence. Therefore, as a rule, the working class must rise up in arms. The development of class struggles goes through various stage. The struggle of the masses for economic and political reforms must be led militantly and must be developed higher into revolutionary class struggle under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. This requires internationalist proletarian class consciousness.

3. The strategy and tactics in the dependent, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries The seizure of power in these countries is to wage the new democratic revolution, that means a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution with a socialist perspective. This revolution is based on the alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class establishing a democratic dictatorship of the people. In many semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the strategic line of protracted people's war is applicable. Those Marxist-Leninist Mao Zedong Thought parties that are waging armed struggle as the principal form of revolutionary struggle in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, are pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's -war. In other dependent countries, the revolutionary struggle develops on various terrains of political and social struggle and can take the form of armed insurrection, combined or not with guerrilla war in the countryside.

4. The struggles in the different countries stand in dialectical interaction. It is necessary to carry out proletarian internationalism and to organize international solidarity for cooperation and mutual benefit. This requires a close unity of struggle of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. □

#### **Sixth International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations 1999**

#### **Resolution No.4**

### **On the Perspective of the Sixth International Conference**

1. The 6th International Conference was carried out very successfully. Four resolutions were passed which reflect the consensus on the respective points of the agenda: .On the development of the world economy , On the political changes

within the imperialist world system, On the strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninists in the new democratic revolution, in the struggle for national liberation and socialism, On the perspective of the 6th International Conference. A broad range of 21 organizations from Asia, Africa, America and Europe took part. Eight other organizations participated in the preparations but were prevented from taking part. The conference not only led to a fruitful exchange of experience; it was distinguished moreover by a fraternal, open and lively debate among all participating organizations. This debate was carried out on a principled basis and carefully took the unity of the conference into consideration. Mutual understanding was strengthened. Also, there is a common determination to further deepen and advance this mutual understanding. The conference welcomes other multilateral forums and respects them as independent or complementary initiatives by other Marxist-Leninist parties. The International Conference supports these multilateral initiatives.

2. The Joint Coordinating Group (JCG) prepared the Conference very well. Again, it has proved indispensable for preparing and carrying out such an event. The JCG systematically informed the participants and organized a democratic exchange of ideas. For this purpose, such technical means of communication as the Internet will be made better use of in the future. The multilateral preparation was improved by carrying out regional conferences in Asia, Latin America and Europe. The conference participants adopted the report given by the JCG on its work. The rules of the 5th International Conference for cooperation of Marxist-Leninist organizations were adopted and proved to be useful for this Conference.

3. The 6th IC supports the initiative for an international league of struggle with a broad anti-imperialist perspective. This league could help to strengthen other anti-imperialist initiatives already existing both at international and regional levels. The formation of such a league comes from initiatives of grassroots and people's organizations and should be encouraged. This reflects our consensus that such a league must come from below. The league has a coordinating character. There is a need of the Internet for facilitating the exchange of information and experience.

4. The 6th International Conference resolves to prepare and conduct a 7th International Conference within a period of 2 to 3 years. To prepare it, a new Joint Coordinating Group will be formed. An intermediate conference can be convened which can also have a regional character. The 6th International Conference calls upon all Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to participate in preparing and realizing the 7th International Conference (ICMLPO) under the following basic principles: a) Adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought b) Struggle against modern revisionism, and a positive attitude towards Stalin and Mao c) Acceptance of the rules of the Conference. To accept participants in the 7th International Conference, the consultative procedure which was valid

until the 6th International Conference will be applied. We call upon more Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations to sign the resolutions of the 6th International Conference and to disseminate them. □

## Comments On the Resolution Adopted At the Sixth International Conference

1. The present important task before the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations at the international Level is to reorganize the Communist International so as to carry forward the struggle against the imperialist camp, and advance the world proletarian socialist revolution. It calls for reaching basic agreement on the concrete analysis of the present world situation, and the major contradictions at the international level. It also calls for developing the general line of International Communist Movement (ICM) based upon the Communist International (CI) and the Great Debate positions, and developing them according to the present situation. We are of the view that the resolutions fall short of giving an orientation in this direction.

