

# Class Struggle 135 Summer 2020/21



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People are suffering.  
People are dying.  
Entire ecosystems are  
collapsing. We are at  
the beginning of a  
mass extinction and  
all you can talk about  
is money and fairy  
tales of eternal  
economic growth.  
**How dare you.**

**Greta Thunberg**

16-year-old environmental activist  
to world leaders at the United  
Nations climate summit

**USA TODAY**

**France and Islam / NZ free of China and USA  
For a Labour Revolution / Stop Growth Now!  
Stuffed-up History / Wrong White Rentiers  
Keira Bell Wins / Cancelled by Judith Butler**

# Editorial: Capital's Total War on Nature

This edition of *Class Struggle* brings together articles which in one way or another demonstrate capital's total war on nature, and socialist revolution as the only way to win that war against Capital.

The *Land of the Wrong White Rent Seekers* spells out Marx's view that white settler colonisation had to create the preconditions for capitalist production by privatising the land, separating workers from the land, so they would be forced to sell their labour power to capital to create a profit. Once created, settler colonies like NZ, unlike the US which fought a war of independence against Britain, became semi-colonies. Nominally independent politically, but economically subordinated to the British Empire.

In this way, British capitalism, the first to enter the epoch of imperialism, created settler colonies to feed raw materials transformed by labour into the imperial economy. In the last analysis, capital reduced social relations in the colonies to the exploitation of labour on the land as part of its plundering of nature.

In *Stop Growth Now!* we argue that capitalist development in NZ is based on growth as the plundering of nature, with the consequence that the widening gap between rich and poor, the despoilation of the environment, and the effects of climate change, all express the total war of capital on nature. That is why no reformist, moral or magical solutions to any of these consequences of the war on nature can be resolved short of a workers' state that restores the use-value of labour to nature as part of a planned economy based on the subordination of society to nature. Henceforth, growth is no longer capitalist growth for profits but socialist growth to reproduce society in harmony with nature.

In *"A Stuffed History means a Stuffed Future"* we argue that the apology of the *Stuff* media group for more than a century of racially biased reporting, is a token 'brown washing' of history. It does not go to the material roots of racism in white settler colonisation. Instead, it depicts racism as a settler "culture" that can be corrected by "honouring the Treaty" of Waitangi, without restoring the land stolen to the Maori people as the material base of their society. We make clear that communists explain racism as an attempt to justify colonisation, and that decolonisation is a joke unless it includes Maori self-determination. We argue that Maori self-determination is impossible under capitalism requiring a socialist revolution that removes capitalism and installs a socialist republic as part of a union of socialist Pacific states.

*"For a Revolutionary Labour Party"* argues that the NZ Labour Party has always been a party of the petty bourgeoisie, that is the labour bureaucracy, seeking to draw the working class into parliament under the influence of the classless ideology of Fabian socialism serving the interests of capital. That is why it adopted the neo-liberal counter-revolution in the 1980's and has increasingly distanced itself from its social democratic past of reconciling labour to capital. It has reinvented itself as a Liberal Party, standing for the end of social class, neither socialist nor conservative, a forerunner to the Blairite UK Labour Party. It no longer needs to act to suppress the contradiction between workers and capital as the working class is not organised to fight for its interests unlike the original Red Fed. Yet the objective contradiction between labour and capitalism in terminal crisis as a symptom of the war on nature intensifies and creates layers of leftward moving workers. They have no option but to rebuild the Red Fed and an independent, fighting, democratic Labour Party that unites and organises the class struggle to overthrow capital and restore social relations to harmony with nature.

Finally, the article *"Victory for Keira Bell"* which discusses her case against the Tavistock Institute over her gender transition, and the reprint of Charlie's article *"On being Cancelled by Judith Butler"*, both address a key social struggle today over gender identity. The rise of the ideology of gender identity has rapidly won backing from capitalist state institutions, businesses, and medical, educational and human rights advocates, creating a massive surge in numbers of boys and girls wanting to transition to "another gender".

At the most fundamental level this movement is an attack on nature by denying that biology determines one's "sex". The word "sex" has been replaced by "gender"; not meaning the social stereotypes attached to sex, but as a replacement for biological sex. Gender relations are historically those defined by the patriarchy, and the goal of socialism is not to punish individuals for submitting to them, but to overthrow the patriarchy along with capitalism to end gender oppression. Therefore, while Marxists defend trans rights, these rights must not be at the expense of the rights of women or men and their Lesbian, Gay and Bi-sexual orientations which can only be understood in relation to nature as biological sex.

## Briefs

### France and Islamophobia

More on [Charlie Hebdo](#). Witness the hypocrisy of the French imperialist ruling class which defends the bourgeois right to publish caricatures of Mahomed, when for centuries it has terrorised its colonies, and denied its colonial subjects the most elementary bourgeois rights, including freedom from religion. If the bourgeois state insists on the citizens' right to caricature Mahomed provoking acts of terror in retaliation, it should first free from oppression the Muslims in its former colonial territories and in France itself.

During the Algerian war of independence, the revolutionaries responded to French condemnation of their parcel bombing of settlers in milk bars by suggesting they would stop if the French stopped their aerial bombing of the Casbah. When the colonialists kill innocents, we have to expect the revolutionaries to respond in kind. But that does not mean that we should support it, unless it is organised, political terror against the bosses' overwhelming terror.

#### Trotsky on [individual terror](#)

“In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes towards a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission. The anarchist prophets of the ‘propaganda of the deed’ can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence of terrorist acts on the masses. Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more ‘effective’ the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organisation and self-education. But the smoke from the confusion clears away, the panic disappears, the successor of the murdered minister makes his appearance, life again settles into the old rut, the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before; only the police repression grows more savage and brazen. And as a result, in place of the kindled hopes and artificially aroused excitement comes disillusionment and apathy.”

Therefore, we do not condone individual terrorist acts, or those sponsored by radical groups such as ISIS, in response to Islamophobia, as this is not the way to defeat imperialism and religious superstition. That can only be socialist revolution. Nor do we call on the French Bourgeois state to ban as ‘hate speech’ that which mocks Islam. We call on French workers to defend the rights of Muslims at home and abroad to bourgeois

freedoms, including religious observances like the hijab, and to condemn the French imperialist state that creates the social conditions that oppresses Muslims. That will be possible only in a socialist republic as part of a Socialist United States of Europe!

### NZ, China and the USA

This [growing tension](#) between China and Australia and NZ is all about China testing which side the two Australasian countries will take in the global fight between the world's two superpowers. China is now demanding that its allies take stands favourable to China on Hong Kong and Covid or else suffer barriers to trade and other consequences. The recent spat over the doctored photo of an Australian SAS trooper with a knife to an Afghan child's throat was a provocation to test Australian loyalty.

China does not need [Australian fossil fuels](#) so it is upping the ante with its accusation that the source of Covid in China was Australian frozen meat. NZ's responses to China objecting to the doctored photo [cite] and to clampdowns on democracy in Hong Kong [cite] and Xinjiang [cite] are principled, but positioning itself as part of the Five Eyes spy arrangement is to take the side of the US and UK against China.

At the most fundamental level of trade relations this is a mistake. Michael Roberts [on China](#) shows why China is now the leading capitalist power. He makes the point that China's state subsidies to capitalist enterprises lead to growth in consumption because they are invested in production. In the other big powers state subsidies to business are used to speculate in existing assets because productive investment is not profitable. That is why the West is facing a crash while China recovers growth.

Roberts shows that the neo-classical economists of Wall St do not understand China. They do not understand that GDP in the West is a fiction because it includes unproductive investment which is an 'overhead' or cost on production. Second, they do not understand that China's rapid growth is the result of its state central planning guiding the market. Wall St cannot admit they run the US state or the masses would rise up. The test is that as the world economy tanks, Wall St will have to admit that the China 'exception' of a state managed capitalism with a great leader in command, is the order of the day.

It looks like Australia under the Liberals, and NZ under the Labour Government, are risking their trading relations with China to stay in an imperialist alliance with the declining US and its allies. This is a dangerous



posturing on the part of two relatively powerless semi-colonial countries dependent on China as the main market for their primary exports of raw minerals and bulk dairy produce.

There is no need for NZ to choose between two imperialist masters. It must fight for its [political and economic independence](#) from both big powers.

- For fair trade agreements and the right to renegotiate existing bilateral and multilateral agreements to assert national economic independence!
- No political alliance with China or the US that would draw NZ into future wars!
- Get out of Five Eyes!
- Recognise Hong Kong as part of China but also the right of the former British colony to self-determination!
- Defend the national rights of the Uyghurs and other national minorities for self-determination!
- NZ must also repudiate its remaining colonial ties to the British Crown!
- For the socialisation of international corporates and large national corporations under workers' control!
- For an economic plan that creates jobs for all on a living wage under workers' control!

