

SEIZE THE TIME

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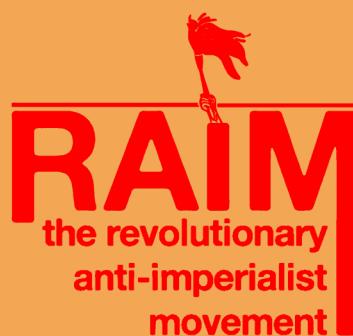
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RAIM: An Open Letter Against First Worldism in the International Communist Movement

[The letter has been co-signed by the Turkish group, İştirakî, the pan-Indigenous web-project, Onkwehón:we Rising, and the Brown Berets Prison Chapter. This statement has also been republished with a qualified introduction by the Maoist Internationalist Minister of Prisons. To co-sign this important international document, email raim-d@hush.com]

A Letter to Maoist and Revolutionary Organizations

Recently the Communist Party of Italy (Maoist) called for the convening of an international meeting of Maoist organizations. This call comes some years after the RIM collapsed following the development of evident revisionism within two of its leading organizations, the RCP-USA and the UCPN.

Comrades! Let us carry out and celebrate the firm break with the revisionism emanating from the leadership of the RCP-USA and the UCPN. In doing so, let us reaffirm our defining points of unity based on the experience of class struggle and distilled into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

These include:

-All of history is the result of the development of the means of production and the struggle between classes over their ownership and use.

-Under capitalism, labor is utilized for the sake of profit. Capital is accumulated surplus labor turned against the masses of workers.

-That capitalist-imperialism entails the indirect and direct exploitation of the majority of people by dominant monopoly capital and reveals widening contradictions inherent in capitalism.

-The only alternative to the continued barbarism of imperialism is the struggle for socialism and communism. Broadly speaking, people's wars and united fronts are the most immediate, reliable means to struggle for communism.

-Socialism entails the forceful seizure of power by the proletariat. However, socialism is not the end of the struggle. Under socialism, the conditions exist for the development of a 'new bourgeoisie' which will seek to establish itself as a new ruling

class. In order to counter this tendency, class struggle must be waged relentlessly under socialism through the development of communism.

These are points all Maoists can agree on. Yet these do not capture all significant features of today's world.

Comrades! A discourse and struggle over the nature of class under imperialism is sorely needed.

The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement puts forward a line that includes the understanding that a majority section of the populations of imperialist countries are embourgeoisified.



This embourgeoisification often contours around national oppression cast in the history of colonialism and settler-colonialism. It is most wholly construed, however, as an ongoing global distinction between parasitic workers in imperialist core economies and exploited workers in the vast Third World periphery.

Though understandings of this split in the working class was popularized as the 'labor-aristocracy' by Lenin, the phenomenon itself was first noted by Friedrich Engels in a letter to Karl Marx:

"[T]he English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations would appear to be the possession, *alongside* the bourgeoisie, of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat. In the case of a nation which exploits the entire world this is, of course, justified to some extent."

With some exceptions, Marxists have focused and debated primarily on the ideological effects of the controversial 'theory of the labor aristocracy.' Unfortunately,

less attention has been paid to the economic dimensions of the 'labor aristocracy.'

Within the imperialist world-economy, First World workers (a minority of workers in the world) receive compensation which exceeds the monetary rate of the full value of labor. In effect, First World workers are a section of the petty-bourgeoisie due to the fact that they consume a greater portion of social labor than they concretely expend. This difference is made up with the super-exploitation of Third World workers. Because prices (including those of labor power) deviate from values, this allows First World firms to obtain profits at equivalent rates while still paying 'their' workers a wage above the full monetary rate of labor value. The First World workers' compensation above the monetary rate of the full labor value is also an investment, i.e., a structural means by which surplus value is saturated and concentrated in the core at the expense of the periphery.

The structural elevation of First World workers also has strong implications for the struggle for communism.

One of the most dangerous and devastatingly popular misconceptions is that social and political reforms can raise the material standard of living for Third World workers up to the level enjoyed by First World workers.

The illusion that Third World peoples can 'catch up' with imperialist countries through various reforms is objectively aided by the common yet false First Worldist belief that First World workers are exploited as a class.

If, as the First Worldist line states, First World workers have attained high wages through reformist class struggle and advanced technology, then Third World workers should be able to follow a similar route towards a capitalism modeled after 'advanced capitalist countries.' By claiming that a majority of First Worlders are exploited proletarians, First Worldism creates the illusion that all workers could create a similar deal for themselves without overturning capitalism. By obscuring the fundamental relationship between imperialist exploitation of Third World workers and embourgeoisification of First World

workers, First Worldism actually serves to hinder the tide of proletarian revolution internationally.

Another long-term implication of the global division of workers is the ecological consequences of the inflated petty-bourgeois lifestyles enjoyed by the world's richest 15-20%. First World workers currently consume and generate waste at a far greater rate than is ecologically sustainable. The First Worldist line, which effectively states First World workers should have even greater capacity to consume under a future socialism (that is, First Worldists believe First Worlders are entitled to an even greater share of social product than they currently receive), has obvious utopian qualities which can only misguide the proletariat over the long term.

It is safe to say that First Worldism is the root cause of the problems associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA (RCP-USA) and the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (UCPN).

The RCP-USA, desiring some positive significance to offset its terminal failure to organize what it sees as a U.S. proletariat, chose to intervene in various international issues. This typically occurred to the disservice of the proletarian struggle. Now the RCP-USA heavily promotes Bob Avakian and his 'New Synthesis.' This 'New Synthesis' is better described as an old bag of revisionisms. Today, the RCP-USA, Bob Avakian, and his revisionist 'New Synthesis' is a distraction from many of the important issues facing the international proletariat.

The UCPN has given up the path of global socialism and communism. It has instead sought to conciliate and collude with imperialism in hopes of achieving conditions for class-neutral development. It foolishly assumes monopoly capital will allow it to be anything but 'red' compradors or that Nepal will become anything other than a source of super-exploited labor. The UCPN has abrogated the task of constructing an independent economic base and socialist foreign policy. It has instead embarked hand-in-hand with monopoly capi-



tal on a path they wrongly believe will lead to progressive capitalist development.

Through the examples set forth by both the RCP-USA and the UCPN, it is evident how First Worldism corrupts even nominal Maoists into becoming promulgators of the most backwards revisionisms. The RCP-USA is deceptive and wrong in its claim that it is organizing a U.S. proletariat. In reality it wrecks the international communist movement for the sake of the U.S. petty-bourgeois masses. The UCPN, whose leadership falsely believes capitalist development will bring positive material effects for the masses of Nepal, has abandoned the struggle for socialism and communism. The RCP-USA claims to represent what it wrongly describes as an exploited U.S. proletariat. The UCPN takes great inspiration in the level of material wealth attained by what it wrongly assumes to be an exploited First World proletariat.

Comrades! Our analysis must start with the questions, "Who are our enemies? Who are

our friends?" These questions must be answered foremost in the structural sense (i.e., how do groups fundamentally relate to the process of capital accumulation), secondly in the historical sense (i.e. what can history tell us about such class divisions and their implications for today), and lastly in a political sense, (i.e., given what we know about the complex nature of class structures of modern imperialism, how can we best organize class alliances so as to advance the revolutionary interests of the proletariat at large).

First Worldism is a fatal flaw. It is both a hegemonic narrative within the 'left' and a trademark of reformism, revisionism, and chauvinism. Unfortunately, First Worldism is all-too-common within international Maoism.

Comrades! The consistent struggle against First Worldism is an extension of the communist struggle against both social chauvinism and the theory of the productive forces. As such, it is the duty of all genuine Communists to struggle against First Worldism.

Comrades! First Worldism has already done enough damage to our forces internationally. Now is the time to struggle against First Worldism and decisively break with the errors of the past.

The importance of knowing "who are our enemies?" and "who are our friends?" never goes away. Instead, those who fail in these understandings are prone to wider deviations. Gone unchecked, First Worldism sets back the struggle for communism.

Comrades! We hope the topics of class under imperialism and the necessity of the struggle against First Worldism come up as specific points of future discussion within and between Maoist organizations. The raising of these questions and the firm refutation of First Worldism will mark a qualitative advance for international communism.

Death to imperialism!

Long live the victories of people's wars!

Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement



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An open environment for learning, teaching and discussion.
Dedicated to Communism, Anti-Imperialism, and Liberation.

Dear RAIM, What to Do in the First World?

This question recently came to us via comment, and it is a question we frequently get from those outside our movement. While we typically offer more direction and coordination for RAIM cadre, the below answer represents our basic public strategy which anyone can follow.

How can a First Worlder be effective beyond supporting Third World nationalist struggles? What to do at home?

The answer to the question requires two parts: first, strategic tasks; and second, the forms and methods of work through which these tasks are accomplished.

Strategic Tasks

Our tasks describe our basic goals: what we want to accomplish.

Our primary task is to:

1) Develop awareness, engagement, and adoption of Maoism (Third Worldism) and opposition to First Worldism on the international stage.

Locally, within First World countries, we aim to:

2) Develop public opinion in support of global new democratic and proletarian revolutionary struggles.

3) Promote and aid national liberation consciousness and action.

4) Develop subjective conditions conducive to future revolutionary movements, including future organizational, social, and ideological revolutionary nuclei.

These tasks are intimately related and mutually reinforce each other.

For example, the development of a revolutionary situation in imperialist countries will depend, in great deal, upon structural crises to the imperialist system. Such crises can best be delivered and sustained by the growth and success of revolutionary forces internationally. The growth and success of revolutionary forces internationally depends in great deal on the defeat of First Worldist revisionism, a battle against which we must consciously engage. Finally, our work to build solidarity in the First World for global new democratic, proletarian, and national liberation struggles hastens the necessary victory over First Worldism while simultaneously building the subjective forces for revolution within the First World.

Forms and Methods of Work

While RAIM has set several precedents with regards with the forms and methods of work (including activism and protest organizing, public and private political education, and internationally-visible media work), these should not be seen as the natural limit of ways to manifest our goals. In reality, any number of practical tasks could be oriented toward advancing our basic strategy. As an organizational requirement, all members of RAIM must be consistently engaged in projects which directly or indirectly advance our goals.

As an organization, we are not interested in dictating the technical and practical details

of cadre projects. Instead, we hope to create a broad network of mutual assistance for the greatest collective effect of said projects.

Above all, comrades should be creative. If non-RAIM comrades really can not think of practical ways to help us accomplish our basic goals, they can contact RAIM members for specific instructions. Ideal comrades have a high level of creativity, political integrity, and personal discipline both generally and in political work.

Comrades do not need each other's permission before engaging in this or that form of practical work which advances our basic tasks. The best projects are self-initiated and act in solidarity with the rest of the Maoist (Third Worldist) and Global New Democratic movement.

Dare to struggle, dare to win!

Nikolai Brown



'Dare to Struggle!' Nikolai Brown Interviewed by SystemicCapital.com

The website SystemicCapital.com recently conducted and posted this interview:

SystemicCapital.com (SC): What is the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement (RAIM)?

Nikolai Brown (NB): RAIM is a Maoist (Third Worldist) cadre organization centered in occupied North America.

We are not a 'party' directly organizing for the seizure of power. Nor are we a 'mass organization' anyone can join.

RAIM exists for a few purposes. Our primary task is promoting and developing opposition to First Worldism within nominally revolutionary movements. Another

organizational task is building public opinion in support of a broad united front against imperialism, national liberation of oppressed nations, and revolutionary people's wars. We also regularly oppose reactionary, pro-imperialist ideologies both inside and outside of the so-called 'left.'

RAIM is 'semi-clandestine' and our work is done through a growing series of projects. Anti-Imperialism.com is probably the longest-running and best-known of our projects, but many others are carried out locally or without public association with RAIM. These projects are cadre-initiated and driven. Though projects often involve the coordination of many RAIM members,

no single project represents the totality of our work. The closest exception to this is Seize the Time magazine, which is RAIM's official news and theory outlet.

(SC): In Seize the Time, issue #4, you describe an "aloofness" in "typical Marxism" regarding the significance of the divide between rich over-developed countries and poor mal-developed countries. Could you elaborate on your experiences in interactions with these "typically" Marxist organizations? What do you believe is the most significant barrier traditional Marxists have to adopting a Third Worldist analytical perspective?

(NB): Excellent question.

I typically describe this “aloofness” of “typical Marxism” as a “First Worldism.” First Worldism, at its base, in a flawed view of political economy whereby the average First World worker is deemed to be exploited. This flawed view of political economy lends itself to a chauvinistic or slavish line regarding the embourgeoisified First World masses. First Worldism implies First World ‘working’ and ‘middle’ classes are entitled under socialism to an even greater proportion of the social product than they currently receive.

This “aloofness” of today’s typical “Marxist” expresses itself in two ways. First is the lack of accurate understanding of imperialist political economy. Second is the denial of the importance of an accurate understanding of imperialist political economy.

In this second expression of aloofness, some, who might privately agree with us on the bare facts regarding the class structure of imperialism, disagree on its importance in the struggle for revolution. They may believe they can largely ignore a historical materialist interpretation of imperialism while nonetheless sufficiently organizing workers in the First World for revolution. This is mistaken.

Part of this error comes from an undeveloped or dogmatic reading of basic Marxist texts like the Communist Manifesto. Though it is fairly easy to tell Marx’s and Engels’ description of the 19th century proletariat does not fit the conditions of the working classes in imperialist centers, there is nothing in this basic text to suggest the development of a large class of net-exploiting workers. Marx and Engels state fairly clearly that the whole of society was dissolving into two antagonistic classes: the proletarian and the bourgeoisie. In retrospect, this interpretation turned out to be false. It is up to today’s non-dogmatic, ‘atypical’ Marxists, i.e. Third Worldists, to offer coherent explanations of significant structural developments.

Most of my experience with First Worldist Marxist organizations is as a Third Worldist organizer myself. This experience has been varied.

There is a common misconception that Third Worldists in the First World are against working with First Worldists. From our perspective, not only is this false

but it would be tactically impossible (due to the hegemony of First Worldism).

Often we are able to find tactical unity with First Worldists, especially on the level of local projects and coalitions. This, of course, is done in the interest of promoting a more internationalist line. I can remember times in which myself and a prominent member of Workers World Party, which generally upholds both the broad united front against imperialism and the need for the seizure of state power, jointly struggled against liberalism and white chauvinism within the context of local protest organizing.