2. Resolution No. 1 is only the partial description of the development of the world economy. It does not recognize the changes in the forms of imperialist exploitation in the post World War II period. The documents of the Cominform and those of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) during the Great Debate had initiated references to and had made a preliminary analysis of neo-colonialism as the new phase of imperialist plunder. Instead of trying to put forward the significance of these changes, which have helped the imperialist camp to overcome its crises so far, the present crises was only repetitively referred to as a mere continuation of the past. It was the failure of the post-Stalin leadership of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) to recognize the new phase of imperialism that led to the "theory of the three peacefuls", to under estimating the imperialist threat and to degeneration to collaborationist positions going against the general line of the CI. Again, it was the erroneous analysis of present era as the "era of the total collapse of imperialism and the world wide victory of socialism" (once again underestimating the capability of the imperialist camp to develop its practice and to combat the crisis that it was facing and the challenge of the socialist forces, and overestimating the strength of the socialist forces) made by Ninth Congress of the CPC in 1969 that led to left sectarian deviations in China and among all the Marxist-Leninist parties emerging during that period.

Later, this sectarian deviation was utilized by the revisionist forces led by Deng Hsiaoping to consolidate their influence and to usurp power. It also led all the Marxist-leninist parties to serious setbacks and disintegration. So, scientific understanding of the imperialist system today is of paramount importance. The present crises confronting the imperialist system should not be analyzed as a mere repetition of the past crises. We have to go beyond general statements, about the "general crises of capitalism".

3. It is a fact that the present crisis in the imperialist world economy and intensifying plunder of the working class and board masses by the imperialist camp and its collaborators have created objective condition for enormous mass movements. These movements and even large-scale revolts are a feature of the contemporary world situation, both in the imperialist countries, and in the Asian, African and Latin American countries under neocolonialism (i.e., in the neo-colonies). But to evaluate that a "strengthening of the communist parties" is taking place along with the emergence of the "growing revolutionary resurgence" (paragraph 8) is not correct. It is a fact that the communist forces have started to regroup in different countries, and contrary to the 1970s and 1980s they have started establishing international relations also. But the influence of shreds of Khrushchevite revisionism or Gorbachovian approaches or Hoxhaist deviations on the one hand, and various shades of sectarianism generated by Lin Biaoism under the garb of "Maoism", "focoism", etc., on the other hand are creating serious obstacles even now for reorganizing all communists into Bolshevik-style parties in different countries. So a general statement that "strengthening of the communist parties" is taking place, without going into the ideological struggle to be waged based on and in continuation of the CI and the Great Debate positions, against all deviations, may lead to complacency and more deviations.

4. This question assumes extreme seriousness as many of the Marxist-Leninist organizations, claiming continuation of the Marxist-Leninist parties from the second half of the 1960s are still more or less prisoners of the sectarian influence of that period, which originated from the CPC's 1969 Ninth Congress and of slogans like "China's path is our path". Even after momentous changes taking place at the global level and in each country during the last five decades or more, after World War II, under neocolonialisation, and under Keynesian, neoliberalist imperialist approaches to overcome the crises faced by the world economy, and even after the serious setbacks suffered by the socialist camp with the degeneration of all erstwhile socialist countries, these ML organizations refuse

to take lesson from the negative experiences of the past, to make concrete analysis of the present situation including the changes taking place in their own countries, and to develop their programmatic approaches and strategy and tactics accordingly. Even while “non-interference in internal affairs of fraternal parties” should be upheld as a basic principle, in the present period of reorganization and development of ideological-political-organizational positions, these questions of cardinal importance should be taken up for discussion to help the reorganization of the communist parties.

5. Regarding “globalizations”, communist opposition to imperialist-dictated globalization should be differentiated from the stand of bourgeois reformists, NGOs and various petty-bourgeois trends. A class approach is needed. With this objective, a serious discussion should be developed. In this context, how the struggle against ecological destruction caused as a result of the so-called development policy promoted by the imperialist camp is distorted by slogans like “back to nature” should be examined. Globalisations as presently promoted by the imperialist camp and its collaborators in the neocolonies, and pernicious theories like “market socialism”, should be analysed from a socialist orientation, from the stand of proletarian internationalism, and the resistance to them should be developed nationally and internationally on the basis of such of an analysis.

6. The statement that the “contradiction between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp , for the time being ,no longer exists” in resolution No. 2 goes against the basic understanding of the ICM from the time of the *The Communist Manifesto*. As pointed out by us in our proposals to the agenda of the sixth International Conference , “the right and ‘left’ sectarian lines which emerged in the communist movement equated the existence of the social state/states with the existence of the socialist camp, and the revisionist parties with the left masses rallying behind them.....” All outlooks and concepts which discourage the recognition of the relation between the broad struggles taking place all over the world for democracy and socialism against imperialism and its allies, even after the degeneration of all former socialist countries and the socialist camp or socialist forces, lead towards neglecting the significance of the working class strikes and mass struggles taking place everywhere and of the socialist camp or socialist forces. Our proposals again point out that (4.1) by discarding the contradiction between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp, the significance

of which is reiterated by the Comintern and the Great Debate documents, in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, "The proletarian class orientation itself is lost, the concept of world proletarian socialist revolution is weakened." We stand for a serious discussion on this question.