To realise this program for political and economic independence it is necessary to replace the NZ semi-colonial state with a Workers' Socialist Republic of Aotearoa within a Socialist Union of Pacific States!

## **Victory for Keira Bell!**

On December 1, Keira Bell, a young woman who had begun to transition to a transwoman before de-transitioning back as a lesbian woman, made history by winning a [major victory](#) against the Tavistock Clinic and the NHS in the UK [High Court](#).

Coming to its decision the Court stated: "It is highly unlikely that a child aged 13 or under would be competent to give consent to the administration of puberty blockers. It is doubtful that a child aged 14 or 15 could understand and weigh the long-term risks and consequences of the administration of puberty blockers."

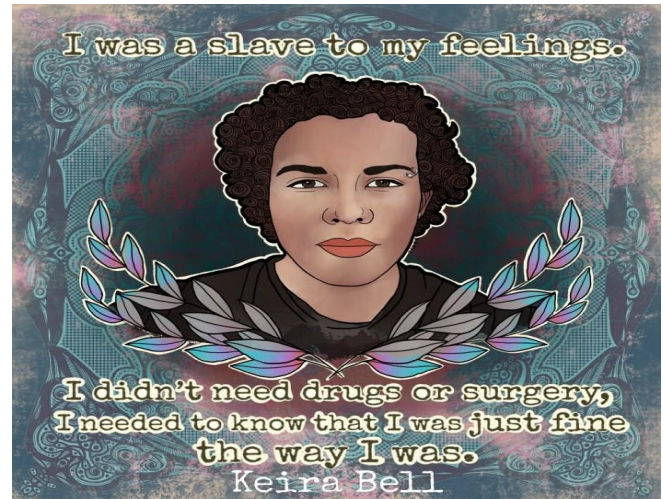
This decision comes in the wake of a decade or more of a rapid increase in children, mainly girls, transitioning because they felt they were born in the 'wrong body' - a condition labelled gender dysphoria.

One of the main witnesses called before the Court, sociologist Michael Biggs [explains](#) that adolescent transitioning is being driven by ideology and not medical science, apparently to avoid young boys and girls

accepting that they are gay or lesbian; that it is an experimental and unlicensed use of drugs, with damaging effects (infertility, bone density, sexual pleasure etc) that are neither controlled for nor reversible.

After her victory, Keira Bell spoke out against the use of puberty blockers in underage children. In an interview published by [Women's Place UK](#) she stated:

*"There was nothing wrong with my body, I was just lost and without proper support. Transition gave me the facility to hide from myself even more than before."*



Yet those who are pushing this [homophobic ideology](#) continue to reject common sense and are appealing the decision to the UK Court of Appeal.

"Of course, it was too much to hope for that all those who purport to care about the well-being of dysphoric and gender non-conforming children would welcome this guidance and accept the expertise of the court. Far from it; the lobbyists and their cheerleaders - who have been pushing puberty-blockers on younger and younger children for years - demonstrated exactly the sort of reckless behaviour which led us to this sad situation in the first place."

No surprising however when the trans ideology is widely backed by governments, corporations and pressure groups which have an interest in promoting gender transition as a [profitable industry](#) that markets gender identity as an antidote to homosexuality.

In Aotearoa/NZ the government takes the line that puberty blockers are "safe and reversible". Will it take on board the UK High Court ruling and the NHS appeal? As Jan Rivers points out in [Scoop](#), like Keira Bell, the available evidence shows that between 60% and 90% of the "gender confused...would mature out of their earlier beliefs and come to a satisfactory accommodation with their bodies." She asks: "How many Keira Bells are there in New Zealand and how many will there be if the current regime continues?"

# On being Cancelled by Judith Butler

By **Charlie M.** Reprinted from the [original](#) with permission

Lots of people like to guess when things went ‘downhill’ with me. Was it when I questioned the division of labour in the climate movement, or when I desisted from my own trans identity? Was it my involvement in the Wellington queer scene, my exposure to copious amounts of slam poetry or an insidious influence in the form of a feminist friend? Luckily, there’s no need to guess because I know exactly how the terfs got me. I was in hospital due to a frightening relapse into anorexia, and I was trying to read a book to look normal. My memory was shot, so I wasn’t connecting moment-to-moment very well, and I couldn’t remember what the book I was holding actually was. The words swam around the page, and I felt nauseous chasing them. I eventually lay back in my bed, listening to the click click click of the stupid machine feeding me, and gave up. As I put the book on my bedside table, I saw it was Judith Butler’s *Gender Trouble*.

At the time, I couldn’t make it through the content due to my state. I identified as trans, not female, and therefore saw no connection between my anorexia and ‘gender’ at all. If someone had suggested that anorexia may be influenced by female socialisation, I may have carked it then and there due to the transphobia.

Later, much healthier, I returned to the text. I liked it, and was inspired to use it for my second-year geography project, which was all about gender neutral bathrooms on campus.

That project was a big deal to me. I was super pro the gen neuts, [gender neutrals] and thought my research could help make them go mainstream. I met with key people involved in the campaigns to get those toilets on campus (including a creator of ‘Stop Karl Peeing Out Windows’, the Facebook page of the queer campaign). I spoke to staff and I made a special effort to speak to folx who used the bathrooms. (*Note: I never approached anyone in or close to the bathroom, don’t worry – there was full ethics approval!*)

I encountered a lot of ‘bigots’ in my research. A LOT. There were some Pasifika women who didn’t want to use shared facilities during their periods for cultural reasons, high school girls at the Uni for a dance class who preferred to use female-only changing rooms. Some Muslim women expressed deep discomfort using these facilities too (I can only hope I didn’t preach about

intersectionality ...) Others discussed feeling self-conscious around male people hearing them unwrap sanitary items, washing bloody fingers, spycams etc. At the time I dismissed all of these concerns as unacceptable, deeply problematic answers, antithetical to queer lib. I barely gave them any weight in my final report.

Of course, plenty of people were pro the bathrooms too. Mostly male people, but some women, genderqueer and other diverse folx too. To me, the compromise position our students’ association had reached seemed adequate (for the record, still does).

None of this particularly phased me, and the toilet issue in itself is not a biggie to me, but ohmygod the reading I had to do to justify my report – it got to me. I read *Gender Trouble* and I read many other articles. The articles centred around the Butlerian kind of idea that bathrooms help create gender. There was an autoethnography by a transwoman using a female toilet

to validate her gender, and all sorts of articles about how for women bathrooms are places to put on makeup and talk with friends, but how for men they are quiet, dirty and mean places that reinforce toxic masculinity.

The reading seemed full of contradictions, and I didn’t want to stray from the light! I was fully aware biological sex was an outdated construct sent by Satan and his second wave

terf mates to kill trans people, but part of me did start to wonder, ‘if sex doesn’t exist in any meaningful way, then where did gender stereotypes come from in the first place?’

I was told gender was performative, so there being more mirrors in female bathrooms was enabling gender to be (repeatedly) constructed. Yet, I was also reading that gender was innate, inborn and unchangeable (except for genderfluid folk). So was the performance optional, or did applying makeup simply come naturally, like destiny to some people? What about the pressure for this vast segment of the population to wear the makeup, and the other half not to? What was that based on?

At some point, I started to wonder if perhaps, under the lipstick applying, and masculinity-enforcing urinals, there is some kind of shared reality. Maybe, all the external femininity and masculinity rubbish is just that – external rubbish? Maybe we could get rid of all that and be left with simply male and female people (some with



intersex conditions) who could express themselves however they please?

After all, wasn't I only identifying as trans because being a woman disgusted me? And weren't most things that disgusted me about womanhood the social, cultural and other value laden assumptions applied to me because of my sex? Or physical aspects that I had grown up with in a world where they were taboo, demeaned or sexualised?

I thought back to that hospital admission where I would fight not to eat, identifying and truly believing I was a heavier weight than I was. I realised that my low weight was a physical reality, and that denying that reality didn't stop the reality existing.

I could always come up with a reason why I wasn't the thing that Drs and nurses were saying I was (sick), just as any queer theorist will point to something obscure and say that it's proof male and female people don't exist. (Clown fish being one of the classics.)

I suppose I started to notice the patterns of denial, and started to see like a feminist. The complete and utter denial of biological sex in queer spaces simply stopped seeming sane to me. Further, the idea we had to be blind to biological sex in order to stop oppression and marginalisation on that basis stopped making sense. You can acknowledge something and not let it define you, you know?

Eventually, I decided to describe myself as female and lesbian again, and I dared to mention this to a friend. At coffee, this friend quickly brought up the idea that, 'lesbians who only sleep with female people are worse than rapists and deserve to die'. This was a bit explicit for me to fully nod along with. I was introduced to the idea that 'overcoming your preferences' is a more inclusive approach to being lesbian. Subjective identity rules over any physical reality.