Other times we have come into confrontation with First Worldist Marxists. For example, myself and other Third Worldists in Denver recently ‘crashed’ a public meeting of the International Socialist Organization. Our goal was to challenge them on its support for the so-called Syrian ‘revolution.’ By the end of the meeting, we had done a great deal to locally discredit the position of the ISO organizers on this issue.

Generally RAIM supports unity of various forces, but only in principled ways and only to the end of revolution.

The biggest thing blocking more ‘Marxist’ support for Third Worldism is simply the latter’s newness as a distinct trend of political activism.

Prior to about five years ago, ‘Third Worldist’ was a term used by First Worldists and liberals to disparage their more internationalist opponents. Only very recently has the term taken on positive significance.

As the Third Worldist trend continues to build and expand demonstrable praxes in both First and Third World countries, I believe Third Worldism will see a tidal wave of popular and intellectual support. However, this will not be accomplished without serious Third Worldist work and our willingness to strategically struggle against First Worldism and imperialism. Mao has a great saying about this: “Dare to struggle! Dare to win!”

(SC): Let’s be specific to the United States for a minute. We have a weak left grounded in an incomplete, First Worldist theory. We have a labor aristocracy in decline. We have a poorly educated, religious, reactionary population. We are at the heart of the empire with a massive military industrial com-

plex. We have worsening environmental and economic crises. Aren’t we headed for an authoritarian fascistic government, our own Golden Dawn?

(NB): That’s a good question and I do not have a single solid answer..

What is fascism? Was it fascism when the U.S. exterminated millions of people during its first century of existence? Was it fascist when it rounded up the remaining survivors into ‘residential schools?’ Is it fascism today when the U.S. and NATO wage relentless drone campaigns, launch ground invasions, and fund proxy ‘rebel’ movements against regional adversaries, all the meanwhile with the quiet acquiescent support of ‘its’ constituent populations in the First World? Is it fascism when experimental medicines are routinely tested in the Third World?

Fascism has always been an ambiguous term, often used to describe the ‘most terroristic form of the rule of the bourgeoisie.’ Fascism is a fairly regular feature of the capitalist system, and aspects of the U.S. and wider imperialist system have been fascistic for quite some time.

But to address the question specifically. The danger in the U.S. lies in a movement to return to a bygone ‘golden’ era of national supremacy and prestige. As some visible aspects of national oppression give way under neo-colonialism, and as the unchallenged dominance of the unity between First World labor and capital unhinged through neo-liberalism and challenges from the national bourgeoisie and ascendant countries, there is a tendency of many people in the First World, especially those benefiting from national oppression, to organize for the reassertion of past supremacy and unity. This is the basic ideological elements behind the reactionary populism of white supremacist and Tea Party-type groups. Ironically enough, many liberals share a similar fantasy about how the U.S. was previously better and more democratic.

There is another tendency, perhaps best described by Samir Amin, toward the development of a world-system which could be described as ‘neo-tributary.’ Under this system, which we see some aspects of today, the world’s people are exploited by virtue of armed blackmail. One long-term tendency (which can only be checked through class struggle) is toward ‘global apartheid,’ ‘legalized’ exploitation, and the

increasing militarization of existing political institutions.

Probably the most interesting thing about all of this is the ecological questions.

You mention an impending ecological crises. There are certain ecological limits which we will inevitably hit so long as we live in a system predicated on unlimited growth (such as capitalism does in via its drive for surplus value). It is hard to say how a massive shift in the Earth's ability to metabolize toxins or changing climate patterns will affect class structures.

That said, we should not assume everything 'green' is progressive. Very reactionary class interests are frequently dressed-up with ecologically-orientated rhetoric. Even the German Nazi Party has its own 'green'-wing.

(SC): Do you think the existential crisis of environmental degradation could spur the First World proletariat to revolution? How does the need to dramatically reduce the First World standard of living, in terms of material resource and energy consumption, affect the revolutionary strategy?



(NB): Again, I am not even sure if the classically-defined First World 'proletariat' is an appropriate term.

Generally speaking, the poorest and most oppressed sections of the First World are oppressed nations, migrants and immigrant communities, lumpen elements, and single women with children. Obviously, these groups are somewhat diverse and far removed from each other. Likewise, even these groups might not fall into the proletariat-proper, i.e., as in part of a class of exploited value-producers. Any analysis which includes notions of a First World

'proletariat' needs to factor in the actualities of these groups.

According to the theoretical framework we operate from, the vast majority of First World workers are petty-bourgeois insofar as they are divorced from the production of value and receive income above full labor-value. First World workers, in short, are net-exploiters of value produced by mostly Third World workers.

This has been a tough pill to swallow for many Marxists. The common assumption held by these Marxists is that only the 'proletariat' can be an agent of revolution. Because Third Worldism states there is effectively no First World proletariat, this is taken to mean that revolutionary struggle is entirely out of the question in the First World.

Of course, this interpretation by First Worldist Marxists about the implications of Third Worldism is entirely dogmatic. Any revolution which has succeeded has done so through a multi-class coalition led by a vanguard organization. The Chinese Revolution, for example, was carried out via broad 'united front' and 'new democratic' revolutionary coalitions which included a range of classes.

The point I'm getting at is this: just because the vast majority of workers in the First World are net-exploiters, it does not mean we should rule out the possibility of progressive sections of it joining wider revolutionary struggles. We must be clear-headed about the issue of global class structure in order to properly frame such a discussion of revolutionary class alliances.

The issue of environmentalism is a perfect example of how to tackle this question. Whereas the proletariat has an immediate, collective interest in the restructuring of economic life to the end of controlling the value it produces, a wider array of classes have an interest in preserving a suitable natural environment for human health. Therein lies a basis of unity between First World-centered embourgeoised workers and the Third World-centered proletariat. The surest bet to forestall the compounding ecological problems associated with capitalism is through people's wars, a broad united front against imperialism, global new-democratic and socialist revolutions, and communism.

The message we should be bringing to First World workers is not, 'you deserve even more stuff.' It is, 'Greenpeace won't stop your great-grandchildren from being

born into a toxic dump; supporting people's wars will.' In our propaganda work in the First World, we need to connect the long-term interests of First Worlders with the immediate struggles of the proletarian masses.



(SC): Recently, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) put out a statement in which it said the United States' economy "is based on wars. It is still able to survive only by selling weapons, war-related technology, war planes, UAVs and war related material. It would collapse as soon as wars stop." What do you think about this?

(NB): It is an interesting observation by our Indian comrades, one which captures a significant structural development in the world-economy.

In some respects, this militarization of economics marks something of a shift from a US-dominated capitalist-imperialist to a US-dominated neo-tributary one. Typically, under capitalist-imperialism, a given economy is based on exploitation. Even imperialist countries must maintain, often through violence, populations of exploited workers. (These, of course, were mainly to be found in their colonies and neo-colonies.) What the US wants to do is to enshrine and codify existing class structures through increasing violence. This is what the neo-liberal 'end of history' amounts to: the expropriation of wealth not simply through the ownership of capital, but the ownership of accumulated weaponry. The US imperialists and their co-partners are pursuing a fascistic policy of exacting tribute based on their monopoly on the effective means of violence.

Of course, it is unlikely that a system increasingly based on tribute will collapse or rescind of its own accord. However, this fascistic policy of the 'old' imperialists

will alienate wider sections of people around the world (in addition to the contradiction it is creating with Russian and Chinese monopoly capital). This is why class struggles, i.e. people's wars, a broad united front against imperialism, global new-democratic and socialist revolutions, and communism, are of increasing importance. Above all, a spirit of internationalism must be promoted in order to challenge US-led imperialism on all fronts.

(SC) Finally, how can people get involved with RAIM.

(NB) Like I mentioned, RAIM is not a mass organization that anyone can join. Of course, anyone can support RAIM and its program. However, we maintain a distinction between RAIM members and RAIM supporters.

One of the requirements of RAIM membership is consistent engagement in political work. Therefore, the best way for people to get involved in RAIM is to begin engaging in political work in support of RAIM's program and the Third Worldist movement. After a period of time, we will approach those who demonstrate consistent positive contributions about the possibility of joining RAIM. People can also email RAIM about joining, but they must still demonstrate the requisite ability to engage in consistent work; or they can join through an existing cell. Also, new members go through an additional vetting to ensure authenticity.

I want to add a caveat here. RAIM exists for the purpose of promoting a Third Worldist analysis of political economy alongside internationalist struggles against

imperialism. From our perspective, it is more important that people engage in this purpose rather than 'get involved with RAIM.' We are more about supporting and developing the broader Third Worldist movement than proclaiming our own special place within it.

(SC) Well that about wraps it up. Anything else you want to add.

(NB) Thank you very much for the opportunity to speak on these important issues along with some of the things RAIM is doing. And, of course: death to imperialism; long live the victories of people's wars!



Dear RAIM, What is Revisionism and How is Marxism a Science?

Dear RAIM, The term revisionism has always been confusing to me, not just because re-visioning something sounds like a pleasant experience of creative imagination. But more seriously, I understand revisionism as watering-down or modifying theory to gain more popularity, basically abandoning aspects of the theoretically correct analysis for one purpose or another. However, I also understand the idea of scientific Marxism as evaluating evidence and using that evidence to inform your theory – assumedly changing it if the evidence points that the old theory is wrong. So, where revisionism says the problem is changing the theory, and scientific Marxism/communism says the problem is not changing the theory to fit the facts, how do you reconcile this contradiction? It seems to me that it must be that revisionism is only changing the theory for illegitimate reasons? If so, how do you define which reasons are legitimate and which are not? I assume you would adopt some scientific method, which of course is problematic because the scientific process is still hotly debated and there is little agreement in how it works within the philosophy of science. It works, to be sure, whether we

understand it or not. But an entire scientific apparatus exists to do so. Yet those scientists don't do Marxist theory usually. How exactly do you define scientific Marxism? How does it work? How is it scientific? What is the equivalent of empirical experiments that can be repeated for all to perceive and then to agree upon? Am I missing something? Thanks! – Shaunsky

Dear Shaunsky,

Ideally, Marxism is the science of understanding the world so as to change it. Marxism has also taken on titles such as, 'the science of revolution.'

In the case of Marxism, what does science mean or allude to?

Generally, it is difficult for any 'social science' to create tests and experiments which delve into every aspect of social life. You could similarly ask, what is 'scientific' about military science, psychology, advertising, etc. However, they do often rely on empirical data, asking the simple question of what 'works' at producing desired results.

Ideally, Marxism should approach revolution in the same way. 'Correct' is what

organizes people to overthrow the existing power structure and what destroys obstructions before the revolutionary movement.

While it is fairly hard to conduct experiments to test hypotheses regarding revolutions, comparisons can be made between different past revolutionary movements to see what works. In John Foran's recommendable book, "Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions," this is done remarkably well. By looking at the history of the revolutions of the 20th century, Foran teases out five 'causal factors of revolution.'

These are:

1. exclusionary states or societies
2. dependent development, i.e. a Third World economy (esp. after a TW country experiences a moderate economic boom followed by a bust)
3. a political culture of opposition and resistance, and increasing disaffection from the ruling class
4. a world-systemic opening
5. a cross-class alliance of various sectors of a society.

After a revolution, additional problems arise: broadly democratic and inclusive political structures are hard to construct and vulnerable to reactionary internal and external opposition; and the material basis and psychological effects of dependent development do not go away over night.

Foran's book is fairly non-ideological, but a basic argument made is that revolutions occur in Third World countries. With the obvious exception of Russia itself (which existed under far different material and subjective conditions than the US or First World today), this is what the historical record indicates.

In the same token that there has never been a revolution in a First World country, there have never been Anarchist or Trotskyist revolutions either. Anarchists typically disavow the revolutionary state, i.e. the one thing preventing quick and total reversal of revolutionary gains in the wake of reactionary counter-offensives. 'Workers' are the sacred cow of Trotskyists, which leads them to ignore whole sections of society while making themselves into negligible forces in the history of revolutions.

Revisionism, broadly speaking, is eviscerating Marxism of its revolutionary content. Just as one can look through history to see what common factors have led to revolutions, we can look through history to see what has not worked. The term 'revisionist,' therefore, is generally reserved for reoccurring political lines which have not lent themselves to revolutions. Common revisionisms include: the notion that revolutions spontaneously break out and maintain themselves, therefore there is no need for professional revolutionary organizations (Anarchism; Menshevism); that socialism is a peaceful transition away from capitalism, or that socialism (as a transition toward communism) can 'peacefully' co-exist with capitalism (Kautskyism, Khrushchevism; Social Democracy); and that the central front of world revolution lies in 'advanced capitalist countries' (Trotskyism; First Worldism).

Contextually speaking, Marxism informed or influenced nearly every revolution of the 20th century. In that regard, it is understandable why Marxism carries with it such a high esteem, or why Marx, Lenin, and Mao are (correctly) looked to for inspiration and revolutionary foundations.

Unfortunately, the more recent history of Marxism has been, for lack of a better word, a disaster. Especially in the United States today, Marxism has failed to live up to its own standard. If Marxism is the act of successfully organizing for revolution (and not simply a subjective political alignment or social identity), then most of what is thought of as Marxism is actually revisionism.

revolutionary science. One does not learn to do anything, whether playing piano or organizing revolutions, from only reading about it.

However, if we want to talk about the constituent elements of organizing for revolution, at a certain point it makes sense to read and practice 'beyond' Marxism.

Notably, we should ask ourselves who is successful at what we want to accomplish. Ironically, corporations have invested heavily into 'organizational sciences,' 'social psychology,' as well as marketing and other activities. Those committed to revolution, especially those within the extra-normal circumstances of the First World, might be suited to studying this bourgeois "science" to the degree it effectively aids their revolutionary-oriented work. To a certain extent this is self-evident. For example, one is not likely to learn to create good agitational posters only from reading old books by dead revolutionaries. Rather, one must also delve into the art and science (i.e., the theoretical and technical aspects) of graphic design, which are most frequently taught at bourgeois institutions. Great visual posters, in turn, are those which actually do engage people while promoting revolutionary consciousness and action.

