



# THE RED PHOENIX

## NEWSPAPER OF THE AMERICAN PARTY OF LABOR

PEACE  
★  
EQUALITY  
★  
SOCIALIST  
DEMOCRACY  
★  
ALL POWER TO  
THE WORKING  
PEOPLE!

AmericanPartyofLabor.org ★ Issue #4 ★ May / June 2018 ★ Suggested Donation: \$1.00

## 200 Years On from His Birth May 5th 1818 to May 5th 2018

# WAS MARX RIGHT?

By: H. KUMAR

On the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Karl Marx's birth, many commemorations of this great man will be made. Even his bourgeois enemies will no doubt acknowledge how brilliant he was. However, these observers will also label him as a 'wishful' and 'flawed' thinker rather than as a scientist, and they will claim that history has proven him wrong.

Is that a correct assessment?

This article is not a biography or a full evaluation. Several excellent biographies exist (for example *Mehring F; 'Karl Marx'; Ann Arbor 1973*; or *Gabriel M; 'Love and Capital - Karl and Jenny Marx and the birth of a new revolution'; New York 2011*). Moreover complete critical evaluations have been done several times over. For example, we refer to a short, excellent synopsis by Lenin (*Lenin VI; 'The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism'*. Collected Works, Progress Publishers, 1977, Moscow, Volume 19, pages 21-28).

Instead, we intend to consider two serious charges laid by critics against Marx. The charges are both very relevant in the battles socialists face in the 21st century.

**The first charge** is that when Marx and Engels argued that technological change was a motor of history and ultimately would benefit society, they ignored humanity's despoiling effect on the environment.

**The second charge** is that Marx and Engels were wrong to claim that workers' living standards would fall and that workers stood to gain from fighting against capitalism.

We note that Marx was not a solitary genius - his life work was an alliance with that greatest of all partners - **Frederick Engels**. Hence at times we will cite Engels, as the two formed an intellectual and fighting partnership.

Marx's life work was dedicated to the fight for socialism. But in forming his weapons, Marx had to master several areas of linked expertise. The questions we examine move from his earliest weapon - philosophy - to economics - and to questions of socialist strategy.

### FIRST CHARGE:

**Marx ignored how progress in technology and increase in the productive forces destroys the environment. Marx is 'green' blind.**

This charge boils down to the claim that Marx's philosophical

### INSIDE:

PG 1-5: WAS MARX RIGHT? / EDITORIAL / CARTOON

PG 6: TRUMP'S CAMPS ARE A FASCIST FOUNDATION THAT WE MUST DISMANTLE

PG 7: A BLOW TO THE WORKING CLASS REVEALS CAPITALIST RUTHLESSNESS AND FEAR

PG 8: ICMLPO MAY DAY STATEMENT

PG 9: THE ONLY ANIMALS ARE TRUMP, ICE, AND DEPORTING MODERATES

PG 10&11: TOUFAN STATEMENT ON U.S. NUCLEAR TREATY WITHDRAWAL

PG 12: PRIDE MEANS FIGHT BACK / AMERICAN PARTY OF LABOR INFORMATION

position on man's relationship to nature is wrong, as gauged by the evident current crisis of climate change. This is leveled by both openly bourgeois ideologists and progressives. The latter includes some who are "green", and some self-described Marxists. In addition, some Trotskyists recently agree that Marx and Engels understood the environmental consequences of man's labour. But these go on to argue that the Soviet state under **J.V. Stalin** subverted this understanding to cause environmental chaos. In the latter school must be counted **Paul Burkett** and **John Bellamy Foster**.

Our answers lie in the basic principles that Marx and Engels articulated as forming the core of dialectical and historical materialism. These principles, became "the theoretical basis of Communism". (*Stalin J.V. for Commission of the CC of CPSU(B); History of the CPSU (B); Moscow 1939; p. 105*). We will then, briefly, respond to the Trotskyite attack on the USSR.

Does Marx see environmental destruction - and if so - how did he think it arose? His answer can be summarised as follows.

Man is a part of nature and undeniably both affects nature,

*Continued on page 2*

and, in turn, is himself affected by nature. (*I will stay with the word 'Man' - which was then universally used to mean humanity*). This two-way relationship is a dialectical one. Moreover, in this relationship - from the dawn of society - man despoils nature. However this despoliation becomes more intense and malignant under capitalism. There is only one way to overcome this, it is by 'control' and 'regulation'. But only a revolution in society can bring this about. Let us follow Marx in his reasoning in a little more detail.

Firstly, Marx saw man as a part of nature, but in a dialectical relationship. Such an interaction was expressed by Marx and Engels in the "*German Ideology*":

"We know only one science, the science of history. History can be viewed from two sides: it can be divided into the history of nature and that of man. The two sides, however, are not to be seen as independent entities. As long as man has existed, nature and man have affected each other." *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, excerpt from The German Ideology, Selected Works, Volume 1: Moscow; 1969. p.17. [NB: This is a crossed-out passage in the manuscript]*

In this, man remains a part of nature:

"In a physical sense, man lives only from these natural products, whether in the form of nourishment, heating, clothing, shelter, etc.... man lives from nature - i.e., nature is his body - and he must maintain a continuing dialogue with it if he is not to die. To say that man's physical and mental life is linked to nature simply means that nature is linked to itself, for man is a part of nature." *"Marx K; 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844';*

Undoubtedly man is 'a part of nature', yet separate in some way also. So how does man get 'separated' from Nature such that he is 'affected' by nature and still an 'alienated' part of it? Marx answers that producing for livelihood, or performing labour - is the demarcation point:

"Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals, as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life". *Ibid Volume 1; p. 20.*

When man starts her/his labour, Marx in his life's work - *Capital* - wrote famously that man performs 'labour', which engages in a two way 'process'. This two-way-ed-ness is a dialectical process. In this he changes nature, but in doing so, is also "simultaneously chang(ing) his own nature":

"labour is, first of all, a process between man and nature, a process by which man, through his own actions, mediates, regulates and controls the metabolism between himself and nature. He confronts the materials of nature as a force of nature. he sets in motion the natural forces which belong to his own body, his arms, legs, head and hands, in order to appropriate the materials of nature in a form adapted to his own needs. Through this movement he acts upon external nature and changes it, and in this way he simultaneously changes his own nature:". (*Marx, Capital, vol. 1, p. 283*).

There are important implications of this relationship. Since this is a dialectical interplay, it must affect how man thinks and perceives reality. Does the world 'exist' outside of man? Or is it only in his brain that the 'world exists'? What is primary - is the mind primary and the external world a 'projection' of man's thought? To think in this way is to be an idealist. Alternatively, is the thought in the mind a reflection of nature? To think in this way is to be a materialist.

"The question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to nature is the paramount question of the whole of philosophy... The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit

to nature.. comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belonged to the various schools of materialism." (*Ibid; History of the CPSU (B): p. 112*)

Marx's early intellectual life already revolved around the ancient materialists, in particular Epicurus of Greece. Following Epicurus, he confirmed his own materialism. Marx answers the question of the world's existence, as a materialist. This means that the world truly exists:

"the material sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality." *Ibid; p. 112.*

So Marx quickly realized when examining work-labour that the real world forms thoughts and ideology. Rather than the other way round - where thought forms the world.

But another profound consequence of this dialectical interaction between man and nature, man despoils nature - "cultivation -(if) not consciously controlled creates deserts".

