

CLASS STRUGGLE WINTER 2023



Rosa  
Luxemburg

**May Day Appeal to Workers**  
**Open Letter to South African Workers**  
**Women's Fight for Humanity**  
**Transfascism or Posthumanism?**  
**Biden and AMLO attack Migrants**  
**Argentina: on Mapuche Nation**



**Editorial:****Crises, Wars and Revolutions**

In this Issue we write about a number of existential questions facing the future of humanity. The most immediate and pressing is the *inter-imperialist war* in Ukraine and the rush to war with China which threatens blow up in the Asia Pacific region.

Our May Day Appeal to workers calls on workers to take a stand and do what is necessary to overthrow decaying capitalism – stop the war by building a new revolutionary communist international party.

Our May Day call was co-written with the Liga CHE Comunista (LCC) of Argentina. Our collaboration expresses the importance of the international fight to build a new world socialist party in every region and country.

The LCC is leading the fight for the liberation of the indigenous Mapuche people, and the liberation of women. We reprint the LCC's statement "*1492-October 12, 2022, Nothing to Celebrate, Everything to Fight!*"

Capitalism's terminal crisis displaces millions of migrant workers trying to escape poverty and death. Many Latin Americans make their way to the US border only to end up on jail or dead.

We reprint the US comrades' *Open Letter to the Labor Movement* on the plight of migrant workers in Mexico exposed to abuse and killings in detention camps, calling on international working-class action to defend migrants, open the borders and provide equal citizenship and labour rights to migrants.

Our *Open Letter to South African workers* warns of the danger of replacing the Western imperialists with the new imperialist powers, China and Russia. We report back about a discussion on the Open Letter in a report on the work of the OC for a *Mass Workers Assembly and Party*.

In *Women's Fight for Humanity*, we write about women's long history from 'primitive communism' through to a future communism. For Rosa Luxemburg it was the embodiment of humanity, despite being overthrown by the Patriarchy and remained the promise of the survival of our species.

We endorse Marxist anthropologist Eleanor Leacock's discovery in her 1960s work on Marx and Engels, *Origins of Private Property, the Family and*

*the State*, that 'primitive communism' in its formation and development was actually the 'communal mode of production'.

We also follow the logic of the Marxist historian of Ancient Greece, G.E.M. De Ste Croix's argued in his 1981 book *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*. De Ste Croix chides Marx and Engels for not recognising that the Patriarchy was the original class mode of production where men transformed communal property into private property, and reduced women to domestic slaves in a Patriarchal Mode of Production.

The incorporation of the Patriarchal Mode into the Slave, Feudal, and Capitalist Modes meant that women continued to fight the patriarchal ruling class against their oppression as a *sex-class*, defending humanity up to the present day.

This raises the question about whether the organised violence of trans activism against women today is a form of fascism or a form of post-modern patriarchal violence symptomatic of capitalism's terminal crisis. We discuss this in *Transfascism or Posthumanism?*

What all these contributions have in common is that they are all expressions of different aspects of the terminal crisis of capitalism which attempts to download its crisis onto the working class, creating divisions in our ranks and weakening our class's ability to make a socialist revolution in time to stop our extinction as homo sapiens.

Lenin said the epoch of imperialism is one of crises, wars, and revolutions. Armed workers always pose a mortal threat to capitalism. But that is not enough unless carried out. Capitalist crises are opportunities for socialist revolutions. The victory of the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the failure of the German revolution of 1919, was down to one thing; Russia had a Bolshevik Party, Germany did not.

To win the fight for socialism we need *an armed, united world working class lead by a revolutionary party* and program based on the transitional program of activating the revolution from below, capable of stopping the race to human extinction by climate catastrophe, patriarchy, war, or nuclear ecocide.

## Transfascism or Posthumanism?

On Saturday, March 25 this year, 2000 transactivists surrounded and invaded the Band Rotunda at Albert Park, Auckland and violently ended (video link) a 'Let Women Speak' meeting organised by Posie Parker. The trans rights movement, with its allies the state, unions and media, had been hyping up a defamation campaign that Parker was a fascist to justify an attack.

There are many independent [factual rebuttals](#) of any support by Parker for any fascist individuals or movements. The conservative right has an interest in opposing trans (and gays and lesbians) because it wants to shore up the bastion of the patriarchy in family, church and state. Though fascists may oppose trans, they do not support women except as an oppressed sex-class in the patriarchal family. Women as a sex-class can stop trans attack only by organising to smash the patriarchy, both of the right and left. The fact that the trans riot against Parker used fascist-like violence backfired because it gave the new women's right movement some impetus to fight the fascism smear.

Why would trans activists attempt to smear Parker and incite a riot to stop her and other women speaking? The short answer is that the liberal left is the postmodern manifestation of the patriarchy which wants to finish off the job of enslaving women to exploit their labour and their bodies. Enslaving women starts with shutting them up politically, dividing them from their male allies in the labour movement, and ends with replacing their bodies with synthetic reproduction technology.

The liberal left comprises a petty bourgeois coalition made up of labour bureaucrats, union officials, government politicians, state employees and other quasi-state groups whose employment is dependent on state funding as is true of NGOs like the National Council of Women, and trans organisations like Pride. Collectively they are all dependent upon funding and support from the bourgeois state to enact the 'rights' legislation that allows them to legally live off the working class.

There is nothing 'left' about these liberals let alone socialist or Marxist. It is a *fake left* that serves the state and its corporate bosses. Like the Nazis who tried to appeal to declassed workers, the fake left uses them as 'shock troops' against militants to

smash any threat of workers revolution. Trans activism has some aspects of fascism – it serves a corporate state; forms violent street gangs; targets oppressed minorities – but not all. The state is legitimated by bourgeois democracy passing laws that validate trans rights at the expense of women. There is no revolutionary crisis and threatened overthrow of the state. Yet capitalism's terminal crisis will provoke such conditions, so the trans activists attack on working women today prepares the ground for the inevitable fascist coup.

That's why capitalism uses the patriarchy to wage a war on women to disorganise the revolution. Over the past century there has been a gradual weakening of the bourgeois family as the buttress of women's oppression. Today it can no longer contain the contradiction between women who defend nature, against capital that destroys nature. It needs a new rebranded patriarchy in the 21st century. Not the restoration of the family but its dissolution. It seeks to destroy all resistance to patriarchal capitalism, de-humanising women as the historic sex-class, seizing control over their bodies, and consequently human reproduction.

So, while we do not yet face *trans fascism*, we face something potentially worse - *post-humanism* – the systematic wiping out of women as a sex-class that has fought for humanity against the patriarchy for around 40,000 years. The trans activism we face today redefines mothers as others, and invades their spaces to snatch their bodies and body parts. Control of their reproductive power goes to men in a post-human dystopia.

The violent occupation of the Band Rotunda in Auckland on March 25 2023 teaches us that working women and men must organise their self-defence to keep alive women's historic fight to overthrow patriarchal capitalism and build a new commune that rescues civilisation from extinction.

# **MAY FIRST: Appeal to the Labour Movement**

## **Build Proletarian Internationalism!**

### **Stop the Inter-Imperialist War!**

### **Build the World Party of Socialism**



**On this May Day, the international working class must ask, “what is the cause of the coming world war and how can we stop it?” As China eclipses the reigning economic and military hegemon (USA), war to redivide the world, despite all pretenses to peaceful progressive growth, is not only on the capitalist’s agenda-it is their only choice. All the capitalist states prepare for war and are drawn into the unfolding inter-imperialist conflict at the expense of nature and social needs everywhere. The death agony of capitalism commits the world to wars for redivision of resources at the expense of the workers, poor farmers and oppressed.**

Regardless of the truth regarding direct responsibility for the outbreak of the war, one thing is certain: the war taking place in Ukraine is the result of the inter-imperialist dispute, developing a qualitative leap in the trade war between the United States and China; it is a predatory war for the division of the world and spheres of influence. The commercial war thus becomes a military war, the political one by other means, namely, violence.

The imperialist war with its epicenter in Europe has lasted for over a year, all the data and movements of NATO and Russia show that far from ending, it ventures as a war of extermination; the balance after one year of war is the waste of hundreds of

billions of euros destined for the destruction of human lives and infrastructure. Displacement of at least 15 million human beings, far from finished, as the equipment is being prepared for continuity with high possibilities of becoming a global catastrophe.

