

The International

Part Two

Mamdouh Habashi

Book Title:

Author:

Translator:

Book Cover:

ISBN:

DSN:

Introduction

Four years ago, the Socialist People's Alliance Party issued booklet No. 3 of its series under the title "The International"¹ to let everyone know that we are part of a great and immense whole called the world, and that we are doing what our revolutionary conscience dictates to us in starting the process of unifying the forces of socialism on the global level. This is a great process, but we are firmly convinced that there is no escape from it, if saving humanity is on our agenda.

As for the booklet "The International - Part Two" that we are currently discussing, it mainly deals with the paper that was formulated in a dialogue that lasted for nearly two years between 16 comrades from the committee that was formed since 2019 under the slogan "Samir Amin School" to continue his path based on his last paper that the writer of these lines called "his last will" and was indeed the last text the great deceased wrote, and was published in the booklet series under No. 3 "The International". My friend and companion, Engineer Ahmed Bahaa Eddin Shaaban, kindly wrote an introduction to it, hoping that it will spark a new dialogue between the new and old generations that will help understand the issues of the left worldwide. Whether we like it or not, we have become part of a new world that has become increasingly intertwined, and we must all be aware of this fact today before tomorrow.

¹ <https://eltahalof.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A9-3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%85%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%AD-%D8%AD%D8%A8%D8%B4%D9%8A.pdf>

Towards a militant "Fifth International" that corrects the course of human history

This limited-page booklet has great intellectual and combative value. It presents - with focus and clarity - to the male and female fighters who have linked their lives and the future of their families and relatives to the struggle for a more humane and just world, less exploited and plundered, an intensive combative content of utmost importance and necessity. It clarifies - without the slightest ambiguity - the great responsibility placed on the shoulders of the loyalists who are biased towards truth and freedom, and who belong to the international of toiling peoples, who aspire to construction and development. This booklet includes between its covers three distinct, highly valuable intellectual/historical, combative, and movement texts, written with awareness, comprehensiveness, and a keen understanding of the nature of the current critical moment of struggle on the one hand, and on the other hand, it decisively and conclusively identifies the main issues; current; obligatory, which there is no escape from shouldering the burden and responsibility of achieving them.

The first text: An intensive historical-political survey of the persistent attempts that were made with the aim of organizing the ranks of the labor forces and class struggle in various countries; represented by the "First International", which was founded on the initiative of "Karl Marx" and "Friedrich Engels", through the "International Workingmen's Association" (in 1864), and lasted for only twelve years, before disappearing for many objective and subjective reasons, followed by what was described as the "Second International", which was founded in Paris by parties from 20 countries, at the end of the nineteenth century (1889), and with great effort from "Friedrich Engels" as well, and was shattered on the

rock of World War I in 1914, after its party components sided with the imperialist governments in the struggles of plunder and the division of global areas of influence!

After the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, the "Third International" (ComIntern) was established in 1919, on the initiative of the Leninists and their allies, and was dissolved in the Stalinist era in 1943, under pressure from the imperialist powers allied against the axis of Nazi Germany and its allies in World War II; Great Britain, the United States of America... "that is, the poles of the capitalist world itself"! With the escalation of the dispute between "Stalin" and "Trotsky", the latter announced the birth of the "Fourth International", from Paris in 1938, and soon, after failing to present an alternative model of struggle, it disintegrated into warring groups, whose primary concern was to defame the Soviet experience, so it lost its role, and its compass deviated from the desired goal!

After that, all attempts to resume this irreplaceable path faltered, in order to build a comprehensive intellectual and movement-based struggle system that includes all the active struggling forces that believe that the "new world"; the hoped-for humanism can only be built on the ruins of the contemporary world of exploitation and "neoliberal" domination, despite the efforts and sacrifices made, as attempts multiplied, initiatives accumulated, and reached their peak in the last decade of the last century (as explained by social activist, "François Houtart", President of the "Center of the Tricontinents" and director of the magazine "Southern Options"), including the initiatives: "People Power 21", "Asian Movements Gathering", the "Anti-Neoliberalism" conference organized by the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, "The Other Davos", "Anti-Globalization Movement - Attak" in Paris 1999, ..etc. From these forums emerged

the idea of creating a counter-authority that manifested itself in Seattle (1999), Genoa (2001), Cancun (2001) and especially in the "World Social Forum" (WSF) in Porto Alegre, to be a meeting place for all forms of resistance, and to constitute the field counterpart to the World Economic Forum in Davos.

Despite the sincere and serious efforts made, these attempts did not achieve the desired results, for subjective and objective reasons, explained by the editor of this section of the booklet, Engineer Mamdouh Habashi, a companion of Dr. Samir Amin, the great international thinker and activist, in his extended journey of struggle. Among these reasons was the forms of organization in previous initiatives, they were limited to the status of a "forum", i.e. just a broad "thing" for exchanging opinions, and a mere "horizontal network organization", in which everyone is equal in rights, free from commitment and duties. Also, these movements included among their main actors liberal and right-wing forces, contradicting some of the practices of "neo-liberalism," but they later became "a stumbling block to rooting the struggle against imperialism", which is "the crux of the matter" in the basic idea of forming such alliances. The absence and confusion of a vision for the basic goal of building them led these movements gradually to transforming "from an international meeting to fight against imperialism, to something resembling a carnival or a commercial festival that has a political and cultural character at best, as the writer who follows the activities and developments of the movement and its history mentions. But these forms, even if they did not achieve the goals targeted by their formation and dissolved or disintegrated, did not mean that their supposed tasks had disappeared or lost their importance and necessity of accomplishment, but quite the opposite, with the well-known transformations that occurred in the wake of the collapse of the

Soviet Union, and the monopoly of the imperialist hegemony of the imperialist triad (according to Dr. Samir Amin) "the United States, Western Europe, and Japan", in controlling the affairs of the world, the tyranny of market laws, the violation of the "sanctities" of states, the spread of policies of "arrogance of power" and the trend to establish a system of collective military control over the planet led by the United States (the budget of the US Department of War, the "Pentagon" for this year alone reached a record value: 886 billion dollars, and global spending on nuclear armament is approaching one hundred billion dollars!), ... etc.!

With all of the above, the need for an effective tool by which the toilers can defend their livelihood and the reasons for their existence has increased, and the feeling of losing the organizational means to mobilize the forces, situations, strategies, plans, and tactics of the world's workers and its crushed classes has grown. The time has come, as Dr. Samir Amin calls upon us in the second important text in this booklet, to work hard to "rebuild the International of Workers and Peoples", to save the world from its inevitable fate if the current state of impoverishment, domination, plunder, depletion, environmental degradation, technological monopoly and the consecration of the new manifestation of colonialism continue: contemporary imperialist globalization!

The behaviors and practices of the "Triade" have exacerbated the suffering of billions of people on the planet by forcibly submitting them to the law of value and being harmed by the negative repercussions of the globalization of the economy, media and culture, the tyranny of wage labor relations, the dominance of capital and the brutality of financial capital, the escalation of the debt crisis, the rise in interest rates, the repercussions of structural adjustment programs, the encroachment on social rights and

submission to the requirements and instructions of the International Monetary Fund IMF, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization WTO and similar known institutions, the results of which have become a whip with which the hand of regimes falls on the shoulders of peoples without mercy! In this context, Dr. Amin, let us look again at the ongoing dilemma that hinders victory over imperialist plots and maneuvers: “the inadequacy of the struggles of the victims of the aforementioned system” with its manifestations of “disintegration” and the abandonment by the peoples of the “Triade” of international anti-imperialist solidarity, and the acquisition by “the ideology of the New Right” of some support among the people (the rise of the right and populist organizations in Western Europe) and others.

What is required, then, is not to confront the "crisis of capitalism", but to confront the "crisis capitalism", but the main challenge facing us, as Dr. Samir Amin sees it, is that we are now going through the stage of the "autumn of capitalism" but without being supported by a "popular spring" with a "socialist perspective". Therefore, the possibility of introducing tangible progressive reforms to capitalism at the current stage is a mere illusion. It has become necessary to end capitalism torn apart by crises, not to end the crisis of capitalism. We need, as Dr. Samir says, to build national, popular and democratic projects (not bourgeois, but truly hostile to the bourgeoisie), that begin to break the link with imperialist globalization... The goal must be: "to establish an organization (the new international), not just a "movement"... which means going beyond the concept of a "dialogue forum".

And here we are back to square one: How can we get out of this stubborn dilemma: building the perfect tool to achieve the eternal human dream: building the “New World”?!

Where does the "kick-start" begin in the process of building a "new internationalism" that will fulfill humanity's hope for construction and development? This is what the third text in this booklet seeks to clarify its implementation mechanisms, through an introduction that addresses references to a new, comprehensive initiative that attempts to benefit from the lessons and experiences of previous stages, with their successes and failures, to formulate the features of the new work and to determine the nature of the forces joining it, the means of communication between its components, the form of its organizational structure, etc.