Marx wrote in a letter to Engels:

"Very interesting is the book by Fraas (1847): *Klima und Pflanzenwelt in der Zeit, eine Geschichte beider* [Climate and the Plant World throughout the Ages, a History of Both], namely as proving that climate and flora change in historical times. He is a Darwinist before Darwin, and admits even the species developing in historical times. But he is at the same time agronomist. He claims that with cultivation - depending on its degree - the "moisture" so beloved by the peasants gets lost (hence also the plants migrate from south to north), and finally steppe formation occurs. The first effect of cultivation is useful, but finally devastating through deforestation... The conclusion is that cultivation - when it proceeds in natural growth and is not consciously controlled (as a bourgeois he naturally does not reach this point) - leaves deserts behind it, Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., Greece. So once again an unconscious socialist tendency!" (*Marx to Engels: Marx-Engels Correspondence 1868 Letter from Marx to Engels In Manchester 25 March, 1868; Gesamtausgabe, International Publishers, 1942; [https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1868/letters/68\\_03\\_25-abs.htm](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1868/letters/68_03_25-abs.htm) Selected Correspondence*).

Marx describes the evolution of society from its earliest days, through to capitalism. In doing this he traces the growth of the town. Its population rises as the peasant is 'enclosed' and loses rights to common land. Yet as towns grow, the rhythm of the country life is destroyed. There a natural re-cycling of wastes of life including manure, that enriches the growing soils, had taken place. Now town wastes are simply turned into rivers as effluent and are not recycled into soil nutrients. This "disturbs the **metabolic interaction** between man and earth" with profound consequences:

"Disturbs the metabolic interaction between man and the earth, i.e. it prevents the return to the soil of its constituent elements consumed by man in the form of food and clothing; hence it hinders the operation of the eternal natural condition for the lasting fertility of the soil... all progress in creating the fertility of the soil for a given time is a progress towards ruining the more long-lasting sources of that fertility... capitalist production therefore, only develops the techniques and the degree of combination of the social process of production by simultaneously undermining the original sources of all wealth - the soil and the worker." (*Marx, Capital, Volume 1, Penguin edition; London; 1976; p. 637-38*).

And capital in its ceaseless quest for more profit, destroys all before it:

"Capital creates the bourgeois society, and the universal appropriation of nature as well as of the social bond itself by the members of society.... For the first time, nature becomes purely an object for humankind, purely a matter of utility; ceases to be recognized as a power for itself; and the theoretical discovery of its autonomous

laws appears merely as a ruse so as to subjugate it under human needs, whether as an object of consumption or as a means of production. In accord with this tendency, capital drives beyond national barriers.... It is destructive ... and constantly revolutionizes it, tearing down all the barriers which hem in the development of the forces of production, the expansion of needs, the all-sided development of production, and the exploitation and exchange of natural and mental forces." (*Marx, Grundrisse; Penguin edition; London; 1973*), pp. 409-410.

And later Marx writes:

"[t]he development of culture and of industry in general has evinced itself in such energetic destruction of forest that everything done by it conversely for their preservation and restoration appears infinitesimal." *Marx K, Capital Volume 2 (p.248)*

But we have already seen that Marx had proposed a **solution**. As he put it: "Cultivation - when it is not consciously controlled.. leaves deserts behind" - indicating that a rational social control is the answer. This solution is more vividly and fully stated in 'Labour in the transition from Ape to Man' by Engels. Engels restates the view that labour leads to ruin of ecological balance. He concludes that "regulation" will require a "revolution":

"Let us not, however, flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victories over nature. For each such victory nature takes its revenge on us. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first. The people who, in Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia Minor and elsewhere, destroyed the forests to obtain cultivable land, never dreamed that by removing along with the forests the collecting centres and reservoirs of moisture they were laying the basis for the present forlorn state of those countries. When the Italians of the Alps used up the pine forests on the southern slopes, so carefully cherished on the northern slopes, they had no inkling that by doing so they were cutting at the roots of the dairy industry in their region; they had still less inkling that they were thereby depriving their mountain springs of water for the greater part of the year, and making it possible for them to pour still more furious torrents on the plains during the rainy seasons. Those who spread the potato in Europe were not aware that with these farinaceous tubers they were at the same time spreading scrofula. Thus at every step we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature like a conqueror over a foreign people, like someone standing outside nature - but that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other creatures of being able to learn its laws and apply them correctly.

And, in fact, with every day that passes we are acquiring a better understanding of these laws and getting to perceive both the more immediate and the more remote consequences of our interference with the traditional course of nature. In particular, after the mighty advances made by the natural sciences in the present century, we are more than ever in a position to realise, and hence to control, also the more remote natural consequences of at least our day-to-day production activities. But the more this progresses the more will men not only feel but also know their oneness with nature....

It required the labour of thousands of years for us to learn a little of how to calculate the more remote natural effects of our actions in the field of production, but it has been still more difficult in regard to the more remote social effects of these actions. .... we are gradually learning to get a clear view of the indirect, more remote social effects of our production activity, and so are afforded an opportunity to control and regulate these effects as well.

This regulation, however, requires something more than mere knowledge. It requires a complete revolution in our hitherto existing mode of production, and simultaneously a revolution in our whole contemporary social order.

*Engels, Frederick. The Part played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man; In 'Selected Works Marx &*



Engels'; Moscow 1970; volume 3; pp78-79;

So important was this ecological principle of soil-regulation to them, that Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto of 1847, stated as part of their Ten-Point Plan for the working class – **point 7**:

"Nevertheless, in most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc...". ("Marx and Engels; 'The Communist Manifesto'; Chapter 2;

#### To Conclude on the first charge:

Marx was a profound environmentalist, and laid the foundation of a dialectical, realist, and materialist philosophy. As he did so, he clearly depicted the relation of man to nature. The charge - that Marx was ignorant of the effects of technology on the environment - is false.

We believe it is helpful to here take a very short digression on an important application of Marx's views on environment, as applied to the USSR.

Marx and Engels had pointed out that only a revolution could 'control' or 'regulate' the despoliation of nature. This revolution of course occurred in the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, which went on to form the USSR. And following that revolution, the reconciliation between man and nature took several turns – as the battle between communists and reactionaries continued over the years.

Trotskyist authors have recently placed an important emphasis upon Marx's awareness of the environment. Their re-emphasis of this aspect of Marx has correctly rebutted the academics disparaging Marx's so-called "**Prometheanism**." Leading proponents in this task, include for example, **John Bellamy Foster**, and **Paul Burkett**. Their works are important to reclaiming Marxist history. Yet they couple this progress with an a-historical, factually incorrect and regressive approach to the steps taken in the USSR. Hence Forster claims that Stalin destroyed agriculture and the environment in the USSR. Such charges were examined in 1993, for *Alliance-ML* (see part 4 <http://ml-review.ca/aml/Lysenko/LysenkoPT4.htm>).

I had argued that Stalin's plan for agriculture, and for "Transformation of Nature" by planting – was in fact progressive. It is important to note then, that subsequent work by independent bourgeois scholars of this topic, by and large confirms this hypothesis:

"Environmentalism survived, and even thrived, in Stalin's Soviet Union, establishing levels of protection

unparalleled anywhere in the world, although for only one component of the Soviet environment: the immense forests of the Russian heartland. Throughout the early Soviet period, the agencies in charge of timber extraction repeatedly pressed for greater latitude, advancing visions of highly engineered, regularized woodlands while employing aggressive, revolutionary rhetoric. Yet with one quickly reversed exception, the Politburo consistently rejected the drive toward hyperindustrialism in the forest. After briefly capitulating to the industrialists' unrelenting attacks on conservationism in 1929, Stalin's government reversed course, and in the 1930s and 1940s set aside ever larger tracts of Russia's most valuable forests as preserves, off-limits to industrial exploitation. Forest protection ultimately rose to such prominence during the last six years of Stalin's rule that the Politburo took control of the Soviet forest away from the Ministry of Heavy Industry, and elevated the nation's forest conservation bureau to the dominant position in implementing policy. ... Stalin-era environmentalism reached its zenith in 1947 with the creation of the Ministry of Forest Management (Minleskhoz). (Another initiative from this period related to forestry, the Great Stalin Plan for the Transformation of Nature of 1948-53, sought to reverse human induced climate change via afforestation.....) The period when Minleskhoz dominated Soviet forest management, however, was brief. On March 15, 1953, six days after Stalin's funeral, Minleskhoz was liquidated..... When Stalin passed from the scene, supporters of forest protection apparently lost the one political actor in Soviet history who was both willing to confront the industrial bureaus and powerful enough to tip the balance in conservation's favor." (Brain, Stephen. *Stalin's Environmentalism. The Russian Review*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (Jan., 2010), pp. 93-118)

**Charge 2:** Marx was wrong to claim that workers' living standards would fall, and that their objective well-being laid in fighting against capitalism.