People like Lenin and Mao were revolutionaries par excellence, not in the sense that everything they wrote is timeless. Instead, they adapted Marxism to their conditions toward the successful end of the revolutionary seizure of power. This was not simply the product of idle theories, but of determination and willingness to adapt in strategic ways in accordance to reality.

I hope these answers provide some understanding.

Thanks, and keep the questions coming,

-Nikolai Brown



In imperialist centers, large majorities are materially bought into the imperialist system. They are rewarded greatly for their loyalty in supporting the imperialist machine. Without a larger world-systemic crisis, no amount of organizing is going to lead to conditions in which the seizure of power by proletarian forces is feasible. Our strategy, therefore, becomes one of most efficiently working to create such crises and organizing for their revolutionary resolution.

At a certain point, reading Marx, Lenin, Mao and other successfully revolutionary leaders can become rote. And let's face it: a generation of folks in the 'New Communist Movement' read plenty of this stuff and it didn't get them very close to revolution. These past leaders can certainly provide some background and basic outline, but this does not translate into imparting



Focusing in on Eco-Socialism

Eco-socialism is not merely a catchphrase. Rather, it is the notion that any modern socialism must alter the structural productive relations both between classes of people and between people and the natural environment.

In part, eco-socialism is a critical appraisal of 20th century socialism and its revisioning for modern times. Most importantly, the prospect of a socialism that inherently implies a harmonious relationship between people and the natural world is a radical break from the current capital-imperialist system.

Capitalism, Marx remarked, inevitably destroys its two foundations of existence: the laboring masses and the environment. Today, this is more true than ever.

Here are a few facts:

- Carbon levels in the atmosphere are set to break the 400 ppm (parts per million) mark. Sciences believe 350 ppm is the level at which carbon in the atmosphere begin to affect climates. At current level, we may be headed toward widespread, drastic changes the Earth's physical, biological, and chemical make-up.

- One major effect of increasing levels of atmospheric carbon is acidification of the world's oceans. The increased acidity of oceans causes coral reefs to stop growing and eventually disintegrate. Coral reefs are key marine habitats which directly and indirectly support countless number of species.

- The world's oceans are also the 'world's biggest garbage dump.' 100 million tons of trash and debris is presently floating in a vortex near the surface at the center of the Pacific Ocean. The 'Great Pacific Garbage Patch' covers up to 5 million square miles. Another smaller floating patch of trash exists in the Atlantic Ocean. In these patches of debris, fine confetti-sized pieces of plastic float near the surface, break down further under the sun, and enter the oceanic food stream. Today, most sea food is too toxic for regular human consumption due to various pollutants.

- In the last century, the number of tigers in the wild has dropped from around 100,000 to between 1,500 and 3,500. It is estimated there are more captive tigers in Texas than exist in the wild today.

Why does all of this occur? Certainly, it seems illogical and immoral.

The fundamental reason behind the destruction of the natural world lies in the fundamental drive within capitalism toward accumulation.

As a mode of production, capitalism accumulates surplus labor and natural resources for the sake of accumulating further. This structural principle is the driving force of society and culture, and explains the persistent 'illogical' existence of starvation and environmental degradation. Economic activity occurs not for immediate or long-term general human welfare, but only for the cause of expanding economic activity. In order to keep costs down and remain competitive in the world-market, individual firms must ignore or pressure governments to toss out the few laws which exist to protect the natural environment.

Unlike the structure of classes under imperialism, which favor First World workers, the structure of capitalism relative to the natural environment creates long-term problems which affect a wider scope of humanity. As the saying goes, 'if you think capitalism is great, try counting your money while holding your breath.'

It is not surprising that the most militant movements, which have recently developed among embourgeoised classes in the First World, develop around environmentalism and animal rights. Organizations like the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front have even been described as terrorists by law enforcement agencies. Environmental activism sometimes crosses into important structural-social issues, as with the recent Idle No More movement's focus on Native land rights.

Unlike the issue of control over and retention of surplus, which First Worlders stand to lose out under a revolutionary re-structuring of society, eco-socialism (production arranged according to the rational allocation of use-values and environmental regeneration) offers long-term benefits to a wider scope of humanity.

It is not enough to hope for a new system which does not rely on persistent accumulation and destruction of natural environments. Such a new system can only arise out of the struggle against the present one. Moreover, while many First Worlders may nominally hope for a new sustainable economic system, even more depend on and support today's system. While some in the First World may genuinely struggle against today's capitalist-imperialism, the actual mass base of the struggle against capitalist-imperialism lies outside of the First World, among those who are exploited by it: the vast Third World-centered proletariat.

It is not surprising that many First Worlders forsake their long-term interests associated with the preservation of natural environments in favor of their immediate class interest of accumulating wealth. For individuals in the First World who desire an eco-socialist solution to capitalism, part of that solution is supporting the struggles of Third World peoples for self-determination. Only struggles by Third World peoples against imperialism are capable of destroying the current system and building the new. Eco-socialism, thus, implies uncompromising support for proletarian struggles in the Third World.



How Would Marx Organize First Worlders for Revolution?

It has been demonstrated at Anti-Imperialism.com and elsewhere how a majority workers in the First World are not simply an upper stratum of proletarians, i.e. a classically defined ‘labor aristocracy.’ Instead, a majority of First World workers receive wages (or other compensation) that include surplus value necessarily originating in the super-exploited labor of others in the world-economy. Insofar as the incomes of the First World workers include both the full monetary rate of labor value plus surplus drawn from others’ labor, it is entirely appropriate to describe such workers as petty-bourgeois in a literal sense. Given this understanding, the question then becomes, how should communists in the First World approach organizing the First World petty-bourgeois masses in service to proletarian revolution?

In a rarely quoted portion of the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels offer some elemental hints:

They [the petty bourgeois “middle class”- NB] are... not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance, they are revolutionary, they are only so in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels believed the petty bourgeoisie was gradually dissolving into the proletariat. Thus, in their view, members of the petty-bourgeoisie were only revolutionary insofar as they developed a consciousness in line with their future proletarian class interests.

Consider this another way.

Capitalism is a mode of production based on the exploitation of labor by capital. Yet capitalism creates many other derivative contradictions.

Some contradictions are obvious and woven into the historical development of capitalism, such as the primary contradiction between monopoly capital and super-exploited Third World labor.



Other contradictions inherent to capitalism are broader and of longer-term consequence. Examples of lesser yet real long-term contradictions of capitalism (in addition to national oppression and patriarchy) include rabid militarism, the anarchy of production (which becomes accentuated to a qualitatively higher level under imperialism), and the inherent contradiction between the drive for unlimited accumulation and the Earth’s finite natural resources.

All of these contradictions (like patriarchy and national oppression) pose problems for a wider scope of people than only members of the proletariat. In this manner these contradictions are wedge issues with which to approach organizing and agitating the First World petty-bourgeoisie within a revolutionary class alliance for proletarian revolution.

For each of its contradictions, capitalist-imperialism offers false solutions (often in the form of sub-reformism and organizing via imperialist-sponsored NGOs). Yet, these false solutions represent imperialism’s attempt to assuage and divert concern over these long-term contradictions.

In contrast the imperialism’s false promises regarding peace, equity, and sustainability, an important task of revolutionaries in the First World is develop a program of proletarian humanism which appeals above the class interest of the petty bourgeois. The distinguishing feature of proletarian humanism is that it aims to programmatically unite the long-term interests of a large proportion of humanity with the immediate interest of the proletariat. Proletarian humanism serves to unite

legitimate long-term concerns with the immediate necessities of a broad united front against imperialism, people’s wars, global new democratic revolution, socialism, and communism.

Imperialism tells ‘its’ workers that the best way to stave off contradictions is to, for example, reuse their shopping bags and plant a garden. Proletarian humanism tells First Worlders that their best bet against environmental disaster is to organize in support of things like people’s wars, a broad united front against imperialism, national liberation for oppressed nations, and global new democracy on route to socialism and communism.

Proletarian humanism programmatically points out the necessity of class suicide for the First World petty-bourgeoisie. Such a petty-bourgeois class suicide can come about through actual revolutionary struggle against extant class relations.

Revolutionary struggle is not waged in the same ways in all times and places.

The organization of people’s wars against imperialist-sponsored states may be the preliminary task of proletarian revolution throughout much of the Third World.

If this is the case, the defining task in the First World may be one of dividing unity and disrupting social peace within the First World. This should be accomplished to the effect of impeding imperialism’s ability to effectively intervene against Third World-centered revolution. These divisor strategies should also be implemented with a variety of tactical orientations.

Regardless of how we choose to strategically and tactically handle the fact that a majority of First World workers are net-exploiters, we cannot deny the basic significance of class structures.

A clear and coherent understanding of class structure is not simply an academic knowledge of modern political economy. Rather, the questions “who are our enemies?” and “who are our friends?” have long-term importance in the struggle for socialism and communism.

Communism is the total eradication of contradictions inherent in capitalism. Thus, the eradication of the contradiction between the imperialist First World and the exploited Third World is a necessary condition for the development of communism.

The present system, capitalist-imperialism, is a far distance from communism. Additionally, the development of communism is not assured. Revolutionaries need conscious strategies, including the development of revolutionary class alliances, to carry out revolutions and to resolve various contradictions en route to communism.

The need to develop strategies based on revolutionary coalitions between exploited and non-exploited classes does not excuse or justify obscuring the actuality of global

class structures under the cover of ‘Marxism.’ First World revolutionaries must be clear on the basic distinctions between classes while nonetheless seeking to win over progressive sections of the First World petty-bourgeoisie.

World revolution foremost hinges on the development of a broad united front against imperialism and the victory of global new democracy. This arc of revolutionary struggle is focused primarily on the struggle of oppressed nations for self de-

termination as a prerequisite for the struggle of workers for a democratic mode of production. Within this revolutionary struggle lies the potential to undermine a variety of contradiction bound into the capitalist system. From this perspective, it is possible and important to develop praxes to “unite all those who can be united” (without obscuring actual class relations!) so as to defeat imperialism and secure the initial victories for socialism and communism.



Globalization: Inequality in the Global Plantation

By Prince Kapone

The current crisis of neoliberal capitalism has given rise to much resistance across the world, from the Occupy Wall Street movement in the U.S. to the political revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa. As capitalist regimes everywhere impose austerity measures on their populations, reducing the capitalist state to nothing more than its policing functions, even the welfare states of Western Europe are becoming the visible fists of the markets’ “invisible hand.”

This decimation of the welfare state is typically accompanied by a widening gap in wealth between the rich and the poor. Thus, in the United States the Occupy movement has adopted the slogan “We are the 99%,” in counter reference to the elite 1% who own a majority of the wealth in America. However, as we shall see, this equation is based on faulty arithmetic, as it overlooks or ignores the global wealth disparity between the First World and the Third World as a whole. In reality, the wealth of the First World nations is derived from the conquest, colonization, and continued exploitation of the Third World nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This is the principal contradiction in the world today that must be resolved if humanity is to evolve into a higher stage of social organization.

It is taken for granted nowadays that we live in a “globalized” world, but many neglect the fact that capitalism has been a global system from its very inception. In fact, “from its origins in the 17th century, when merchants from England, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands invested their wealth in large state-chartered trading companies, capitalism has organized production and exchange on an intercontinen-



tal scale.”¹ What is crucial to understand, however, is that this process of globalization was and remains characterized by unequal development, whereby the development of some is inextricably linked to the underdevelopment of others. In other words, “the impoverishment of the peripheral capitalist countries of the Third World and the enrichment of the core capitalist countries of the First World are dialectically related processes, that is, the latter become richer insofar as the former become poorer.”²

It is also true that capitalism developed in the West, particularly in its industrial stage, by feasting on the blood, sweat and labor of its own national working classes. Karl Marx showed long ago that it is the exploitation of labor power that produces the surplus value for capitalists to expand their capital. Marx thought at the time that an inherent tendency towards the overaccumulation of capital would eventually lead to a fall in the rate of profit, triggering

a corresponding fall in wages and increased immiseration for workers which would ultimately drive them towards socialist revolution. However, Marx did not live long enough to see how colonialism and imperialism would eventually act to offset these self-destructive tendencies of capitalism, earning the support of workers and prolonging its demise.

Already by the 1880’s, Friedrich Engels, Marx’s closest collaborator, observed that “the British working class is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie. Of course, this is to a certain extent justifiable for a nation which is exploiting the whole world.”³ Engels saw a connection between the national chauvinism and opportunism displayed by the British working class and the colossal profits obtained by British colonialism. As one British capitalist

statesman aptly put it, “the empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.”⁴ Imperialism, then, was both a globalizing force that linked nations together, unevenly, through colonialism, and a pacifying force that improved the lives of workers in the imperialist countries, thus buying their acquiescence and loyalty to capitalism.

Far from being merely a matter of political policy, imperialism developed as a distinct stage of capitalism characterized by: the monopolization of capital; the emergence of finance and industrial capital; the division of the world into core (imperialist), peripheral (colony or neocolony) and semi-peripheral zones of production, distribution and consumption; the export of capital; and unequal exchange between core, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries, to the benefit of the first.⁵ It must be emphasized that these features of capitalism evolved as a response to the system’s own internal contradictions. For example, the tendency towards monopoly capital is the logical result of capitalist competition. Imperialism then must be understood as an inevitable stage – the final stage – of capitalism’s historical development. In the modern era, the two are inseparable.

Although colonialism was inextricably tied to the growth of capitalism, imperialism as a distinct stage of capitalist development did not begin to consolidate until the 1870’s, with the rise of monopolies. The establishment of monopoly capital in turn triggered a new wave of colonization, which culminated ultimately in an imperialist world system dominated by the core capitalist countries of Western Europe and its settler offshoots (the U.S., Canada, Australia, etc.). Whereas in the pre-monopoly competitive stage of capitalism (early 1800’s), Western Europe and its colonies covered 55% of the globe, by 1876 they covered 67% and in 1914 84%.

Thus, the inner contradictions of capitalism compelled the core nations of Western Europe to expand their national markets to the colonies of the periphery, structuring the colonial economies in such a way that ensured the continued transfer of wealth from the colonies to the imperialist metropoles.⁶ The initial links of globalization were thus connected as shackles binding the exploited periphery to the imperialist core.