In his introduction to the third text, entitled "The International of Workers and Peoples", Mamdouh Habashi monitors and identifies the points of agreement and disagreement between them and around them, and seeks to dot the i's and cross the t's in order to prepare the conditions for the success of the process of establishing the hoped-for "Fifth International", in light of the features and conditions previously proposed, drawing attention to the fact that the process of building this tool - the dream - is not an easy matter, but rather a difficult process, which will be faced with severe imperialist authoritarian oppression, and raises several important questions for further clarification that must be answered clearly and correctly, including: "What is the optimal organizational form between the "Forum" and the "Comintern"? Is the proposed work limited to Marxist parties or does it include other organizations? How will decisions be made: by consensus or by voting?", ... and others. This is what the text "The International of Workers and Peoples" seeks to find clear and correct answers to. This text is the result of years of continuous efforts by dozens of activists, party representations and struggles, which defined the main goal that they are moving to achieve:

“Building a movement that leads movements, with an organizational structure of working peoples and oppressed nations in the world, and the starting point for this international must be the rapprochement between the three continents (Asia, Africa and Latin America) as a precondition for reaching the organizations based in the North”, a movement that seeks to “transcend the fragmentation of social and political movements confined nationally and socially,” and therefore it must be an international organization that transcends local borders, puts forward a political program for struggle and for guiding workers’ and popular movements, calls for a socialist system of production, puts forward alternatives to neoliberal globalization, and includes a “network” of organizations (progressive parties with a popular base, national liberation movements with radical qualifications, and social movements representing workers and indigenous peoples) and peoples.

Finally: Our Arab homeland has been one of the most important arenas for the good news that the peoples of our world and its simple people are capable of overcoming walls, crossing mazes, and taking the right position, despite the confusion, falsification of facts, and manipulation of events. Perhaps we are all following with great interest the echoes of the heroic steadfastness of the Palestinian people in Gaza and Rafah in the face of the most despicable forms of Zionist killing, destruction and genocide, and the repercussions of the heroic Palestinian resistance on American and Western public opinion, especially the new generations of university youth, who will occupy in the foreseeable future positions of opinion, leadership and decision-making in the United States and the West. The battalions of falsifying awareness and fabricating illusions will not be able to ignore these promising facts!

“Now,” as Frank Barat notes in his introduction to Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé’s “ON Palestine²”: “Palestine is a global social issue that all movements fighting for social justice must embrace. The next step is to connect the dots between the various movements and struggles and create a united front... We are many. And we will prevail”.

Ahmed Baha Eddin Shaaban, June 27th 2024

² [On Palestine by Ilan Pappé and Noam Chomsky – The Philosophy Room \(thephilroom.com\)](https://thephilroom.com)

It is the crisis of contemporary monopoly capitalism

What our world is witnessing today is the manifestations of the crisis of contemporary global monopoly capitalism that began to crystallize after the end of the post-World War II period (1945-1975). Global capitalism made its fateful decision in 1975 to gradually get rid of the restrictions of the "Bretton Woods" agreements of 1944 and revive the liberalism of the nineteenth century, which was called "neo" liberalism. These decisions came to solve the crisis of global capitalism again at the expense of the people, regardless of the costs. Over half a century, humanity's crises have worsened until they brought us to the inflamed state of the world that we are in now. The world is confidently moving towards a nuclear war that will destroy everything and return humanity to the Stone Age.

These monopolies have been able to domesticate the main parties, despite their different political ideologies, unions and civil society organizations, so that they have come to exercise absolute political control, in addition to subjecting the media to them in order to spread the necessary misinformation to prevent the politicization of public opinion. The party practice in the countries of the center has become between parties, despite their multiple forms, controlled by capital. Although this "totalitarian" system, which was keen on its soft "democratic" form in the beginnings of the crystallization of its crisis, has now begun to break free from its last fig leaf to reveal its last cards of strength, which is the explicit military force, and to be obscene in its double standards. What we are witnessing today of a proxy war on the land of Ukraine for

more than two years and a war of extermination in Gaza for a year, as well as the provocations of American imperialism against the People's Republic of China in the island of Taiwan, is stark evidence of this catastrophic state to which our world is being led. As for double standards, there is no harm in it. Global imperialism, led by the United States of America, has begun to deal with all the peoples of the world, north and south, in the manner of a bully who has put logic aside and replaced it with his thick stick, so that you may learn a lesson. Capitalism continues with the same imperialist logic that has been associated with it since the beginning of its history, as colonialism or the colonialism of the nineteenth century was a form of globalization. Contemporary "globalization" has not changed this logic. It is nothing more than a new form of imperialist globalization. The term "globalization" is used without any definition in most cases, to hide the reality of the imposition of the strategies of the historical imperialist powers (the United States of America, the countries of Western and Central Europe and Japan... which the deceased great Samir Amin called "the Triad") that continue to plunder the resources of the global South and over-exploit its labor force, by relocating industries in the South and transforming it into a sub-producer in order to preserve its "historical privileges" and deprive other nations of the possibility of liberating themselves from the status of the affected periphery. The history of the twentieth century was the history of the revolution of the peoples of the peripheries of the world system who engaged in socialist delinking processes, or in diluted forms of national liberation, a page that is currently being turned. This is why the

historical imperialist powers have established a system of collective military control over the planet, led by the United States. NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) membership, closely linked to the construction of the European Union, as well as the militarization of Japan and then Germany, reflect the requirements of this new collective imperialism that has replaced the national imperialisms (in the United States, Great Britain, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, and a few others) that had previously known constant and violent conflicts among themselves.

Under these conditions, the main challenge of the struggle must become the confrontation of the expansion of imperialist capitalism, the construction of an international front of the workers and peoples of the whole world.

There are various weaknesses in the face of this enormous challenge:

1. The extreme fragmentation of the struggles, whether at the local or global level, which are mostly specific, taking place in specific places and around specific issues (environment, women's rights, social services, demands of local groups, etc.). The few campaigns that have been launched at the national or even international level have not achieved any significant success in imposing any changes in the policies undertaken by the ruling powers.

However, there is a tremendous acceleration in the process of "proletarianization" of large sections of the population of the central countries, that is, the transformation of the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie into wage laborers who sell their labor

power. The industrialization processes in the periphery of the world system, that is, the Global South, have created a new working class with the complete integration of small peasants into the market system. Thus, we see that the strategies employed by the powerful have succeeded in tearing the enormous labor force into segments that are often in conflict with each other. This is a contradiction that must be overcome.

2. The peoples of the capitalist countries, or the Triad as Samir Amin calls them (the United States, Western and Central Europe and Japan), have abandoned international anti-imperialist solidarity, replacing it at best with “humanitarian” campaigns and “aid” programs controlled by capital and monopolies. Thus, the European political forces that inherited the leftist tradition have come to support the imperialist version of existing globalization³.
3. The rise of the far-right and fascist ideology among broad sectors of the peoples of the global North, abandoning the main theme of class struggle against capitalism to be replaced by the clash of cultures and fueling the conflict between the working classes in the countries of the global North and immigrants from the countries of the global South under the pretext of conflicting interests and blaming these immigrants for the causes of the crisis of capitalism in the North. In short, capitalism is innocent of the disasters that are happening in our world.

³ <https://www.europeanleftmagazine.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Quistioni-N2-en.pdf> page 34

4. In many countries of the South, the tradition of struggle that linked the struggle against imperialism with the struggle for social progress has receded in favor of reactionary, backward illusions expressed in religious or false moral formulas. Likewise, in other countries of the South, the successful acceleration of economic growth in recent decades has fed the illusion of the possibility of building an "advanced" national capitalism that can impose its effective participation in shaping globalization, i.e. the ideology of catching up within the framework of the same current globalized system. This is a great illusion, if you only knew.

These were what we call the weaknesses of the process of building the International. However, there are several other observations that I do not want to call strengths but only mention under the title of know your enemy.

The current capitalist globalization system is unsustainable

1. We have often heard that capitalism has always been - and of course still is - "open" to criticism and reform, as it is innovative, flexible and adaptable to all circumstances and changes. There is certainly some truth in this description of capitalism. But the question remains: What is the price that humanity bears for this adaptation? Yes, global capitalism has adapted to solve its structural crisis that erupted in 1873, but the price was, at the very least, the two world wars. But this is a topic we may discuss in another scope.

2. The European Union is an integral part of imperialist globalization⁴. It was designed in an anti-socialist spirit and is therefore subject to US military leadership. Germany exercises its hegemony within this system, especially within the framework of the eurozone, as well as its hegemony over Eastern Europe, which has been annexed in the manner of the US annexation of Latin America. Today, the Western countries are acting together, in blatant contradiction to their national interests, by supporting the US war against Russia in Ukraine and by almost unconditional support for Zionist Israel in its massacres of the Palestinians. Official Europe is by no means an anti-imperialist force. The Western countries are rapidly becoming more tools of this unbridled imperialism, while all democratic institutions are now increasingly subject to the control of big international finance capital and are devoid of any national and democratic character. In the main capitalist countries, remnants of the form of bourgeois democracy remain, but they are increasingly losing their content. So, the mere existence of a relatively strong alternative to the Western power centers, such as Russia or China and some countries with a socialist or even independence orientation, is now the main obstacle to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship of capital on the planet and over all forms of life.
3. There are contradictions that have been formed in the birth of a multipolar world. Relative stagnation in the countries of the Triad with accelerated growth in regions in the South

⁴ <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3184998>

that have the potential to benefit from globalization. Many have concluded from this growth that capitalism is in good shape, even if its center of gravity has shifted from the countries of the Western Atlantic to the South, and Asia in particular. In reality, these contradictions lead to escalating conflicts, including resorting to military aggression. The imperialist powers do not intend to allow any country in the periphery - large or small - to free itself from control. We see this clearly in the United States declaring the People's Republic of China as its number one enemy in its strategy, without China committing any crime other than growing and advancing.