Which is how I ended up at K's house, and how she ended up asking me, 'Who's served by demonising lesbians?'

And with that question, the evil radical feminist in me was born.

This evil radfem sits before you typing. I emailed Judith Butler a few years ago, letting her know [her theory was being twisted by trans activists to sexually harass young lesbians](#). No reply. Understandable. She was probably busy misquoting Simone de Beauvoir.

When I skimmed [the recent interview between Judith Butler and Kim Hill](#) the first thing I thought was: What lack of awareness about the current climate do you have to have to entitle an article, 'Why Gender Still Causes Trouble' and identify *women who seek to abolish gender* as the main problem!? Not male violence, not rape, not child marriage, not FGM, not any of the thousands of problems the female sex faces as a result of gender worldwide: but a handful of women themselves.

The second was, 'Kim Hill, you missed a great opportunity to ask some really interesting questions' (like, "Can you please describe *how* men are different from women? If it's just an identity thing, how do the identities differ?") It would've been so fun to hear Judith Butler pressed to answer, and I would've enjoyed hearing Kim Hill ask questions about sex stereotypes.

And finally, I admit I thought, 'I will not be told what I *should* do by someone who has worked on gender academically for decades, yet chooses to mischaracterise feminists who disagree with her to this degree'.

I am happy to be a young, lesbian, gender abolitionist. I can assure all worried people that I have no desire to do anything but work for the liberation of women and girls from the restrictive binds of gender.

Girls worldwide deserve not to be aborted due to their sex, to be given education, not go through FGM, to have good healthcare (including good quality healthcare research and free, safe access to abortion), to be safe from violence, including rape and other sexual violence, harassment, murder, underage marriage, forced pregnancy and trafficking. We deserve practical clothing, good childcare options and equal opportunities in workplaces. If legal rights on the basis of sex improve women and girls' ability to cope with, prevent or end any sex-based oppression, of course I will lend some of my energy to that cause.

***And FYI Judith Butler, not that you'll ever read this:***

- Being "just as oppressed as anyone else asserting sexual rights" does not magically turn male people into female people.
- Aiming to reduce the difference between men and women to mere biology is different to reducing any one person to biology.
- 'Know[ing] a whole lot of people with penises who've never threatened anybody' does not mean male people don't threaten women. Thankfully, we have more stats to go on than your vague assessment of your friend group.
- Radical feminists hold that 'certain objective realities exist pertaining to gender' because we have the ability to observe the world, ourselves, not because some rando Catholics brainwashed us. One of those realities is that only female people can get pregnant, and I think you'll find that's a pretty critical fact underlying women and girls' oppression worldwide.

In sisterhood before misterhood,

Always,  
Charlie



# For a Revolutionary Labour Party!

The re-election of Labour in October as a majority government seals its fate as an open bourgeois party. In 2017 we said that Labour was at the point of becoming a new Liberal party that no longer pretended to represent the interest of workers. When Andrew Little, former head of the CTU, stepped down to let Jacinda Ardern take the leadership just weeks out from the election, the trajectory of the Labour Party as a bourgeois workers party - founded in 1916 by the unions to get workers off the streets into parliament, replacing the bullets of the general strike of 1913 with the ballot box every few years - was set to revert to the original bourgeois Lib/Lab Party of the 1890-1914. In just over a century Labour has come full circle to revert to its roots in the original Liberal Party. Not the same old Liberal Party. The conditions that led to the breakdown of the Liberals in 1914, revolution, counter-revolution and war, are now much more destructive and pose the stark alternative of an end to human civilisation, or the rise of revolutionary socialism and end to bourgeois class rule.

## The Liberal Party

The Liberal party was labelled Lib-Lab because it attempted to reconcile workers with the petty bourgeois. Its objective was to colonize the country by settling landless workers on the land.

[Lenin's view](#) of the Liberal Party was informed by his view that the

Australian Labor party was really a Liberal party representing non-socialist unions. This was also the character of the NZ Liberal Party recognised at the time with the label Lib/Lab party.

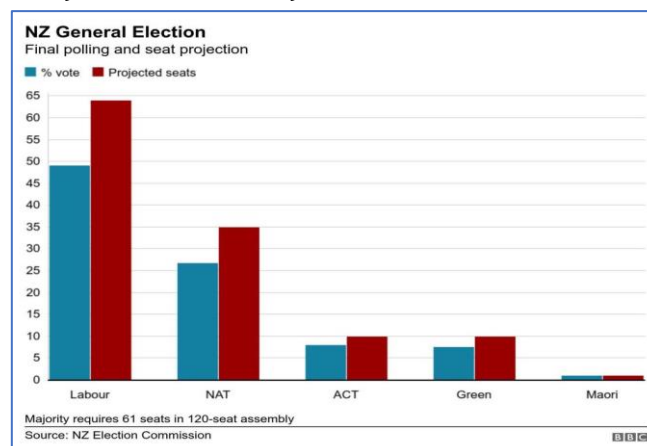
It's task in the new colony, as well as dispossessing Maori of land for white settlement, was to integrated newly unionized workers into the class system passively via state legislation to reconcile the conflicting interests of labour and capital expressed in the great Maritime strike of 1890. The Industrial, Conciliation and Arbitration Act (IC&A Act) o 1894 was the result, locking unions into a state arbitration court.

It took another 20 years for those working for wages in extractive, processing, and transport industries, and influenced by syndicalist and socialist ideology, to break from Labour's 'leg-iron', state arbitration, to form the 'Red Federation' of Labour. The result was five years of growing agitation and strikes culminating in the general strike of 1913, the complete breakdown of

this Lib/Lab settlement, and the farmer and business lobby to put the Reform party into power.

## The Labour Party

[We wrote in 2017:](#)



*“When the NZLP was founded in 1916 it was to divert the labour movement away from industrial struggles that divided the nation and threatened the future of capitalist profitability. Its purpose was to take control of the majority of workers and split them from the Red Feds, anarchists and socialists who were committed to radical industrial action to negotiate their wages and conditions.*

*Labour promised to win what workers needed through parliamentary reforms. It would impose the 1890s Liberal IC&A Act - that ‘arbitrated’ agreements between workers and bosses that had split the Labour movement and given rise to the Red Fed - and make Arbitration compulsory. Labour therefore was the party of the state-controlled unions until compulsory arbitration was repealed by Labour in 1987 and compulsory unionism by the NACTs in 1992, which together broke the back of the unions’ resistance to neo-liberalism, taking workers back to the 1880s.*

*The NZLP had inflicted a mortal wound on itself. To serve its purpose as the Party that could reconcile workers to capitalism it needed to*

represent the unions and its membership to have any claim to be a workers' party. It had to win a majority based on a working-class constituency if it was to be useful to the ruling class.

**1984 changed all that because Labour abandoned its founding pretence of advancing the interests of workers and instead made workers' pay for the capitalist crisis facing NZ by introducing Rogernomics. Then PM Lange called this the "pain before the gain".**

Despite this historic betrayal, the union bosses fought to keep Labour alive so that when the New Labour split occurred only a few small unions left Labour for NL. The NL split was premature and fizzled out as NL joined forces in an amalgam of Greens, Liberals and Mana Motuhake that became the Alliance. Labour survived by expelling its right-wing faction which became ACT but under a succession of new leaders remained a Blairite, Third Way party trying to achieve a classless balance between capitalism and socialism - represented by the notorious 'middle' [class].

**It has not renounced its neo-liberal turn because getting the state out of business and policing fiscal responsibility is the new normal and Labour cannot serve its purpose unless it reconciles workers to the neo-liberal market and its brutal attacks on workers.**

But surviving the near-death experience had a cost. Labour lost its working-class mojo and could no longer count on a majority from the labour movement. The NACTs continued their anti-worker attacks and drove some workers back to Labour, not because they believed in Labour as 'their' party but because it was the lesser evil.

Labour had lost its reason to exist. The unions were gutted by the NACTs ECA in 1992 and ceased to be a force capable of sustaining the party. The Labour caucus' focus on the 'middle class' reinforced the 'neoliberal' ideology that unions no longer served workers who had to rely on their individual efforts to get ahead.

**Labour was in limbo with its traditional role overtaken by the new role of representing a classless utopia of petty bourgeois 'middle NZ'. Under Helen Clark Labour sold itself as the natural party of the centre-left majority.**

To sell this it needed to compete openly with the NACTs whose history gave it much greater claim to represent the grasping petty bourgeoisie. After all the NACTs originated as a farmers' party with urban petty capitalists very much in tow. Labour's

fate then was to abandon its working-class constituency - the "missing million" - and recreate itself as the bland, Blairite, 'classless' party.

To do this it had to present itself as the alternative to the NACTs which has close links to the capitalist ruling class that owns business, including the media; a burgeoning new petty bourgeoisie in the cities and a new rural gentry getting rich off dairying.