Imperialism injected lifeblood into capitalism, counteracting the stagnation that is endemic to monopoly capital and increas-

ing the prosperity of the imperialist nation as a whole. It allowed capitalists to make *superprofits* (profits over and above those they would make from exploiting the workers of their “own” country), which in turn enabled capitalists to pay *superwages* to “their” workers (wages over and above those they would make absent imperialism).⁷ As W.E.B. Du Bois remarked at the height of the imperialist era, “the white workingman has been asked to share the spoil of exploiting ‘chinks and niggers.’ It is no longer simply the merchant prince, or the aristocratic monopoly, or even the employing class, that is exploiting the world: it is the nation; a new democratic nation composed of united capital and labor.”⁸ In effect, imperialism renders the contradiction between metropolitan capital and metropolitan labor non-antagonistic.

The Great Depression of the 1930’s was largely the result of monopoly capital’s inherent tendencies toward overaccumulation and stagnation. This economic crisis led the weakest capitalist powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) to seek a new round of colonial partitioning in order to reclaim and expand “their” colonial territories. Within the core imperialist nations, the economic depression strangled the working classes and ignited a fresh wave of militant class wars. The weakest imperialist powers responded to this crisis with national socialism or fascism, while the stronger imperialist states (the U.S., Britain, France) negotiated a “new deal” between capital and labor, with the government assuming a more active role in the economy. This fundamental shift in policy ushered in a new era of Keynesian capitalism, or Social Democracy as it’s known in Western Europe, with the state stimulating aggregate demand (in public works and welfare programs) in the economy through government spending, based on debt.

In the U.S., these measures did very little to alleviate the economic crisis until America entered the war. The American working-class, even the communists, enthusiastically supported the war effort as part of the united front against fascism. Class war against the capitalist state very quickly degenerated into loyalty to the empire. In exchange, Roosevelt’s New Deal gave workers union rights, a minimum wage, and a social security net to protect them in future times of crisis. Despite all their militancy and talk of “labor solidarity,” the American working-class

failed to make a definitive break with capitalism, instead opting for the petty privileges given by imperialism.

Europe was in shambles after WWII, leaving the U.S. as the de facto hegemon of the capitalist world. In 1945, the U.S. alone accounted for 49% of global manufactures, reflecting its utter industrial and economic dominance. As the last standing capitalist superpower, the United States was charged with redesigning the imperial landscape after WWII. The former colonial empires of Western Europe were in shambles and no longer had the ability to manage their colonies. The United States adopted a comprehensive aid program to help rebuild Europe and Japan, investing some of its capital surplus into the devastated economies of the capitalist world. The Marshall Plan, as it was called, was no altruistic gesture stemming from America’s noble spirit, but rather a way for American capital and products to penetrate European markets. In the end, the Marshall Plan pumped \$13 billion into the reconstruction of Europe, reviving capitalism on a world scale.

At the same time, the war demolished the colonial system that had defined the imperialist era up until that point, giving rise to a new stage of imperialism called *neo-colonialism*, whereby the colonies were granted political independence, but their economies remained dominated and structured by the demands of monopoly capital. In conjunction with this shift from colonialism to neo-colonialism, another shift occurred from *intra-imperialist rivalry* to *intra-imperialist unity*, as the former colonial empires joined together under the leadership of the United States into one imperialist world system, which I have labeled *Trilateral Imperialism* (in reference to the Triad: the U.S., Western Europe and Japan). To be sure, there were still contradictions among imperialist nations, but these were non-antagonistic and could be resolved without war. No longer would Western Europe devour itself in barbaric conflicts over colonial possessions; now, they would merge together and plunder the Third World as one.

The Keynesian New Deal in the U.S. and Social Democracy in Western Europe had managed to revive the capitalist economy and establish a great compromise between capital and labor in the imperialist nations. This compromise entailed, firstly, “Keynesian demand management in the form of the provision of high wages to core workers.”⁹ Of course, wages had always

been higher for most imperialist nation workers, but after WWII superwages were extended to all metropolitan workers and enshrined in minimum wage laws. This consolidation of superwages in effect limited the extraction of surplus value in the First World and necessitated the increase of superexploitation in the Third World to compensate.¹⁰ Thus, while in 1950 per capita income in America was 10 times that of the Third World, by 1960 it was 17 times greater.¹¹ Superwages, combined with increased access to consumer credit, allowed imperialist nation workers to attain a middle class lifestyle on a massive scale, thus definitively detaching the core working-classes from the international proletariat, making them labor aristocracies.

Aside from superwages, the labor aristocracy obtained various direct and indirect benefits from imperialism, such as expanded access to consumer credit, government-insured home loans, improved and expanded infrastructure, and, in more recent times, access to cheap consumer products imported from the Third World. All of these benefits were derived from the increased exploitation of the periphery “by means of debt servicing, unequal exchange, price-fixing, transfer pricing, repatriation of profits by transnational corporations and royalties from monopoly of intellectual property rights.”¹² Keynesianism ensured that capitalists would have to expend a portion of their superprofits to the core working classes in order to stimulate aggregate demand and consumption. But by the 1970’s new contradictions emerged in the capitalist world system that led to the gradual dismantlement of the welfare state and the triumph of neoliberalism.

The neoliberal onslaught began first in the Third World, as the IMF, World Bank and WTO forced indebted peripheral nations to implement structural adjustment programs (SAPs) that cut government social spending, privatized state assets, eradicated trade barriers, lowered wages, and opened the economy up to foreign capital.¹³ These measures were meant to reverse the Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) policies that Third World nations adopted following decolonization in the 1950’s and 60’s. SAPs, in

effect, allowed monopoly capital to regain its absolute hold over the economies of the Third World.

At the same time, within imperialist nations there was a growing crisis of capital accumulation caused by the oil crisis of 1973, the growth of unemployment, the rise of inflation, trade deficits, and massive government debt. All of these factors combined to create a fall in the rate of profit for monopoly capital, causing the U.S. to unilaterally abandon the gold standard in 1971 and the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates in 1979, ushering in the neoliberal era.



Neoliberalism in the First World surely entailed an attack on the core working classes, gradually reducing some of the benefits of imperialism that they were accustomed to receiving. Wealth disparities began to skyrocket, particularly in the 1990s, as surplus capital was rechanneled to the capitalist class at the expense of the labor aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie. However, what is completely ignored by analysts “is the extent to which First World

consumption is a drain on Third World labor.”¹⁴ As part of the neoliberal restructuring of the capitalist world system, production processes were fundamentally transformed and globalized so that industries in the First World were increasingly outsourced to the Third World where labor was much cheaper.

This development had a profound impact on imperialism and global inequality, negatively impacting the labor aristocracy in some ways and benefiting it in others. For example, the outsourcing of production has displaced many industrial workers in the First World, but the expansion of service sector jobs has absorbed many of these displaced workers. In fact, “as superexploitation has become central to the operation of the global capitalist economy, the size of the productive workforce in the core nations has diminished and the consumer and service sectors of the economy have expanded,”¹⁵ with consumption making up 80% of all U.S. economic activity and the service sector accounting for 66% of all employment. Despite neoliberalism in the core imperialist nations, mass consumerism still flourishes at levels way above Third World levels, indicating that neoliberalism has done little to reduce the higher living standards of the labor aristocracy.

For the Third World however, this shift in global production has accelerated the proletarianization of peripheral countries, with industry growing rapidly as a percentage of overall economic activity. The degree of exploitation in these nations is extreme and actually provides the surplus capital necessary to maintain the mass consumerism and unproductive economic activities of the First World as a whole. All of this confirms Marx’s thesis that capitalism leads to growing proletarianization, immigration, and class conflict, but on a global scale and in a way unforeseen by Marx. Imperialism has allowed for the promotion of the First World working classes into a labor aristocracy that is a substratum of the petty-bourgeoisie. The proletariat proper is heavily concentrated in the Third World, where workers are engaged in militant class struggles against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Whereas core nation workers have abandoned the class struggle over and

On the Thinking, Legacy, and Example of Malcolm X

Being that today (May 19) is Malcolm X's birthday, I thought it was incumbent upon me to share these reflections. First and foremost, I think it's necessary that I explain why I, as a "white man," a euro-amerikan, feel such a profound reverence for Malcolm, someone who said to be a "black militant" and accused of being anti-white. To put it simply, I think that Malcolm X was a great man and a great human being, someone who didn't have a single stain on his conduct or blemish on his character (I'm talking about the post-prison Malcolm of course). He was passionate in his convictions and unshakable in his commitment to justice and freedom (and therefore to humanity). He was proud and humble at the same time; proud enough to defend his dignity as a human being by any means, and humble enough to remain teachable. His thinking did not stagnate, but constantly evolved as he grew as a human being. He had a thoroughly internationalist perspective and was dedicated to the cause of oppressed peoples all over the globe. Thus, he was not anti-white, but anti-oppression. At the same time, he was aware of the fact that collectively, so-called "whites," were the builders and consolidators of a global system that was fundamentally based on the oppression and exploitation of non-whites, even as some whites were relatively oppressed and exploited as well. But he came to understand that it was the system itself that was the principal problem, not necessarily the people who lived under that system (although we must all bear responsibility). Malcolm was a family man who was loyal to his wife and children, even as he gave himself to humanity. These are some of the reasons why I look up to Malcolm X as a man and a human being..

I also identify with Malcolm's political views. Throughout the course of his political career, Malcolm went from a reactionary nationalist to a revolutionary internationalist. That is not to say that black nationalism is reactionary in itself, but insofar as the N.O.I. had a black capitalist platform, its nationalism was necessarily reactionary. Gradually, he came to have an anti-capitalist perspective, if not a



fully socialist viewpoint. Malcolm came to see that imperialism was the problem and that the struggle against white supremacy was inextricably linked to the struggle against capitalist-imperialism (and he was equally critical of social imperialism). And likewise, the struggle against imperialism is necessarily a struggle against white supremacy. All revolutionaries must have this dialectical understanding. We must all understand, as Malcolm did, that humanity cannot possibly evolve to a higher stage if the problem of white supremacy is not eradicated.

On a final note, I want to point out that just as important as Malcolm's personal example was and is, the influence that he has had on the world is just as crucial. Malcolm inspired the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (the most advanced political party in Amerikan history so far) and had an impact in Latin America and Africa. He is known by the wretched of the earth in every corner of the globe. He is recognized, even by his enemies, as a man of great power and influence. What we need now, at this crucial juncture in human history, is a little less Martin (read: Obama) and a little more Malcolm.

Rest In Power!

-Prince Kapone

(continued: *Inequality in the Global Plan-tion*) over again in favor of petty privileges, the Third World proletariat has remained active in the struggle for socialism.

Capitalism is a system that is inherently based on exploitation, and from its beginnings in Western Europe it has been forcefully expanded to cover the entire world. In this process of capitalist globalization, which should be understood as imperialism, the core nations have become wealthy and developed by exploiting and underdeveloping the peripheral countries of the Third World. The superprofits derived from this relationship have enabled imperialism to buy off First World workers through superwages and various other mechanisms, making the core nation working-classes a global labor aristocracy. Globalization has created great inequalities between the rich and poor within nations, but more decisively, it has created greater inequalities between nations which allow all citizens of the wealthy nations to enjoy living standards far above what they would without imperialism.

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Report from Denver May Day ‘Immigration Reform’ March

May Day is an annual international holiday for workers and oppressed peoples, and around the world this day was marked with militant demonstrations against capitalism and imperialism. A march and rally was also held in Denver focusing on immigration reform, and it was vastly different.

Radical communities in the city did not organize an event this year, so the event this year was put on by labor unions and foundation-funded nonprofits that are heavily tied to the Democratic Party. The message they spouted was one of assimilationism and pro-Amerikanism. The speakers were mostly made up of those groups along with elected officials and business leaders. Late notice for the event and a snowstorm kept turnout lower than previous years, yet about 200 people came out. In attendance were supporters of the IWW and the Occupy movement, along with a few activists wearing socialist and communist symbols. Nevertheless the organizers attempted to keep tight control on the messaging.

A small conflict happened at the beginning of the rally when some RAIM comrades came to the march with a Mexico flag, which we have brought to similar demonstrations to show support for Chicano/Mexicano liberation. Parade marshals attempted several times to make us remove the flag from the march, saying



A typical May Day for U.S. labor aristocrats, NGO ‘leftists,’ and their migrant dupes.

they did not want any “nationalist and polarizing” message to stain their event. Our comrades stood their ground and refused to remove the flag. It is not known if the march organizers attempted to suppress other messages they found offensive, but it was clear that the Mexico flag was too subversive for the leadership at this march.

The assimilationism got worse later on. The march ended at a nearby park which the march organizers renamed “Citizenship Park.” There, the organizers attempted to lead the mostly migrant participants in the Amerikan Pledge of Allegiance and the Star Spangled Banner. RAIM comrades did their best to not vomit. We spent the rest of the rally passing out fliers and talking to people.

The march was typical of many actions done by the nonprofit-industrial complex: lacking in militancy, direction, and vision. The groups are staff-run entities who at-

tempt to steer their supporters into the sinkhole of the Democratic party. They believe, if they portray migrants as willing to assimilate into the dominant Amerikan culture, the people of U.S. will accept them with open arms. This ignores the whole history of genocide, slavery, and land theft carried out by the U.S. And, of course, there was little suggestion by the organizers that people from U.S. should assimilate with the rest of the world. All and all, the event was a spectacle of ‘leftist’ and ‘pro-migrant’ Amerikan chauvinism.

The effects of US imperialism and parasitism are felt even within the struggles of migrants and oppressed nations. Thus it is not surprising, especially absent a radical mobilization, that migrant communities are so easily swayed by the siren song of assimilation and ‘Amerikan’ patriotism. Even as the U.S. tortures migrants, NGO ‘progressives’ and First Worldist ‘Marxism’ still exhort migrant communities toward pro-U.S. ideologies.

The program to put forward is one of national liberation and global revolution— in other words, the end of oppression and exploitation based on capitalism. Hopefully radicals in Denver can get together next year on May Day to truly be on the side of the peoples of the world.



Is Tom Cruise Exploited?

We are frequently asked by First Worldists why capitalists would hire workers who ‘are not exploited.’



Because the employment of high-wage workers in imperialist countries generates a profit for their employer, First Worldists reason, these employers *must* be exploiting their workers.