4. What also reinforces the reasons for the unsustainability of this system is the environmental destruction necessarily linked to capitalist expansion⁵.

In 2017, the deceased great Samir Amin wrote, “We are now going through the phase of the ‘autumn of capitalism’ but without the support of a ‘popular spring’ and a socialist perspective. Therefore, the possibility of introducing tangible progressive reforms to capitalism at the present stage is a mere illusion. There is no alternative but supported by the renewal of the international radical left, capable of implementing socialist initiatives and not just imagining them. It has become necessary to end capitalism torn apart by crises, not to end the crisis of capitalism.” Accordingly, there is no alternative for the peoples of the global south to escape the grip of capitalism

⁵ [العدالة المناخية لإفريقيا نهائى](#)

controlling the fate of the planet within the framework of the same system, especially after the peoples of the North joined the imperialist option, especially in Europe. This has led primarily to the increasing weakness of the left in Europe in general. There is no alternative but to build national popular and democratic projects that are truly hostile to the bourgeoisie, and begin to break the link with imperialist globalization. It is necessary to demolish the extreme concentration of wealth and power associated with this system. The International of Workers and Peoples opens the way for us towards more necessary and possible developments. In its absence, the march of history will continue on the path of the collapse of civilization through increasing reliance on destructive practices, as we all see now, not only in the Middle East. The war of The Flood of Al-Aqsa that has been raging since October 7th, 2023 until today is nothing but clear evidence of this polarization that we have been describing carefully for decades and that imperialism has been trying to hide...

But despite our certainty that this system is not sustainable and that it is disintegrating and festering before our eyes, it will not collapse on its own, but only by building a front of those who benefit from its end. Western totalitarian capitalism is still developing, thanks to the capabilities of modern technology. The only way to confront this is through the resistance of the peoples and social struggles and thanks to the amazing economic rise of China and, of course, the legendary and extraordinary resistance of the Palestinians to Israeli fascism.

This is a long-term "process" and will only be full of conflicts on all levels, especially the societal ones. The first step is to build the “Workers’ and Peoples’ International” that will draw for itself a road map for this long struggle, and interact with the outcomes of each step in this map, as we will explain below.

A program for the real left today

About eight years ago, in successive sessions, a group of senior leftist intellectuals from the global North and South, with the participation of Samir Amin, reached preliminary results that we summarize in the following three points:

- (1) Community control over monopolistic ownerships,
- (2) Ending the financialized nature of economic management,
- (3) Ending the pattern of unbridled globalization in international relations.

Social control of monopolies

That is, putting the principle of private ownership of monopoly capital into question and "legalizing" the markets. Without eliminating the absolute private ownership of monopolies, any reforms are nothing more than throwing dust in the eyes of the simpletons. The monopolies are asked to "manage" the reforms against their own interests. The alternative social project should guarantee maximum employment and its stability, and reasonable wages that grow in parallel with the productivity of

social labor. These are goals that cannot be achieved without removing the power of monopolies, and therefore there is no alternative but to socialize them.

But the most important thing is what comes after this first step (nationalization), that is, developing its practices in a way that guarantees societal control over the management of the new economy and encouraging social democratic struggles involved in this long road to socialism. For this purpose, Samir Amin coined a new term in the Arabic language "الشركة" as a translation of the English term socialization or the German term "Vergesellschaftung", meaning the process of gradual transformation from an economic model managed by the sovereignty of the principle of private ownership of monopolies to a new model in the service of societal sovereignty in the field of economic management. It is one of the elements of participatory democracy, as many colleagues have explained before.

The general principle proposed for rebuilding the economic system is based on the idea of establishing a legitimate institutional framework that imposes collective bargaining on the parties to production regarding the choice of product quality and price. This is what Samir Amin called the "socially regulated market" to replace the "free market", because the latter gives the stronger party complete freedom to impose its conditions regarding the choice of product quality and price. In light of the highly centralized economic and political models of the twentieth century, whether in the Soviet state and its predecessors or even in the West, one cannot deny the

usefulness of market mechanisms in driving the process of economic growth and development. Therefore, our move towards a socialist society in the twenty-first century must retain a large part of these mechanisms, at least for a very long time, whether for economic or cultural reasons. However, the function of the market must be governed by the existence of a plan where the market is allowed to operate to the extent that it contributes to increasing productivity. But at the same time, it must be corrected to be in line with national, regional and global general plans, which give priority to achieving basic social needs at the national and international levels and protecting the natural environment, i.e. reducing the role of the market to that of a conditional supporter of humanity, taking into account the need to address inequalities at the global level.

The concrete example that Samir Amin mentioned to illustrate this complex process was in the field of agricultural economics. Capitalist farmers in industrially advanced countries, as well as peasants in the countries of the Global South, are prisoners of both the “upstream” monopolies, i.e. those that provide inputs (production machinery, fertilizers, credit, etc.) and the “downstream” monopolies that agriculture resorts to in transporting and marketing its products. Real practice always proves that upstream and downstream monopolies, which are truly independent in their decisions, monopolize the profits of production for their own benefit, reducing agricultural producers to “subcontractors”, meaning that their share of the profit is the lowest, which may reach less

than the subsistence level in countries like Egypt, thus creating all these distortions in the market that are unmistakable.

The alternative is to replace the monopolies with public institutions within a legal framework that defines the new governance model required. These institutions are composed of representatives of (1) farmers (main interests) (2) upstream units (input manufacturers, banks) and downstream units (food industries, retail chains) (3) consumers (4) local authorities (concerned with the natural and social environment, schools, hospitals, urban planning and housing, transport) (5) and the state (citizens). The representatives of these components are self-selected according to procedures consistent with their specialized management model.

This is the proposed way to liquidate the power of monopolies that exploit workers and subcontractors. That is, an authority must be established based on social solidarity, not social conflict, and fair prices that guarantee equal profit rates for all units and sectors. Here we can speak of a different, more efficient and rational development that responds to the collective choices of society. This is a model of state capitalism designed to be open to development in ways governed by a socialist orientation, and should be seen as a form of the “market socialism” required at the present stage. This orientation can only succeed by eliminating the principle of the necessity of maximizing “shareholder value”, which is the basis of financialization that serves the interests of generalized monopolies alone.

This example is just to illustrate the idea of how to manage society in the first stage on the long road to socialism. But of course, the issue is different with large-scale production institutions, meaning that the greatest challenges begin with the question: How can we impose a social character on large-scale production that includes many large production units, which are entities that also interact with each other at the local, national and global levels?

The answer to this question is not simple, as the dialogues of left-wing intellectuals around the world are still fermenting with proposals, especially those that came as a result of lessons from struggles and clashes at the local level here and there in recent decades. But there is one goal for the proposed methods of social reorganization, which is to eliminate the control of capital (generalized monopolies) over all forms of production, to be replaced by forms of governance based on participatory democracy and the dedication of negotiation between partners in the production process. Nationalization, then imposing social control over monopolies, represents our answer to the main requirements that constitute the central challenge facing workers and peoples under contemporary generalized monopoly capitalism.

Ending financialization

Financialization is an expression of the general orientation of capitalist monopolies from the real or productive economy to the rent or financial market economy. However, although this financialization process - in the stage of the structural crisis of

capitalism - takes place on several levels and in different and highly complex forms, its basis begins with the mechanism of applying the principle of the supremacy of "shareholder value", i.e. subjecting the management of companies to achieving the maximum profit rate, imposed by the accumulation strategy that serves monopolistic rents alone.

With the distribution of the profits achieved to the shareholders, the valuation of the company's shares on the stock exchange increases over time, so that the size of the financial valuation of national wealth exceeds the real value of material assets, i.e. the financial bubble inflates.

Nationalization is the imposition of societal control over monopolies to end the work of this principle. Note that this process cannot be achieved all at once, no matter how strong the revolutionary strikes are. It is a *process* like all revolutionary changes in all societies, i.e. it will not be in a straight line, but in successive stages of ebb and flow throughout history and geography as well. For this very reason, the revolutionary forces must draw up a roadmap in which they study their strategic stations, where to start and how to continue without losing their bearings. It is natural that the process of imposing societal control over monopolies also includes banks. But imposing societal control over their transactions (credit policies) has its own characteristics. This requires the direct participation of social partners in the management of the bank.