The entire world situation, and consequently also the internal political life of the various countries, are under the threat of war. The approaching catastrophe penetrates the deepest masses of humanity with anguish. Across the planet inter-imperialist conflicts unfold under the hair trigger threat of nuclear war, today in Ukraine tomorrow Taiwan. Capitalism necessitates accumulation of capital at the cost of extinction. As a mode of

production its unrestrainable anarchy is destroying nature, the means and forces of production while impoverishing hundreds of millions.

### **While the Bourgeois gets richer, millions of proletarians and peasants suffer hardship and famine**

War is a gigantic commercial enterprise, especially for the war industry. That is why the “top 11 NATO companies” are the first patriots and the main provocateurs of the war. Yet while we shout the slogans ‘Socialism or Extinction!’ and “For Humanity to Survive Capitalism must Die!”, the treacherous leaders of the workers’ organizations work overtime to keep workers in one imperialist camp of the other.

The social patriots of the west deny the US/EU role propping up the right-wing Maidan and post Maidan regimes to proxy for their strategic encirclement and containment efforts. The social patriots of the east (including their 5th columnists in the west) perpetuate the myth of a China/Russia led anti-imperialist bloc with the “progressive” national bourgeoisies of the global south, with their working classes disorganized and submissive.

### **China is not the ‘progressive’ friend of the workers and peasants!**

The imperialist war is the continuation and exacerbation of the plundering policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie and their colonial and semi-colonial comprador agents. But the US imperialist

We explode the myth that China and Russia’s economic expansion is a reformist, progressive escape route for capitalism. They cannot escape capitalism’s fundamental contradiction between nature and capitalist society.

bloc is not alone in plundering and dividing the world into their spheres of interest. Russia and China have emerged in the 21st century as rival powers to challenge US hegemony. They are not the saviours that the BRIC bourgeoisies and Maoist labour political bureaucrats claim as the ‘progressive’ multipolar alternative that workers can call upon to rescue rotting capitalism and save their jobs and livelihoods.

The restored capitalism in China was able, for a time, to sustain double digit growth, but the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall mocks the

CPC’s claims it has resolved the capitalist laws of motion with its hybrid market “socialist” economy; the law of value prevails and Chinese capital is not immune. The accumulation of capital in China is driven by the very laws of motion Marx ascribed to capitalism resisted by workers. After the policy of ‘turning-in’, building empty cities and creating real estate debt bubbles at home, to keep its economic engine burning Chinese capital had no choice but to go outwards. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), outward foreign direct investments which includes unsustainable loans across the global south and into Europe, are objectively anti-labor, union busting and debt burdening all under the guise of ‘Win-Win’ mythology embraced by RT ‘socialists’, the Boli-bourgeois, Stalinists, M-L’s and layers of the comprador bourgeoisie across the global south.

The class struggle between the social forces and social relations of production, sets the limits to capital expansion. Increasing investment in high tech to raise the rate of exploitation drives down living standards for the masses below subsistence and throws workers onto the rubbish heap. Capitalism cannot produce enough value to maintain profits. Rising mountains of debt can never be repaid and will disappear like bad bets in the global casino. Debt is a symptom of capitalism facing its terminal crisis. The circuit of capital is broken, the forces of production are destroyed along with the ecological basis for human life.

### **The Enemy is the Bourgeoisie and it is at Home!**

**The struggle of the proletariat against the imperialist war is the continuation and exacerbation of the class struggle. Thus, we are witnessing a new bankruptcy of civilization, political reaction, depression, inflation, economic crises, famines, human displacements, degradation. But nature is also in danger and with it, humanity.**

Drought and extreme heat waves pushed 2.3 billion people into food insecurity in 2022, the majority in Africa and the Asian continent, according to the balance presented by the WMO, which cites the case of India and Pakistan as especially problematic, whose agri-food systems were practically exhausted due to the lack of water, a wave of food insecurity that, added to the supply problems derived from the war in Ukraine, has hit 20 million people in this area. All of this is symptomatic of capitalism’s long

developmental decline into terminal crisis over the imperialist epoch.

The 1923 projection of the capitalist curve by Trotsky argued booms would be shorter and busts would be deeper as the tendency of the rate of profit to fall (TRPF) accelerates across all capitalist economies. The rise of fictitious finance capital (speculation) over industrial (productive) capital expands the claims on social surplus at the expense of the workers.

Capitalism, both in the imperialist centers and the semi-colonial resource rich states deepens the drive toward war for re-privatization schemes, nor the monetary money supply and interest rate schemes, have been successful at resolving the crisis. In turn the bosses put the cost of the crisis on the working classes, the poor and oppressed nations.

### **For a New World Party of Socialism!**

The fundamental content of the politics of the proletariat is therefore the struggle against imperialism and its war. The fundamental slogan of this struggle since the Zimmerwald Left in 1915 is "The main enemy is at home" whether in an imperialist country or in a semi-colonial country. We reject all capitalism's attempts to divide and rule the workers and poor farmers.

Before exhausting, or drowning humanity in blood, capitalism poisons the world atmosphere with toxic vapours of national and racial hatred; we already see this as a product of the migratory displacements that seek to escape from the bombs and the kamikaze drones that fly over the cities, but also from the bad governments that enslave us, while their cynicism goes as far as the prohibition of migration and the imprisonment in false shelters or internment centers, where proletarians are detained for the mere fact of being.

This system must perish, open your eyes, learn not to forget, not forgive and not give in to the exploiters, to those who humiliate us, to those who subordinate us, to those who deny us the slightest possibility of existence. Imperialist war changes the situation and intensifies the class struggle, but it does not change either our objectives or our program for socialist revolution.

### **Demands**

**- We need a new Zimmerwald Left to mobilise the anti-imperialist left in an**

**international workers united front to smash the imperialists' warmongering**

**international popular front!**

**- We need to unite the workers of the world, against national, ethnic and gender divisions!**

**- We call for enlisted person's unions in Russia, Ukraine and all NATO countries to strike and fraternize as class brothers and sisters. Expose the commanders, elect your own officers and abandon the projects of the imperialists!**

**- The commanders and imperialists do not fight for your national liberation! To win national liberation the victorious class struggle of socialist internationalism is required, not the patriotic fiction of unity with your boss!**

**- We need a new party of world socialism to lead the fight to turn the imperialist war into a class war for socialist revolution!**

**- We need a world party based on the method and programmatic content of the Transitional Program of 1938.**

**-We need to unite the workers of the world against national, ethnic and gender divisions!**

**- Power for women workers, for the youth and all the oppressed sectors of the working class!**

**- We are for the class struggle unions, the workers' councils, the workers' militias, etc., that fight and are managed democratically, up to and including the insurrection by a Government of Workers and poor Farmers!**

**- For a world union of socialist republics!**

**Liga Che Comunista (Ar) International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency/Tendencia Trotskista Leninista Internacional (CWG NZ/Ao, CWG USA, RWG (Zim), GTR (Br)**

**April 30 2023**



# Mapuche Nation 1492 – October 12-2022: Nothing to celebrate; Everything to fight!



More than 500 years ago, the landing of genocides against the pre-existing peoples of the National States in America arrived on the Continent.

Thus began the looting, inhuman treatment, enslavement and colonization of the peoples of the misnamed America. With the sword and the cross they evangelized the different peoples that inhabited the Abya Yala.

With respect to our Mapuche Nation, we knew how to stop its conquest, already marking a first limit of the nation. From the BIO-BIO river in Gulu Mapu (Chile) to the La Pampa area in (Puel Mapu-Argentina) marked the Mapuche nation, a nation made up of the Pewenches, Williches, Laf-Quencheche, and other regions that made up a nation. with our territory and language.

The looted territories became the property of English Imperialism with its estancias, the nascent Argentine or Chilean bourgeoisie, the States, the Church and high military ranks that participated in the so-called "Conquest of the desert" or "Pacification of Araucanía". We start to live in

reductions or emigrate to the cities to survive in this Capitalism.

It was the Argentine-Chilean States that carried out the necessary task for Capitalism: fitting into the agro-export model imposed by Imperialism at that time. The Mapuche territory became the land of the landowners and the Mapuche the slave and servile labor force. The history of the winners and the losers begins, the cultural imposition through religious and educational institutions and the unification of the Spanish language as a way of eliminating all kinds of differences outside the mandate of the Argentine-Chilean State.

Concentration camps such as Martín García Island were common, surname changes were commonplace, and all kinds of harassment for belonging to the Mapuche nation.