Every leader who stood up to claim this title was shot down by the caucus of Blairite time-servers until Andrew Little, the last vestige of Labourite ties to the union bosses, was forced to resign. Ardern's 'fresh' style may attract more votes from the middle, but it is the death knell of Labour devoid of substance as the party of workers in Aotearoa/NZ.

**Yet, only the death knell, because what will finally kill off Labour in the end is not its failure to advance workers interests, it is its open renunciation of its duty to attempt to do that by joining with the Greens and NZ First to form a government.**

Labour parties, and social democracy in general, can always come back from the dead so long as workers live in hope. But by forming a coalition with openly capitalist parties like the Greens and NZ First, as even critics like Mike Treen advocate, sends Labour back to where it began, the Liberals of the 1890s.

The Liberal party was a cross-class party of workers, small farmers and the unemployed. Its philosophy was the reconciliation of classes under the Liberal Democratic state that stood for the self-governing nation within the British Empire. Sometimes referred to as a 'liberal-labour' [lib-lab] or populist party because it contained an open contradiction between farmers and labourers that was suppressed by the submersion fusion (and diffusion) of class in the nation state; a state once called 'proto-fascist' by historian Willis Airey.

This reconciliation could not last as the Liberals blew apart when workers rose up against the IC&A Act to form the Red Fed. Farmers split from the labourers and were enrolled as special police - Massey's Cossacks - to smash the Red Fed, with farmers forming the Reform Party, and the defeated workers the Labour Party.

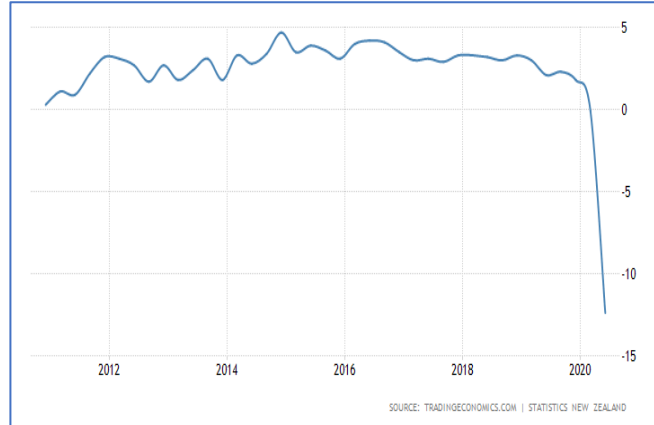
Labour has come full circle. It has officially renounced the existence of class politics in Aotearoa and transformed itself into the 'classless' populist Liberal Party that is preparing



*to fuse its program with the Greens and NZ First who both represent the petty bourgeoisie in NZ.*

*If this government eventuates, it will limit its program to that acceptable to a NZ ruling class facing a global slump in profits and climate crash dooming its future. This can only mean that the working class will again be sacrificed to the holy grail of a property-owning democracy dragging us into more imperialist wars and down the road to human extinction.*

**Workers now have no alternative but to struggle to take control of their own lives by breaking with the parliamentary farce and the bourgeois nation state, to organise their own independent mass Labour party and a new Red Fed, able to fight the class struggle in the workplace and the streets as part of a global mobilisation of workers, unemployed, poor farmers and oppressed peoples for survival socialism against a dying capitalism and rush to human extinction.”**



now destroying the ecological conditions for its existence. Facing the global terminal crisis, Labour isn't following the science which tells us we need a revolution to survive human extinction.

The Labour Party cannot grasp that we face a truly existential crisis. It believes its own hype that it can end the class war with appeals to 'consensus' and national unity. The petty bourgeois base of

Social Democracy has always put the interests of profits before workers insisting it will decide when workers are ready for parliamentary socialism, thus disarming them in the face of ruling class reaction.

**Labour governing alone will attempt to resolve the economic and climate crash at the**

**expense of working people. This will destroy any surviving illusions in social democracy and bourgeois parliament. Workers will then be free to build an independent labour movement with a political party and program for socialism. We have a decade left to do it.**

**A Revolutionary Labour Party will have a revolutionary program for a workers' government elected by workers councils, to implement a socialist plan.**

**It will rebuild the Red Federation and form democratic workers councils, in which oppressed minorities are over-represented, to organise and mobilise the working class, the class that produces the wealth, to fight for workers' ownership and control of the economy.**

- **For the socialisation of the land, industry and finance!**
- **For leasehold tenure as the basis of land use!**
- **For the return of stolen Maori land!**
- **For a single state bank to replace private banks, and to advance social capital for agriculture, public works, housing, health and education!**
- **For a socialist plan based on workers' democracy as expressed in the workers councils.**

**Long live the Revolutionary Labour Party!**

As we pointed out in 2017, Labour in coalition with Greens and NZFirst constituted a bourgeois popular front and could no longer be given critical support by revolutionaries. As we predicted, in her first term Ardern used her coalition partners as an excuse not to push forward with her social transformation.

Locked into a coalition with the petty bourgeois parties, Labour was able to blame its coalition partners for failing to deliver on its election promises. There was no 'transformation'. There was no climate emergency to signify our "nuclear moment".

Labour won its new mandate in the October election only because of its success with COVID-19. It created a Blairite bubble in the liberal centre based on the denial of class war with the concept of the "team of 5 million". It could do so by following the science on pandemics and subsidizing business.

**But this centrist bubble will not survive the economic crash and climate change. Capitalism is**

# A Stuffed History means a Stuffed Future

The [recent apology](#) by the Stuff media group for its history of reportage that had a strong racist bias towards Maori, has won the praise of many as a major step towards a non-racist media in Aotearoa. Marxists however, see this *mea culpa* as part of an international move by liberal media to identify racism as a *cultural problem* to cover-up the deeper causes of racism inherent in global capitalism. The purpose is to buy-off the rising threat of a united working class capable of uniting an anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-capitalist revolution.

The problem is that [dissing the past](#) from the present also has to be explained and in such a way as its points to the future. All of the reactions to the stuff *mea culpa* have only pointed to the present utopia of a capitalism that can ride out the storm. More specifically, the “honouring of the Treaty”, when it’s evident more than ever that the Treaty was a “fraud”.

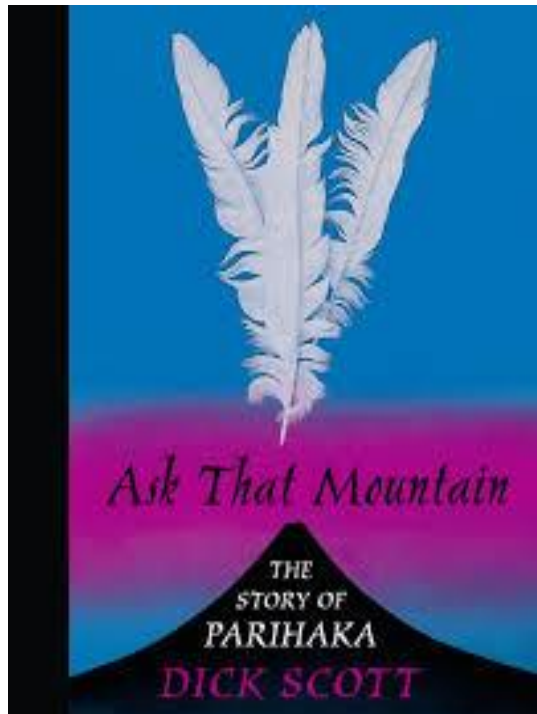
Honouring the Treaty takes no account of real history of capitalism nor its terminal crisis that makes this utopia reactionary today and in the future. The European global conquest continues today but is now confronted by its nemesis, the rise of imperialist China that turns that history on its head. The world is headed for counter-revolution, war and extinction of humanity, or, if we can make it in time, socialism and liberation.

Dying capitalism leaves no room for honouring treaties with indigenous peoples. Quite the reverse. They continue to be murdered, locked up and their lands stolen and destroyed from Asia and Africa to the Americas. What happens to Maori in NZ is part of that history. What happens to the mainstream media treatment of Maori is complicit in that history.

## The Liberal story of Honouring the Treaty

Facing this grim prospect, Stuff’s superficial revision of history, and the emotional chorus that welcomed it from John [Tamihere](#) to Anne [Salmond](#) misunderstands imperialism in its age of decline and fall. It dissolves everything into the ahistorical chaos of postmodern celebration of nothingness. Stuff owns up to its historic racism. But it does not

dig deeper into the cause of racism then or now. The result is tokenism, and the reproduction under the guise of anti-racism of the roots of racist oppression and the class exploitation that underlies it.



Let’s summarise Stuff’s revision and its welcoming committee. It catches up with the liberal story of NZ that wrongs were done, but doesn’t say why, or why the wrongs continue today. It didn’t acknowledge until recently the crusading journalism, of say [Dick Scott](#) on Parihaka or [Rawiri Taonui](#) writing as a Stuff columnist for the Maori cause, that goes to the heart of NZ’s colonial history. Stuff’s *mea culpa* remains token as a parochial scoop so trivial that it ignores the documented causes of colonialism that drove the racism that remains intact and embedded in today’s ‘[culture wars](#)’.