The question of 'immiseration' of the working class was discussed by **W.B. Bland** last century. We first cite key parts of his work, which rebuts both Omerod, and before him **Sir Karl Popper**. (Bland W.B.; *The Marxist-Leninist Research Bureau: New Series: No. 9; "Marx And The Theory Of The Absolute Impoverishment Of The Working Class Under Capitalism"*; at <http://ml-review.ca/aml/MLRB/MLRB9-ImpoverishWC.htm>).

This is a very recurrent critique of Marx – because it lies at the heart of the objective appeal of Marxism for the working class. Indeed Bland put it this way:

"Perhaps the commonest economic 'charge' against Marx is that he argued that the working class would become impoverished to the point of immiseration. A prominent bourgeois attacker was **Sir Karl Popper**. But even revisionist CPGB theoreticians such as **Maurice Cornforth** argued for this". (Bland Ibid).

Even very recently, **Paul Omerod** (An economist at University College London and a partner at Volterra Partners consultancy), argues in the same vein, as follows:

"You see, Marx was completely wrong on a fundamental issue. Marx thought, correctly, that the build up of capital and the advance of technology would create long term growth in the economy. However, he believed that the capitalist class would expropriate all the gains. Wages would remain close to subsistence levels – the "immiseration of the working class" as he called it." <https://www.tutor2u.net/economics/blog/marx-as-an-economist-a-curates-egg>

Omerod argues next that workers have it easy under capitalism and their living standards have "boomed" since the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

"In fact, living standards have boomed for everyone in the West since the middle of the 19th century. Leisure hours have increased dramatically and, far from being sent up

chimneys at the age of three, young people today do not enter the labour force until at least 18.

Marx made the very frequent forecasting mistake of simply extrapolating the trend of the recent past. In the early decades of the Industrial Revolution, just before he wrote, real wages were indeed held down, as the charts in Carney's speech show. The benefits of growth accrued to those who owned the new machines. Marxists call this the phase of "primitive accumulation". (Omerod P; 2018; Ibid).

Bland had a dry sense of humour, consequently he starts his essay as follows:

"The Marxist theory of wages was, of course, not magically revealed to Marx as he sat in the shade of a banyan tree in the grounds of the British Museum".

This reminds us that Marx put his life's energy and blood and muscle into understanding the real mechanisms of society and capital. Bland first defines 'absolute' impoverishment and 'relative' impoverishment, in order to argue that Marx agreed there was a 'relative' impoverishment of the working class. Then Bland agrees that Marx did argue that "Real wages ... never rise proportionally to the productive power of labour":

"Marx had however never argued for 'absolute' impoverishment, rather he had argued that there would be a "relative impoverishment":

'Absolute impoverishment' is defined in the 'Great Soviet Encyclopedia' as:

"... a tendency of lowering in the living standard of the proletariat".

('Great Soviet Encyclopedia', Volume 1; New York; 1973; p.33).

while 'relative impoverishment' is defined in the 'Great Soviet Encyclopedia' as:

"... a tendency toward decreasing the working class's share in the national income".

('Great Soviet Encyclopedia', Volume 1; New York; 1973; p.33).

There is no doubt that KARL MARX accepted the theory of the relative impoverishment of the working class under capitalism, for he says:

"Real wages ... never rise proportionally to the productive power of labour". (Karl Marx: 'Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production', Volume 1; Moscow; 1974; p. 566)".

(Bland Ibid).

It is true that initially Marx and Engels had adopted a theory largely drawn from Ricardo – that the wage level of workers would be at "subsistence" levels. However in Marx's mature economic work, *Capital* - he had moved well away from a 'subsistence wage' argument. Indeed by June 1865, Marx had revised his theory on wages when he spoke to the General Council of the First International. Bland writes that by the time *Capital* was written in 1867, Marx had concluded that while labour-power was valued at the 'means of subsistence' – there was also a "historical and moral element" that entered into the determination of the value of labour-power:

"In the first volume of Marx's 'Capital', published in September 1867, Marx repeated the basis of his amended law of wages:

"The value of labour-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labour-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. ... In other words, the value of labour-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the labourer."

('Karl Marx: 'Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production', Volume 1; Moscow; 1974; p. 167).

However, Marx adds, a worker's

"... natural wants, such as food, clothing, fuel and housing vary according to the climatic and other physical conditions

**Continued on page 4**

of his country. On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilisation of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free labourers has been formed. In contradistinction therefore to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labour-power a historical and moral element" (Karl Marx: *ibid.*, Volume 1; p. 168). *Bland Ibid*

The implication of this is that historically determined 'necessary wants' change. And therefore may well ensure that the "value of labour power" either rises or falls – along with the overall economy of the state. As Bland says:

"But the historical development of these 'necessary wants' continues, so that along with them the value of labour power also increases. New inventions arise -- such as the refrigerator, the car, television -- and develop from luxuries for the rich into items which workers come to regard as necessities. Marx himself speaks of a rise in the price of labour as a consequence of the accumulation of capital:

"A rise in the price of labour as a consequence of accumulation of capital only means, in fact, that the length and weight of the golden chain the wage-worker has already forged for himself allow of a relaxation in the tension of it" (Karl Marx: *ibid.*, Volume 1; p. 579-80).

and of:

"... the worker's participation in the higher even cultural satisfactions, . . . newspaper subscriptions, attending lectures, educating his children, developing his taste, etc." (Karl Marx: 'Grundrisse' (Foundations); Harmondsworth; 1973; p. 287).

Marx indeed points out that one of the contradictions of capitalist society is that the capitalist has an interest in keeping low the income of his own employees in order to maximise his profits; but in contrast has an interest in not keeping low the income of the employees of other capitalists since these are (to him) merely consumers, part of his market. That is, he is interested in:

"... fobbing the worker off with 'pious wishes' ... but only his own, because they stand towards him as workers; but by no means the remaining world of workers, for these stand towards him as consumers. In spite of all 'pious' speeches he therefore searches for means to spur them on to consumption, to give his wares new charms, to inspire them with new needs by constant chatter, etc." (Karl Marx: *ibid.*; p. 287).

In periods of relatively full employment, in fact,

"... the workers ... themselves act as consumers on a significant scale" (Karl Marx: 'Theories of Surplus Value', Part 3; Moscow; 1975; p. 223).

As Maurice Cornforth correctly points out:

"The very great advances in technology which accompany the accumulation of capital have the result that all kinds of amenities become available on a mass scale, and consequently the consumption of these becomes a part of the material requirements and expectations of the worker. In other words, with an advanced technology the worker comes to require for his maintenance various goods and services his forefathers did without" (Maurice Cornforth: *op. cit.*; p. 206-07).