The measures to definitively represent only one step on the long road to socialism. What is needed first and foremost is a

“world without Wall Street.”⁶ Samir Amin borrows this expression from François Morin’s⁷ book. In a world without Wall Street, the economy remains largely governed by “the market”. But for the first time, these markets become truly transparent and are regulated by democratic negotiation between real social partners (and for the first time, they are not necessarily at odds with each other, as is necessarily the case under monopoly-ruled capitalism). What is being liquidated is the financial “market” which is by its very nature opaque and managed solely for the benefit of the monopolies, not the liquidation of the market itself. Stock exchanges will no longer function in the same way as they do now. Society will debate whether stock exchanges are needed at all, or whether they should be restructured to function differently, that is, to serve the social project. It is this social debate that will determine the form of the balance between private and social ownership rights of all means of production.

This is one of the main strategic milestones in this process, which will necessarily differ from one country to another, and will also differ between the Global North and the dependent Global South. ... But it is certainly not the end of the road. I would like to point out here that this issue of financialization alone requires a much more comprehensive and in-depth study than is available in the framework of this booklet.

⁶ <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/W/bo13218112.html>

⁷ **François Morin** is professor emeritus in economic science at the University of Toulouse-I. He has been a member of the general counsel of the Banque de France and the Council of Economic Analysis.

Delinking

Our deceased comrade Samir Amin was the first to use this term more than half a century ago, with which he wanted to clearly announce to all countries of the Global South that there is no possibility of development except through delinking, that is, no development under the control of global monopolies. The understanding of this term has been confused even for many revolutionary leftist forces since its launch, as many interpreted it to mean closure, that is, stopping communication, especially economic communication, with the outside world in general, that is "ending globalization". Of course, imperialism, with its powerful media, contributed to consolidating this erroneous understanding, because it is simply impossible to implement or at the very least it will be harmful. Samir Amin explained in more than one book what is meant by this term, which is "self-determined development" which means; places the national interest as the primary goal of development and not the needs of global monopolies. This can only be achieved by confronting both internal and external forces to wrest independence of economic and thus political decision-making.

This long struggle cannot take place on a global or even regional level, as it can only achieve victories at the level of a single country's society and through radical social and political struggles committed to the process of imposing societal control over the management of the economy.

In the development of capitalism from its mercantilism to its industrial stage in the eighteenth century, a gap was created

between the industrialized imperialist centers and the controlled peripheries that were prohibited from industrializing. This gap continued to widen, especially in the period of world colonization and even after World War II, which fundamentally changed the balance of power. The victories of the national liberation movements began the process of industrialization in the peripheries, by implementing the policies of *delinking* necessary for the option of self-determined development. This is the period after the Bandung Conference in 1955, in which the Nasser regime played a pivotal role. We must devote a special discussion to this topic.

In the face of this development, global imperialism (the countries of the capitalist centers) rebuilt itself on new foundations. The first of these foundations is to end the internal conflicts between its various axes, as was the case throughout at least the first half of the twentieth century, and to transform the conflicts between them - which always took place over the re-division of the colonial cake, markets and raw materials - into one fundamental conflict between them together on the one hand and the rest of the world - what is today called the Global South - on the other, i.e. the North against the South in the geostrategic sense. Of course, this enormous transformation had its economic causes, that is, this shift in geostrategic policies was a reflection of economic developments in the means of production on the global level. But this too has its own separate discussion.

The second of these foundations was imperialism's pursuit of "superiority" in the five elements: (1) technology; (2) access to the planet's natural resources; (3) control of the global monetary and financial system; (4) communication and information systems; and (5) weapons of mass destruction. Thus, the main formula for delinking today can be precisely defined by challenging the five features of contemporary imperialism.

Delinking can only succeed with achievements in social progress, democratization of society and anti-imperialist positions.

The World Today

The international system is undergoing a transformation of historic significance. The hegemony of the United States is coming to an end, and there will be no new hegemon in the foreseeable future. A multipolar world order is emerging. No generation living today knows such a system from their own experience. The upheavals are raising new questions about war and peace, including the risks to the stability of the multipolar system, the relationship between war and peace, global problems of all countries such as climate change and poverty, and technological revolutions such as digitalization and artificial intelligence. We are facing a world that has become increasingly complex. The task of preserving peace compels us to find answers to new developments in the world order and to address them strategically. The aim here is to stimulate

discussion about changes in the structure of political power and the dynamics of the international system, and I do not claim to cover the subject in all its dimensions.

Understanding Disruptions in the International System

The central determinant of the structure and dynamics of the international system in the foreseeable future is its transformation into a multipolar system. The transformation is unstoppable. The geopolitical hegemony of the United States and its allies has ended. It is leading to the “de-Westernization” of international power relations, this is the fundamental turning point. A good number of geopolitical power centers are emerging, but with different weights.

The United States remains a superpower

The United States remains a superpower that still enjoy a leading position in all the basic resources of power: military, economic, technological, political influence and soft power. Thanks to its military alliances, more than 800 military bases around the planet, its multinational corporations, the dollar as an international currency, its intelligence services, its media and its cultural industries, the United States has a unique presence around the world. NATO is a particularly important instrument of power politics. It was founded by the United States and is led by it. No important issue in NATO can be decided against Washington’s will. Washington is also currently forming a system of military alliances directed against China in the Indo-Pacific region.

Access to a full range of power resources gives Washington a variety of options for action unmatched by any other country, and creates asymmetry in all foreign relations - with friends and enemies. This also means that the United States can assert its interests more than anyone else through non-military power resources, including technological and economic sanctions and various forms of political pressure that can also have devastating and deadly effects. For example, according to the United Nations, at least half a million people died as a result of the embargo imposed on Iraq from 1990 to 2003. Developing countries are particularly vulnerable, in addition to their favorite enemies, of course: China, Russia, Iran, Cuba, Nicaragua, North Korea, and Venezuela. This enormous power also has a mental effect on American elites. Just as it is the nature of hegemony that those who submit to its influence consider it natural, so the political class in Washington considers its right to lead the world natural and even self-evident.

China: The Great Power and the New Role of the Global South

At the heart of this turmoil lies the rapid rise of the countries of the Global South, especially China. It's astonishing evolution from developing country to great power in two generations constitutes a material, political and psychological provocation to Western supremacy in general and to the American demand for hegemony in particular. In terms of power resources, China is close to the United States. China is

now a military and technological superpower and enjoys – thanks to its unprecedented development successes – a great deal of soft power, especially in the Global South. India, now the most populous country in the world, already has the third largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity. The Indian leadership is also openly formulating its claim to great power status. However, the gap between expectations and reality remains large.

China and India represent the new global political importance of the Global South, with countries such as Indonesia, Brazil, South Africa, Saudi Arabia and NATO member Turkey also trying to play a more independent geopolitical role. Much more so than the Non-Aligned Movement (Bandung) during the Cold War. The Global South has now become a powerful political actor. The failure of the West to persuade it to its side in the Ukraine war is one of many indicators of this. Projects such as BRICS⁸ or the Shanghai Cooperation Organization⁹ want “a more democratic and just multipolar world based on international law, equality, mutual respect, cooperation, joint action and collective decisions by all states¹⁰.” Therefore, it is not a question of replacing one hegemony with another, but of questioning the principle of hegemony itself. This means that

⁸ BRICS is an intergovernmental organization comprising Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, Iran, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the United Arab Emirates. Originally identified to highlight investment opportunities, the grouping evolved into a geopolitical bloc, with their governments meeting annually at formal summits and coordinating multilateral policies since 2009. Bilateral relations among BRICS are conducted mainly based on non-interference, equality and mutual benefit.

⁹ <https://eng.sectesco.org/>

¹⁰ Final Declaration of the Founding Conference of BRICS, Jekaterinburg 2009.

the self-organization of the South is objectively directed primarily against the hegemony of Washington and its entourage. This is what really connects us. Otherwise, the Global South is not a homogeneous group of interests. In many cases there were armed conflicts between each other, as in the case of China and India, or between Pakistan and India, or Armenia and Azerbaijan ... etc.

Russia's resurgence as a great power

After it's defeat in the Cold War, Russia has finally returned as a global power. This came after its persistent attempts to get closer to the West after 1991 – even at the beginning of Putin's rule – without fully submitting to American hegemony failed. The main goal of US policy towards Russia and the decisive role it played was to prevent the development of a closer bond between the European Union – or its important member states – and Russia from the very beginning. The most effective tool was NATO's eastward expansion. Although it was a break with the principle of collective security, it was in line with Washington's foreign policy doctrine; preventing “the emergence of a hegemonic power in Eurasia” at all costs¹¹. By destroying the developed political and economic relations between Russia and the EU, Washington killed two birds with one stone. Russia enjoys the status of a great power in the field of strategic nuclear weapons. That means, there is a strategic

¹¹ Congressional Research Service. U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress. Updated January 19, 2021.

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44891>

balance (terror) with the United States. Even in the event of a first nuclear attack by the United States, Moscow will still be able to reduce the United States to rubble thanks to its second-strike capability.