## Why liberal revisionism now?

The second question Stuff does not address is why, other than to invoke ‘institutional racism’, it could not make this *mea culpa* until now. But that leaves the “why” of institutional racism unexplained. It’s not as if Maori haven’t been raking over the causes or racism for generations, from the land wars and Parihaka, to the revival of the Sovereignty movement in the 1970s. The deepest critique over that period was the resistance to colonisation of [Te Whiti o Rongomai](#) who understood that the evil of the capitalist market would destroy Maori society.

Donna Awatere’s [Maori Sovereignty](#) published in 1981 was the [product](#) of the Treaty protests at Waitangi, the Land March, Bastion Point, and the

Springbok Tour. Awatere flirted with Marxism briefly before putting out the challenge to the system to recognise Maori sovereignty within the [framework of capitalism](#). Other land struggles followed notably at [Pakaitore](#) and the [Foreshore and Seabed](#) in 2004 and [Ihumatao](#) today.

The Maori and Pakeha revolutionary left in NZ has also taken a stand on colonialization, notably Marxists who have critiqued the causes of racism and recognised Maori have the right to self-determination up to and including secession from New Zealand.

Marx showed in his critique of E.G Wakefield, “The Modern Theory of Colonisation” that settler colonisation meant the dispossession of land, and the creation of a landless labour force obliged to work for capitalists to create value and hence profits. This was the beginning of the story of the [development of capitalism](#) in NZ.

The subordination of Maori society to colonial rule by capital was justified by racism. The Treaty was always a fraud. To eliminate the virus of racism, the Maori right to their land has to be restored through their own act of political self-determination. For Marxists that is not possible short of a future socialist society where all peoples are free to determine their future.

The media serves to mystify the real cause of racism

The answer to the question “why now” is not parochial but global: [Black Lives Matter](#) and its global repercussions which goes to the roots of colonial dispossession and slavery. BLM has challenged the ruling classes around the world to face up to the rise of a united working class which joins up the struggles of race, gender and class. The challenge for the ruling class is to [co-opt and isolate these struggles](#). To contain and diffuse the merging of struggles, the ruling class uses its media to divert attention away from its common cause - capitalism, and to seek token solutions to buy-off the leaderships.



This is why the liberal media at this time is reviewing its past through the late-capitalist post-modern lens to minimize these struggles as merely ‘cultural wars’, buy-off its leaders into liberal politics and so keep the working class divided. For that to succeed the struggle must be kept within the sphere of culture which allows for reconciliation and ‘inclusion’ within the state institutions of capitalism.

If the race wars are merely cultural, peace can be declared in ignorance of the deeper class forces that are dividing society. In Aotearoa, Stuff’s revision, merges imperceptibly with Labour’s sleepwalking cultural ‘transformation’ with the ‘team of 5 million’ dreaming of a classless, peaceful world riding out the storms ahead.

**Marxism on the roots of racism and the seeds of liberation**

Marxism, born of the bourgeoisie, is a [world view](#) that originates as a critique of the dark history of capitalism, understanding the necessity of its revolutionary origins and eventual limits, having formed within it the embryo of the commune that will return humanity to nature in the future.

Therefore, we don’t look to the role of those caught up in capitalism’s rise and fall, the actors good, bad and ugly, or the media that mediates the ideology of capitalism, for answers to our current predicament, but rather to the [scientific critique](#) of the class contradictions that drove and continue to drive that history.

**When Marxism becomes once again a common currency of social critique, and postmodernism lost and forgotten among the crap of prehistory, we will see that most commentary about race, class and gender, is scratching around on the surface of things, in ignorance of the deep social forces that drove the past but which also open the road to the future.**



# Stop Capitalist Growth Now!

Capitalist growth is the No 1 enemy. Even more so than climate change. Because ‘growth’ destroys the forces of production and lays waste to nature and prevents us doing anything serious to stop or even mitigate climate collapse. We need sustainable socialist growth to rebalance human society and nature. And that has to happen now, and fast, to keep up with the accelerating pace of destruction overtaking us.

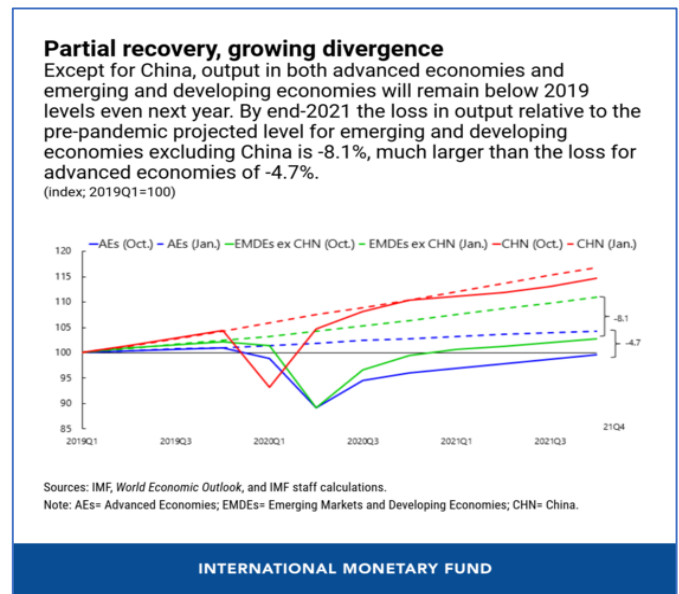
No political party that takes capitalist growth as a given can possibly stop climate catastrophe. If the COVID 19 crisis tells us anything, it triggered a collapse of production and created a recession that delivered an instant cut in emissions. But business as usual means trying to return to growth quickly even if this cost millions or lives and the return to rising emissions. ‘Plan herd immunity’ pushed by the far right of Trump, Bolsonaro and their useful idiots as the free market solution “work will make you free” sacrifices the mass destruction of lives for a to return to growth (of profits).

The COVID-19 crisis showed once more that in all capitalist recessions and depressions, those who pay the price are the workers who lost their jobs, and incomes, and small businesses that lost their markets. That the return to business as usual now becomes a plan for even greater inequalities, reflecting rapidly rising disruption of climate, food production, habitation and communication. This proves to us that we have to re-organise society to adapt to less consumption - both capital and personal. The common theme that emerges from the COVID-19 is the need to transform capitalism and the consensus that most arrive at, is the end to capitalist growth.

Let’s not kid ourselves that GDP growth is anything more than smoke and mirrors to boost profits. GDP is a measure of economic output, which includes the growth in the means of destruction in wars. Spending on war is counted as adding to GDP. When firms speculate on their own share or stock values, that is also counted as contribution to GDP. Gambling in casinos is part of GDP growth! GDP does not measure labour productivity which is the only valid measure of economic efficiency as the conservation of energy expended.

For Marx, the economy is a metabolic process of exchange with nature. Efficiency is the reproduction of society at least cost to the consumption of energy. This measure of efficiency

is not how much value goes into the pockets of the capitalists. It is measured as the necessary labour time required to reproduce society by transforming nature without destroying this metabolic relation, that is, *species sustainability*.



Therefore, the scientific (as opposed to ideological) measure of human sustainability is the conservation of energy that results from increasing labour productivity. Our essential needs are met by diminishing labour time expended. The makes the restoration of the balance between society and nature possible.

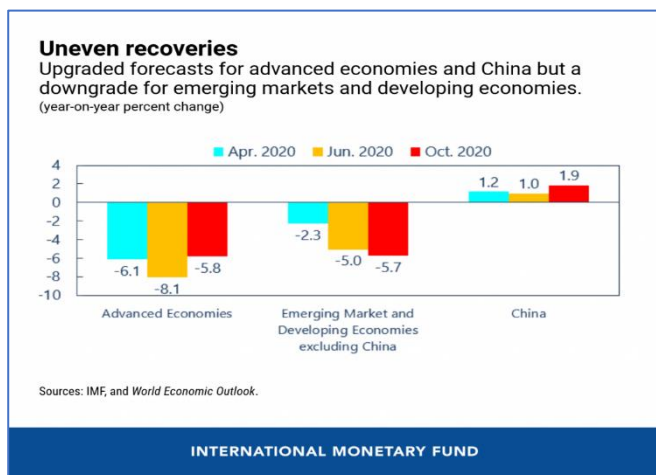
The ideology that capitalist growth can be sustainable is a contradiction in terms and in reality. Capitalist growth is unsustainable on its own terms, because it can no longer even plan to restore the rate of profit *without destroying the conditions for its existence - the increased exploitation of labour and the destruction of nature*. On one side is the proletariat which is part of nature dragged down into misery, on the other side capital concentrates and centralises into fewer and fewer hands. It is this [general law of capitalist accumulation](#) which explains the widening gap between the share of wages and



profits of all new value produced at the expense of climate change.