Indeed, reputable economists agree that

"... Marx actually took for granted an increase in real wages in the course of capitalist development" (Karl Kuhne: *op. cit.*, Volume 1; p. 227).

and that:

"... Marx never denies that real wages may rise under capitalism". (Mark Blaug: 'Economic Theory in Retrospect':

In addition, trade unionism -- the application of the principle of monopoly power to the sale of labour power -- enables organised workers to sell their labour power at a higher rate than they could under conditions of free competition between workers. As Engels wrote in May 1881:

"The law of wages ... is not one which draws a hard and fast line. It is not inexorable within certain limits. There is at every time (great depression excepted) for every trade a certain latitude within which the rate of wages may be modified by the results of the struggle between the two contending parties" (Friedrich Engels: 'The Wages System', in: Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels: 'Collected Works', Volume 24; London; 1989; p. 380). *Bland Ibid.*

This also illustrates another point: It makes it clear that workers change their destiny by organising and fighting for their rights -- even under capitalism -- to some extent.

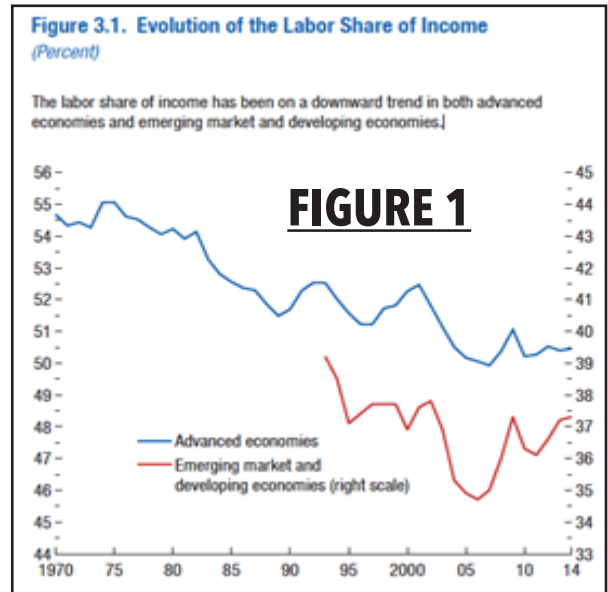
## So Omerod and Popper are wrong about what exactly Marx was saying.

## Nonetheless, what exactly has changed over recent times for workers?

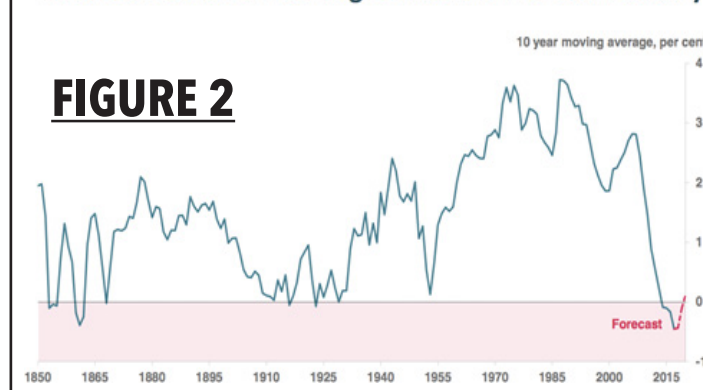
## Was Marx right about the trends of workers wages during capitalism?

Engels especially liked the phrase about the "proof of the pudding is in the eating". How does the pudding taste?

**Firstly:** World wide the share of Labour's income as a percent of total income -- has fallen between 1970-2014, according to the IMF. The IMF is not a worker friendly organisation of course. (See **Figure 1 RIGHT**) From the IMF April 2017 report. "WORLD ECONOMIC OUTLOOK: Gaining Momentum"; International Monetary Fund | April 2017 p. 122; Figure 3.1



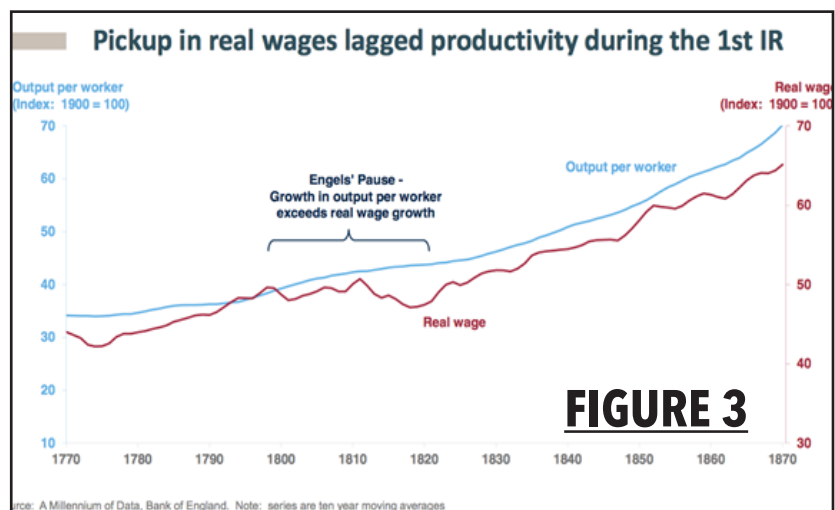
## First lost decade of real wages since the mid-19th Century



**Secondly:** After a period since 1955 - of increasing wages, wages have plummeted in the UK since 1985. In a time series of data from the Bank of England, the Governor **Mark Carney** shows data that has a headline: "the first decade of real wages [fall] since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century". (See **Figure 2 LEFT**).

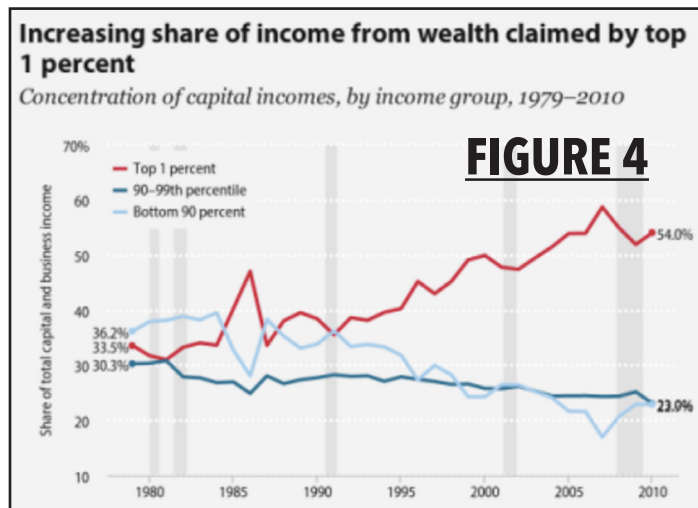
**FIGURE 3:** (*Ibid*; Bank of England)

This also shows a time series plotting on the y-axis the output per worker (in other words productivity) against on the y-axis -- the Real Wage -- over the years 1770 to 1870. The gap represents the fact that wages do not equal the workers productivity, and hidden within this difference is the surplus value accruing to the capitalist.



So if the proportion that workers are taking home is going down, where is the rest going? I think we know... But anyway:

**Thirdly:** The amount of inequality in society has dramatically risen. **FIGURE 4:** Below is shown the share of total income between 1980 and 2010, in the USA. The red line is the proportion for the top 1 percent earners and the light blue line is the bottom 90 percent earners.