Russian capitalism ranks sixth in the IMF's world rankings, behind Japan and Germany, and clearly ahead of Great Britain (9th) and France (10th) according to the 2023 report. Moscow has made distancing from the West the strategic goal of its foreign policy orientation¹². This orientation began before the Ukraine war and has accelerated significantly since 2022. One of its first results is the emergence of a strategic alliance with China based on complementary interests. Russia benefits from China's superior economic power and technological expertise. In the confrontation with the United States, Beijing is interested in having a strategic partner, a stable neighbor domestically and a supplier of important raw materials.

Since the Bandung period, our world has gone through several stages, all of which are manifestations of the structural crisis of capitalism, which has brought the countries of the imperialist center to the stage of destruction that everyone sees today. Starting with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, and the emergence of the unipolar world, passing through the beginnings of the new rise of a new left on a global level. It was in its beginnings at the beginning of the third millennium against neoliberalism, then it developed and

¹² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (2023). The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation. https://mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/fundamental_documents/1860586/

crystallized into clearer visions that capitalism is the root cause of the crisis - or rather crises - of humanity, especially environmental disasters.

The most important elements of the picture in today's world, in the autumn of capitalism, are wars, because they are the well-known and historically proven means to which imperialism resorts when the crisis intensifies. NATO is harassing Russia - which is certainly not like the Soviet Union - in a proxy war on Ukrainian territory, which has been going on for nearly three years and there is no hope on the horizon for the possibility of dialogue or diplomatic solutions.

Then the announcement by the G7¹³ a year ago or more that China is the number one enemy of the West, i.e. NATO again, and the beginnings of harassment of China not only economically but primarily militarily. And there is no room for understanding as well because the hostility towards China is due to its overwhelming victory in the battle of "delinking".

Not to mention what is happening in our Arab world of massacres and genocide of the Palestinian people and then the Lebanese people, taking place in front of the cameras of all the international press and the whole world is unable to stop the crime for an entire year. And the absurd and catastrophic war in Sudan, also by proxy... and the Renaissance Dam disaster in Ethiopia and the destruction in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya and much more. The dependence of the governments of the

¹³ The Group of Seven (G7) is an intergovernmental political and economic forum consisting of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States; additionally, the European Union (EU) is a "non-enumerated member".

countries of the Global South is undoubted, but it varies in its degrees. As for the regimes in our afflicted Arab world, they enjoy the highest degrees of that dependence.

The developments in Ukraine, followed by the recent escalations in Gaza with the full and brazen support of the US government, are important signs that reflect a qualitative change within the imperialist system. Today, the US has managed to subjugate other imperialist countries and ensure their economic, political and military dependence. This is evident in the Joint Declaration on Cooperation between the European Union and NATO of January 9, 2023, which states: “We will mobilize the range of common tools at our disposal, be they political, economic or military, to achieve our common goals for the benefit of our one billion citizens¹⁴.”

I certainly do not mean unconditional support for regimes that are under attack every time by imperialism, whether it is Serbia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Russia or China. I mean to point out what the complete domination of the West on this planet means for human civilization, because global capitalism is moving in the direction of disaster capitalism. When we talk about Western domination on Earth, we are talking about the domination of a very small part of the Western ruling social classes. Today, the movement towards a multipolar world and the weakening of the role of the dollar are paving the way for a new democratic world order. These are huge and historic steps; but such steps are a necessary condition but not

¹⁴ https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_210549.htm

sufficient for a new democratic world order. Our goal is not to defeat the West in order to take its place, but to move all of humanity towards a new civilization capable of confronting the enormous threats that have appeared for the first time in human history, due to the productive forces and technologies that we have developed, which if we do not control them will very soon threaten the very survival of humanity.

In its desperate attempt not to lose its global hegemony, the West is moving forward with policies that could blow humanity up by means of mass destruction, a danger inherent in its adventurous policies toward Russia or China. But even if that does not happen, the climate crisis is moving fast, and neither the West nor the alternative powers are doing anything serious to confront the most dangerous threat that has appeared in human history, which is more dangerous even than nuclear war. Nuclear war may or may not happen; but other environmental catastrophes are coming with certainty, not probability. Humans will not survive them unless they act now with all their might to stop and reverse them. To stop them, they will need another social system, another civilization. That is, even if we avoid the catastrophe of world war, we risk finding ourselves prey to climate destruction through procrastination, indecisiveness, and ongoing conflict. Rosa Luxemburg¹⁵ declared a century ago, “Socialism or barbarism.” Today the question is “Socialism or extinction.”

¹⁵ **Rosa Luxemburg** was a Polish and naturalized-German revolutionary socialist, orthodox Marxist, and anti-War activist during the First World War.

Terminology control

Global North

The Global North is an integrated military, political and economic bloc of 49 countries¹⁶. In addition to the leading country, the United States, it includes the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Japan and secondary Western and Eastern countries. In the military arena, the definition does not necessarily include only countries from the Global North. The US-led military bloc includes Turkey (a NATO member), South Korea and the Philippines (de facto US military colonies), although they are part of the Global South. Over the past 30 years, the Global North has suffered from relative economic decline alongside political, social and moral decline. Its spurious “moral” claims about civil rights and “freedom of the press and expression” have become only an area of ridicule. The double standard is most evident today. What has been happening in Palestine for a year is only the biggest evidence of this.

Here we should point out the special status of the State of Israel in the scenario of the Global North. The Al-Aqsa Flood war created a new kind of global polarization. This new polarization on the global level links the fate of the Palestinian issue to the course of the struggle for the liberation of humanity. In the future, the Palestinian issue will influence and be influenced by this struggle; but more than at any time in the past. Today it seems to me important to understand this organic

¹⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Global_North_and_Global_South

relationship between global imperialism and Israel in order to clarify the gravity of the entire Palestinian issue for the struggle between imperialism and the forces of liberation throughout the world.

Israel is an important element in the global system of imperialism, which always aims to subjugate the global South to the global North. The context of the genocide in Gaza is no different from the context of the ongoing colonial genocides to maintain the existing pattern of relations, which is one of what Ali Al-Qadri¹⁷ calls “structural genocides” that form the basis of Western hegemony over the world, the Global South in particular. The historical imperialist powers have established a system of collective military control over the planet, led by the United States. This imperialism has established strongholds for itself in every part of the post-World War II world, to confront the leftist tide that came as a result of the victory over Nazism, and as a natural reflection of the balance of power at that time. These strongholds were represented by systems such as South Korea, Singapore, and others, while Israel was the most obvious of them. Its fortification was represented by the generous economic, military, and political support of the United States. Israel represents a functional arm of Western imperialism. After its victory in the 1967 war, Israel became a partner in the structure of global power. Accordingly, there is something like a dialectical interaction between Israel’s “functionality” and the margins of its “independence.” Both data lead to the Israeli insistence on continuing the war, which

¹⁷ <https://al-khandak.com/posts/hwar-ma-almfkr-alarby-aldktwr-aly-alqadry>

is, by the way, a purely Western interest, primarily due to securing a safe strategic environment for the continuation of this entity and proving its worthiness for its functional position in a way that guarantees the continuation of Western investment in it in the present and the future. A decisive Israeli victory aims to maintain Western deterrence against the inhabitants of the Global South. That means, there is an ideological connection between the West and Israel that makes “Zionism” a political and ideological tool of global capitalist power. Threatening Israel’s position in the region is a threat to the structure of international relations and to the structure of the region’s relations with the Western imperialist center, and thus a threat to the functionality of all of them.

Speaking of the State of Israel, it is worth noting in this context the special role of Egypt, despite the fact that Egypt is one of the countries of the Global South par excellence. Because Egypt was the first emerging state in the history of capitalism¹⁸, it imposed its political, economic and cultural influence on all its Arab surroundings since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then, in the early second half of the twentieth century, Egypt became one of the locomotives of national liberation worldwide, and because Egypt was and still is the beating heart of the Arab world and the engine of hopes

¹⁸ The emerging state that existed in Egypt during the reign of Muhammad Ali, who was able to advance Egypt militarily, educationally, industrially, agriculturally and commercially, which made Egypt a country of influence during that period, and placed it on the threshold of the first capitalist countries in the world, which had closed the circle on itself in dividing the old world during the first industrial revolution in Europe.

for Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine, we must shed light on this period.

It is the "Bandung" stage, which was initiated by a group of countries from Africa, Asia and Yugoslavia. The conference of the Positive Neutrality and Non-Alignment Group¹⁹ was held in the city of Bandung in Indonesia (Sukarno) in 1955 to open a new page in the struggle of the peoples of the South (the Third World at the time) to liberate themselves from Western hegemony (i.e. colonialism) and "disengagement". Abdel Nasser was one of the prominent leaders of this movement, and in the fifties and sixties of the last century Egypt played a decisive role in supporting the liberation and independence movements from colonialism in Africa and Asia. Naturally, the bleeding wound in the heart of the Arab world, the Zionist settler colonialism of Palestine, had a prominent place in this "global" conflict, which was led by Egypt.