It is this general law that explains why the trillions in subsidies to business ends up on banks and assets rather than in new production of value. During the COVID 19 pandemic the obscene increase in the wealth of the billionaires as workers lose their jobs and their lives could not be a more dramatic proof of Marx's general law.

### IMF projections for recovery 2020-21



The bourgeois confidence (IMF) that the world economy can recover from recession and escape depression is magical thinking when the social and ecological conditions for a return to revived profitability no longer exist.

Michael Roberts as a Marxist, shares some of this confidence. He regards the possibility of a recovery in profit rates leading to a return to productive investment. He quotes the [IMF World Economic Outlook](#):

*"This is the worst crisis since the Great Depression, and it will take significant innovation on the policy front, at both the national and international levels to recover from this calamity."*

*"Except for China, where output is expected to exceed 2019 levels this year, output in both advanced economies and emerging market and developing economies is projected to remain below 2019 levels even next year. Countries that rely more on contact-intensive services and oil exporters face weaker recoveries compared to manufacturing-led economies."*

Roberts agrees that global production will suffer a long recession (which is really a long depression) because the conditions for profitable production requires the restoration of the rate of profit. However, this 'restoration' depends on the 'counter-tendencies' to the LTRPF increasing labour productivity by forcing up the rate of exploitation of productive workers.

**This means economic depression accelerated by COVID-19 and jet stream fuelled climate change has to make workers' pay for capitalism's crisis. We say, that facing what is a terminal crisis for capital and for humanity, workers will have nothing to lose but their chains on the forced march down the road to extinction, and will fight to the death for a global socialist revolution**

### A Transitional Program for World Revolution

A revolutionary program that can face terminal crisis and defeat has to reverse the logic of capitalist growth. Against the destruction of human society in order to plunder what remains of workers' labour and nature's bounty for the benefit of a tiny ruling class, revolutionaries must fight to take control of the economy, to expropriate capital as the dead labour of past generations of workers, to remove the ruling class from power, and install a workers' state based on workers councils. The task of the workers' state will be to put in place a democratic economic plan that reverses climate change, and restores the balance between production for need in harmony with nature.

For such a transitional program to be taken up by the working masses, who need a political organisation, a mass workers' international party, that fights for the program, putting it to the test of practice, and winning overwhelming support from workers everywhere. This has to be a Marxist workers party because Marxism is the science of socialism, that arms workers for the task of revolution, for it is only workers who will take this science as their guide to revolution. All the lessons of past workers' struggles, victories and defeats, comprise the historic legacy that drives the revolution to victory.

**For a World Revolutionary Party of Socialist Revolution based on the theory and method of the 1938 Transitional Program of the Fourth International!**

# Aotearoa: Land of the Wrong White Rent Seekers

Bernard Hickey in [Who is to Blame for the Housing Crisis](#) puts the options open to a capitalist government in Aotearoa/NZ which would shift investment from speculation in property to productive sectors. He prefers a 0.5% land tax to a wealth tax or Capital Gains Tax. But the Labour Government with a majority of seats has written all such taxes off as unpopular with the interests of the property-owning middle class. But for Marxists, such fiddling with capitalist monetary and fiscal policy does not exhaust solutions to the housing question!

## Part 1: The housing crisis is the legacy of white settler colonisation

Finance Minister Robertson's timid suggestion to the Reserve Bank to act to dampen down the rapid rise in housing prices shows that Labour is committed to the neo-liberal dogma that the Reserve Bank must maintain its independence from politics. These proposals exclude anything more radical, such as the policies of the Labour movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century which proposed to socialise the Reserve Bank in the name of the working class.

More recent developments such as Keynesianism and Modern Monetary Theory (MMT) argue that politicians can employ state deficit spending to stimulate the productive economy to compensate for the reluctance of the market to invest in production. But as we saw during COVID 19 the economy is stuck on "business as usual" while homelessness continues and housing prices run away from first home buyers.

For more radical or left-wing Fabian Socialists, post-Keynesians and MMT advocates, there is much impatience with the Labour Government for sticking to the neoliberal shibboleth of Reserve Bank independence of Parliament. It should act on the instructions of a majority Government of workers and print money and steer economic policy to reduce inequality by creating jobs, lifting living wages, boosting benefits, taxing property speculators, and saving us from climate change. On the Housing Crisis they hark back to William Pember Reeves and Micky Savage for inspiration.

Pember Reeves, one of the founding Fabians was all for taxing land to recover the 'unearned increment'. Savage and his Finance Minister Walter Nash was allowed by the Bank of England to print money and run up the national debt to house to employ the people in exchange for the guarantee

of many lifetimes of bountiful rents in the pockets of British financiers. The posts on Bomber Bradbury's *The Daily Blog* are full of righteous anger at the betrayal by Jacinda of our radical past with her Blairite brand of nauseating corporatist niceness.

For serious down to earth Marxists such games are not even amusing. The policy of the Reserve Bank is to facilitate capitalist production and regulate the market in which exchange value is realised. Therefore, the state is a bourgeois state that represents the common interests of the capitalist ruling class. It follows that debates between neo-liberals, Keynesians and Fabians merely discuss the arrangement of the deckchairs while the ship of state goes down. The important thing is that the ship must sink and be replaced by a single state bank acting on the democratic decisions of a workers' government. Let's see what a Marxist critique makes of these various positions on the independence of the state, putting them to the test of history, and their ability to solve the [housing question](#).

### Marx and Engels on the Housing Question

For Marx and Engels, the 'housing crisis' is a necessary, permanent crisis based on unrestrained rent seeking where the monopoly of land allows its owners to speculate on its rising value making home ownership for workers difficult if not impossible. That is why the current debates about the need for a Capital Gains Tax, Wealth Tax or Land Tax, and over the role of the Reserve Bank in steering new investment into production rather than land speculation, needs to be grounded on an understanding of the importance of landownership in NZ history.

The story begins with NZs colonial settlement in the mid-1800s. British settlers came to NZ to escape the land trap at home. Land in Britain was still largely owned by the gentry who, in converting to capitalist agriculture for industry, threw their surplus agricultural workers off the land into the factories and the poorhouses. Britain had thrown most of its peasantry off the land into the cities where they had no means of support other than selling their labour. Engels documented life in the slums in his [The Conditions of the Working Class in England](#). And poorhouses functioned to provide a bed in exchange for work-for-the-dole.

These conditions created a growing surplus of the landless and a reason to emigrate to the colonies in the hope of becoming landowners. The infamous [Wakefield scheme](#) was set up to relieve Britain of the surplus population by planning the export of a cross-section of British class society to the new settler colonies including NZ. This included small tenant farmers whose profits were being expropriated by landowners. Both tenant farmers and landless labourers were sold a dream of becoming independent capitalist farmers with their own plot of land.

Later academics slapped the label “property owning democracies” on the settler colonies because property ownership was held to be the precondition for democracy. From start to finish the settlers sought to escape wage labour and rack renters to become their “own men”. Their goal was ownership of their own means of production and hence the value produced by their labour. But this was not part of the plan of the prominent political economist Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

### **Wakefield versus Marx on “Systematic Colonisation”**

E.G. Wakefield was familiar with the theory of rent held by John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith and David Ricardo. This school of political economy argued that agricultural production, necessary to provide cheap inputs for industry, was limited by its scarcity and location, but most critically by the declining fertility of the soils, which depressed profits and rents deducted from profits. Hence new lands had to be found to provide cheap inputs necessary to restore profits and allow industry to grow. Marx, also part of that school, agreed that

the decline in fertility caused a [“metabolic rift”](#) as capitalist agriculture depleted soil fertility which could not be replaced by industrial chemicals.

Wakefield’s scheme proposed that the three ‘factors’ of production land, labour and capital, necessary for capitalist production, could be reassembled on ‘vacant’ lands in planned settler colonies. Land would be transferred to the ownership of settlers with capital by conquest or other nefarious means such as land theft. Capital in the form of machines and tools, accompanied by landless labourers, shipped free of charge to the colonies in steerage, would be employed by the paying deck passengers as the new landowning gentry.

Marx in his critique of this [“Modern Theory of Colonisation”](#) exposed its real purpose and also its fundamental weakness - the necessity to separate the workers from the land and their own means of production. Marx used the case of Mr. Peel to reveal the “secret” of capitalist production. Mr. Peel took his money, machines and 3000 labourers to the Swan River in Western Australia, and ‘acquired’ some land. But his business plan failed when he couldn’t stop his workers absconding and squatting on their ‘own’ land to provide for themselves. They didn’t need Mr. Peel’s wages, and since Mr. Peel couldn’t singlehandedly operate his machines, his productive venture failed and he ended up as a land agent, speculating in stolen Aboriginal land.