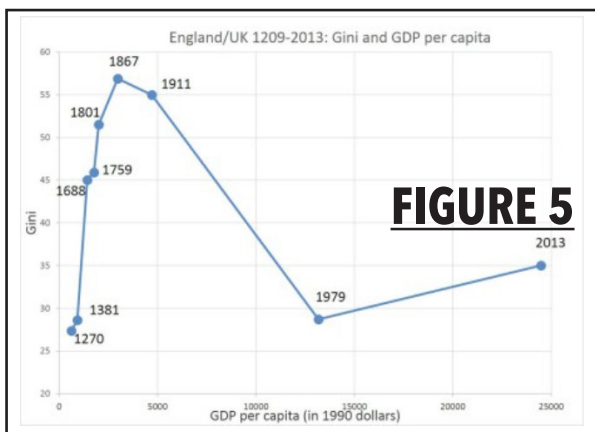
(The Michael Roberts Blog: *Inequality after 150 years of Capital*; <https://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2017/02/19/inequality-after-150-years-of-capital/>)

Michael Roberts puts this into words as follows:

"The top 1 percent of earners in America now take home about 20 percent of the country's pretax national income, compared with less than 12 percent in 1978, according to the research the economists published at the National Bureau of Economic Research. Over the same time in China, the top 1 percent doubled their share of income, rising from about 6 percent to 12 percent. America has experienced "a complete collapse of the bottom 50 percent income share in the U.S. between 1978 to 2015," the authors wrote. "In contrast, and in spite of a similar qualitative trend, the bottom 50 percent share remains higher than the top 1 percent share in 2015 in China." (The Michael Roberts Blog: *Inequality after 150 years of Capital*; <https://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2017/02/19/inequality-after-150-years-of-capital/>)

And below, **FIGURE 5:** shows data that inequality - as expressed by the Gini coefficient is rising. On the y-axis is plotted the Gini and on the x-axis is depicted the Gross Domestic Product per capita (i.e. as a proportion of the amount of population) - of England Wales - over the period from the year 1270 to 2013. (The years are in blue on the curve). The Gini coefficient:

"the Gini coefficient (sometimes expressed as a Gini ratio or normalized Gini index) is a measure of statistical dispersion intended to represent the income or wealth distribution of a nation's residents, and is the most commonly used measurement of inequality. It was developed by the Italian statistician and sociologist Corrado Gini .. in 1912... A Gini coefficient of zero expresses perfect equality, where all values are the same (for example, where everyone has the same income). A Gini coefficient of 1 (or 100%) expresses maximal inequality among values (e.g., for a large number of people, where only one person has all the income or consumption, and all others have none)". (Wikipedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gini\\_coefficient](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gini_coefficient))



(The Michael Roberts Blog: *Inequality after 150 years of Capital*; <https://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2017/02/19/inequality-after-150-years-of-capital/>)

This In Michael Roberts words, this graph shows:

"According to the graph, (the year 1867) was the peak of inequality and it fell back over the next 100 years, thus appearing to refute Marx's view that the working class would suffer 'immiseration' as capital took a growing share of value produced by labour... (but) in the 1960s.... most major capitalist economies began to generate an increase in inequality in both income and wealth - as the graph shows... The graph does reveal.. that inequality has been worsening in England to levels not seen since the 1920s". (The Michael Roberts Blog: *Inequality after 150 years of Capital*; <https://thenextrecession.wordpress.com/2017/02/19/inequality-after-150-years-of-capital/>)

**We must conclude** that charge 2 against Marx must be rejected. Marx was correct that the wages of workers would remain below their productive output and that there would steadily be a reduced wage relative to the amount of the total societal income. There was only one way out for the working class - to destroy the capitalist system.

#### CONCLUSION:

Marx continues to be defamed and painted as a naive. But these and other charges against him, that attack him at the level of his science - are not valid. At the end we are left to mourn with Engels that upon his death:

"Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time at that. The proletarian movement goes on, but gone is its central figure"; (Marx-Engels Correspondence 1883; Engels to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, in Hoboken; International Publishers (1968); Gestamtausgabe; at [https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1883/letters/83\\_03\\_15.htm](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1883/letters/83_03_15.htm))

But as Engels ended:

"Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for? And we are not near losing courage yet". Ibid.

And we will finally close with, what capped Marx's genius was the following insight - and what we his heirs try to internalize:

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it". Marx, "Thesis XI"; "Theses On Feuerbach"; 1845, edited by Engels; Marx/Engels Selected Works, Volume One, p. 13 - 15. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/theses.htm>



EDITORIAL - By: A. CASAL

#### THERE IS NO SUCH A THING AS BEING AN "EX" NEO-NAZI

Sure, people can join and leave neo-Nazi movements; but that's not what I'm getting at.

There are certain things from which, if you go there, there is no turning back. Being a Nazi is one of them. There is no such a thing as being an "ex-Nazi," just as there is no such a thing as being an "ex-serial killer." The crimes and outrages committed still remain, even if no further crimes are being contemplated.

I'm talking about this country, today. This isn't Italy in the '20s or Germany in the '30s. Anyone who joins a Nazi movement cannot say "I was forced to" or "I did it for my family's safety" or even something so base as "I did it for my career" or to "not rock the boat." No. Someone in modern America who joins something so universally reviled and condemned did so of their own free will, knowing full well the consequences of their acts. They chose to hate.

Claiming environment, youthful indiscretions, or a "mistake" doesn't fly. Many people grow up in dysfunctional or hateful environments, few end up putting a swastika on their sleeves. Joining the Young Republicans may be a mistake; joining a Nazi group is a crime against humanity.

Furthermore, we don't need repentant "former Nazis" around to "educate" the rest of us. We had enough of those from the first time around, thank you very much.

History passed its judgement a long time ago. And the judgement of history, while perhaps seemingly harsh, is just.

Very just, indeed.



The proletarians  
have nothing to lose  
but their chains.



# TRUMP'S CAMPS ARE A FASCIST FOUNDATION THAT WE MUST DISMANTLE



By: J. PALAMEDA

The news regarding Donald Trump's policy of ripping children from their parents and imprisoning them indefinitely in what can only be called concentration camps has been fast developing, and many on the left have rushed to consider what the implications of these developments are in our fight for the right of immigrants to live prosperous, fulfilling lives free from barbarous state harassment, limited job opportunities, and imprisonment. We've previously written on the Phoenix about Trump's fascist rhetoric regarding immigrants, and the continuity of Trump's practice with Obama's historic deportation rates. But each account we hear of what is happening inside these camps, from the suicide of a father separated from his family, to forcing children to recite the pledge of allegiance, the fascist murals quoting Donald Trump's Art of the Deal reminiscent of Hitler's "Arbeit macht frei," to Trump's ineffectual executive order that has so far failed to reunite families or eliminate the basic premise that immigrants deserve to be in concentration camps, demands a sober analysis of the development of fascism in the United States.

Early analyses of the nature of Trump's camps have fallen into both right and left deviations. To the right, American moderates and Democrats see the brutalization of children as something un-American or new to the history of the United States—a preposterous claim. From the criminal boarding schools for Native American children ripped from their parents' arms and put at the mercy of physically and sexually abusive instructors that forced them to adopt white-anglo culture, to Japanese internment, to 400 years of slavery, ruthless abuse and brutality is at the heart of American history in every era. We've written previously on the Phoenix how Trump's fascistic rhetoric against immigrants has precedence in the 19th century and even the Obama presidency, that saw record deportation rates and the creation of many ICE "detention centers." Liberals are right to be horrified by the cries of infants for their parents, and the deeply disturbing coerced patriotism occurring in the camps, and many of the reactions from moderate elements are likely authentic. But it is essential that the left unflinchingly underlines the history of this behavior, suggesting that the horror and pain liberals do and claim to experience has been experienced by the victims of American racism and imperialism for centuries. Atrocities benefit and have benefited the American ruling class, and that is exactly why we must aim to fundamentally alter American society through a socialist movement.