Unfortunately, the line of reasoning fails to recognize the difference between the realization of surplus-value as profit, and the creation of surplus-value from exploitation. They are not the same.

To illustrate this, a simple question must be asked. Because a film studio hires Tom Cruise with the expectation it will bring a net-gain of capital, does this mean Tom Cruise is exploited? Or is Kim Kardashian

exploited when she is paid a paltry 10,000 US dollars to publish a ‘tweet’ when much more is generated in additional sales by her employers? And despite his purported \$110 million income, is Lil’ Wayne exploited? His record label, Young Money, is merely an imprint of Universal Music Group, which is a subsidiary of the French media and telecommunications conglomerate Vivendi.

The obvious answer is no. Underlying Marxist analysis of economics is the notion that the production of value does not necessarily correspond to its realization. The idea that workers produce value while capitalists realize it is foundational to Marxist theory. Yet only the staunchest apologists for the First World could vulgarize this to the point of claiming people like Tom Cruise, Kim Kardashian, and Lil’ Wayne might be exploited.

Imperialism, i.e. the structural divide and inter-relation between the Third and First World, has a distorting effect whereby

value is largely produced in the former and realized in the latter. Just as Tom Cruise gets paid about \$22 million for making crappy movies, the median wage for Amerikan workers (\$39,500) is nearly twice abstract labor’s exchange-value (around \$20,000 per year for full-time work) and over 31 times greater than the global median for the price of labor-power (1,250 US dollars), often for work which is meaningless from the perspective of humanity but profitable for individuals. In both cases, neither Tom Cruise nor the median Amerikan worker is involved in the production of surplus-value, but are heavily involved in its realization.

Maybe Third Worldists are wrong. Maybe it is correct to conflate the realization of surplus-value with its production.

But if this is so, and if Tom Cruise, Kim Kardashian, and Lil’ Wayne are exploited, it begs the question of exactly what sort of practical implications this places before the communist movement? ★★★

Indian Maoists Correct Congress Party Leader, ‘Marxist-Leninists’ Defend Reactionary State



In one of their most brazen attacks this year, the Communist Party of Indian (Maoist) attacked a Congress Party convoy traveling in Chhattisgarh on Saturday, May 25th, killing top Party leader Mahendra Karma. Karma and around twenty other Congress Party members were killed after Maoist forces, also known as Naxalites, ambushed their vehicles around 5:30 as they drove through the Bastar district. Beginning in 2005, Karma spearheaded the Salwa Judum, a state-sponsored anti-Maoist militia which disbanded in 2011 following a court ruling on its illegality.

The Communist Party of Indian (Maoist) is India’s largest communist group engaged in people’s war against the state. Basing itself on Adivasis, a heterogeneous group of largely forest-dwelling peoples, constituent elements of the CPI(Maoist) have been waging a struggle against the Indian state since 1967, when villagers in Naxalbari led by dissident Communists revolted against the ruling Communist Party of India (Marxist). The revolt quickly spread and was popularized by the writings of Charu Majumdar. In 1969, these dissident Communists formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). By 1975, the Naxalite revolt was quelled by the central government. Naxalite organizations

fractured but live on. Many gave up on armed struggle, including the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Others continued on the path of armed struggle, and in 2004 many of the remaining groups engaged in people’s wars congealed into the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

Today, the Communist Party of Indian (Maoist) claims it is fighting to overthrow the Indian state while protecting the interests of India’s Adivasis and other marginalized groups from abuses by multinational corporations. The group is active in up to a third of India’s regional districts and has supporters world-wide among nominal Maoist organizations.

According to news reports, CPI(Maoist) fighters bludgeoned and stabbed Mahendra Karma to death with rifle butts and bayonets. This is evidence, some claim, of the group’s brutality. Yet consider Karma’s role in forming the state-supported Salwa Judum militia, described here in its actions against a suspected Maoist-supporting village:

“Salwa Judum vigilantes destroyed homes, and stores of grain and any other food they had; killed dozens of men, women and children; maimed and—or—raped several. Children were forced to watch the

death and dismemberment of parents. Pregnant women were disembowelled. The death and torture of those suspected of allying with Maoist rebels was instant.”

Beyond retribution, the killing of Karma is part of an ongoing class war:

“For the rebels, Karma and his ilk symbolized the class enemy—worse, a tribal [adivasi] who came from traditionally, socio-politically oppressed stock was the class enemy of fellow tribal folk. For Karma & Co., the stealthily and rapidly infiltrating rebels represented a threat in several ways. For one, at the barrel of the gun they could redistribute land to the landless. For another, they were a direct threat to the local practice of Malik Makbujja, the right of the Adivasi to cut trees on his own land that had been subverted to benefit middlemen and various vested interests.” (1)

As part of the larger Operation Green Hunt, several leaders of the outlawed Communist Party of India (Maoist) have been captured, killed, or tortured.

First Worldism and revisionism betray the revolutionary movement

Unfortunately, sectarian opportunism seems to pervade India. In this token, both the ‘Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag’ and ‘Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation’, two legal parties which run electoral campaigns to join the Indian government, rushed on scene to denounce the attack which killed Karma.

“The CPI(ML) holds that militaristic actions by Maoists, isolated from democratic movements and political assertion, cannot be justified by the logic of retribution, and are counterproductive in developing any mass resistance to the government’s policies of corporate plunder and Operation Green Hunt,” general secretary of ‘Liberation,’ Deepankar Bhattacharya, was quoted as saying in the ‘left-leaning’ *The Hindu* daily newspaper.

The Communist Party of Indian (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag pitched the same line to international audiences through an official statement published by the English-language Countercurrents.org:

"The CPI(ML) condemns this anarchist action by CPI(Maoist) which will only tarnish the image of Naxalbari uprising of landless and poor peasants of North Bengal in 1967 for land and social change and the people's struggles led by them in different states..."

"It is abundantly clear that the present attack leading to killing of many Congress activists including the leaders will be used by the ruling system to intensify the already started para-military onslaughts to wipe out Maoists from their strongholds. It is infantile on the part of Maoists to think that by killing Mahendra Karma they can take revenge against Salwa Judum or other atrocities perpetuated against the adivasis and other oppressed sections. If Karma took initiative in putting forward the Salwa Judum, it was the BJP led state government and central forces which implemented it. Instead of targeting the ruling system, and Congress, BJP like parties who implement the reactionary policies by heading central and state governments, Maoists are indulging in anarchist attacks which is serving the ruling system as a cover to attack the democratic movements and the adivasi people, to help the land grabbing..."

"The CPI(ML) once again appeals to the Maoist leadership to evaluate their hitherto activities, to retrace their path and to join the path of mobilizing and educating the masses for countrywide offensive against the ruling system. It calls on all democratic forces to oppose all attempts of the central and state governments to use this attack as a cover to intensify state terror." (3)

The common thread running through both of these messages is that Maoist violence, and not the violence of the state, is holding back the revolutionary movement in India.

Let's look at this a few different ways.

First, does Maoist violence set back revolution?

The major charge made by the CPI(ML) Liberation and CPI(ML) Red Flag is that Maoist revolution provokes a state response and sets back the communist cause in India. Apparently, these groups believe that revolution can either be carried out without violence or the revolutionary violence is only properly carried out after a long period of above ground work during which the masses attain the proper consciousness. Both of the views are rightist deviations from revolutionary theory and practice.



Violence is not simply a necessary aspect of revolution. It is a necessary aspect of all class struggle. The rightist views of the CPI(ML) Liberation and CPI(ML) Red Flag negate this concept. Instead, according to their logic, violence can be, if not avoided all together, tempered until a final revolutionary showdown. This view obscures the role of both reactionary violence (in maintaining class structures) and of revolutionary violence (in building oppositional political cultures). In reality, the reactionary state will naturally implement violent responses to quell all serious resistance, Maoist or otherwise. As Mao noted, 'to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing.'

Secondly, what role do various legal 'Marxist-Leninist' parties play in advancing revolution? More specifically, what do their denunciations of Maoist violence amount to in practice?

While it is fully expected that the Indian state rallies against Maoism, it is less expected for various 'Marxist-Leninists' to jump on board the anti-CPI(Maoist) bandwagon. Many of these 'Marxist-Leninist' organizations are legal parties which run for various public offices within the Indian government. One can only assume they rush to denounce the CPI(Maoist) in fits of opportunism, hoping to distance them-

selves from 'left-wing extremists' in the eyes of the public, state, and media.

One must ask what role such opportunism plays in the Indian revolutionary movement. In the grander scheme of things, how do public condemnations of revolutionary violence by various 'Marxist-Leninists' aid the revolutionary movement? Sure, the Indian and international bourgeois media may be more likely use quotes and publish statements by 'responsible Marxists' condemning Maoist violence, yet does such public condemnation advance or set back revolutionary struggle in India and world-wide?

Among nominal Marxists, some stand before the masses leading the way, some stand among them and simply repeat popular sentiment, and some stand toward the back and slow down and misdirect the masses from revolutionary struggle. We must ask, where exactly do various 'respectable' 'Marxist-Leninist' parties stand in their self-serving feigned outrage over the correction of a known class enemy?

Thirdly, what is the proper orientation of revolutionaries in India, generally and toward Maoist violence?

Revolution is not a straight line. Due to material and subjective conditions, revolutions may advance in some areas while being halted or receding in others. In countries like India, where revolution is advancing in areas controlled or affected by the CPI(Maoist), the proper orientation is not to condemn it but to support it. Revolutionary consciousness implies building support for other revolutionary movements. Groups like the CPI(ML) Liberation and CPI(ML) Red Flag are effectively hindering the development of revolutionary consciousness via opportunism. Even if the CPI(ML) Liberation and CPI(ML) Red Flag were to make significant gains in elections, their rank opportunism would carry over into public policy and they would merely become comprador agents acting even more directly against revolutionary movements. By condemning the CPI(Maoist) on such opportunistic bases, various 'Marxist-Leninists' indicate their willingness to work within the capitalist-imperialist system and to act as gate-keepers of nominally revolutionary movements.

The proper orientation is one of support for the CPI(Maoist). It is working to overthrow the neo-colonial Indian state. This

alone makes it part of a global united front against imperialism.

Fourthly, what is the material basis of revisionism in India? Besides the culture of sectarianism which exists in India (such that would cause two groups with nearly identical names to promote identically opportunist lines), what is the material basis of revisionism in India?

Side-by-side with revolutionary consciousness exists First Worldism, the doctrinal ‘Marxist’ view that a majority of workers in the First World are exploited. So the logic goes, ‘if Amerikans, Britons, Israelis, etc are exploited under capitalism, the proper route is to struggle for legitimate reforms under capitalism to attain similar statuses. Furthermore, if the capitalist state can be used to operate in favor of ‘its’ working class, why not attempt to do the same with the current Indian state.’ First Worldism is not simply a mistaken belief about the possibilities and limits of revolutionary praxis in the First World, it is a foundational element of revisionism and opportunism in Third World and semi-peripheral countries.

Of course, the wealth of the First World is stolen from the Third World. No amount of

reforms, lest they break the hegemony of the First World and recenter countries like India as the new core of the world economy, will alter the structural divide between the Third and First World. But what does this matter to groups like the CPI(ML) Liberation and CPI(ML) Red Flag which hope to attain power via entry into the neo-colonial state?

Rather than supporting revolutionary movements against the neo-colonial state, the existence of various ‘Marxists,’ ‘Communists,’ and ‘Marxist-Leninists’ which oppose the CPI(Maoist) based on the latter’s supposed militarism is symptomatic of an ideological terrain marred by revisionism and First Worldism. The development of a wider revolutionary movement in India necessitates building support for the Naxalites and antipathy for the reactionary Indian state. First Worldism, by obscuring the structural role of the division between the First and Third World, lends credibility to the false promises of social-democracy and aids in the betrayal of people’s revolutionary movements.

‘Revolution is not a dinner party,’ wrote Mao. It is a necessarily violent series of events in which one group of classes overthrows another. In hoping to work from

within the system (a tact that has worked well for First Worlders and compradors) and by opportunistically condemning revolutionary violence, groups like the CPI(ML) Liberation and CPI(ML) Red Flag become obstructions to the development of wider revolutionary movements in India.

Echoing the form of CPI(ML) Red Flag’s public statement, it is appropriate the issue the following declaration:

Anti-Imperialism.com appeals to Marxist-Leninist leadership to evaluate their hitherto activities, to retrace their path and to join the path of organizing and educating the masses for the development of dual power as part of an ongoing offensive against the ruling system. We call on all democratic forces to oppose all attempts by nominal ‘Marxists’ to use condemnations of the CPI(Maoist) in order to advance their political careers. We call on all revolutionary forces in India to develop support for the CPI(Maoist) and to open new fronts in the class war against the reactionary state.



Why I Became A Maoist-Third Worldist



Generally, we are not interested in posting any and all testimonials regarding the personal adoption of Maoist (Third Worldist) analysis. However, this recent article, posted at Gonzo Times by one of their former writers, is exceptional in countering some of the criticisms leveled against Maoism (Third Worldism). In addition, we congratulate the author of this piece for their bold, straight-forward explanations and defense of revolutionary class analysis. We know upholding Maoism (Third Worldism) is an unpopular action, especially among the already unpopular and marginalized First Worldist ‘left.’ Nonetheless, we are confident in our ability to develop cadre and build public opinion in a way that objectively aids the global revolutionary movement over the long-run.

Introduction

Readers may have noticed that I have not been posting articles lately. The reason for this being I have decided to leave Gonzo Times for political reasons that I will explain further.

First, allow me to say that I will not stop writing, in fact I will continue to write on a Marxist-Leninist site that all are welcome to visit.

Second, let me say I am only grateful for the opportunity to have written on such a great medium and how supportive and helpful everyone in the Gonzo community has been. I hold no ill will against anyone who writes for or reads the great stuff that comes out of Gonzo Times.

Analysis

From my studies of Marxism, Maoism-Third Worldism seems to be the logical conclusion following an honest analysis of

the class struggle and consistent application of Marxist theory.

But, like many, I was initially hostile to Maoism-Third Worldism. I thought it was ‘anti-white’, divisive, and ignorant.

I even tried critiquing it from a Marxist position, to which I intended to write an article at some point.