Currently the Lof (communities) continue to be constantly repressed both in Gulu Mapu and in Puel Mapu. Let us remember that Boric currently maintains "la Araucanía" militarized, while Fernández-Kirchner-Carreras form the Unified

Security Command that militarizes the Mapuche territory.

Dispossession and oppression are part of a historical continuity that our Mapuche Nation People still suffer today. To repress the State there are no cracks, the bourgeois governments that get involved in the fight for Human Rights, trample on them and stain them with blood and death.

Currently in the Lof (communities) Lafquen Winkul Mapu "a hunt a la Roca" is being carried out, they stop and transfer Mapuche women (one of them pregnant): the crudest expression of bourgeois and racist impositions. The abuse of a system that continues to exploit and colonize.

The bourgeois national states continue to be built on Genocide and looting of natural resources. We say Imperialism because currently the inter-imperialist dispute between China and the US marks important international events, it is closer to Zapala, there is a Chinese military base and there are intentions to install a US base.

The geopolitical dispute in the Mapuche territory occupied by the Argentine and Chilean Nation that dispute private property between the landowners, the ranch of the Queen of Holland, the Sapag, the British corporation Lago Escondido and the Catholic Church demonstrate the inter-imperialist character of the struggle of the Mapuche nation.

Year 2017: the forced disappearance followed by the death of the weneñ Santiago Maldonado, by the repressive forces, we are faced with the murder of the peñi Rafa Nawel. Year 2021, they killed the peñi Elías Garay, in the lof Quenquentreu, only three signs that the dead are always from the Mapuche side. In the times of the genocidal Roca we faced attacks on toldeñas where women and children were also victims of a planned and bloody conquest. In the time of Macri and Kristina, we are faced with the murders of Santiago, Rafa Nahuel and Elias Garay...

In any case, there is a difference between 2017 and today, today, for example, the reactionaries are organized in meetings: such as the "Bariloche Consensus", an organization created in 2021 as an evolution of an "anti-takeover" bloc, developed months before by the president of the PRO, Patricia

Bullrich. All a symptom of the reactionary times that we are living in Argentina.

### **How do we continue?**

Taking into account these aspects that we develop, which indicate that the struggle is anti-imperialist, against the National States, the landowners, the nationalists and the fascists, what would be the correct strategy to combat racism, nationalism, their exploitation and the violence of capitalism?

As communist Mapuche we must raise the struggle in the broadest UNITY, internally as the Mapuche nation, defending ourselves from the constant attacks of the colonizing states or the provocations of the imperialists and side by side with the working class, with whom we share the same class and system enemy. It is important to continue organizing SELF-DEFENSE before attacks by reactionary groups.

The most dangerous and incorrect policy is the one that consists of passively adapting to the oppressive nation, with its institutions. We must set up a national liberation movement and Mapuche self-determination, which allows us unity as a working class against the nationalist and imperialist bourgeoisies that exploit us, oppress us and destroy Wallmapu.

Only the worker and solidarity embrace between Mapuches, Argentines and Chileans will be able to put an end to capitalist barbarism, as part of the struggle of all the oppressed peoples of the world with a socialist perspective.

### **Self-determination of the Mapuche nation.**

**To repress the state has no cracks.**

**Against the anti-terrorism law.**

**Demilitarization and restitution of the Mapuche territory.**

**Justice for Santiago, Rafa Nawel and Elias Garay.**

**Freedom for the Lagmen and all the political prisoners.**

**LIGA CHE COMUNISTA**

October 12 2022



# China: Open Letter to South African Workers



*Miners' strike at Marikana*

**Comrades, we are writing this open letter to raise the important question of China's influence in the world today, and specifically in Southern Africa. Without a clear understanding that China is imperialist and engaged in inter-imperialist rivalry with the US led block of imperialists, workers and poor farmers are disarmed in the class struggle leading to defeats which setback the revolution and make the catastrophic prospects of economic slump and ecological destruction much more likely. We need to fight the counter-revolutionary influence of all capitalist/imperialist powers, recognising the class enemy, and their treacherous agents in the labour movement, and organising independent workers organisations from unions, councils, self-defence militias to Workers and poor Farmers' Governments.**

Back in November of last year, a member of our tendency (International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency) was visiting South Africa. He had discussions with the Shaun Magmoed branch (SMB) of the RSWP (Revolutionary Socialist Worker Party) on the question of China's influence in South Africa, especially its corrupting influence on the leadership of the NUMSA union and the SRWP. We were invited by one of its leading members, Cde Shaheed Mahomed, to write a response to the resolution ([Reform vs Revolution](#)) on the question being discussed in the branch. We wrote the letter quickly and got acknowledgement it had been received, but heard nothing more about it. We viewed the letter as part of an internal discussion, but in the

light of events since then, we are obliged to publish it in this Open Letter. (See ['For a Workers' Government'](#)).

First, the SMB took the threat of China seriously when evidence showed that the NUMSA leadership under Irvin Jim had been corrupted by a rich individual with clear links to the CPC. As we said in our letter China's influence in the labour movement must be challenged and the unions rebuilt under the control of the rank and file. Despite assurances that our contribution would be discussed and answered, no further communication with us about their intervention in the SRWP took place. Nor was any comment forthcoming on the [ILTT Report on South Africa](#) written by our comrade on his visit

which dealt at more length with China's influence in the economy and the labour movement, and with the inadequate worker resistance to it.

In both documents we make clear our view that China's influence in SA is as an imperialist power, that its corruption of the leadership of NUMSA is clear, but is not being effectively resisted by workers who are disarmed by confusion over China's character. That confusion was evident in the SMB. Its resolution characterised China superficially as a capitalist semi-colony acting as the agent of imperialism.

"Today China is awash with many imperialist companies. Apple has its production facility in China and according to the Economist Newspaper only 2% of the value of its sales go back to China. This is not a Socialist state but a semi-colonial capitalist state under the thumb of imperialism. China today is the mass production facility for imperialism with very low wages and harsh conditions. It has helped imperialism spearhead the de-industrialisation of the rest of the world." (*Reform vs Revolution*)

We stated that a correct understanding of China was urgently needed to build effective worker resistance in the unions and for building a revolutionary party to lead the vanguard against imperialism and its national comprador agents. This confusion over China's imperialist character seems to have led to impotence in the SMB in its attempt to take on the union bureaucracy and its Maoist connections.

*"To transform the SRWP (or any new party that becomes necessary) into a mass workers' party independent of the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie we need a Marxist party to form the left wing of the SRWP, based on a Transitional Program (TP) for a Workers' Government. That is, comrades, for a Workers' Government! (See critique of SRWP in "[Workers' Unite](#)"). Already, in the revolutionary period up to 1924, Trotsky's [report on the 4th Congress](#) of the COMINTERN insisted that the party program must always be crowned with the comrades' demand for a Workers' Government." (*For a Workers' Government*)*

Then, four months later, we saw an exchange of letters ([Once Again on the China Question](#)) between Cde. Shaheed of the WIVL (who as we noted above is a leading member of the SMB in Cape Town) and the FLTI. Cde. Shaheed wrote:

Dear FLTI Committee

Could you send us your latest analysis on China, as some of the local groups are starting to raise the question that it is imperialist?

Greetings comrades.

Shaheed Mohamed

WIVL (9 April)

So, it appears that the silence of Cde. Shaheed and the SMB in response to our intervention in November may have masked an ongoing discussion about China which remains unresolved. The fact that in April the Cde had to appeal to the FLTI to provide him with a reply to those questioning China's role as imperialist we see as significant, first, because it indicates that no serious response to China's influence in NUMSA was underway.

Secondly, because the Cde as a member of the WIVL was affiliated to the FLTI when we (as HWRS and CWG – now in the ILTT) had a dispute over China which led to a split in 2010. While we do not want to waste time over an old dispute, the FLTI raises it again to convince Cde. Shaheed that its position has not changed. Since that position was always wrong, and counter-revolutionary in its consequences, we have to once again deal with the 'China Question' as a matter of urgency.