We expect the moderates to deviate to the right, they have been doing so for decades, but some sectors of the left have deviated to ultra-left positions in response to the news regarding Trump's terror campaign against immigrant families. A common reaction from leftists has been to write off recent developments as simply more of the same from the American state, underlining Obama's record highlighted above. While it is essential to point out both parties' complicity in the inhumane treatment of immigrants, to render American political life as a monolith of crimes that cannot meaningfully move to the right blinds us from accurately identifying the rise of fascist trends in the US that imperil all progressive people. As Communists and immigrant rights activists, it is paramount that we listen to immigrants and immigrant rights movements. On college campuses, large movements in support of DACA students have arisen since 2017, and ICE recently conducted the largest arrest in recent history of immigrants working in a meat plant in Ohio, the second large raid conducted in the state in just a month, together totaling nearly 250 arrests—an experience a local preacher described as "terrorizing." Something has shifted, and immigrant communities and rights movements have taken notice. Refusing to acknowledge and listen to these observations with a wave of the historical hand does not serve our movement to empower working people, of all origins, in the country, and dangerously prevents the left from reckoning the peril such fascist practices represent.

Both deviations are rooted in a skepticism fascism is growing in the United States. Understandings of fascism, from both left and right, often see it as necessarily being coexistent with death camps, mass executions, and the extermination of all political dissenters. Such an understanding makes an analysis of the development of fascism very difficult, as fascist states seemingly go from legal bourgeois democracy to illegal wanton fascist dictatorship in an instant. But we know from the history of Italy, Germany, Chile, Haiti, and others, that fascist dictatorships often rely, to the very

last, on legal backing for their actions. Nazi officials at the Wannsee conference, dedicated to deciding the best way to murder millions of people, still invoked legal precedence for their action, and most tellingly of all, often understood their actions as realizing the law's true meaning. It is remarkably similar to the rhetoric of the Trump administration, that routinely argues that they only enforce the law as it is written, and they, unlike the weak liberal establishment, have the courage to enforce its true nature, as Attorney General Sessions argued in a press release announcing the "zero tolerance policy." Fascism clearly develops through the decaying legal apparatuses of the bourgeois state, and uses its legitimacy to justify their crimes against humanity. A fascist state does not become fascist only when it commits those crimes, it begins its fascist development when it builds the apparatuses, legal and non, and political dialogue necessary to carry out those crimes.

A more comprehensive definition of fascism is needed, then, in order to see if recent developments in the United States constitute the growth of a fascist movement. In an overview on Trump's fascist sympathies published in the run-up of the 2016 election, the American Party of Labor defined fascism as follows, relying significantly on Georgi Dimitrov's 1935 definition:

The American Party of Labor, and Marxism-Leninism in general, defines fascism as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of a ruling class exercised through a fascist political party or organization having a mass base.

The rise of fascism, in such a definition, needn't be identified only when mass killings occur and congress is dissolved. Fascism arises when the "most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist" elements hold state power and garner a mass base, and use these things to exert a terroristic dictatorship on targeted groups. In the United States in 2018, it is clear terroristic policing against immigrant communities has increased to a point of no return. From audio tapes of screaming children, to the immediate disappearance and deportation of family members without a word, to Trump-inspired and even endorsed (as in Charlottesville) mass shootings and acts of terrorism, a more open terrorism against immigrants, people of color, and leftists is clearly developing in the United States. Obama's crimes against immigrants were great, but Trump is presently galvanizing a mass anti-immigrant movement that has committed the most acts of extremist violence on American soil and that openly endorses, justifies, and celebrates putting immigrants indefinitely in concentration camps. The left must acknowledge that this is a significant shift in American politics towards the construction of a fascist state on the ruins of a failing bourgeois democracy and legal system.

Trump is building a fascist foundation in the United States, and it is the responsibility of all leftists, all progressive people, to dismantle it by any means necessary and appropriate. It is essential that leftists critically analyse the growth of fascism in the United States and avoid ultra-left and right deviations that seek to downplay the terror campaign being carried out by the Trump administration against immigrants. The tens of millions of people who died to defeat fascism to first time, and the thousands of children being cruelly ripped from their parents by soulless ICE agents and put into inhuman camps watch our every move in these critical moments in American history. Left forces in the United States must proceed with forethought, analysis, and most importantly, collective action. The future of all those targeted by fascists, the LGBTQ+ community, people of color, women, jews, and countless others, our future, depends on our actions in this moment. The future will not forgive us if we fail to dismantle American fascism now before its terror completely consumes the nation.



# A BLOW TO THE WORKING CLASS REVEALS CAPITALIST RUTHLESSNESS AND FEAR



By: L. ZORFASS - Edited by J. PALAMEDA

Yesterday, May 21, 2018, started with a significant blow against the American working class and growing labor movement by the U.S. Government. In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court of the United States of America sided with the ruling capitalist class against labor, stripping the working class of its right of collective legal action by taking away the ability for workers to come together in class action lawsuits against their employer. This is another blatant attack on working people by the capitalist state. President Trump and the Republican-controlled Congress have been attacking the American worker since the Trump Government took power, and this latest decision by the Supreme Court delivers one of the heaviest blows yet, hitting workers where they are strongest: in their power to unify.

In 1925 the Federal Arbitration Act was passed, saying that employers can have workers sign contracts for employment in which the worker must agree to waive their right to collective legal action and must instead take up any legal action with their employer on an individual basis. The labor laws that followed throughout the 20th century challenged this act, giving workers the right to come together in class action lawsuits against their employer. The Supreme Court's decision came by way of three recent cases of workers suing the company they worked for (Ernst & Young LLP, Epic Systems Corp., and Murphy Oil USA Inc.) due to wage-theft, particularly in unpaid overtime wages. Justice Neil Gorsuch, one of the five that voted for this decision, says that the 1925 Federal Arbitration Act takes precedence over the National Labor Relations Act. This gives employers the power to hold their employees hostage to sign employment agreements to arbitrate claims on an individual basis and that they may not come together to enforce claims of wage and hours violations or else pass on the job and look for work elsewhere on the volatile labor market.

This decision reveals two extremely important points. The first is that labor laws, which have been fought for with the sacrifice of many generations of working people, including their lives, always take the back seat in consideration of labor against capital. The laws passed over the years were contradictory and their implementation dependent on the interpretation of the language by lawyers and judges. Every victory for labor under capitalism is a double-edged sword, bringing temporary relief through reform but, also pacifying an organized working class.

It is quite obvious these victories of reform are passed and retracted on the needs of the capitalist class and not the workers to whom the reforms are meant to benefit.

The second is that what the capitalist class fears most is the unity of workers. The ability for workers to come together to take legal action against their employer was one of the few protections workers had against their boss. By forcing workers to arbitrate individually, bosses are not only keeping workers from organizing together but, are also reducing the ability for workers to take legal action against them. The three cases around which this decision pivoted, involved workers seeking the pay they are owed for overtime work, around \$2,000 dollars a worker. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who spoke for the minority Justices against this decision, stated that the legal fees on an individual basis for these types of lawsuits would cost upwards of \$200,000 dollars in legal fees. Between the cost on the individual for legal representation, and the fear of retaliation from the boss, the strike against collective legal action will surely curb future lawsuits by working people trying to get what they are owed.

Of course, it is critical to take notice that while the lawsuits that spurred this decision were around wage theft, the waiving of collective arbitration will most likely bleed into the area of civil rights. Even a number of legal and labor experts from elitist institutions such as Yale Law professor Judith Resnick and Cornell University labor law professor Angela Cornell have seen the danger in this ruling. (Source) Cases of discrimination or harassment due to sex, gender, or race will also fall under the arbitration waiver. Given the attack on labor by the current administration up to this point, and with this current ruling, employers both big and small are being held less accountable than they have been for almost 100 years. Workers' rights and the legal power of labor in America is also at its lowest point in nearly 100 years. Non-union workers are having their legal protections stripped, and union workers are at the heel of union bureaucrats who continually bend to the will

of the capitalist state.