Nasser's experience since then has been a thorn in the side of global imperialism. Nasser did not only develop and modernize his country, but he also actively participated in the global struggle to break free from imperialist hegemony, not to mention his ambitions to unite all Arab countries under his banner and his genuine hostility to Zionism. This was absolutely unacceptable in Western centers, and the fatal blow to Nasser's regime was the defeat of 1967 , from which Egypt has not recovered to this day. The Nasserite era ended when Sadat came to power in Egypt, changing the compass of the

¹⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-Aligned_Movement

regime 180°, that is, in short, from independence to dependency, and the process of decline and deterioration began, which Mubarak continued without interruption until the January 2011 uprising that toppled Mubarak, but not the regime. The most important thing about this uprising, which Egyptians call a "revolution," is that it alerted the imperialist centers to the danger of the awakening of this giant that they thought had died 40 years ago. The giant is Egypt, fighting for its independence, opposing imperialism, and most importantly, Egypt leading its Arab surroundings. For this very reason, imperialism supported the counter-revolutionary regime in Egypt with unlimited support to dwarf Egypt's liberationist role in the region and to ensure its alignment on the front against the Palestinian resistance in all cases. Egypt drowned in debt, its economy transformed from production to parasitism and it became subordinate to the Gulf sheikhdoms, that is, subordinated to the subordinated, economically, politically, and even culturally... This is a terrifying transformation, if you only knew.

The world being one unit and the conflict being one conflict, that is the meaning of globalization. The current war is part of the war taking place in the world to change the "international order" which takes various military, political, financial and economic forms, and this is what prolongs the life of this war. It is natural that we find among the ranks of supporters of resolving the Palestinian issue from the peoples of the West, through a single democratic state with multiple ethnicities and religions, similar to what happened in South Africa in 1994

after a conflict that lasted for generations, and that we find supporters of eliminating the Palestinian issue and submitting to racism and fascism and continuing the system of subjugating the Global South to the Global North, from the regimes most subservient to the West, especially the Arab ones, and even the Palestinian ones as well.

The Global South

The countries of the Global South consist of former colonies and semi-colonies, a few independent non-European states, and current and former socialist projects. The struggles for national liberation, independence, development, and full economic and political sovereignty have yet to be completed for most countries of the Global South. In contrast to the Global North, the Global South is not homogeneous and certainly does not constitute a military bloc. The Global South is therefore severely threatened by the scale of military spending by the US-led military bloc. This poses a clear and present danger to all countries of the Global South, and indeed to world peace as a whole. This is one of the most important objective reasons why the creation of the New International must begin today, not tomorrow.

Despite the limitations of terminology, we will use the term “Global North” and sometimes “West,” a hollow phrase often used interchangeably with the more accurate term “US-led imperialist camp.” The rest of the world is now known as the “Global South,” much of which was formerly called the “Third World.”

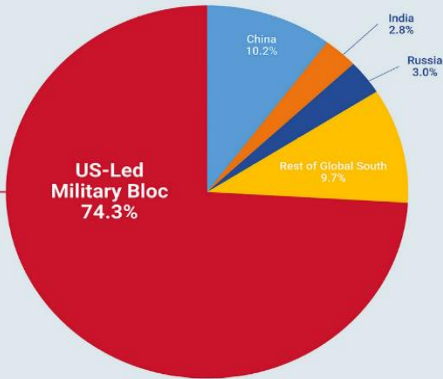
Military Spendings²⁰

Actual world military spending 2022

Figures in billions (USD)

World total 2,868

US military	1,537	53.6%
Rest of NATO	360	12.6%
Non-NATO US military bloc	234	8.2%



Source: Global South Insights elaboration based on SIPRI & Monthly Review

Top 16 countries with the largest military spending in the world in 2022

Figures in billions (USD)



Source: Global South Insights elaboration based on SIPRI & Monthly Review

²⁰ <https://thetricontinental.org/dossier-72-the-churning-of-the-global-order/#top>

The development of imperialism

As we mentioned earlier, the world went through a phase after the end of World War II called the Post War Era, which extended from 1945 to 1975. Thirty years during which the entire world achieved the highest rates of growth, even development, in human history. The main reason for this development was the success of the liberation forces in curbing the forces of capital and global monopolies, i.e. making politics the one that leads the market and not the market the one that determines the political path. With the exacerbation of the structural crisis of capitalism, this phase ended with the Rambouillet meeting²¹ of the imperialist center countries, in which these countries decided to begin to liberate themselves from the restrictions of the Bretton Woods Treaties²² that outlined the financial policies of the post-war world and which were - for this very reason - the main driver of economic growth during the post-war period. This is a special topic that should be focused on in other areas.

Then came the horrific collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, which made the United States imagine a unipolar world at the head of which it would be. The United States did not succeed in achieving this dream, but it did not abandon it, even though today's world is becoming more multipolar day after day. Then came one of the most important manifestations of the structural crisis of capitalism in the collapse of global stock markets in

²¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rambouillet_Agreement

²² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bretton_Woods_system

September 2008. Then came the outbreak of the conflict in Ukraine in February 2022, which was a proxy war for NATO against the Russian Federation. Then came the “Al-Aqsa Flood” on October 7th, 2023, which represented a turning point in the development of imperialism.

The new stage in the development of imperialism is marked by the emergence of China as the world's largest economy and a relative decline in the economic power of the United States. Therefore, it is making aggressive attempts to limit China's economic growth and its increasing role in shaping world politics. This new stage is also marked by the diminishing contradictions between the imperialist states, as Germany, Japan, France and the rest of the imperialist states are forced to subordinate their medium- and short-term interests to the strategic interests of the United States. NATO is carrying out this coordination process.

The Need for the Fifth International

None of the major crises facing humanity today can be solved at the national or regional level. This is one of the reasons why we are in dire need of an International like the one Samir Amin called for. These crises cannot be solved only by the resistance of the states opposed to the dominant Western powers. Most of these states aim for a degree of independence from Western domination so that their ruling classes can get a larger share of the pie. But this is impossible in the long run because imperialism is the very nature of capitalism. Capitalism cannot survive without imperialism for purely organic and economic

reasons, well known since Lenin²³ analyzed and explained them. Likewise, it is impossible to solve the problems facing humanity today by states alone. We need the conscious mobilization of the broad popular masses in both the North and the South of the world. We also need an alliance between the popular classes of the West and the oppressed nations of the South.

Such an alliance means simultaneously addressing social, economic, geopolitical and environmental problems in the direction of a nationally, regionally and globally planned economy under democratic control. This is our strategic goal. At present you cannot address environmental issues without social, social without geopolitical, or geopolitical without social. We need the Fifth International for a variety of reasons, to unite the regions of the world on the basis of a new socialist project - because without this unity war will become inevitable. We must unite and coordinate the struggles against capitalism, against imperialism, against totalitarianism, against climate change. Socialism does not mean simply state ownership of the productive forces, but the exercise of power by the people at all levels. And this social ownership or control can be achieved only through the intensive use of methods of self-management.

The rise of fascism, the danger of nuclear weapons, and the rapid pace of environmental collapse make political action to meet the needs we have described all the more urgent. We are

²³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperialism,_the_Highest_Stage_of_Capitalism

moving too slowly, and the result may be the end of civilization and humanity itself. We are still far from being able to implement these ideas. Given the current political and social trends in the West, the necessary transition must include the struggle for a multipolar world and the formation of independent regional blocs. But it is appropriate to include in this process elements that will contribute to the general reform of the world order, elements that we hope will help to create a bold radical trend in the West itself, without which the chances of a global ecological or nuclear catastrophe increase dramatically. That is why we urgently need a new international organization.

International of Workers and Peoples

On July 23rd, 2020, the Popular Socialist Alliance Party issued its pamphlet No. 3 under the title “Internationalism,” which concluded:

"... And so began the process of preparing for the "Kick-Off" meeting. The long journey that began two years ago is still growing, developing and taking new forms and teaching us something new about our world every day. A group of supporters of Samir Amin's thought, convinced of the necessity of working to establish the International today and not tomorrow, a group of comrades who saw that the article "Kick-Off" might indeed be a beginning, this group began to communicate for this purpose. During these two years and through a series of international meetings, a nucleus of comrades on the road crystallized and began serious work.

The Kick-Off Preparatory Group set out to have as much of the meeting as possible represent a balance between the Global South and the Global North, between the six continents, between parties, trade unions, social movements, public figures and perhaps other civil society organizations, to gain maximum interest from those who were not yet part of the process, to encourage them to join our future work. Then we discovered through this ongoing work that a good number of initiatives had already begun to establish internationals in various forms. So, the process of communicating with them began, to involve them all in a single process united in its goal. Given the different geography, history and intellectual sources of all these initiatives, this process is still ongoing, advancing slowly and is hampered by multiple problems that are new to us all... but it is advancing.”

The result of these extended meetings and dialogues was the issuance of the following working document:

IWP Working Document

A world in crisis; radically change the system

The world system can and must be changed radically. It will not do so by itself; therefore, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces must undertake a long and difficult process of permanent struggle at all levels to initiate a world socialist transition. This will mainly be articulated and initially implemented from the Global South where the crisis conditions are most acute, but in close alliance with Northern

progressives. Together we can take advantage of the internal conflicts and contradictions of contemporary capitalism.