On April 11 the FLTI replied to Cde. Shaheed, Comrade Shaheed,

"We have read your note asking for our views on the current situation in China. Not only in Africa, but also internationally, very many left currents coming from the former Trotskyist movement, affirm that China has become a "new imperialist country", while the old Stalinist currents, today again "in fashion", continue to see it as a "market socialism" and, together with the Russia of the butcher Putin, a focus of "anti-imperialist struggle". *It is clear that all those who call themselves "Putin's friends", like those in the Communist Party and other*



*Stalinists in South Africa and throughout Africa, Latin America and the Pacific, are well and truly servants of the IMF and the US imperialist transnational corporations. (Our emphasis)*

Surely you remember that we together produced a pamphlet on China in polemics with the US HWRS and the New Zealand CWG which we jointly elaborated at an FLTI Congress in 2010. *There we defined the key questions of what is still our position, also expressed in our assessment of the fall of the workers' states in '89: after the imposition of capitalist restoration, both China and Russia were left as relatively independent capitalist countries, which gave fresh blood to the imperialist capitalist world market. But that blood has now run out and imperialism, after successive crises and crashes, is looking for new markets to survive, as the old ones have shrunk, and new colonies and semi-colonies to throw its crisis at. (Our emphasis)*

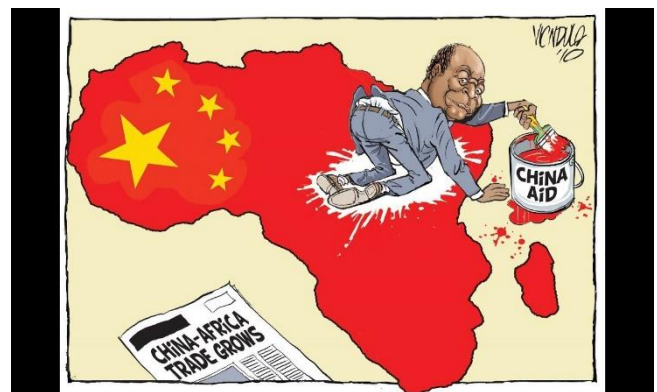
As the last decades have shown, imposing capitalist restoration in the former workers' states was not enough for imperialism. Since the crash of 2008, there has been a brutal open offensive by the US in dispute with Maastricht Europe to take over these new markets, trying to recolonize China and Russia for good, while the European glacier nations, Georgia, the Caucasus, the former Soviet Muslim republics, Vietnam and lately also Cuba are already in the process of colonization."

What is clear here is that the FLTI characterises Russia and China as 'independent' capitalist states coming out of the fall of the workers' states which have since resisted colonization. This 'independence' allowed China to act as agents of imperialism without submitting to re-colonisation. We can agree to that point but not on its consequences. Independence was the legacy of the workers' states, principally a centralised state and economic plan.

However, for the FLTI, this legacy while useful to the imperialist powers, has only two possible outcomes, Russia and China either submit to colonisation (breaking up under imperialist dominance to get 'fresh blood') or are overthrown by a workers' revolution to take power, smash the regime and create a workers' state.

Let us assume that the 'blood' the FLTI is talking about is actually 'value', pumped out by workers' labour power in Russia and China, and increasingly in the semi-colonies where they trade and export capital, all of which serves to restore the rate of profit in the imperialist countries.

To understand the importance of flows of value we must return to Lenin's definition of the definition of imperialism as the export of finance capital to colonies and semi-colonies to extract super-profits as a basic counter-tendency to the law of the tendency of the rate of profits to fall (LTRPF) in the imperialist countries.



But how have 'independent' countries like Russia and China survived attempts at recolonisation from 1992 to 2023? For the FLTI 'independence' means a country is neither imperialist nor a semi-colony. While 'independence' can resist colonisation it cannot create the conditions for capital accumulation on a scale that leads to imperialism. This scenario raises the question. What stopped the existing imperialist powers from completing the colonisation process dividing up Russia and China and stopping them from accumulating value in their own right and emerging as imperialist powers?

Our response is that 'independence' is not a static state that allows Russia and China to survive recolonisation for 30 years without undergoing a qualitative change leading to their emergence as imperialist powers. Resistance to colonisation was only possible if the restored capitalist state could manage the process of transition by increasing its share of value extracted and accumulated to strengthen its 'independence' and at the same time reduce 'dependence' on foreign ownership.

As against the FLTI's abstract outcomes, colonisation or socialism, we argue that actual resistance to colonisation creates two real possibilities, imperialism or socialism, according to which class is in power and leading the resistance. Thus, when the FLTI, and what is the ILTT today, split over China in 2010 it was because we argued that Russia and China were able to exert control over the extent to which their markets became owned or controlled by foreign interests. From 2000 this allowed these economies to accumulate capital in their own right sufficient to create surpluses requiring capital export. As we noted, the FLTI flatly rejected the view that any capitalist country could make the transition from semi-colony to imperialism, as since WW1 the world was already divided. We said this dogmatic position on China was the 'Elephant in the room'.

We argued that the historical precedent of former workers' states restoring capitalism and retaining sufficient political control of their economies to resist colonisation did not contradict Lenin's view of a world already divided among the imperialist powers. The Bolshevik revolution in 1917 had 're-partitioned' the world between capitalist and 'socialist' worlds, and capitalist restoration in 1992 did not destroy the legacy of the former worker states.

The strong centralised state apparatus overseeing relatively developed forces of production, was now instrumental in managing the process of restoration. By 2010 it was clear that Russia had largely restored political control of its economy against foreign domination and regulated the flow of value abroad. China in 2008 had already demonstrated that its rapidly expanding state capitalism was both capable of managing FDI (as is the case in all imperialist countries) and yet able to accumulate and export excess capital globally under its 'going out' policy.

Today the FLTI continues to characterise both Russia and China as 'independent' but facing further 're-colonisation'. It doesn't occur to its leadership that the concrete reality of increasing inter-imperialist rivalry is that value is now flowing away from the US imperialist bloc, towards the Russia-China bloc and its expanding BRICS+ trading

partners which is now posing a threat to the US bloc. According to the [FLTI](#):

"Our characterization of China today is that, like Russia, they inherited the old gains of the former workers' states which are in the hands of strong native bourgeoisies, associated and totally imbricated with imperialism in their business, on which they depend in the world-economy. In the midst of the world crisis, imperialism is after them and they are resisting to be recolonized. The US in particular does not yet find the strength in its proletariat to go for higher offensives, although the campaign of demonization of China within the US gives it a certain basis for attacks, including military attacks. The encirclement of Russia with the NATO countries is the gun to the head that the US uses in order to surrender Moscow. China and Russia, then, are capitalist countries in a state of transition. Either the struggle for socialist revolution and the restoration of the dictatorship of the proletariat under revolutionary forms returns there, or if they continue to be dependent on the world economy, as is happening now, they will be cornered, encircled by imperialism and in the future, colonized."

**Today we are looking at two scenarios, one where the former workers' states restored capitalism and remained 'independent' despite mounting attempts at recolonisation in trade wars and military wars. The other, where the former workers' states restored capitalism but whose 'independence' was integral to the transition to imperialism. To test these two propositions, we must continue to apply the value analysis of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, in the epoch of imperialism.**

The FLTI scenario is based on an empiricist method which fits the facts to its preconceptions. These are that Russia and China are neither imperialist, nor semi-colonies but historical hybrids. It applies the abstract characterisation of 'independent' states that exploits on behalf of imperialism, but resists semi-colonisation. Lenin used the term 'independent' to refer to several states that were exploited by finance capital, such as Argentina and Turkey, but were otherwise sovereign states. Yet,



despite appearances they never had 'independence' from imperialism. In the imperialist epoch there were only oppressor and oppressed states. The emergence of new oppressor states could only arise under special as yet unforeseen circumstances.

Such circumstances led to the unprecedented restoration of capitalism in the former workers states. Under these circumstances what does 'independence' mean for Russia and China? It can only mean independence from foreign finance capital. What changes have occurred in Russia and China since restoration in 1992 that might justify the claim of 'independence' from foreign finance capital? The FLTI argues that such real, concrete independence is not possible since they are trapped as servants of finance capital.

The FLTI argues that since 2000 Russia and China exploited their own workers and increasingly foreign workers, not to accumulate on their own behalf, but to provide cheap labour and raw materials for the US and other imperialist finance capital, on which they are wholly *dependent*. They are cast as throw-backs to the epoch of mercantile capitalism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Russia was a provider of oil and gas. China was a trading state profiting mainly from its trade in imports and exports. They did not invest significantly in raising labour productivity at home and abroad but relied on inefficient state-owned industries and heavy-handed control of the labour markets. Economic surpluses barely covered the external debts. They were exploited by getting less than the full value of the commodities traded or processed on behalf of the imperialist powers, but also exploiters of their own national and foreign labour forces.