However, it must be taken into great consideration that this decision is also a blatant expression of fear by the ruling capitalist class. Dividing and stratifying the working class has always been the strongest strategy of the capitalists. The goal of the capitalist is to keep the working class afraid of itself, and the capitalists have used all the money and power they can to achieve and maintain this. Dividing workers by skill, gender, sex, race, age, and employment keeps workers in individual competition with another. Workers do not meet each other as workers but as competitors in the marketplace.

When workers unify, when workers no longer regard one another as individuals competitors but as a single exploited class, the capitalists shake and often lose. Whether through reform or revolution, the unity of the working class has continually brought victory. But what is needed is a final revolutionary victory. The labor reforms of the past are being undone many times faster than they were achieved. With a broken working class, the capitalists are able to steamroll the legal concessions they had to make in the past. It is through worker's revolution that this cycle of exploitation will stop. Reform leads to placidity and its implementation is left to the whim of the capitalists. The capitalists have taken away one of the workers strongest legal defense systems through the courts. Continuing the ramp up the class war domestically, the capitalists have shown themselves yet again to be inhumane beings who care only for their own profit at the expense of millions. The time for action is now more than ever. The capitalist steamroll against labor must be stopped, not halted, but stopped. The only way to do this is for the working class to do what the capitalists fear most: to unify. And to unify not just against a particular court ruling or a case of wage theft, but against the capitalist class itself.

We must no longer see ourselves as competing individuals but as workers. We must not compete for the spot of most exploited but realize the existence of our exploitation is enough. We must no longer divide ourselves by the divisions and stratifications imposed on us by the capitalists. The capitalists continue to strip away even our basic of legal rights as workers only to empower themselves. But we as workers can empower ourselves, for the power of the working class is great. It has overthrown monarchies centuries old, has defeated fascism, and in this age of reaction has shown itself brave and courageous: it toils longer each day, for less pay, and with fewer rights. By unifying as a class, and only by unifying as a class, can we as workers become empowered to take back what is ours; our rights, the fruits of our labor, our dignity, and the power of organization that is rightfully ours. Advanced sections of the class, class militants, honest union activists, and forces for labor, in general, should take further initiative to push back against this attack without pigeonholing themselves into only waiting for news from their lawyers or a reactionary Republican-controlled Congress. We can not hold out for justice in a system that profits from the injustices brought against us. We must raise our voices in all of our workplaces, from small retail shops to industrial factories. The capitalists have dealt the working class a great blow with this ruling, but the blow to the capitalists we can give as workers is infinitely greater. All we must do is unite as workers for workers.

Sources:

The New York Times • National Public Radio • CNN





# INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MARXIST LENINIST PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS:

**"LET US GO ONTO THE STREETS ON MAY DAY WITH A LOUDER VOICE AGAINST EXPLOITATION AND IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION!"**



To all workers, working people, oppressed nations, brothers and sisters,

May Day is approaching, the international day of unity, struggle and solidarity of the working class, the day when we raise our demands on the streets against capitalist exploitation and imperialist aggression.

Unfortunately, we cannot talk of many positive changes in our lives since last May Day. We work more in the factories, workplaces and fields but our wages have not increased, nor have our working and living conditions improved. Many of us struggle to make ends meet. More of us become unemployed for longer periods. Our retirement ages are being raised but not our pensions. We do not have much time for leisure or holiday. Fellow women workers do not have equal rights as men in this capitalist system which has taken over patriarchal hegemony from previous systems of exploitation. They cannot find employment easily in every sector, nor can they get equal pay. Violence against women, economic and political repression and discrimination is on the rise, let alone decreasing. The motto "future belongs to the youth" is, in practice, no more than empty words for the bourgeoisie. Young people who have to start working from a young age instead of going to school are in fear of their future.

In many countries, including the 'democratic' ones, political reactionarism and the tendency towards fascism is on the rise, so is racism, chauvinism and the extreme right wing parties. Freedom of expression, gathering and demonstration, political and trade union organisation, press freedom, etc. are being restricted. Corruption of governments in Latin America, Turkey, Iran and many other countries can no longer be hidden. Bourgeois democracies are restricted, especially in Europe, with tightened political rights. In Eastern countries which have historically stronger material and cultural basis for authoritarianism, democratic rights and freedoms are already on a tight rope. In those countries who seem to implement democracy to save face there is a tendency to ignore even the appearance. Cosmetic changes in countries such as Saudi Arabia does not change this tendency. If one of the reasons why political reaction is on the rise is the fact that it is becoming harder for the bourgeoisie to rule and they feel greater need for extraordinary measures, the other is that the working class and the working people are disorganized across the world and their low level of struggle for their own independent demands.

Capitalist monopolies exploit the workers in other countries as well as their own and plunder the natural resources of oppressed peoples. Competition between these international monopolies and between capitalist-imperialist countries is intensifying. This rivalry manifests itself in trade wars which was sparked by Trump's protectionist custom duties, Europe and China responding in the same way, as well as in military clashes. Tension between the US on the one side and Russia, China, North Korea and Iran on the other fuels concerns of a big war.

The world is no longer unipolar and the US has lost its unrivaled hegemony, but it is still the most powerful imperialist country in terms of its economic, political and military presence in many parts of the world and in terms of its armament expenditures. However, there has not emerged yet a unified rival against the US, even though there are signs of a formation of some polarizing blocs. Having UK as an ally the US is trying to impose itself on the rest of Europe. But European countries insist on their own interests and no longer accept to unify under the US umbrella through institutions such as NATO. Russia has been standing against the US for some time. China is trying to reinforce its economic and military might, while in the meantime avoiding an open

confrontation. Germany has a similar position.

The "West" responded to Russia's harsh rivalry in Syria and Ukraine with the expulsion of Russian diplomats following the suspected poisoning in the UK, and with the bombing of Syria with missiles following the alleged use of chemical weapons in Duma. The US, UK and France joined forces against Russia, while Germany stayed out of this coalition. Russia took a step back and did not respond. China was contented with condemning this attack. These developments show that the blocs have not settled yet and are still loose, but weapons are used quite easily.

In the last few years, Syria has been the main scene for the fight for hegemony over the oil fields in the Middle East. First, it was the "proxies" which were the clashing forces, but now main actors are taking part. The fight was between various groupings such as ISIS or FSA, with the backing of big imperialist countries and reactionary regional governments. But now the USA, Russia, Iran, Turkey, Israel, Saudi Arabia (in Yemen), UK, France and Germany show their presence in the region with their own military forces and are fighting fiercely. Imperialist capitalist world, the so-called "international community", does not care for the countless number of deaths and displacement of Syrians. They are only concerned about preventing refugees coming into their own countries.

However, this is not an easy job. Because of the poverty and war, mass migration from the Middle East, Africa and Western Asia cannot be stopped. Refugees are drowning every day in the Mediterranean.

Capitalism shows its inhuman face in every occasion and evidence of this can be found in deteriorating living and working conditions and intensified exploitation as well as in their preference of war over peace. Another one is present in the destruction of the environment for the drive for more profit, just like Trump's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement.

May Day is the day of going onto the streets to shout out our demands against the exploitation and aggression of international bourgeoisie and imperialism and our aspiration for a world without classes and exploitation.

May Day is the day of raising our demands for an end to wars and plunder of the resources of the oppressed peoples.

May Day is the day of shouting louder our demands for social rights, a shorter working week and for equal pay for equal work.

May Day is the day of showing our might as a united force of billions of working people against the capitalists in every part of the world.

May Day is the day of unity, struggle and international solidarity of the working class.