My change came only after I tried to pick apart M-TW from a Marxist position. The more I read the more I came to the same conclusions as the very people I was trying to criticize. At first it was frustrating, and then I began to become critical of my own positions and truly attempt a completely objective analysis that was properly scientific and void of any undue bias.

“Communists must always go into the why’s and wherefore’s of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly...” – Mao Tse Tung

What I found was this: not only is Maoism-Third Worldism a completely legitimate and logical reassertion of Marxism, but also answers many questions contemporary Western Marxism has failed to answer.



Questions like who are the proletariat? Who are the exploiting classes? What does it mean to be exploited? What is the relationship between the ‘First’ and ‘Third’ worlds? What does it mean to be ‘anti-imperialist’?

All of these questions answered scientifically within the context of our modern age of global capitalism.

Clearly, with the short time given, I cannot sufficiently elaborate all that should be elaborated upon. However, I can give a few examples and provide resources for further study.

E.g. ‘what does it mean to be exploited’?

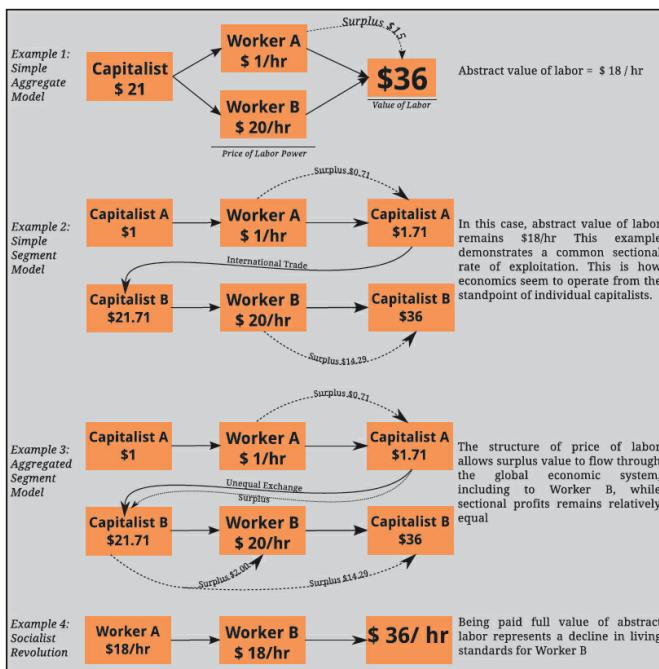
According to Marx, exploitation comes from being paid a wage below the value of labor for the purpose of the private accumulation of capital. Essentially surplus value as it is classically understood.

No one should be surprised by this.

But what does this mean today as compared to 160 years ago when Capital was first drafted?

The Western left has actually drifted away from this understanding of exploitation or at least its scientific understanding. This is because many of the ‘workers’ in the First World not only perform unproductive labor, as it is termed, but are not even exploited. This is because many ‘workers’ in Amerika and Europe already receive wages above the value of their labor. This phenomena has created not only a labor aristocracy (the higher rungs of the working class), and a false consciousness, but a *labor nobility*. Meaning ‘workers’ who, by definition, are net-exploiters. Their lavish standard of living is quite literally built on the exploitation of the global proletariat. This difference in the price of labor power is what is called ‘imperialist rent’. Meaning these ‘workers’ within the imperialist nations are direct beneficiaries of capitalist exploitation and in fact may hold little material interest in an actual world socialist revolution.

Now, upon hearing this, many people, even socialists, may get offended. No one here is implying that those in the First World do not “work hard”. For the most part First Worlders take pride and effort in their work. The question is not one of effort, it is the question of contradiction. The contradiction between the core and periphery nations. That the price of labor power with identical productivity is significantly lower in the periphery than in the core. As we know, profit is made not at exchange, but during the labor process. Meaning that if one group of workers are receiving more, others are receiving less. This is a contradiction that socialist revolution would solve in the most proletarian of ways: by compensating labor to a wage conceived under a common plan. This entire analysis is illustrated below:



This is only one example of how M-TW answers questions that the establishment Western Marxists have left untouched.

Now, regarding some of the more common criticisms of M-TW coming especially from the Western Marxists. The assertions of racism, chauvinism, and revisionism surrounding M-TW are simply baseless.

First, the perceived ‘anti-White’ analysis of M-TW is not some racial supremacy garbage but a factual understanding of how Whiteness functions socially and the ‘White proletariat’ are privileged above international non-‘whites’ (see this for more information). It is factual, not racist, to point out that ‘white’ families have as much as ten times the net worth of Black

families in Amerika. It is correct, not biased, to point out that ‘whites’ comprise a vast majority of the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois in Amerika. These claims of racism are reactionary defensive mechanisms based on a false conscious; ignoring material conditions, class struggle, and accepting a completely bourgeois identity rather than realizing a proletarian solidarity. The real racism comes from trying to make Amerikan ‘whites’ into the exploited masses; creating an entirely false racial identity and class character.

Second, there is no chauvinism in M-TW. There is chauvinism in suggesting that a select minority of the world’s populace should live lavishly while the rest of the world anguishes. The opulent life-style of the Amerikan consumerist cannot be safely replicated internationally. Suggesting that the world’s resources serve the use-values of the world’s toiling masses is not chauvinism but actual socialism. The idea that some First World college students are the center of revolutionary potential while half the world lives on 2 USD a day is complete and utter nonsense. To accept this bourgeois individualism means rejecting proletarian internationalism.

Third, M-TW is not revisionist, rather it is only a *reassertion* of the already established Marxist-Leninist line. Fundamentally there are no new contributions brought out by Maoist-Third Worldists. Maoism-Third Worldism should properly be called *Marxism-Leninism* or simply *Maoism* as it only reanalyzes the contemporary world under the same line; paying close attention to the class struggle and the inner mechanisms of global capitalism-imperialism. The goal remains the same. **To promote proletarian internationalism, national liberation, and socialist revolution.** With all of this said, M-TW can be understood as the truly consistent and non-revisionist application of Marxism.



Conclusion

If you were skeptical as to the nature of Maoism-Third Worldism, hopefully I have at least piqued your interest. If you are lamenting my change in position, all I can give you is an apology. However, I remain convinced to the legitimacy of Maoism-Third Worldism and the resulting conclusions.

I know that Gonzo Times is a self-described ‘anti-authoritarian’ website and I

respect this disposition and that of the readers. I realize that my political stances are becoming increasingly “authoritarian” and this is why I want to carry on my work elsewhere. In any sense, I appreciate all the support I have had over the past several months.

Check out my future writings as well as those of Comrade Klaas, and Comrade Josh on our website.

Also check out Comrade Nikolai Brown and his website that remains the most

enlightening in the realm of Maoism-Third Worldism and Anti-Imperialism.

In solidarity,

Comrade Zak

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Carbon in Atmosphere Hits 400ppm, Capitalism or Natural Environment Must Perish

This past week, a milestone was reached in human impact on the environment. Carbon levels in the atmosphere exceeded the 400 parts per million level.

According to a report from National Geographic:

“The last time the concentration of Earth’s main greenhouse gas reached this mark, horses and camels lived in the high Arctic. Seas were at least 30 feet higher—at a level that today would inundate major cities around the world.

“The planet was about 2 to 3 degrees Celsius (3.6 to 5.4 degrees Fahrenheit) warmer. But the Earth then was in the final stage of a prolonged greenhouse epoch, and CO₂ concentrations were on their way down. This time, 400 ppm is a milepost on a far more rapid uphill climb toward an uncertain climate future.”

The sharp increase of carbon released into the atmosphere during the 20th century and our continued reliance on fossil fuels will have lasting compounding effects. For example, warming temperatures may release carbon from the ocean floor, in turn contributing to further climate change.

According to Scientific American magazine,

“Some scientists argue we passed the safe level for greenhouse gas concentrations long ago, pointing to the accelerating impacts, from



extreme weather to the meltdown of Arctic sea ice. Others argue that we have yet more room to burn fossil fuels, clear forests and the like—but not much—before catastrophic climate change becomes inescapable.”

Climate change is also contributing to runaway melting in the Arctic which will raise sea levels at an increasing pace. What once was thought to be a distant reality, the complete melting of Arctic sea ice, is now expected to occur in 2015.

Over the past few years, erratic weather has led to poor crop performance, and even the US Department of Defense warns the effects of climate change may “act as accelerants of instability or conflict in parts of the world.”

Yet besides preparing counter-insurgency strategies, capitalist-imperialism offers few solutions.

Again, according Scientific American:

“What can be done? In the short term, more potent but shorter-last-

ing greenhouse gas emissions could be curbed or a concerted effort to develop CO₂ capture and storage technology could be undertaken.

“At present pace, the world could reach 450 ppm in a few short decades. The record notches up another 2 ppm per year at present pace. Human civilization developed and flourished in a geologic era that never saw CO₂ concentrations above 300 ppm.”

Capitalism or the environment, one will perish

Beyond its addiction to burning fossil fuels, capitalism’s predication on expansion is ruinous for the environment. Without the ability to expand, the internal logical of capitalism breaks down and structural disorder ensues. Unfortunately, the Earth holds finite resources. While capitalism could adapt over the long-term to only utilize renewable resources, this will occur only after global ecological and environmental calamity absolutely necessitates it. In the short-term, either capitalism or the

natural environment must perish.

Capitalist-imperialism is a system which fails to serve the immediate needs of the global proletariat and the long-term interests of humanity. Its only motive is the accumulation of capital and the maintenance of global structural divides. Productive activity occurs not for the benefit of all. The destruction of Earth serves to enrich a small class of monopoly-capitalists and to maintain the decadent lifestyles of their hangers-on (including the vast First World petty-bourgeoisie). Instead of providing people with a humane minimal standard of living and promoting ecological health, resources are drained away into military expenditures, unnecessary packaging, and incessant marketing and advertising. While pets in the First World ‘suffer’ from obesity, children in the Third World starve, and environmental resources (such as oceanic fish stocks and rainforests) dwindle.

Imperialism’s false ‘solution’ is yet another gadget, another commodity, and another marketing scheme. Meanwhile, behind the scenes it is preparing for increased ‘instability’ and modernizing its military to be less dependent on fossil fuels. Its real ‘solution’ is a wave of fascistic aggression against the rising global tide of predictable mass unrest.

Communist Alternative

There is one way out of the ecological destruction and mass tyranny concocted by capitalism. That way out is communism: the long-term conscious struggle for the abolition of social oppression, class divisions, and the reactionary state; along with the development of an entirely new mode of production based on the democratic and

egalitarian production and distribution of use-values.

It remains the task of communists to unite various struggles, both immediate and long-term, into a movement for revolution. From the destruction of the environment, to the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous lands, to the pauperization which threatens the masses of the Third World, to police terrorism against and the criminalization of



oppressed nations within imperialist countries, and patriarchy in all mundane and depraved forms, communists must unite the struggles against these and many more problems into a single world-wide movement capable of seizing power away from the imperialists and reactionary parasites. Only through revolution can we lay the foundations for a world without oppression or rampant destruction of the natural environment.

Imperialism has ‘distorted’ class structures so that value produced by workers in the Third World is exported to the First World. First World workers, as a class, consume

more of the social product than they produce. This both creates ‘social peace’ in the First World and is part of the structural dynamic of imperialism itself. An ‘ecological unequal exchange’ also exists whereby natural resources are exported from the Third to First World and pollution and waste is transferred back in return.

The structural realities of the modern world places before the communist movement specific tasks en route toward the communist mode of production (i.e., production ‘by all, for all.’). Namely, we must: unite various struggles, including proletarian-led people’s wars, into a global united front against imperialism; embark on a period of global new democracy in which the self-determination and equality between nations is established; launch socialism, the vigorous ‘epoch of struggle’ in which communism is established and classes, oppression, and the state are abolished.

Communists recognize certain axiomatic truths. Among them are ‘Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win,’ or, ‘Who Dares Wins.’ Those who genuinely hope for a better world, one without extreme disparity and ecocidal prerequisites, must get active within the communist movement.

The communist call to action is this: get organized; educate yourself; learn through practice; join RAIM, another proletarian-oriented organization, or develop your own cell and political work. Together, through professional dedication, hard work, and a materialist and strategic outlook, we can be part of a movement which ensures capitalism goes extinct instead of everything that we know as the natural environment.



Mini-Review and Commentary on

Zak Cope's 'Divided World, Divided Class'

Divided World, Divided Class: Global Political Economy and the Stratification of Labour Under Capitalism is the first full-length title in over a decade to feature a Third Worldist analysis of modern political economy. It was published in September 2012 by the independent publisher Kersplebedeb and has already been reviewed by several leftist writers, including Matthijs Krul, J. Moufawad-Paul, and Charlie Post.

MIMPrisons describes this book as a "must-read." This is no understatement. Along with books like J. Sakai's and essays such as Lin Piao's, *Divided World, Divided Class* should be required reading for all revolutionary anti-imperialist organizers in occupied North America.

Divided World offers a materialist account of the development of the 'labour aristocracy.' More importantly, it sets out and succeeds in empirically demonstrating both the depth of imperialist parasitism and the extent to which populations of imperialist centers have been converted into net-exploiters.

If this sounds like a mouthful, it is. *Divided World* may not be a suitable introduction to Third Worldism for those not already familiar with Marxist methodological approaches. Nonetheless, its rigorous detail and firm argumentation make it appropriate and necessary study-material for those dedicated to the struggle against capitalist-imperialism.

Because *Divided World* is so rigorous and convincing, it has already spurred wider numbers of people to engage in Third Worldist thought. As with even the best single theoretical work, *Divided World* leaves some questions unanswered while creating many new ones.

One of the questions frequently provoked by a Third Worldist critique of political economy is, 'What can people in the First World do to contribute to world revolution?'

It is highly understandable why *Divided World* does not venture to answer this question. One could spend a lifetime 'struggling against imperialism.' However, unless there exists a willingness to allow theory to inform practice, such efforts

may amount to nothing (or worse, serving the opposite end one hopes to accomplish).

Stalin's 1924 book, *Foundations of Leninism*, outlines the connect between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice:

"Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory."

Stalin quotes Lenin by stating, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."