The ‘secret’ of capitalist social relations suppressed in the home country, but revealed in the colonies, was that labourers had to be separated from the land to force them to sell their labour-power. Here was the living proof that stolen land and imported capital cannot produce wealth by itself. Machines rust and money capital devalues unless it can be exchanged for labour producing value. Mr. Peel’s capital evaporated with his decamping workers.

Wakefield’s settlements therefore failed in their objective of recreating a capitalist colony, where workers were able to acquire their own land. But this ability to decamp depended on the availability of land to squat on. Such was not the case where the indigenous owners were able to retain their land and adapt capitalist technology to their collective form of production for exchange in the expanding colonial market. Therefore, the success of the settlements was founded on the

dispossession of both indigenous people and workers.

### Development of Capitalism in NZ

What was 'systematic' about capitalist settlement was the authorisation of the NZ Company or the colonial government to get a monopoly of cultivable land, notwithstanding the Treaty of Waitangi, forcing the indigenous peoples onto marginal tribal lands, and landless labourers into wage labour to earn enough to pay the 'sufficient' price to buy land. This systematic dispossession of land, and setting of a price high enough to force workers to sell their labour power, were necessary conditions for [NZ's capitalist development](#).

The most important consequences of both were first, the struggle for Maori land rights which led from the King Movement and Te Whiti's resistance to private property, to the Treaty Settlements that allowed modern 'incorporations' to use the Settlements to convert reparations into the equivalent of private property and capital ready for the application of wage labour. The second, was the long struggle of landless labourers to get "on the land". This latter can be seen as the theme song of the 'wrong white crowd' - the struggle to escape the working class into family farming.

Both of these struggles were intertwined. The escape onto the land by settlers was always at the expense of Maori land. Land confiscated as a result of the land wars and forced land sales did not meet the needs of landless settlers by the 1880s depression. This caused a growing demand from unemployed workers to get on the land, to break up the large estates, and hold down land prices with a Land Tax on the speculative 'unearned increment' component of land value. The Liberal Government (1891-1912) responded by incentivizing squatters to subdivide, and expropriating millions more acres of Maori land.

By the end of the Liberal Government, NZ's class structure was set in place reflecting the separation of land, labour and capital. Those on the least fertile land remained heavily mortgaged to the banks and were often forced to walk off the land. Families on more fertile land would be able to pay off their mortgages assuming the soil, the weather and prices held. Those who got the best land like the Waikato confiscations or the large runs on the Canterbury Plains, could reap good profits, survive

price fluctuations and become a new gentry who were often also business owners and lawyers in the towns and cities. This reflected the fact that development of the economy created wealth in the form of rent that circulated from primary production on the land to secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy that serviced production on the land. Everyone was a rent seeker.

### Who earns the rent and who gets the rent?

Rent as we understand it today originated in class societies, *tributary modes of production* where dominant lineages extracted tribute from subordinate lineages. The specific form in Europe was the *feudal mode of production* where the commons were expropriated by landowners who extracted rent from tenant farmers in return for the use of the land. By privatising part of nature, with its soil, forest, water, and so on, as their private property, the landlords demanded rent as a share of what was produced on the land; first as part of annual output, then as a market formed, money. Thus, in the typical feudal society the peasant produced surplus-labour which the landlord appropriated as rent. As with the tributary mode in general, the class struggle between tenant and landlord over the amount of the 'surplus' gave rise to many peasant uprisings.

Capitalist agriculture brought about big changes. Feudal social relations enabled landlords to get wealthy living off rent and appropriating the value of improvement leaving tenant farmers with little incentive to increase labour productivity by investing in new methods and machines. This meant that prices did not fall and imposed high costs for industry looking for cheap inputs. As landlords realised that they could increase their market share and their rent by raising productivity, they became agricultural capitalists essentially no different from industrial capitalists. Instead of landlord and tenants we now had capitalist farmers and agricultural labourers. The division of labour value was now that of wages (necessary labour-time) and rent as profit (surplus labour time).

Capitalist production on the land is different to that in industry only insofar as land enables monopoly rent or profits which enable landowners to benefit from *surplus profits* or monopoly rent due to its scarcity. With the rise of state monopoly capital in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, global capitalism becomes characterised by forms of monopoly



across all sectors of the economy. Marx treats mining the same as agriculture, and where monopolies arise in the production of food and fuel, they all benefit from surplus profits or for Marx - [absolute rent](#). Therefore, we can see why by industrial capitalists seek to eliminate landlords and buy commercial property to take advantage of monopoly rent in land, minerals, water etc.

Landlords who remain as a distinct class deduct their rents from capitalists' monopoly profits. Workers who rent houses from landlords or borrow from banks to buy them, pay rent/interest which is deducted from the value of their wages. The question of absolute rent as deducted from profits and wages is therefore critical, especially when capitalism is facing a crisis of falling profits as a result of the [LTRPF](#). And as a component of the real wage, rent is critical for workers who produce the surplus in the first place as capital must reduce wages to enable the counter-tendencies to the LTRPF to restore the rate of profit. This brings us to the nub of the problem of rising land values which not only contribute to the cost of production, but which act as a drain on profits insofar as rent gets more than its share of value created, that is, absolute rent.

### **What determines the value of rent?**

Ground Rent equals the value of the productivity of labour on the land. Where workers labour time and capital advanced are equal, the productivity of labour differs according to the *fertility* and *location* of land. Marx calls this *differential rent*. The productivity of labour on the worst land (infertile or distant) equals the average rate of profit. Below that average profit rate, investment in land stops. Land which is more fertile and nearer the market reaps a differential rent that is above average and therefore a super profit. This theory explains why colonisation resulted from stagnation in investment in land in Britain that was not productive enough to earn average profits (despite political favours such as tax avoidance etc) creating [surplus capital looking for new lands](#) in the colonies where the benefits of differential rent, such as natural fertility, climate etc compensates for distance.

We can then understand why British settler colonisation to new lands where the indigenous

peoples were displaced and dispossessed of their land, was critical to overcoming the stagnation of capitalist agriculture in Britain and with it the LTRPF in industry. And it follows that the 'founders' rent of new land combined with capital and labour extended the division of labour of the British Empire by creating the potential for a new source of cheap agricultural commodities entering into industrial production and consumption in Britain. Ironically, for the new settlers they were faced with the competition from Maori who rapidly adapted new techniques to their traditional mode of production to produce, transport and trade commodities to Australia and even North America. The land wars put an end to that as we have seen.

It follows that not only was the 'secret' of capitalist social relations revealed in the settler colony, as invasive, deceptive and destructive, Maori society as a classless *lineage mode of production* at the time of European contact, demonstrated its ability, as a collective society with a cooperative labour process, combined with communal resources in land and 'capital', to compete successfully with the rudimentary capitalist mode in its formation. It was destroyed not by any pricing mechanism, but by the armed forces of the imperial and colonial state.

As we have seen privately owned land under capitalism contributes to the production of labour value. But in the epoch of monopoly capital as the counter-tendencies can no longer delay the LTRPF, private land ownership becomes a barrier sucking capital out of productive investment into speculation. Overvalued land becomes a cost on profits at a time when they are stagnant or crashing and a cost on workers' wages, their lives and livelihoods. Thus, private land ownership sets a limit to the growth of capitalism and signals the total war on nature. As we shall see, the struggle over the land such as [Ihumatao](#) reveals that capitalism cannot solve the housing question because it cannot abandon private ownership of land, and must inevitably fail to meet the basic needs of workers for decent housing.

**To be continued. Part 2: "Solving the Housing Question - Socialising Land, Labour and Capital"**

## USA: Marching for self-defense and against racist terror is not a crime!

Grand Master Jay, the leader of the Not Fucking Around Coalition (NFAC), a militant Black organization that stands for organized self-defense against racist attacks, was arrested and charged with allegedly “assaulting, resisting or impeding certain officers or employees” for pointing his flashlight on his gun at Metro police and Federal officers. This incident occurred at a protest in downtown Louisville, KY. He faces Federal charges and up to 20 years in prison if convicted. The CWG-USA says: **Drop all charges immediately! Hands off all armed anti-racist self-defense groups!**

**IT WAS UNIDENTIFIED COPS THAT KILLED BREONNA TAYLOR! IT WAS UNIDENTIFIED FEDERAL AGENTS GRABBING AND SNATCHING PROTESTERS IN PORTLAND AND NEW YORK! IN KENOSHA, WI WHITE MILITIA ARE ALLOWED BY COPS TO FIRE ON PROTESTERS! WE HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW WHO IS ON THE ROOF IN THE SNIPER'S NEST! NO SNIPERS ON ROOFTOPS DURING ANTI-RACIST MOBILIZATIONS!**

Sectarians and reformists will shun Jay for his contradictions (his anti-mask side and anti-vax conspiracy theories). His retweet of a debunked statement falsely attributed to Hitler gave ammunition to those who are accusing NFAC of being raving anti-Semites. They object to his overtones of Black nationalism. But the sectarians won't disparage Louis Farakhan, who is more popular and NOT organizing a Black militia.