7. There is contradictory approach in section 2 of this Resolution No. 2. It starts by saying that "The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples and nations still is the sharpest and main contradiction." This statement itself reflects the erroneous concept of projecting one of the major contradictions as the principal contradiction, contrary to upholding the inter-relation and inter-penetration of these major contradictions whether at the national or the international level. As far as Mao Zedong is concerned, he emphasized on principal contradiction only as a cognitive tool to analyze society. He did not take it as an abstract law of dialectics. That is why neither in any program of the communist parties, not in the general line of the ICM put forward by the CI or the CPC such a formulation has been made.

After giving this one-sided emphasis to this contradiction and mentioning these struggles taking place in different oppressed countries, the resolution goes on to state that "The struggles of workers and peoples of these areas are a significant support to the struggles for socialism of the working class in the imperialist countries". These struggles should primarily lead the people of these countries to overthrow the oppressive regimes of the collaborators of the imperialist system there, to new-democratic revolutions, which are part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. It is in this way that they become a support to the socialist revolutions in the imperialist countries. Putting it as it has been done in the resolution diminished the significance of these struggles.

8. Resolution No. 2, section 4, speaks about the economic crisis taking hold of US imperialism making "a beginning of its decay". It underestimates the survival tactics pursued by the imperialist system by US imperialism. It is also in contradiction with the evaluation of US imperialism as made in the very next paragraph as the "most powerful world policeman of imperialism."

9. In resolution No. 3, section 1, paragraph 4, the quotations give a one-sided emphasis on armed struggle. At a time when the Marxist-Leninist organizations all over the world are engaged against sectarian influences and petty-bourgeois

anarchist tendencies, to organize into communist parties, as the vanguard of the proletariat, surrounded by class/mass organizations, pursuing the mass line, and becoming capable of leading all forms of struggle as part of the class struggle to capture political power, such out-of-context quotations from Marxist teacher create confusion. It goes against the very purpose of the teaching of these Marxist teacher of the history of the last few decades has repeatedly taught us. It is sufficient to expand paragraph 7, if necessary, In line with the General Line of 1963. Once it is stated section 3, paragraphs 4 and 5 goes against it and should be deleted.

10. In this section itself paragraph 6 states: "Each party, on its own responsibility, must formulate and carry out its strategy and tactics on the basis of a concrete analysis of the concrete conditions in its country." In this era of imperialism, this period of imperialist globalization and imposition global markets, when IMF-World Bank-WTO dictates are imposed on the neocolonies without any basic variation, when MNCs are spreading their tentacles everywhere, The changes taking place in these countries and thereby the conditions there have fair amount of common features. Of course according to the specificities and history of each country and region. While lessons should be drawn from the negative experiences of the mechanical understanding about the concept that the communist parties in each country is a contingent of the CI, with the international center giving directives in all matters, going to the other extreme and avoiding discussions on the line pursued by each party, as it is each party's own responsibility, will go against the reorganization of the CI. In this context, slogans like "China's path is our path" followed and practiced by many parties should be subjected to serious discussion, as it goes fundamentally against "concrete analysis of the concrete conditions" in each country and applying Marxism-Leninism according to it.

11. Even the initiative form building up an international anti-imperialist forum, or league of struggle, itself is possible only when the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations with unity on basic understanding about imperialism, its laws of motion and tactics today, are coming together as a platform of communist parties at the international level with the perspective of the reorganizing the CI. It calls for more in-depth analysis of the concrete situation at an international level. Without the development of it, even a correct approach towards the concrete analysis of the conditions in each country will be adversely affected. Each party/organization has to take up this task. An ideological struggle has to be developed to reach such an analysis. Efforts should be made to reach unity on basic understanding at least about the perspective of the general line of the ICM



according to the concrete conditions of today, in line with and in continuation of the CI positions and the general line of the ICM put forward by the CPC in 1963. The International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and Organizations and the resolutions adopted by them should help to develop this perspective through healthy ideological struggle, through a process.

We are of the view that four resolutions adopted by the Sixth International Conference do not help to evolve such a perspective. So we refrain from signing the resolutions and appeal for starting a discussion on them.

## **COMMENTS ON THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

**By the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag**  
November 5, 1999

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