In concrete reality, Russia and China for a decade after restoration underwent an historically unprecedented transition. They emerged from former workers' states briefly as mercantile or comprador powers sourcing cheap raw materials, acting as agents of foreign investors, engaging in a form of primitive accumulation - a take-off stage in managing the transition to capitalism. That process was already being driven by *independence*

from foreign finance capital as foreign investment was wholly subordinated to central state planning of the economy.

Surplus value flows abroad were tolerated as trade-offs for the transfer of technology which enabled market reforms including the privatisation of state-owned enterprises to increase labour productivity 'up the chain'. Now the market was setting prices, albeit within the limits of the plan. Russia and China were able to escape re-colonisation and develop the forces of production, accumulating value and excess capital to be invested abroad, thus emerging as new imperialist powers and as rivals of the old.

Russia and China, understood as imperialist powers, can explain what cannot be explained when they are characterised as hybrid states. Their 'independence' was due to the legacy of the former workers states which allowed the new capitalist class to resist re-colonisation, create the conditions for capitalist take-off, and the inevitable emergence of imperialism. It is that growing 'independence' now backed by an alliance between Russia and China, and the rapidly rising BRICS+ that led the US bloc to provoke trade wars and military wars over Ukraine and Taiwan.

This has backfired as the EU and Japan are refusing US dictates to cut off trade and investment with Russia and China. The US bloc is cracking as EU powers face economic ruin from economic sanctions. The Russia-China bloc is stepping into the vacuum left by the decline of the US bloc. There is no question that in the coming inter-imperialist war workers of the world must take a dual defeatist position and arm themselves to turn those wars into civil wars for the socialist revolution.

We trust this open letter will provoke more debate on the status of China in the world economy, including Southern Africa, and arm the workers and poor farmers of the semi-colonial world alongside those of the imperialist powers to reject any hopes attached to any capitalist regime and put all their energy and will to the task of overthrowing the rotten capitalist system. For workers to live, capitalism must die!

ILTT, May 1, 2023

# Open letter to the workers movement on the AMLO and Biden anti-immigrant police



Migrants grieve in front at a Mexican immigration detention center in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.

Workers, seeking economic and political refuge from the crisis of capitalism unfolding in the semi-colonies of Latin America, are being detained on both sides of the US/Mexico border as they try to come to the imperialist center for work.

The Democratic Biden regime, seeking to avoid the bad press endured by ex-president Trump for detention of migrant workers and families, has made Mexico their proxy enforcer. AMLO (President of Mexico Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador), a dutiful semi-colonial henchman, complied, restricting the rights of Latin Americans to pass freely, denying them visas to stay in Mexico and detaining them while waiting for entry to the U.S.

As a consequence of the inhumane detention conditions 39 detainees in the Ciudad de Juarez died on March 27th when a fire was lit protesting Mexico's deportation orders back to their countries of origin. **Guards refused to open the gates during the fire condemning the detained to their deaths.** AMLO tried to download responsibility onto the detention center guards and the immigrants themselves. But workers

understand the responsibility lies in the anti-immigration policies of the USA and their enforcer and partner in crime AMLO himself.

Protesters in the City of Juarez have been assaulted, slandered and have sustained injuries at the hands of the state. **Workers must unite under the banner "An injury to one is an injury to all!" We say build workers mobilizations and strike to free the detainees and open the borders!**

AMLO's role as chief executive of the Mexican ruling comprador class is to obsequiously assuage the interests of U.S. imperialism, navigating the flow of migrant workers, the drug cartels and the competing imperialist interests. China needs workers for its new factories and requires safe terrain to operate. Will AMLO create safe havens for **Chinese capital** as it has done for the U.S. dominated *maquiladoras*?

Just as low wage Maquiladora jobs did not resolve Mexican's workers' poverty, Latin American workers are not fooled by China's promises of 'Win-Win' deals the Bolivarian 'left' hangs its hat on. The workers know these deals either from the North or



the Far East are aimed at keeping wages low in the semi-colonies. ***That is why workers across the world are on the march toward the massive economic centers.***

Workers in Latin America have only to look to the South African 'Win-Win' experience, where in 1994 a quarter of all employment was industrial manufacturing, whereas now, with Chinese agents subverting the trade union militancy, the figure for industrial manufacturing is 12%. South Africa has mass unemployment and is just another source of bargain "Win-Win" raw materials. Likewise, Venezuela has been put in a Chinese economic vise by a long-term, bargain basement price oil supply deal, to the detriment of the state's ability to support consumer goods production, even the production of basic necessities.



U.S. imperialism requires Latin American and Mexican workers to feed the assembly lines of the *maquiladoras* in the borderlands. Yet while labor shortages have spiked in North America pre- and post COVID and despite the need for workers in the United States, barriers to entry are maintained for both political, read racist, and economic reasons, read no profits in retraining.

Politically the U.S. immigration policy is a racist war of terror against migrant workers consciously being waged to stoke the embers of xenophobia and nativism; race and ethnic hatred are the capitalist's tools used by media and politicians to drive a wedge into the heart of working-class solidarity.

Economically, on top of and as consequence of the under-development and super-exploitation of the semi-colonial world, limiting legal entry creates pressure on hundreds of thousands of displaced workers, political and economic refugees to cross the borders without state approval and legal documents required to live freely and work legally.

The capitalist employers exploit their vulnerability by cheating on labor laws, wage laws and health and safety regulations. The undocumented who make it to the US live a super-exploited, subterranean existence living in fear of ICE, La Migra, detention, familial separation and deportation.

The workers movement and the left cannot expect AMLO to undo the structures of semi-colonial oppression he has been hired on to administer and has agreed to enforce. It has become the task of the

comprador ruling class of Mexico to control flows of labor across Mexico; AMLO can no sooner dismantle the detention centers than he can liberate Mexico from imperialism. Like other semi-colonial leaders, trapped by the

reality of the power of imperialist finance capital, he is merely a foreman for imperialism.

We reject the fake left leaderships who build the Popular Front which deprives the workers, small farmers and oppressed across Latin America of their agency. The national big bourgeoisie sees the offers to support AMLO, if he would just 'do the right thing,' as the supine weakness of the far left, and as a signal they can bring on the Falcones or similar death squads. Perhaps they think that as an extension of the 'Bolivarian revolution' AMLO's turn toward China means he can lean on the 'bourgeois progressive' Chinese Communist Party to implement a branch of the Belt & Road initiative to develop the forces of production in Latin America and to open Mexico's borders to the wider Latin American labor market.

The democratic demand that "*the visa requirement to enter Mexican territory be annulled in favor of all Latin American citizens*" demanded by this *de facto* peoples' front and others would essentially decriminalize Latin American migrants while in

Mexico, yet it is not a transitional demand but a mere protest culture manifestation with no threat to Capital's profit for the workers' movement to limit itself for the following reasons:

- It serves international finance capital by trapping migrant workers in Mexico seeking work at semi-colonial wages in the Win-Win factories and *maquiladoras*
- It invites Latin American capitalists to pass freely into Mexico
- Does not call for open borders for workers into the U.S.
- Does not call on workers organizations to take up integration and hiring of migrants
- Does not fight for workers who do the same work to have the same contract on both sides of the border.

The fight for migrant labor rights of passage, free from detention and abuse can only be won by the mobilization of the workers organizations. Open the U.S. borders to immigrant workers. While finance capital crosses borders freely, workers are detained and brutalized. Workers organizations must fight for migrant workers' rights. In the factories and *maquiladoras* on both sides of the borders we demand: SAME WORK SAME CONTRACT SAME RIGHTS-elevate all labor to the highest standards!