In our current context, Lenin's notion of the significance of theory demands full reiteration:

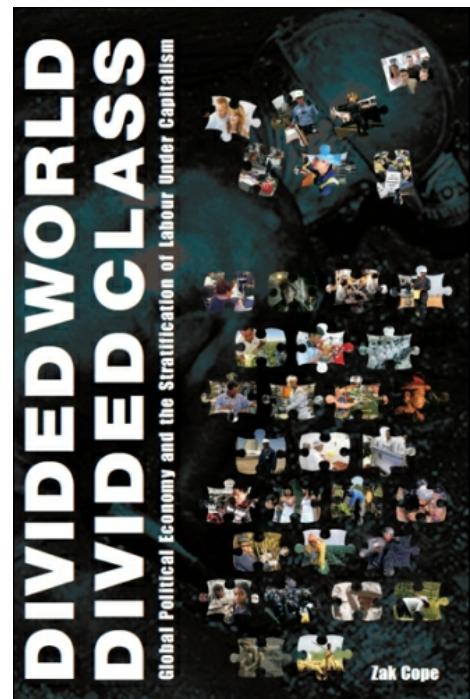
"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity."

The correct answer to the question, 'what can done for revolution by First Worlders' demands some requisite understanding of the system at large. The belief that a solid analysis of modern classes is unimportant is anti-Marxist and opportunist.

Another reason why *Divided World* might not tackle practical questions is because there may be many practical answers. That is to say, given a Third Worldist analysis of modern political economy, there may exist more than one single set of agreed upon practical implications for radicals in the First World. Nonetheless, examples of practical focuses can be found in the work of existing Third Worldist organizations.

The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement, for example, has taken head-on the question of revolutionary practice in the First World. This is stated unequivocally in its 12 Point Program:

"We want class traitors. We want individual members of exploiter classes to side with the world's exploited masses. We want class suicide: abandoning the comforts of the petty-bourgeois path laid be-



fore us, instead enthusiastically trekking down the arduous road of struggle alongside the proletariat. We want people who are willing to eschew norms to organize and work for revolution; who forsake their own class for a better future for humanity at large."

RAIM is one of the few organizations which consciously agitates and organizes members of the First World petty-bourgeoisie to the cause of proletarian revolution.

Does this mean RAIM organizes among doctors, lawyers, small business owners, and other members of the classically-defined 'petty-bourgeoisie'? No. It means RAIM is conscious of the level of imperialist parasitism and its effect on proletarian revolution, and that its political work is unabashedly internationalist and free from economism.

How is this internationalism expressed? Two ways. First, through support for people's wars, the broad united front against imperialism, and the promotion of 'revolutionary defeatism' (i.e., promoting the ruin of one's 'own' imperialist bourgeoisie). Second, by support for national liberation of oppressed nations within the First World:

"We want the dismemberment of imperialist countries through national liberation and self-determination of oppressed nations. We support efforts by oppressed nations to exert sovereignty against imperialist oppressor nations."

Practically speaking, RAIM supports these two broad concepts: revolutionary defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie and their hangers-on through a broad united front against imperialism, and the development of conscious struggles for national liberation of oppressed nations within imperialist borders. These tasks are intimately related. In the context of organizing in the First World settler-imperialist countries, promoting struggles for the national liberation of oppressed nations within one's 'own' imperialist border correlates to promoting internationalism. A global socialist revolution will not leave imperialist borders intact nor existing political regimes standing. Peoples of oppressed nations, politically awakened through the struggles for national liberation, in concert and connection with the revolutionary masses of the world, are the natural ascendant forces within the context of global new democratic and socialist revolutions.

As is noted in RAIM's 12 Point Program, these struggles will not develop spontaneously:

"We want revolutionary organizations. Revolutionary forces must not remain scattered in their aims and activities. Rather, it is necessary to mobilize the proletariat and its allies within organizations with strategies to overthrow reactionaries and seize power."

At this nascent period of the redevelopment of a revolutionary line within communist movements, it assumes too much to

believe every conceivable strategic route could be taken by individual Third Worldist organizations. Instead, the global Third Worldist movement as a whole contains numerous different developing strategic and practical orientations

RAIM's primary task is to aid in the international development and growth of independent opposition to First Worldism. In this regard, RAIM takes a fairly non-sectarian approach of supporting the Third Worldist movement as a whole. However, a few other things set RAIM apart within the Third Worldist movement.

First, RAIM supports the development of independent struggles for national liberation of oppressed nations. RAIM, as an inclusive cadre organization, aims to support, unify, and strengthen the development of various national liberation struggles against imperialist states. Second, RAIM works in imperialist centers to organize public opinion which serves wider proletarian struggles. For reasons of effectiveness and security, much of our work is not carried out under the public banner of Third Worldist organizing. It is however aimed at undercutting bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies which inhibit the development of revolutionary struggles.

RAIM understands that the greatest efforts toward organizing for revolution in the First World will be wasted outside of a larger structural crisis. Instead of organizing for the direct seizure of power by the

proletariat (as is the case for many revolutionary organizations in peripheral countries), much of RAIM's practical work aims to inhibit imperialist reaction over the long term. It is a pipe-dream to believe that a revolution will happen tomorrow. It is even more idealist to believe the center of world revolution is in the very places which materially benefit from the imperialist system which is being overthrown. However, work within imperialist centers which hinders concerted aggression against world-wide revolutionary forces can pay off over the long term. Successfully ending US military aid to states such as Israel, India, and the Philippines would do much more to serve worldwide revolutionary struggles than attempting and failing to organize a First World 'socialist' revolution.

Third Worldism is a radical break with hegemonic First Worldism. In splitting from many of the dominant First Worldist narratives of normative Marxism, it demands a similar split with many 'practical' dogmas. While such dogmatic First Worldist posturing has never produced (primarily due to structural reasons) a revolution in the First World, it is up the Third Worldists to creatively apply revolutionary theory within modern conditions toward the cause of worldwide revolutionary struggles.



Rios Montt's Conviction of Genocide in Guatemala Overturned: The Struggle Continues

A national tribunal recently convicted Efraín Ríos Montt, the former dictator of Guatemala, for crimes of genocide committed during his reign from 1982 to 1983. This was the first time a head of state has been convicted of genocide in a national court. Yet recent events changed the tone. As of May 20th 2013, the top court of Guatemala overturned this conviction, citing irregularities in the trial. A new trial may happen, but for those who suffered on the orders of Ríos Montt, a faint glimpse of justice was taken away. Furthermore many perpetrators in Guatemala, and those who aided them in the United States, still walk free. This just shows that the peoples' struggles must continue on until victory.

The specifics of the crimes Ríos Montt was convicted of were 15 massacres against the Mayan Ixil people that resulted in 1,771 murdered. The court found that 5.5 percent of the Ixil people were annihilated in the 36 year long civil war, showing that genocide happened and was the intent. Ríos Montt received 50 years for the conviction of genocide and 30 years for crimes against humanity, for a total of 80 years in prison.

In reading the verdict, Judge Jazmin Barrios, one of the three judges on the tribunal, stated: "We are convinced that the acts the Ixil suffered constitute the crime of genocide," adding that Ríos Montt, "had knowledge of what was happening and did nothing to stop it". Barrios also stated,

"The Ixils were considered public enemies of the state and were also victims of racism, considered an inferior race" and "The violent acts against the Ixils were not spontaneous. They were planned beforehand."

The civil war in Guatemala lasted from 1960 to 1996, but the 17 month reign of



Ríos Montt was the bloodiest of this time. Ríos Montt came to power in a military coup in March 1982. His military conducted scorched earth offensives against the masses of Guatemala. Thousands were systematically massacred, whole villages were burned, many were subjected to torture and rape. Throughout this time Ríos Montt was supported by the United States, which was heavily involved in Central America at the time in order to roll back progressive governments and social movements here. He was showered with military aid and training from the U.S. and from the government of Israel. Ronald Reagan, president of the U.S. at the time, said Ríos Montt was "a man of great personal integrity . . . totally dedicated to democracy," and claimed he was getting a "bum rap" from human rights groups.



Ríos Montt's career was intertwined with that of U.S. foreign policy. In 1951 he was a graduate of the School of the Americas, the notorious military training academy for client militaries in Latin America. The SOA graduated many perpetrators of atrocities throughout Latin America. After the CIA-orchestrated coup against Arbenz in 1954, Ríos Montt gradually rose through the ranks of the Guatemalan military. He became an evangelical Christian in 1970's. Christian evangelism was promoted as a low-intensity warfare tactic by the U.S. and Guatemalan elites to counter the liberation theology of sections of the Catholic Church that upheld social activism of the poor. Evangelism promoted individualism and acceptance of the status quo. Ríos

Montt was a perfect representative of the right wing Guatemalan elite that would become a compliant lackey to the imperialists war against leftist movements in the region.

The civil war ended in 1996 with peace accords signed by the government and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), the leftist umbrella organization that led the peoples struggle. The aftermath of the war left 200,000 dead and 45,000 disappeared. 83 percent of the victims were Mayan and 17 percent were latino. A UN truth commission found that during the 36 year civil war 93 percent of all human rights violations were conducted by state forces and their paramilitary death squads, stating: "agents of the state committed acts of genocide against groups of Mayan people."

The URNG laid down their weapons and became a political party competing in elections. Ríos Montt also formed a right wing party, but was barred in 2003 from running for president. He was later elected to the congress, and while in office had immunity from prosecution. That immunity expired in 2012 when he left congress, and steps were taken to bring him to trial.

What happened in Guatemala and other countries of Central America was not only the result of the oligarchies there but aided and abetted by the United States. In their war on communism around the world, which was really a war against a more just global economic order, the U.S. supported some of the most inhumane state forces that recklessly killed poor peoples all in the name of "freedom." The people of Guatemala have long suffered from the yankees interfering in their country. The Amerikan imperialists and their Guatemalan lackeys have gotten away with their injustices. Also in the Ríos Montt trial, former intelligence chief José Mauricio Rodríguez Sánchez was a co-defendant and was cleared of the same charges and let free. The current president of Guatemala, Otto

Perez Molina, is also implicated in committing atrocities during the civil war, yet enjoys immunity while he is in office. Not to mention the many lower level participants in the army and death squads, and those Amerikan officials who aided them.

Along with these crimes and atrocities, the everyday life of the Guatemalan people is constantly attacked by this capitalist-imperialist system. Over 75 percent of the population lives in poverty, and 58 percent live in extreme poverty. The social indicators caused by this poverty continually push the people down. These conditions are what led to the masses taking up arms to bring about a better system, and are what lead them still today to struggle in different ways.

The struggle of the oppressed and exploited of the world, the struggle of the proletariat, will not obtain justice through the current system that benefits the bourgeoisie. Tactical struggles still must be waged through their courts and other bourgeois institutions available. But the beginning of a just society will be accomplished through the end of the system that brings about the injustice. The peoples' struggles will bring it about, and they will continue until victory.

-Antonio Moreno

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NSA Spying, Liberal Naivety, and Radical Realities

Recently, a former National Security Agency employee, Edward Snowden, offered a series of revelations on massive surveillance programs conducted by the United States. Snowden revealed to the British media outlet *The Guardian* that: the National Security Agency, a branch of the US military, collects data on virtually all telephone and electronic communication within the United States; thousands of NSA ‘field agents’ regularly monitor the telephone and other communications of up to one million US citizens and can ‘listen-in’ to the communications of anyone in the US at-will; the NSA has direct access to electronic communications through built-in ‘back doors’; and US and British intelligence agencies regularly spy on foreign leaders during international summits.

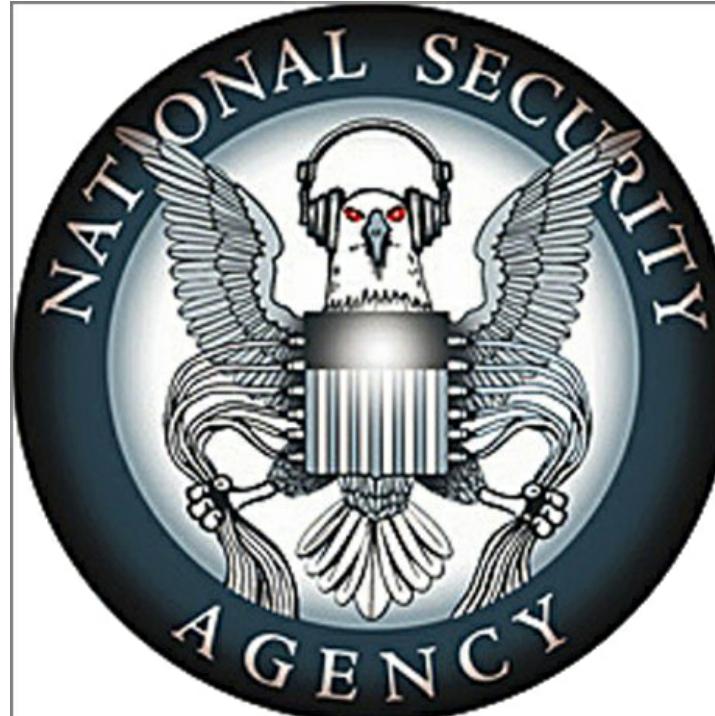
Such NSA spying violates the basic laws of the United States, particularly the First and Fourth Amendments, which outline Amerikans’ ‘rights’ to privacy and free speech. This has created quite the row in the United States. Preeminent imperialist political leaders like former Vice-President Dick Cheney and President Barry Obama have described the actions of Snowden, who is last known to be in Hong Kong, as traitorous and criminal.

As Marxists understand, rights are always the product of class struggle. They are neither enshrined by deities or nature. The US ‘Bill of Rights,’ for example, is the product of the union of European settlers in their dual struggle against their British masters and the Indigenous and African populations which they preyed upon. As such, rights helped define the ability of settler and imperialist populations to oppress ‘others.’ The rights which have been historically enjoyed by Amerikans are both the result of and necessary conditions for the benefits they collectively receive via the exploitation of the Third World.

Liberals like to believe rights are ‘natural’ or ‘inalienable.’ Violations of rights, for liberals, thus are an abrogation to be fixed. Yet, never have liberals offered a sufficient explanation of why various rights only

appeared at a certain juncture of history, or why rights are routinely violated or only nominally upheld by all sides of class conflicts.

In reality, there is only the power of some groups over others. This, along with the physical means of production, is the most fundamental aspect of any society. Rights, accordingly, becomes an ideological dressing which covers up the bitter taste of actual class structures.