However, due to the depth and systemic nature of the crisis, the world system is undergoing substantial organic change independent of human agency. Paradigms of "economics" and "development" and "globalization" are challenged by ecological breakdown, global concentration of wealth, pandemics, financial crises, and increasing poverty and inequality. A new multipolar world context is emerging out of the crisis tendencies of neoliberal globalization, mainly reflected in a shift of capital accumulation towards Asia. This could significantly affect the balance of power between the 'masters of the world' and progressive forces. It is impossible to predict the direction of organic change, which could easily result in *ecocide*, *mass displacement*, war and human extinction, or a prolonged transition toward a progressive order, precisely because it is unmediated by human agency.

Even if the building of an alternative, post-capitalist world order is likely to occur under deteriorated planetary conditions, there are many forms of radical change which could be initiated to guide systemic breakdown toward the bearing of a new and better world. One option is gradual, systemwide decommodification, deglobalization, recommoning, from the local to the planetary level. These will emerge through elevated consciousness of alternative possible worlds. Another scenario is a set of national revolutions which effectively expropriate transnational corporations of the elixirs of living labor and nature, their most precious resources, and return

them to the peoples of the world through green socialization of economies. In the global North, utilizing frequently re-occurring moments of capitalist crisis and private capital dependence on public bailouts in order to gain control of the commanding heights of the economy, of finance and industry, may be one gateway into a better future that would also alleviate imperialist pressures on

the global South. The bank bailouts during the global financial crisis of 2007, the corporate

rescues during the COVID pandemic of 2020, and the heavy state interventionism necessitated by current global rivalries are missed opportunities in that regard.

Finally, it is crucial to insist upon collective reparations owed for slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, ecocide, neoliberalism and many other aspects of oppression.

We see all of these scenarios unfolding within a tricontinental framework of political convergence, at the legal, economic and political levels. The process should redefine the nature of international relations, placing race, caste, gender, land, agrarian, and ecological questions at its heart. The extent to which a ‘delinking’ process from imperialism – and indeed the destructive circuits of capitalism – is required, will reinforce the need for sovereignty in the intermediate period, as the progressive national projects mature, with internationalist aims and ambitions.

Appreciation of the state of the left globally and in the area where people live

Worldwide, the Left still has great potential but its fragmentation and, in some areas, Eurocentric orientation continue to weaken it. Nonetheless, the Left exists as a remarkable and complex ensemble of social forces and rich ideological tendencies. The way forward must transcend disagreements that today divide trade unions, parties, groups and individuals resulting in the lack of any common or coherent global strategy. Reasons for this fragmentation differ from one region to another. In the Global North, the relative disempowerment of the labor movement fits into a society that still enjoys the privileges of globalization which have externalized the costs of the weakening of trade unions. There, leftist organizations have nonetheless persisted, even if they hold a relatively micro-level vision of the struggle and even if they do not sufficiently contest of the liberal individualism that they sometimes appear objectively incapable of containing. In general, Northern leftist organizations also have a weak connection and understanding of the Global South's left-wing and social movements experiences which they tend to dismiss as authoritarian and/or exclusionary. In the Global South, the progressive movements have been weakened by imperialism, neoliberalism and comprador forces as well as by the abortion of various national, popular development experiences. There should be more personal links and collaborations between comrades from different geographical locations.

However, tricontinental space²⁴ is still where we see the anti-systemic contradiction of the world order and it promises a possible renewal of an internationalist front. Each democratic repoliticization of a portion of its huge masses provides revolutionary opportunities and that hold potential for expansion. In those uprisings, the Left is lacking leadership and connection to the masses. For example, depending on each experience it often translates by lack of self-criticism, as well as the capacity to contain the virus of liberalism. In societies both South and North, the left suffers the growing disintegration of the social bond, of trust of political solidarity. And dangers grow of the rise of communitarianism, conspiracy, violence, and the threat of "state totalitarianism".

The crisis of national populist projects, and of the traditional welfare state undergirded by social democracy and indeed a broader failure of a sovereign control of the State, all reflect powerlessness against emerging anti-democratic populists and-or national reactionary xenophobic forces that have disaffected the Global Left.

The reconstruction of a strong Global Left implies the participation of its people. Mass movements exist within or outside of the self-identified Left. Ever since the global financial crisis, we have witnessed new dynamic cycles of contention and record-level global mass mobilizations. They are fragmented but active, in groups dedicated to the peasantry, women's rights, migration and anti-racism, anti-austerity,

²⁴ It includes Asia, Africa and Latin America.

social justice and climate justice struggles, democratic freedoms, civic liberties, etc.). But often they are lacking a synthesis of struggles across interconnected issues. They are also more often and then not confined to the level of street activism lacking political organization, roots in the workplace or both. Needless to say, that they are also most of the time limited to separate national states. and they exhaust themselves confronting issues of ideological differences, and other challenges such as security, identity and reaction to fascists.

And finally, they are usually limited to urban educated “middle income” segments of the working class and therefore miss their potential for radical change. A large global *lumpen proletariat* is overwhelmed by its daily struggles for survival to meet even the most basic needs.

As it was proved during the Covid pandemic, all these forces could have joined in a global resistance movement to fight against contemporary capitalism. But many people and movements turned to a rejection of institutional authority and seem less and less governable, even by a leftist agenda of income replacement and strengthened public-health. Too many lies were told and too vast a set of profits were accrued by big Pharma, to allow that particular pandemic to turn society leftwards.

Under these difficult conditions, the Left globally has been in ferment, all over the world. But the audacity to defeat capital, racism, imperialism, patriarchy, ecological catastrophe, homophobia, xenophobia and other features of the rightwing agenda, requires a New Left imagination, an alternative to the

discredited concept of "modernity" and development as well as the creation of deep convergences and new forms of resistance. The Democratic, Egalitarian, Ecological, Feminist and Anti racist Progressive order must be built at the same time we join the demand. Worldwide for a progressive way out of the present crisis. The Left still incarnates the quest of unity against the *coloniality* of power. The left still moves towards a transformed humanity that is in harmony with nature. We remain supportive of the most transformative forms and actions that oppose unilateral capitalism and imperialist thinking.

We need a movement and a new type of organization

The goal is to build a movement of movements with an organizational structure for the working peoples and oppressed nations of the world. The starting-point of this International must be tri-continental convergence as a precondition to reaching to Northern-based organizations. It should be guided by anti-capitalist, social rights, and indeed all human rights including anti-racist, anti-sexist, and ecological principles. It seeks to transcend the fragmentation of nationally and socially confined social and political

movements. It seeks to surmount the political limitations of the most recent initiatives of the alter- and anti-globalization movement which, like the "World Social Forums" also failed because of the lack of including political forces and developing a coherent framework for clear global demands. This movement of movements should learn from the history of the

Internationals, especially as a diversity of tendencies and ideas emerged. As it takes a formal organizational shape, it should seek convergence among social movements, trade unions, political parties, and other associations. The strength of the First International was to develop universalist demands which were understood all around the world, such as the Ten resp. Eight-Hour Work Day, public ownership of the means of production and also democratic rights such as “universal suffrage.” Today, the building of such a movement and organization should be a process of convening a global assembly of political parties, movements, and citizens. The process of convergence requires participatory democracy and control from the bottom with a special focus on the tri-continental junction.

The task of such a political organization is to contribute to the progressive transformation of the world. The organization strives to address the colonial and imperialist structure of capitalism and the unequal hierarchies of humanity, to end structural and systemic racism, protect the environment and mankind. The starting-point of this International must be tri-continental convergence as a precondition to reaching out to Northern-based organizations, including already existing transnational bodies of the left.

The organization should promote pluralistic debate, strategic research, and networking among its members, to develop information material, and to conduct educational work. It should coordinate transnational campaigns and solidarity, combine support for resistance and prefiguration of new social

relations in communities. Such an international organization can also develop training of cadres.

Rally the progressive forces and the masses in general

The role of an international / transnational organization is to support and integrate struggles at the local, national and international levels, to benefit from the multiplicity of experiences already existing, starting from the Global South, by incorporating the lessons of the past and training cadre for educational work.

It is essential to overcome the current fragmentation without destroying the originality and history of each component and without distancing this movement from the masses. This may involve avoiding some of the problems of the contemporary left, such as an excessive prioritization of culturalism (at the risk of deprioritizing our political, economic and environmental liberation) or focus of on identity issues instead of the social question.

We must identify what unites us as progressive forces, transforming these values and political visions into axes of action. We must respect the conditions of each region and the specificities of each continent. In doing this, it will be possible to find the best ways to articulate the resistance. This articulation can be put into practice with a concerted program of action, introducing democratic methods and always proceeding transparently. The responsibilities of those involved in the project must be clear.

In today's world, the internet is a fundamental tool for the exchange of ideas and is replacing many traditional forms of organization. We must use it carefully and extensively, also taking advantage of the potential of social networks.