- **For full citizenship and labor rights for all migrant workers.**
- **We demand AFL-CIO stop affiliation with the US AID which subordinates labor unions around the world to US imperialism.**
- **#We demand AFL-CIO, SEIU, ILWU and other labor federations open membership to immigrant labor.**
- **We call for labor self-defense guards, marches, labor actions and strikes at the borders to free the**

**detainees and in the towns, cities and workplaces to protect and defend immigrant labor!**

- **We demand jobs for all! Thirty hours work for forty hours pay! Open the books of all the employers, banks and finance capitalists and their politicians and lackeys!**
- **Against inflation we demand labor set up worker run price and wage committees to set and enforce living wages and affordable prices!**
- **Companies which do not comply must be nationalized without indemnification and run under workers 'control.**
- **For a workers' government which expropriates the capitalist class at the hands of workers militias deputized by the workers assemblies!**

**To win the fight for workers' rights in the semi-colonies as in the imperialist centers, workers need a revolutionary workers party and new workers international that uses class struggle methods to displace collaborators from the leadership of the unions, to resolve the crisis of leadership raising up new leaders from the ranks-in particular youth and women—to apply the methods of the Transitional Program.**

*International Leninist Trotskyist Tendency (ILTT),  
04/07/2022*

# Women's Fight for Humanity

The original commune was the birth of humanity. It created an egalitarian society in which social relations were reciprocal and in harmony with nature. Without it, homo sapiens would not exist today. The rise of class society began with the overthrow of the commune and the domestic slavery of women by the patriarchy, followed by the wider exploitation of slaves, peasants and wage workers since. But humanity survived in the historic class struggles of the exploited and oppressed for the revolutionary overthrow of class society culminating in decaying capitalism. We must rescue humanity from the deathly destruction of patriarchal capitalism in terminal crisis and create the conditions for its rebirth with the abolition of class in a future communist society returned to nature. To build support for socialist revolution we need to harness the power of the international proletariat in the uniting all workers of all ethnicities, creeds, nations, sexes and sexual orientations. The socialist revolution will build on the lessons of class struggle through the ages, founding a world party of socialism with a revolutionary transitional program that guides workers in the struggle for world revolution and a communist world yet to be born.



## The Birth of Humanity

[The birth of Humanity](#) was the result of the original social revolution that created human society in which women organised the social relations between the two sexes as reciprocal and equal. To be *human* began when women over-rode natural selection to socially select male partners who would defer their sexual gratification for part of the monthly menstrual cycle.

Women went on [sex strike](#) during menstruation synchronized with waxing moon to force men to hunt to provide meat for the children's hungry brains. The men were then rewarded during the waning moon with sex when women were most fertile.

This is not biological 'essentialism' or determinism, but rather the social determination of the



reproduction of human life. Beyond *natural selection*, which is random resulting from genetic variation, this is *social selection* where women collectively organised the *lineage social relations* between men and women as equal sexes. The result was the original [classless commune](#) which lasted for 200,000 years before women's resistance gradually succumbed to the patriarchy 40,000 years ago. The [evidence](#) of this timeline and the distribution of red ochre used in the menstrual rituals in Mesolithic Africa shows the rise and fall of the original human commune.

Moreover, in many parts of the world there are communal societies surviving more or less intact to the present day. Therefore, the evidence for an historical commune at one with nature is unquestionable. Human society was egalitarian rather than a hierarchy ruled by men. Rosa Luxemburg [wrote from jail](#) that the 'overthrow' of the original 'primitive communism' more than 10,000 years ago was a "brief passing phase" within the total history of humanity. She venerated 'primitive communism' as a [damning critique](#) of capitalism and inspiration of its return in the future communism.

Marx, Engels and Luxemburg while marking 'primitive communism' as a major transition in human history, did not recognise it as a mode of production. But each for different reasons came close. Luxemburg saw communal property as the basis for allocating labour to meet social needs. She read history forward from the ancient commune to recreate it a higher level. Marx and Engels, discovered the residue of the commune as a survivor within 19<sup>th</sup> century capitalism and reasoned backwards that its fate was to make way for the development of the forces of production necessary for socialism.

In the 1960's the path-breaking [Marxist anthropologist](#) Eleanor Leacock took on Luxemburg's intuition that the egalitarian 'primitive communism' was more than a descriptive

label. She used Marxist analysis to reveal the 'communal mode of production' (CMP), complete with social relations of production where matrilineal control of communal land was the material base for an egalitarian society that allowed unlimited personal freedom of expression.

## The Overthrow of Humanity?

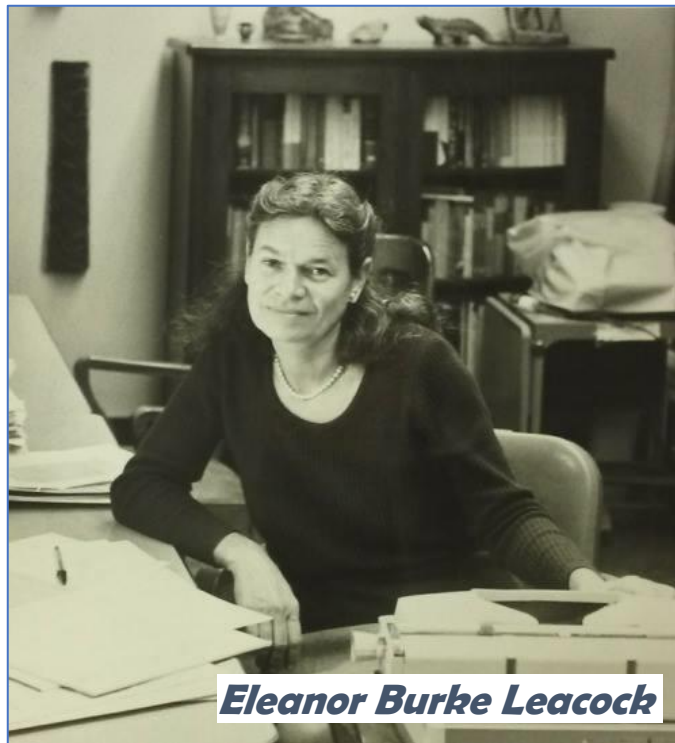
The existence of a CMP makes sense of the transition from 'primitive communism' to the 'patriarchy', as distinct Modes of Production. It explains why women put up a continuous class struggle over 100,000s of years for the future of humanity, defending the CMP against men seeking to exploit their labour as propertyless slaves.

For many millennia in all parts of the world the communal society could expand hunting and gathering into pastoralism and agriculture on the basis of its principle of equality and personal freedom. It could coexist in complex relationships with patriarchal bands that augmented hunting with pastoralism and were moving away from communal property ownership towards [private property](#), and the hierarchy of social class or caste.

So historically significant was the 'overthrow of mother right' that Marx and Engels viewed the new social relations between men and women as like that of the 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariat'. Had they followed through their observation that women became 'domestic slaves' of men to provide surplus labour, they might have concluded that a

patriarchal class society based on the exploitation of women's labour was the forerunner of the Ancient Slave mode of production (SMP).

[De Ste Croix](#) in his magnificent book *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, examined the Ancient Slave mode of production and concluded that women were largely propertyless. He questions why Marx and Engels didn't draw the conclusion that in the ancient world women were an exploited economic class dependent on men:



**Eleanor Burke Leacock**

“... [For anyone who believes that] Marx was right in seeing in the whole system of production (necessarily including reproduction) as the principal factor in deciding class position, the question immediately arises: must we not allow a special *class* role to that half of the human race which, as a result of the earliest and most fundamental of all divisions of labour, specialises in reproduction, the greater part of which is biologically its monopoly? Marx and Engels, it seems to me fail to draw the full necessary conclusion. Engels, in the *Preface* of the original edition of the *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, acknowledged specifically that ‘the production of *and reproduction* of immediate life’ is ‘according to the materialist conception, the determining factor in history’...’The first division of labour is that between man and woman *for the production of children*’, and he added ‘the first *class antagonism* which appears on history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first *class oppression* with that of the female sex by the male’... ‘The nucleus, the first form, of property lies in the family, where wife and children are the slaves of the husband. This latent slavery in the family, though still very crude, is the first form of property, but even at this stage it corresponds perfectly to the definition of modern economists who call it the power of disposing of the labour power of others’... Yet Marx and Engels seem hardly to have realised what far-reaching consequences ought to have been drawn from this particular specialisation of role, within their own system of ideas above all.

Meanwhile, this is the position I propose. In many societies, either women in general, or married women (who may be regarded as monopolising the reproduction function), have rights, including above all, property rights, markedly inferior to those of men; and they have these inferior rights as a direct result of their reproductive function, which gives them a special role in the reproductive process and makes men desire to dominate and *possess* them and their offspring. In such societies it is surely necessary, on the premises I have accepted, to see the women, or the wives (as the case may be), as a distinct economic class, in the technical Marxist sense. They are ‘exploited’, by being kept in a position of legal and economic inferiority, so dependent upon men (on their husbands in the first place, with their kin, so to speak, in reserve) that they have no choice but to perform the tasks allotted to them. Aristotle... could speak of the propertyless man, who could not afford to buy

slaves, as using his wife and children in their place.” (p 100)

## The Patriarchal Mode of Production

Following the logic of De Ste Croix, Marx and Engels should have recognised the first class in history as the ‘sex-class’ of women, exploited on the basis of their social reproductive labour. It is women’s sex that determines their lack of property and enslavement by men. This gives the radical feminist definition of women as a ‘sex-class’ a material basis open to the Marxist analysis of class relations. These class relations define the *Mode of Production* where men exploit women as a class to extract and accumulate labour time from their labour as reproducers and producers.

