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### **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 space 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, 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 than 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 organisational 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 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 organisation 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 organisation 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 organisation. 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 organisations (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 organisation so as to tackle the crisis of globalised 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 organisations, particularly those with experience from struggles and a willingness to fight) in order to establish an organisation 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 mobilising 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 *disalienation* occupy a central place.

Our challenges and constraints, are important to recognise 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 organising 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 demonised

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 localised 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 organisation 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 organisation 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 provisionnal 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 decentralised hierarchical ‘organisation’ 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 organisations, 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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.