Over the last historical epoch, the United States has reigned supreme. Honing its aggression first against Africans and Indigenous peoples (including Chicanos-Mexicanos), it quickly unleashed a wave of terror upon the rest of the world, beginning in the 1890s with its genocidal occupations of Hawai'i, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, and lasting through today with its bombings, occupations, and covert operations against Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Sub-Saharan Africa, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Libya, Syria, and Venezuela (not to mention its support for scores of fascist comprador regimes across the Third World). There are no ‘rights’ of the oppressed masses respected by the US and its lackeys. Furthermore, ‘rights’ have always been a flimsy ideal for those engaged in oppositional organizing within imperialist centers, as illustrated by the recently released documentary, *COINTELPRO 101*.

The Breakdown of Liberal-Democracy in the United States

Under the weight of mature monopoly capitalism, in which the US domestic economy is primarily based in a few key parasitic industries (notably security, private prisons, and military manufacturing and services), it is only natural that some of the so-called ‘rights’ previously enjoyed by US citizens erode away. Simultaneously,

the US is amping up militarist aggression around the globe, often under the increasingly hypocritical liberal language of ‘rights.’ For some, this may be a moment when the ‘emperor has no clothes’ and the hypocritical doublespeak pushed by the US is ever-more exposed. Meanwhile, most Amerikans support the NSA spying program.

US-led imperialism will continue to blaze a trail into neo-tributary economics: the continued expropriation and dispossession at gun-point which has characterized past US imperialism; an accentuated legalized exploitation being instituted through policies of global apartheid; and most notably, an increasing proportion of surplus devoted to violently maintaining global class divisions in permanence, i.e. the expansion of the police-state complex. With this transition, spying on Amerikans is not simply a national security issue, it is an economic one. As one might expect, there is only one direction such a trajectory may lead: fascism and war.

In terms of political direction, most Amerikans (especially Whites) are inclined toward a reactionary longing for a bygone ‘golden era’: not to fight for a radically egalitarian re-division of the world’s economic power, but to keep their privileged position in the present system. Along with the historically reactionary White masses, ‘their’ imperialist state increasingly represents an economic system founded on the dispensing of military and security wares. Like all forms of capital, the US must constantly expend and resupply pieces of its military machine. For now, the US military is mainly directed against Third World countries. But the increasingly neo-

tributary character of the US-led imperialism could easily lead to a catastrophic World War III. Now, more than ever, proletarian revolution is necessary for the liberation of humanity from the ravages of imperialist class rule.

Rights Under Communism and the Struggle for Global New Democracy

The communist struggle is for a world without class divisions: for the shared responsibility and equal reward for humanity's social and productive capacities. Under communism, classes (as groups divided over their relationships to production) have ceased to exist, and things like the state, media, and culture no longer exist as instruments of class rule. Oppression (as a structural and super-structural mediator of exploitation) no longer exists. Likewise, the notion of rights as an exclusive privilege based on one's association with a certain group has dissolved away as well. Instead, rights under communism are understood to be the result of the conscious

class struggles which previously produced them and are extended in such a manner for the benefit of all (even those outside the direct scope of class struggle, e.g. 'animal rights.') Just as uneven power structures have created rights as exclusive privileges selectively used against oppressed and exploited people, the equal economic relations of communism will create rights which serve the long-term interest of all.

However, communism is an end. Class struggle is the means. In the contemporary world, the immediate end of class struggle is waging a global united front against imperialism for global new democratic revolution. The united front is composed of proletarian forces and their immediate allies in the national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie who are actively engaged in the struggle against US-led imperialism and its lackeys. Global new democratic revolution aims to correct the immediate disparities in structural power between the First and Third World and oppressors and

oppressed nations; to politically, militarily and economically overthrow US-led imperialism; and to set the stage for the widespread and immediate struggle for socialism and the end of capitalist economic relations. All of society must be revolutionized in this period, including ourselves. Yet this can not be accomplished without struggle.

The struggle against imperialism and for global new democracy, socialism, and communism is not merely possible. It is the only possible alternative to the catastrophic compounding abuses of capitalist-imperialism. Only by conscious class struggle (i.e. active organizing for the global united front against imperialism, national liberation, and global new democracy) can humanity avoid the ruinous path pursued by US-led capitalist-imperialism.

-Nikolai Brown



Onkwehón:we Rising: Basic Points of Unity

This was recently posted by our comrades at Onkwehón:we Rising:

Onkwehón:we Rising is a revolutionary internet-based project. Its primary focus is revolutionary pan-native national liberation struggles. The intention of it is to grow into an ever more collaborative project. That said this project is not welcoming to just anyone pushing any old ideology. We are also not interested in building unity with just anyone, as an uncritical unity is an unprincipled unity. Some things do not need to be put on a bullet pointed list: Onkwehón:we Rising is revolutionary not reformist; Onkwehón:we Rising is communist. However there are also specifics to the line this site puts forth. To that end we put forward these basic points of unity for anyone interested in becoming involved or otherwise building with us.

What We Understand

1. Onkwehón:we Rising understands the world from an unapologetically Third Worldist, indigenist & anti-colonial perspective. Onkwehón:we Rising understands that the current capitalist world system is one in which the overwhelming majority of humanity located primarily in the peripheral Third World, with a minority in the First World centered within the

internal semi-colonies, migrant and prison populations, is ground down and exploited under the weight of a minority of imperialist-led classes. These imperialist-classes are in the current era the numerically dominant bloc in core First World countries. The contradiction between the masses exploited by imperialism and the minority of classes which benefit from imperialism is primary today. It is the struggle to free the oppressed and exploited masses of the Earth that are principally located in the Third World, as well as the internal semi-colonies, migrant and prison populations of the core, that will bring about global new democracy, socialism and communism.

2. Onkwehón:we Rising understands and upholds the Theory of the Labour Aristocracy. Onkwehón:we Rising understands, upholds and applies the theory of labour aristocracy. Because of the 'wages of imperialism' the majority of the peoples in the First World countries are net-exploiters. In other words they receive an income greater than the value that they create. This is the result of the heightened exploitation of the majority of the Earth's peoples located principally in the Third World. This combined with other benefits in the form of social democracy and the

status of Whiteness (particularly in europe and the settler-colonies of amerika, kanada, quebec, australia, israel and new zealand) has suppressed the otherwise antagonistic contradiction between the working classes and bourgeoisie of the imperialist nations creating social peace. These workers no longer fit Marx's classical definition of the proletariat as being "those who have nothing left to lose but their chains." Indeed these workers have historically organized against the most exploited and oppressed sectors within their own countries and have generally acted as agents of oppression and capitalist-imperialism globally.

3. Onkwehón:we Rising understands that global class analysis is essential to the modern revolutionary project.

Onkwehón:we Rising contends that the failure to understand the class composition within the imperialist countries as well as the general alignment of forces globally is the key reason for the failure of ostensibly revolutionary forces to organize serious opposition to capitalism and imperialism within the imperialist core, currently and over the course of the last century. A correct understanding of the internal class composition of the imperialist core countries and an understanding of class

formations globally is essential for the success of the modern revolutionary project.

4. Onkwehón:we Rising understands that the struggle around treaties cannot be an end unto itself. Onkwehón:we Rising understands that while at times it is necessary for Onkwehón:we to make struggle around Our so-called “treaty rights” in order to resist the final stages of the genocide and assimilation of Our peoples into imperialist First World society we also understand that at the same time struggles around treaties and for Our treaty rights cannot be an end unto themselves. The treaties, whether the Numbered or the Two-Row, amerikan or kanadian, were only ever a formalized legal method to make official the dispossession of Onkwehón:we land, resources and rights from their original owners – Us. There is not a single one that was ever entered into by the settler nations in what the Kanien’kehá:ka call “Kanikonriio” (good mind, reasonableness), so the side-stepping or complete bulldozing of supposed “treaty rights” by the settler parasites to access the natural resources there and otherwise continue the genocidal assault on Our peoples, as well as the ecocidal assault on Our sacred Earth mother, is neither an unfortunate occurrence nor an illegal occurrence, but one that is to be fully expected in the scope of Our 500 years of relations with western “civilization”. If we as a people are to become truly free we must move beyond the paradigm that focuses on the treaties.

5. Onkwehón:we Rising understands that the United Nations and other imperialist global bodies cannot act as vehicles for our liberation. Often times combined with the treaty paradigm is one that sees the United Nations, its various constituent bodies and other like-minded world organizations as vehicles through which we can “liberate” Ourselves, often through the idea that we can use them to force the settler-colonial states to obey international law and uphold their treaties with Our various nations. This has become particularly apparent since the adoption by the UN of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People, but it in fact goes back as far as the 1977 UN Conference on Indigenous Affairs. Onkwehón:we Rising

however understands that the UN and other such bodies are bodies created and run by the imperialists and their neocolonial allies. While there are various bourgeois nationalist and other progressive anti-imperialist governments represented within them they are a tiny minority. No body primarily run for and by the imperialists and their allies can ever be a vehicle for Our liberation.

6. Onkwehón:we Rising understands and rejects cultural nationalism. Our cultures and traditions, both spiritual and political, have long played a powerful role in Our resistance to genocide and conquest. This is because Our traditional cultural values are generally communistic values and hence are fundamentally at odds with the western capitalist civilization that has

Cultural nationalism teaches that Our traditional cultures on their own can liberate us, that if we drum enough, dance enough, sing enough, smudge enough that we can make Ourselves free. This is a reactionary path that takes us away from revolutionary struggle and turns the battle for the overturning of Our oppressive conditions into one that is purely and solely about individualistic and spiritual self-change. Only when paired with a revolutionary analysis and perspective do Our traditional cultures have the ability to free us.

What We Want

7. Onkwehón:we Rising wants national liberation. Onkwehón:we Rising demands national liberation not only for Onkwehón:we, but also for Our brother and sister indigenous nations on this continent born of the admixture of Onkwehón:we and european blood and culture: the Métis, Aztlán & Borikén, as well the captive (New) Afrikan nation. Onkwehón:we Rising seeks the complete political, economic and social dismemberment of the oppressor settler states on this continent (amerika, kanada and quebec). Onkwehón:we Rising rejects models and programmes that attempt to assimilate Us and the other captive nations of the settler empire into some kind of socialized settler dominated state. Internationally Onkwehón:we Rising fully

supports the struggle for national liberation of the Palestinian people and other oppressed and exploited nations. Additionally within the context of the internal semi-colonies of the imperialist countries we promote the view that Our struggles are a detachment of the wider struggle for global new democracy, socialism, and communism.

8. Onkwehón:we Rising wants the total and complete liberation of womyn & queer people. Onkwehón:we Rising demands a world without hetero-patriarchy, a world without rape, without the sexual exploitation of women and children, a world without gender oppression and imposition, a world where womyn and queer people have total and complete control over their bodies and their identities. Onkwehón:we Rising uncompromisingly supports the participation and leadership



attempted to encircle and destroy Us since first contact. Because Our traditions represented powerful living counter-examples to the expanding capitalist settler states it was not an uncommon occurrence for settlers to flee their own societies and become citizens of Our nations. Even settlers who were captured in battle, such as Naduah (Cynthia Ann Parker) mother of Quannah Parker, last free chief of the Comanche nation, attempted to return to Onkwehón:we society after (often at the point of settler force) repatriating to settler society. Hence Our cultures and traditions had to be annihilated. This was the basis for the genocidal residential schools run by the amerikan and kanadian states, which sought to “kill the Indian to save the man.” Even today Our traditional cultures play a powerful role in inspiring and driving Our resistance movements. However, we must beware the trap of cultural nationalism.

of womyn and queer people in proletarian struggles for anti-imperialist, socialist, and communist revolutions towards the end of the complete eradication of hetero-patriarchy.

9. Onkwehón:we Rising wants an ecological revolution. The revolutions of the past followed too closely the capitalist model of development, a model which sees the natural world as one of infinite resources for exploitation, and something which exists solely to be dominated by humankind. Capitalist civilization has driven us to a point where the very future of Our planet is in doubt. Onkwehón:we Rising

demands a paradigmatic shift in how revolutionary forces view the natural world that surrounds us. Revolutionary forces must also act as guardians of all of Our relations, the animals, the plants, the lands, the seas and the skies. The struggle to liberate the oppressed and exploited nations of the world is also a struggle for the future of Our planet.

10. Onkwehón:we Rising wants genuine allies & class traitors. Onkwehón:we Rising wants genuine allies from amongst the ranks of the oppressor nations and exploiter countries. Onkwehón:we Rising wants those who are class traitors –

individual members of exploiter classes to who choose to side with the world's oppressed and exploited masses. Onkwehón:we Rising wants them to commit class suicide, to abandon the creature comforts of the parasitic path laid before them over the last 500 years and to instead enthusiastically join hands with the oppressed and exploited and walk down the road of struggle and revolution. Onkwehón:we Rising wants those who are willing to eschew norms to organize and work for revolution; who forsake their own class for a better future for humanity at large.



Report from St. Louis Fast Food Workers Rally

A coalition of labor, community, and religious organizations are organizing fast food workers in the U.S. In April, New York and Chicago saw the walk outs at fast food places such as McDonald's and other such restaurants. This month St. Louis and Detroit were the target. First World labor unions representing the petty-bourgeoisie have lost most of their dues-paying jobs for the last three decades due to the global realignment by the imperialist bourgeoisie.

This realignment deepens the division of labor between the Third world proletariat and First World labor aristocracy or petty-bourgeoisie. Industrial jobs have been relocated to Third World countries to increase profit margins due to super-exploitation.



First World workers are paid more than their labor value, while Third World workers are paid less than theirs. Imperialist domination ensures that investing capital "overseas" doesn't empower the workers there. A comprador capitalist class in Third World nations is enriched to keep workers under control.

Fast food workers are paid relatively low wages in the First World, but even their

standard of living is above that of the super-exploited in the Third World. I attended a rally last week in St. Louis, MO. There were at least 500 participants (probably more). It was militant, loud and defiant. Traffic was blocked at a busy 4-way intersection for a while. Had it not been for the labor-community coalition marshals, it would have been longer and ended in chaos and mass arrests. About 50 RAIM fliers were distributed headlined SUPPORT THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM—mostly to youth. There were a large number of Black and Brown workers present. I even got a few thumbs up and one worker said he's been to the A-I.com site and said: "Keep up the good work".



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