If the original commune is essentially the same as ‘primitive communism’ (CMP) recognised by Marx and Engels as a classless, egalitarian society, then the overthrow of mother right was a *revolution*. It created a *Patriarchal Mode of Production (PMP)* which exploited women’s labour and accumulated their surplus labour in patriarchal families.

Similarly, the SMP *revolutionises* the limits of the PMP by extending the domestic slavery of women to the whole of society, allowing the harnessing of slave labour by slaveowners. The new ruling class could increase the labour productivity of slaves to develop the forces of production in pastoralism and agriculture beyond the limits of the PMP, until the SMP itself imposes a barrier to the further development of those forces.

If this is correct, the concept of *Patriarchy* used by radical feminists today to signify the universal power that men hold over women, is given an historically specific material basis in the social relations of production of the PMP. It then becomes the *original class* mode or production and the precursor to the Slave Mode of Production (SMP). Looking back from the standpoint of 19<sup>th</sup> century European capitalism, Marx and Engels accepted that the end of the commune had allowed a succession of class modes (Slave mode, Feudal mode, Asiatic Mode) each of which overcame temporarily the limits set by the social relations of existing modes which had to be overthrown in order to develop the forces of production.

For Marx and Engels, the object of human social development was in the reduction of necessary labour time - the labour time necessary to reproduce the material basis of life. Human freedom became possible with the development of the forces of production reducing necessary labour

time and increasing the productivity of labour as the material basis of freedom.

In its essence then, the end of the original commune was a casualty of the first exploiting class, men who introduced slave social relations, reducing necessary labour time. Women as domestic slaves had their labour time expropriated to create surplus labour consumed by the patriarchs. The giant leap in freedom made possible by the original commune and the creation of universal human society, was now subjected to class rule and class struggle over the distribution of labour time.

The exploitation of the labour of women, slaves, peasants and wage workers, was always contested by the resistance of the oppressed and exploited. Their fight for freedom from private property and the family was never abandoned. It was the class struggle, the motor of history, defending nature and revolutionising class society to further develop the forces of production. It created the conditions for the final social revolution to end class society and to create the new Commune where human society can return to a state of harmony with nature.

## The Struggle for Humanity

Was Marx and Engels view of history as a succession of class struggles necessary to create the conditions for a new commune a grand narrative? Hardly, they saw the survival of previous modes in vestigial form within modern capitalism as evidence that a number of *social revolutions* had contributed to the development of the forces of production sufficient to realise human freedom in a future communism. Towards the end of his life, Marx [argued](#) in his draft letter to Vera Zazulich, that in Tsarist Russia there was the theoretical possibility of the survival of the rural commune “replacing capitalist production with cooperative production, and capitalist property with a higher form of the archaic type of property, that is, communist property.”

In the interests of historical accuracy, the possibility of the new commune was conceived in embryo in the Soviet Union until it was aborted by the counter-revolution of Stalinism and global capitalist reaction which halted and drove back the revolution.

So, for Marx the realisation of socialism and communism had to be the work of future class struggles, that unleashed revolutionary consciousness, opening the road to socialism. We agree with Marx and Engels that a future communism is no utopia. Humanity is capable of choosing communism against extinction. It can

make the material conditions for the realisation of universal values of humanity, of equality and freedom from oppression and exploitation.

But there are many who reject Marxism as reeking of historic inevitability, of the suppression of human agency, and of the pre-determination of the future of humanity. Clearly, the onus is on those who argue for an alternative past and alternative future of human agency to put their theories to the test. What other mechanism for human progress can be conceived other than the powerful motor of collective class struggles by women, slaves, serfs and wage workers, whose accumulated revolutionary past unites them for the final struggle to end class society and reunite humans with nature?

In the end the only theory that can work is one which makes humans capable of understanding that though they may be driven by forces seemingly beyond their control, they have the capacity to break free from those forces to create their freedom. A recent challenge to ‘historically determinist’ theories that ostensibly suppress humans’ capacity to rise above historic inevitability is the *empiricist* theory expounded by David Graeber and David Wengrow in the recent book: *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*.

## Inhumanity against Humanity

Bearing in mind that Rosa Luxemburg saw primitive communism as representing humanity against the inhumanity of capitalism, let’s [consider](#) the passive-aggressive critique of *historical determinism* by Graeber and Wengrow.

“One notable recent competing theory is that of David Graeber and David Wengrow, who in their recent book, *The Dawn of Everything* argue against any original commune. Their method is a radical bourgeois empiricist rejection of any pre-determined historical evolutionary dogma which fails to cope with the diversity and complexity of human society. The absence of Marxism in their work is pointedly obvious. Yet the material presented in their book fits neatly with Marx’s non-dogmatic theory of evolution from the *Grundrisse* to *Ethnological Notebooks*. Rather than face this challenge to meet Marxism head on, the authors end up replacing the grand old narratives of pre-determined stages of development with the grand new narrative of a 21<sup>st</sup> century anarchist version of the ahistorical radical bourgeois individual.

Their postulated ubiquitous blossoming of an anarchic ‘free will’ is substituted for the historical contradiction of kinship with kingship, of



competing modes of production, where the original commune rules for millennia, is overturned and women enslaved. They struggle to resist kingship, are again suppressed, once more rebel, and are never fully subordinated. Far from being a schematic social evolution through the rear-view mirror of bourgeois 'civilisation', this resistance is the ongoing class struggle of the residual commune that survived the overthrow of women, their historic exploitation as slaves, serfs and wage labourers and which today represents the potential for the revival of the commune in modern form."

*The Dawn of Everything* rejects class and class struggle as the motor of history because it rejects the material premises of human evolution, the biological determination of life and the mode of production and reproduction that determines class relations. Class struggle as the motor of history is erased. The mechanism for social development that replaces social class is individual agency and radical democracy as the ultimate driver of history. *Humanity* as the result of class-conscious agency, dissolves into the fragmented isolated agency of post-modern alienated actors magically choosing to defend an abstract democratic, egalitarian society, while the class conquests of the very real bourgeois warlords necessarily turn it into an actual authoritarian, hierarchical society.

Post-modernism is the ideology of late capitalism facing terminal crisis. It represents the degeneration of capitalism destroying the forces of production reflected at the level of ideas, and bankrupt of a revolutionary program. This ideology is no challenge to Marxism since such radical individuals are not the motor of history. They are buyers and sellers of individual 'wants' and 'desires' in the market to feed their *alienated identity in which they are separated from the process of production*. Ironically, they are blind to the real material forces driving social development, and become cyphers in the laws of motion of capitalism. That is why this postmodern radical/liberal 'woke' ideology is being sanctioned by the state to destroy the unity of the only class that can put an end to the certainty of human extinction.

As bourgeois ideology, trans ideology turns the reality of biological reproduction into its opposite, the fetishising of biological sex as gender oppression. Men appropriate women's biology by synthesising prosthetics and erasing women's control of their bodies. They celebrate gender to oppress women, substituting men for women in subordinate roles where surrogates are not 'mothered' but 'othered'. Men become 'women'. They cease to be brothers of

mothers. Women become 'men'. Material production and reproduction in nature becomes transformed into its opposite, the consumption of 'people' as commodities bought and sold on the capitalist market. Trans ideology can only be understood as the end game of capitalism to destroy mothers as part of nature for profit.

Against this ruling class ideology of othering mothers, Marxism fights to return mothers to their brothers. Against bourgeois empiricism, which alienates humans from nature, it practises dialectics. It arms the proletariat to act *subjectively* as a class for itself against the *objective* reality of decaying capitalism to create the conditions for the final revolutionary leap forward.

### Down with the trans Patriarchy!

As argued above, trans ideology is all about weakening women's sex-class struggle against the surviving PMP within the ruling Capitalist mode to divide the working class. Its method is to justify the state-backed attack on women. The state uses transactivists to attack women in general, specifically terrorising young Lesbians 'born into the wrong body' to trans into boys, and Sex Self ID-ing AGP men to legally become transwomen to attack Lesbians. In arming these attacks on women, it is both misogynist and homophobic towards the same-sex attraction of women. The ultimate in post-modern gay conversion "transes the gay away".