Main goals and strategy we want to achieve

We want to contribute to the creation of a revolutionary organization, through global dialogue about the necessity of a common vehicle for the worldwide left. Our nomenclature is **the Progressive International of Workers and Peoples**. One that workers, precarious, and lumpen elements, as well as anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-sexist and environmentalist and climate justice forces can identify with. We draw together a network of organizations including progressive parties, radical national liberation movements, and social movements of the oppressed, as well as individuals who adhere to a minimum solidarity with various causes. The organization must be a *political movement* that imbibes militancy and universalism, and which advocates a socialist system of production and alternatives to neoliberal globalization and the “disorder of the market.” To create a network of organizations (progressive parties with a popular base, national liberation movements with radical credentials, and social movements that represent working and indigenous people) and peoples.

Our main objectives are firstly, to build an international capable of incorporating the best lessons of past experiences, as well as a pluralist critique of our failures. We need the

capacity to develop strategic responses corresponding to the new forms of organization so as to tackle the crisis of globalized capital. That will require much greater global dialogue on the needs of the left and the development of a consistent program (including justice, equity, human development and the specific needs of our environments, and cultures and capable of addressing key issues of our time such as the question of the emergence of quasi-monopolist platform capital infrastructures and how to socialize, democratize and internationally administer them. And secondly, we must increase the effectiveness of national progressive struggles in all countries around the world by paving the way for these forces to reach state power and then to use that power to undertake social transformation, projects of sovereignty, and defense of people's livelihoods. We anticipate that by following this process, we will reignite a global socialist transition in the 21st century, aiming towards the self-management of society at all levels. Only then will we achieve a higher form of human civilization centered around a development ruled by peoples. In short, to achieve a unity in diversity and a common agenda for a fair and multipolar international system.

Our major strategies are first, as soon as possible to take stock of the forces that are really ready to engage in a process of convergence on an anti-capitalist, anti-patriarchal, ecologically sustainable, internationalist and, in short, revolutionary program. And then to find democratic ways to achieve the full participation of these forces, (progressive

people, movements and organizations, particularly those with experience from struggles and a willingness to fight) in order to establish an organization rooted in the real social struggle.

Second, to build a process of analysis, debate, and action fronts, using all available means of communication and visibility to effectively collect ideas from the left and organize a meeting of left-wing structures to harmonize viewpoints and develop concepts for new paradigms and a global strategic framework and vision.

Our means, assets and constraints

The main asset of this initiative should be its ideological clarity and its ability to bring together a good number of radical personalities, formations and organizations from varying viewpoints social bases and continents. Its collective belief is that we need to build our “commons” and that unifying struggles is a strength and an opportunity too. As a network, this group should be capable of lending material support to the international as well as in mobilizing masses (the peasantry and all forces of Labour forces) and public action. A social movement that is thought out from the current context transcends the vision of a merely more equitable, sustainable, democratic and planned new world. *It* must imperatively move "towards a new humanism", with the vision for the workers and peoples to "create a new Human" a new way of living and civilization which unleashes the full material and spiritual potentials of human individuals and mankind. This movement must carry a revolutionary conception of humanity, in which

the themes of liberation and *desalination* occupy a central place.

Our challenges and constraints, are important to recognize both internally and externally. Externally for soliciting further membership and alliance we need to be clearly seen as a tricontinental initiative spreading in all continents and led by the ideas and concrete campaigns of the popular classes. We need to have the support of those movements of the last century which have state power, and we need to have the support of anti-imperialist states and parties. We will need to build a transparent and strong platform for building membership and resources, on individual, institutional, national and international basis. By overcoming the barriers of languages and cultures we will need to dialog with the masses in a simple and resolute way by all possible means: counter-propaganda, culture, logical and militant persuasion and permanent education. Externally, we of course have to face up to repression – because security is a major issue given how many activists have been assassinated, especially those defending human and environmental rights, and organizing trade unions. The pace of change required implies that we must set and reach minimum objectives in time. Simultaneously we must reverse the brain-washing of our natural allies by the powerful mass media, some religious movements, the monopolistic social media companies, and the other sources of fake news. This is all a major challenge at a time the very idea of socialism has been demonized.

Internally we need to improve our material capacity. Our main internal means of coordination is the ad hoc steering committee and the main mechanism is virtual online interaction – which reduces its scope. We need to do more to support and encourage engagement with the process by joining struggles and practitioners. Towards this end, we could encourage the taking of localized power/actions. Internal constraints also include ideological confusion and sectarianism, personalized power struggles, gender balance, language barriers and administrative inefficiencies. We therefore need a clearer form as an organization and an inclusive working culture which actively communicates our ideology and vision among movements and masses. We need a clearer ethos for working within an organization of the international Left. We also need to ensure that a popular mass base is maintained and higher education is no prerequisite, which would limit the organization to the educated “middle classes,” we will in the future wholeheartedly welcome skilled support from committed translators, information-technology workers and engineers, professional social media communicators etc.

Potential structure and decision-making process

In general, we must be aware of our limits and adapt our *modus operandi* according to the changing situation. The means, assets, and constraints need to be assessed collectively. and internally. However, material resources will have to be sourced from the parties and movements that will eventually compose this International, through meetings of the movements by

territory, by country, by region, and by theme; both in person and virtually. The foundation of the process of electing representatives, discussing key issues, and making organizational decisions must be based on people – people who represent and personify and prefigure the cause. For example, leaders of the working class, mainly rooted in the global South; local and transnational movements, national activist networks, and existing campaigns. We will seek an alliance with left parties which have a praxis of delinking; ie, combating eurocentrism and the liberal virus. We may also enjoy support from anti-imperialist states as long as proper guarantees of independent thought and action are acquired.

Initially, an ad-hoc steering committee has discussed the policies and draw road maps with a secretariat on a volunteer basis. They will implement the decided steps and distribute the work among all, until we succeed in institutionalizing our committee and setting out its statute and rules of decision-making.

The provisional International including its ad-hoc steering committee should be composed of individuals clearly and openly representing organizations, while at the same time having provisions for something along the lines of a “council of advisers”, a grouping composed of key opinion-makers from around the world who are broadly respected and can add value to the deliberations of the International.

Once we have a minimal institutional body and by-laws, we will democratically set up a revocable but decentralized hierarchical ‘organization’ capable of transversal and

horizontal functioning: A weighted voting system should be explored to distinguish between 1) organic leftist radical intellectuals, 2) institutions (party and trade unions, NGO-ICO) , community organizations, social movements) 3) workers quotas by country, unemployed and lumpen proletariat, and 4) state representatives. For example, this quadripartite constitution could be extended to all our bodies and assemblies, whose voting rights would be divided accordingly along the lines of the ILO.

Within a period to be defined, the assembly will elect the general council, the body that implements decisions and develops norms, as well as a revocable executive committee. The latter could function as the executive secretariat and would be made up of commissioners from various departments, including economic, social, political, communication, cultural and gender, youth etc. The general council will operate on the basis of consensus, and all other decisions would be made by majority vote. Or at least, the major decisions of the internationalist assembly are made by majority vote.

Outreach to other internationals, political parties, movement, trade unions, associations, individuals... who share our values and objectives.

After completing our manifesto, we could convene a globalized meeting on the strategic issues of the 21st century. All participants should understand that they are participating in the *process* of constructing an international, rather than a ready-made international of the 21st century. Without the involvement of parties and movements with a proven popular

and anti-imperialist track record, we can't obtain enough substance to proceed. Therefore, we must draw up a list of the major networks from which to recruit. This outreach must make strategic use of limited resources, by being based on a prioritized assessment of revolutionary working-class movements as they relate to the global political economy and the global political culture. We should also set up parallel meetings with other organizations aiming for an International, in order to discuss possibilities of convergence, without being absorbed by opportunist tendencies. Individuals, parties, movements, and unions should be approached in the same way. Furthermore, direct contact through personal acquaintance should be thoroughly utilized for inviting comrades to participate in the journey as it remains the most efficient means at our disposal. We should create a website for the kick-off process, and use this to provide information as well as means of communicative exchange. An outreach team should be created and made responsible for identifying and contacting potential affiliates. 'Speaking tours' should be set up, taking representatives of the planning committee to various countries where they can engage with potential participants. Conferences should be sponsored, virtually and where possible in person, to discuss issues that we would expect the International to address.

Contents

Introduction.....	3
Towards a militant "Fifth International" that corrects the course of human history	4
It is the crisis of contemporary monopoly capitalism.....	12
The current capitalist globalization system is unsustainable	16
A program for the real left today	20
Social control of monopolies.....	20
Ending financialization.....	24
Delinking	27
The World Today	29
Understanding Disruptions in the International System	30
The United States remains a superpower	30
China: The Great Power and the New Role of the Global South	31
Russia's resurgence as a great power	33
Terminology control.....	38
Global North.....	38
The Global South.....	43
Military Spendings	44
The development of imperialism	45
The Need for the Fifth International	46
International of Workers and Peoples.....	48
IWP Working Document.....	49
A world in crisis; radically change the system	49
Appreciation of the state of the left globally and in the area where people leave ...	52
We need a movement and a new type of organization.....	55
Rally the progressive forces and the masses in general	57
Main goals and strategy we want to achieve,	58
Our means, assets and constraints	60
Potential structure and decision-making process.....	62