The state, i.e., the Feds, don't care a rap about this propaganda except in their gladness at Jay's gratuitous isolation by/from both the sectarians and the craven pacifism of the reformist electoral collapse. Thus, we see the entirely unhelpful denunciations of Jay Johnson by “Anti-fash AWK,” by Jake Hanrahan, of “The Popular Front” and Robbie Starbuck. These problem children have decided Jay is principally an anti-Semite, and they miss the point of armed opposition to racist repression altogether. These fake left voices have found a popular excuse for their dual-standard pacifism, conveniently overlooking the 150 years of Ku Klux violence protected by an infiltrated racist state as “protected speech,” i.e., white speech with weapons. In practice these problem children oppose Black self-organization for self-defense, counterposing an idealist antifascism without contradictions which doesn't exist.

Possibly even worse is the slander of the Black Panthers by Jack Barnes, leader of the ex-Communist Socialist Workers Party cult. He defends the actions of the Amon Bundy gang as an analogous equivalent to the 1960s Black self-defense movement. Right now, Jay Johnson has been disappeared into the Federal prison system while Barnes celebrates the Bundy gang court victory as a milestone of the working-class fightback against the state!

Despite Jay's being snookered by some debunked internet conspiracy theories and fake Hitler quotes we do not buy the lie that NFAC are “anti-Semites” intending violence against Jews. We know who is drawing swastikas on the Synagogues and toppling grave stones in the Jewish cemeteries. It is the Trump inspired punks in white sheets and the Atomwaffen and Proud Boy thugs who lust for race war with their hatred of Jews, Arabs and other “mud people.” It is these neo fascists who are the mortal enemy of the working class. NFAC does march with white supporters and while we reject Jay thought like other rubbish consciousness, we still insist he has a right to know who and where apparent snipers are posted around him. AND we denounce the state for posting them and arresting him for discovering them, even though the state's real intent is obviously otherwise than observation for

public safety purposes, i.e., to snuff Black self-defense organization exactly at the moment the bourgeois state is smiling on the rise of its fascist terror helpers. ...

*“The first public appearance of the NFAC was at a KKK rally in Dayton, Ohio, in 2019. Grandmaster Jay told *The Atlanta Black Star* that the group stood guard to prevent a repeat of the 1979 Greensboro Massacre, in which five people in North Carolina were shot and killed by Nazis and Klansmen as citizens gathered for the start of an anti-racism protest. Last month, an organization stylized as NFAC UK participated with thousands of protesters who held an *anti-racism rally outside the U.S. Embassy in London* as Black Lives Matter demonstrations took place in cities across the U.K.”*  
- Complex, Sep 2020, *“What Is the NFAC, and Who Is Grandmaster Jay?”*

**We defend Jay from the state. We defend the right of Black community self-defense.** Rubbish consciousness of every kind feeds on the masses' healthy reflex to discount official disinformation. It takes training in historical materialism to explode it and a mass communist movement to replace it!

### Flashlight felony if you are Black(?)

When Hoovers and cops, unknown persons clearly armed on an overlooking rooftop, get a surprise illumination by a flashlight, the state freaks out if the person holding the flashlight is Black. Here we see the lie of 2020 police reform. Was Jay supposed to know they were the Hoovers and cops and not Boogaloo Boys or Proud Boys taking up a sniper post? Is it normal now for the armed bodies of the state to post snipers wherever Black folks demonstrate carrying arms in open-carry states? Police reform seems to be limited to permitting the Rightists to brandish their Armalites inside the Michigan capitol building. Police continue to treat the armed Black person as a dangerous subhuman and worse when they know the Black person is a veteran.

The CWG-USA stands for militant, disciplined, trained self-defense against racist terror, whether it comes from the fascists or the cops. We seek to link the self-defense of the oppressed to the social power of the organized working class. We call for building **racially integrated Labor, Black and Brown Self-Defense Guards from out of our union halls to sweep the racists from the streets.** To unite the whole multi-racial working class with the struggles of the oppressed, **racist cop terror should be met with mass labor-centered mobilizations and labor political strikes. For workers and oppressed tribunals, not the capitalist courts! Cops and prison guards out of our unions and labor federations!**

The working class in America has always made their greatest gains when they have taken up the fight against discrimination and racism against Black people. The fight for Black liberation is the fight of the whole working class. Taking up class struggle defense of those who fight for Black liberation would go far in reversing the social reaction that is on the rise in the Trump era. A militant Labor movement would stand beside and behind every Black self-defense organization, seeing the fight against rightist reaction as a daily and comprehensive duty in every workplace and across society at large.

What is lacking most today is revolutionary working-class leadership. **We need a fighting Workers/Labor Party that is the tribune of the whole working class and the oppressed.** A combat party of the working class would be a force for organizing struggles and provide the political leadership for the working class to realize its historic task which is the *“abolition of the wages system.”* Only world socialist revolution that establishes workers rule and socialism can resolve the problems of capitalist exploitation, racism, wars, pandemics and climate catastrophe.

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# What We Fight For

## Overthrow Capitalism

Historically, capitalism expanded world-wide to free much of humanity from the bonds of feudal or tribal society, and developed the economy, society and culture to a new higher level. But it could only do this by exploiting the labour of the productive classes to make its profits. To survive, capitalism became increasingly destructive of "nature" and humanity. In the early 20th century, it entered the epoch of imperialism in which successive crises unleashed wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. Today we fight to end capitalism's wars, famine, oppression and injustice, by mobilising workers to overthrow their own ruling classes and bring to an end the rotten, exploitative and oppressive society that has exceeded its use-by date.

## Fight for Socialism

By the 20th century, capitalism had created the pre-conditions for socialism -a world-wide working class and modern industry capable of meeting all our basic needs. The potential to eliminate poverty, starvation, disease and war has long existed. The October Revolution proved this to be true, bringing peace, bread and land to millions. But it became the victim of the combined assault of imperialism and Stalinism. After 1924 the USSR, along with its deformed offspring in Europe, degenerated back towards capitalism. In the absence of a workers' political revolution, capitalism was restored between 1990 and 1992. Vietnam, China and Cuba then followed. Today only North Korea (DPRK) survives as a degenerate workers' state. We unconditionally defend the DPRK against capitalism and fight for political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy as part of world socialism. In the case of Russia and China which have emerged as new imperialist powers, we no longer defend them against other imperialist powers and call for their defeat in any war.

## Defend Marxism

While the economic conditions for socialism exist today, standing between the working class and socialism are political, social and cultural barriers. They are the capitalist state and bourgeois ideology and its agents. These agents claim that Marxism is dead and capitalism need not be exploitative. We

say that Marxism is a living science that explains both capitalism's continued exploitation and its attempts to hide class exploitation behind the appearance of individual "freedom" and "equality". It reveals how and why the reformist, Stalinist and centrist mis-leaders of the working-class tie workers to bourgeois ideas of nationalism, racism, sexism and equality. Such false beliefs will be exploded when the struggle against the inequality, injustice, anarchy and barbarism of capitalism in crisis, led by a revolutionary Marxist party, produces a revolutionary class-consciousness.

## For a Revolutionary Party

The bourgeois and its agents condemn the Marxist party as totalitarian. We say that without a democratic and a centrally organised party there can be no revolution. We base our beliefs on the revolutionary tradition of Leninism and Trotskyism. Such a party, armed with a transitional program, forms a bridge that joins the daily fight to defend all the past and present gains won from capitalism, to the victorious socialist revolution. Defensive struggles for bourgeois rights and freedoms, for decent wages and conditions, will link up the struggles of workers of all nationalities, genders, ethnicities and sexual orientations, bringing about movements for workers control, political strikes and the arming of the working class, as necessary steps to workers' power and the smashing of the bourgeois state. Along the way, workers will learn that each new step is one of many in a long march to revolutionise every barrier put in the path to the victorious revolution.

## Fight for Communism

Communism stands for the creation of a classless, stateless society beyond socialism that is capable of meeting all human needs. Against the ruling class lies that capitalism can be made "fair" for all; that nature can be "conserved"; that socialism and communism are "dead"; we raise the red flag of communism to keep alive the revolutionary tradition of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, the Bolshevik-led October Revolution; the Third Communist International until 1924, the revolutionary Fourth International up to 1940 before its collapse into centrism. We fight to build a new Communist International, based on the 1938 Transitional Program, as a world party of socialism capable of leading workers to a victorious struggle for socialism.



# **International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency**

Class Warrior: Theoretical Journal of ILTT [http://www.cwgusa.org/?page\\_id=594](http://www.cwgusa.org/?page_id=594)

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