Why is this [attack on women](#) on behalf of capitalism legally sanctioned in the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Precisely because the failure of neo-liberalism to restore post war profit rates at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has now become an existential crisis for Late Capitalism. Crisis can only be resolved in two ways, either Capital destroys the working class as the only class capable of overthrowing it, or, the working class rises up and overthrows Capital. To survive this time capital resorts to the same means it used in the major crises in the 20<sup>th</sup> century - fascism. Only this time fascism takes the form not only of national chauvinism, racism and homophobia, to smash the working class, but is now an attack on the original minority in history – women as domestic slaves!

In 2021 we wrote about why trans activism (TRA) could be turning into a fascist movement [here](#):

"Capitalism in terminal crisis is throwing up all the old crap of ages in preparation for fascism that divides and destroys the working class as the revolutionary class. It draws on the slavery and serfdom of all prior modes of production as wage

labour ceases to deliver the profits. Most important it casualizes wage labour to break down the solidarity of social labour and replaces it with disorganized internal class warfare.

As if to rub our noses in this historic decomposition of social labour, capitalism dredges the underworld to make a new iteration of the patriarchy in the form of the trans cult seeking to destroy women whose historic resistance is an unbroken link back to the overthrow of the commune, introducing the original class society, the patriarchy.

Since then, all attempts by the patriarchy have failed to defeat women's historic liberation struggle. So today with late-stage capitalism in terminal crisis, the bourgeois state now recognises men as legal women attacking the historic solidarity between men and women in the working class, uniting to defeat fascism and overthrow patriarchal capitalism."

The resistance to trans ideology has been met with violent attacks on women's rights to free speech, to assembly, and to women's spaces separate from men.

"Women's resistance to the threat posed by trans ideology has been countered by the trans cult with increasingly violent arguments directed at them as transphobes, even fascists, justifying open violence by the 'left' to shut them up. Judith Butler, a US academic influential in developing the argument that gender trumps sex, [recently stated](#) that those who criticise trans gender people are motivated by the alt-right and are fascists. Gender critical women are therefore fascists.

But Butler gets it all wrong. Fascists defend the patriarchy. So does gender ideology which insists that transwomen with penises are women. Therefore, for both alt-right and alt-left versions of the patriarchy, the common enemy is women who lead the resistance to patriarchal capitalism. The real left takes the side of women, especially lesbians, against the threat of the trans cult, against fascism and rotten capitalism.

Butler is wrong because she is essentially a liberal intellectual. She glosses over end-stage Capitalism and argues for human rights despite capitalism's inability to deliver them to all but the ruling class and their agents. She rejects the determining influence of capitalist social relations. She takes the post-modern line that individuals can self-determine their identity as a matter of free choice.

This is an idealist erasure of production relations by exchange relations. The market rules, and freedom translates into freedom of choice. Into

the vacuum left by the missing production relations Butler validates the alienated exchange relations of bourgeois individuals.

The theory of 'gender' demonstrates this perfectly. Production relations under capitalism are class relations. Gender identity denies the production relations of labour and sex and the necessity of class struggle to revolutionise these relations. Instead, the alienated subjectivity of exchange relations defines self-identity as the buying and selling of commodities to meet socially contrived needs, that is, the 'performance' of self-determination.

The performance of gender miraculously erases the historical oppression of gender grounded in the exploitation of women's reproductive power. By privileging gender over sex, men re-define women as determined by their gender, that is, subordinated to their oppression. They attack women's human agency as a revolutionary force that can overthrow the patriarchy as part of the socialist revolution.

That is why it will be women, and lesbians in particular, that lead the struggle against trans ideology, as part of the socialist revolution that ends capitalism and builds socialism."

## Forward to Communism

The first commune was made by the collective agency of the human revolution. It created the conditions for homo sapiens to emerge and then survive other branches of hominids. The *sex-strike theory* is best in explaining how women during the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, used their collective power to socially 'select' men creating a social division of labour in reproducing hunter-gatherer societies. This egalitarian society was dominant until its gradual overthrow by men beginning around 40,000 years ago in Africa, but later elsewhere, usurping common lineage property as private property. This patriarchal private property then became the model for the ruling classes in successive class modes of production to the present day.

Marx, Engels and Luxemburg recognised the overthrow of 'primitive communism' (CMP) as a class revolution, but failed to realise that it comprised a new PMP in which gender ideology now justified new social relations between the patriarchal ruling class and women as domestic chattel slaves. If we are correct then the PMP was the model for the SMP.

Why is the analysis of modes of production so important? Marx's method was to abstract from

the surface features of capitalist society to penetrate below the level of appearances to discover the defining elements of the mode of production. We have argued that the CMP, or Leacock's PCMP, is a non-class egalitarian society which long pre-existed, co-existed with, and was in Africa, and parts of Eurasia and America, overthrown by the PMP, or successive modes, surviving as a subordinate mode. The PMP privatised land and slave labour to turn pastoralism and subsistence agriculture into a new source of wealth that was accumulated by the patriarchal ruling class.

Similarly, the SMP generalises the social relations of the PMP to create a class of chattel slaves. When slave rebellions and territorial wars weakened the ancient city states of Greece and Rome this led to their breakup into smaller-scale Feudal or Tributary modes extracting 'rent' or 'tribute' from workers and peasants. The bourgeoisie, the new 'middle-class' of the market and the bazaar, was born in the Eurasian city states to expand trade and accumulate wealth. Their new wealth challenged the existing tributary modes based on rent and tribute that were holding back the development of the forces of production.

Capitalism arrived when the bourgeoisie plundered the existing modes to create private ownership of the means of production, exploiting the labour value of slave and wage labour as a commodity to increase labour productivity and develop the means of production. It became the revolutionary class by removing or subordinating the existing modes of production, colonising their forms of labour appropriation to augment capitalist wage labour.

This is not an evolutionary sequence of 'stages' in which 'progress' necessarily follows with each social revolution. One could justifiably argue that the PMP was inherently a counter-revolutionary mode subordinating women as domestic slaves to men who valued their labour not in the survival of children but as so many cattle. Yet the overthrow of women as a sex-class was met by never ending resistance by women. We need the Marxist concept of Mode of production to reject historic inevitability and show how human agency has been kept alive in the *ongoing class struggle between ruling and exploited classes throughout history*.

It is this historic class struggle that determines revolutionary change, harnessing the subjective force of revolutionary ideas and actions, creating

the class consciousness necessary to overthrow the CMP, and to create the pre-conditions for the future commune. We learn the lessons of the actual history of revolutions that overturned existing Modes, subordinating them to the new dominant mode. At the same time, we recognise that each revolution is the result of the class struggle that is devoted to defending the interests of the oppressed classes advancing the conditions necessary for the future commune.

We learn from [Marx on India](#). He condemns the brutality of the colonisation of India by British imperialism, but at the same time says that the development of capitalism that resulted produced in the working class and its relation to nature, the seeds of the future commune.

"These small stereotype forms of social organism have been to the greater part dissolved, and are disappearing, not so much through the brutal interference of the British tax-gatherer and the British soldier, as to the working of English steam and English free trade. Those family-communities were based on domestic industry, in that peculiar combination of hand-weaving, hands-spinning and hand-tilling agriculture which gave them self-supporting power. English interference having placed the spinner in Lancashire and the weaver in Bengal, or sweeping away both Hindoo spinner and weaver, dissolved these small semi-barbarian, semi-civilized communities, by blowing up their economical basis, and thus produced the greatest, and to speak the truth, the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia.

England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution."

**The class-conscious struggle to defend the original commune against inhumanity's 'unconscious tools' never ended and will not end until it has created the conditions for the new commune. To win that objective we have to defeat the assembled reactionary fascist forces of patriarchal capitalism and all of its agents of inhumanity, and revive the revolutionary class agency of women and men united in the working class to bring about socialism and ultimately, communism, to rescue humanity.**





# **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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Guerreiro da classe Trabalhadora (Paper of the RWG-BR)

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Email: [cwg006@yahoo.com](mailto:cwg006@yahoo.com) *Class Struggle* (paper of CWGANZ)

Websites: <http://redrave.blogspot.com> <http://livingmarxism.wordpress.com>

Class Struggle is online at <https://www.redrave.blogspot.com>

Archive of publications before 2006 <http://communistworker.blogspot.com/>

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