Let us go onto the streets on this Mayday to claim our rights, as a united force!

Let us unite to end the hegemony of the bourgeoisie!

Long live May Day!

Long live the international unity and struggle of the working class!

Down with capitalism and imperialism!

**International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations (CIPOML)**





# THE ONLY ANIMALS ARE TRUMP, ICE, AND DEPORTING MODERATES

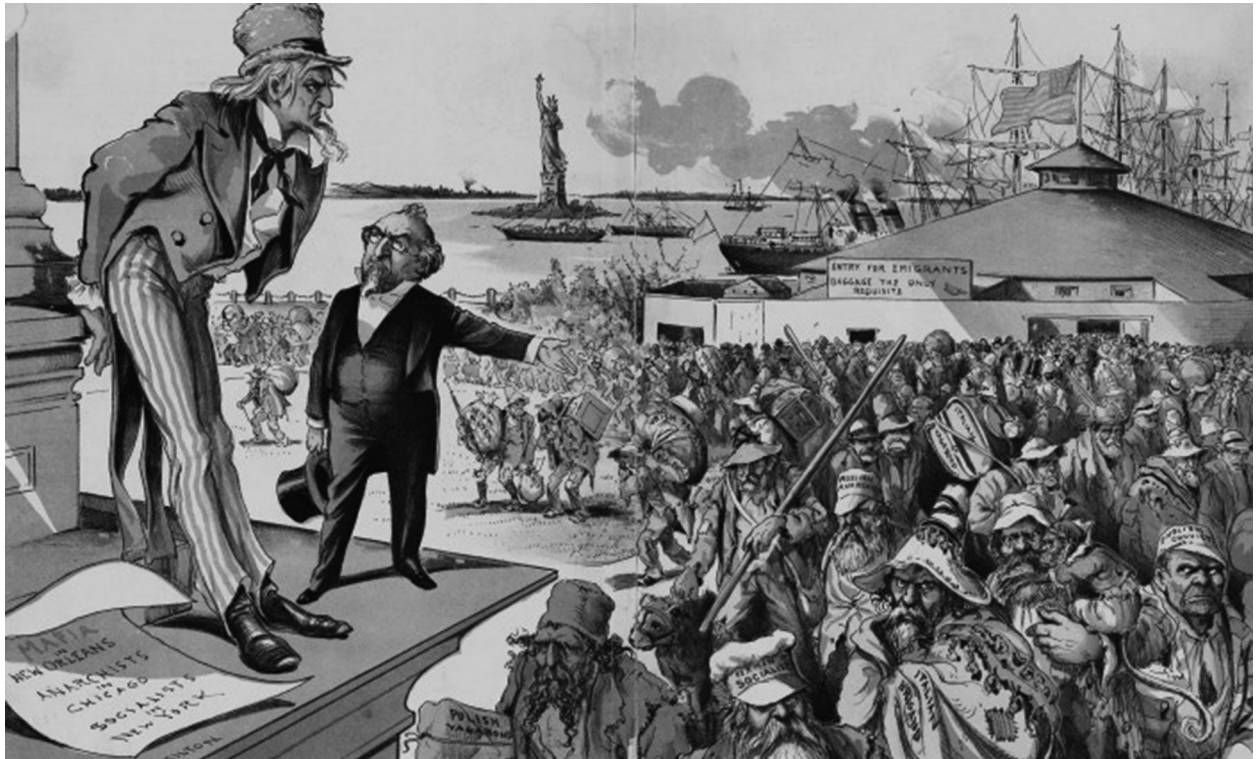
By: J. PALAMEDA

At a meeting of Republican California lawmakers at the White House on Wednesday, May 16th, Donald Trump delivered his latest virulently racist and anti-immigrant statement, saying of immigrants crossing the southern border: "You wouldn't believe how bad these people are. These aren't people, these are animals, and we're taking them out of the country at a level and at a rate that's never happened before." Condemnation has been quick and widespread, and Trump's allies have been equally quick to clarify that he only meant members of MS-13, a street gang. The White House subsequently released a fascist clarification a few days later, doubling-down on Trump's anti-immigrant sentiments.

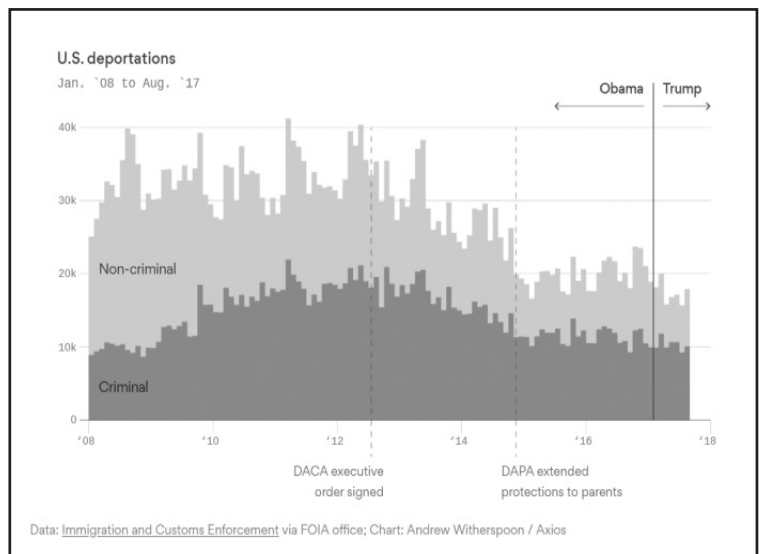
Trump's vile comments confirm, if his praise of murdering fascists in Charlottesville was not enough, that he openly panders to growing fascist elements in the United States, and seeks to intensify racial and ethnic hatred against immigrant communities. Trump came to power with Nativist promises to remove "bad hombres," build an ineffectual wall, and escalate ICE terror campaigns that continue to separate families, and these latest comments underline the integral place stoking anti-immigrant hatred had, has, and will have in Trump's political platform. While Trump and his supporters hide behind the age-old dog-whistle of immigrant criminality, his far-right followers use such rhetoric to build their legitimacy and continue their murderous campaign to construct a fascist movement in the United States to target immigrants, people of color, women, LGBTQ+ communities, communists, and countless others.

But critics of Trump's essential place in the rise of American fascism need to be wary of the moderate claim that such comments are incongruous or out of place in the political history and present of the United States. Already, several prominent liberals have compared his comments to the rhetoric of Nazi Germany, Rwanda, and the Confederacy, but one needn't go back to the Civil War or across the Atlantic to find a precedent for Trump's heinous attacks on immigrants. The claim that immigrant communities bring organized crime with them, and not that organized crime emerges from isolated and impoverished communities, is as American as bootstraps mythology and the disruption of democratic elections. Nativist attacks on immigrants in the 19th and early 20th century routinely rendered recent immigrants as harbingers of "Anarchy, Socialism, the Mafia and such kindred evils!" Moderates in congress objected to the passing of the 13th amendment (abolishing slavery) on grounds that newly-freed slaves would turn to crime. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act similarly claimed that Chinese immigrants "endangered the good order of certain localities." Chester Arthur, the reform-minded president at the time of the act's passing, vetoed it on the grounds that exploitable Chinese labor was "the key to national wealth and influence." More recently, the "war on drugs" from Nixon to the present criminalizes communities of color under the auspices of "law and order," and this remains a main avenue through which ICE and police disproportionately attack immigrant communities.

Anti-Trump moderates have to render Trump's vile anti-immigrant comments as foreign to normative American politics to obfuscate the essential place racism has in American power, and further obscure their immediate complicity with this process during the Obama presidency. Deportation rates in Trump's first year and a half in office currently lag behind the rate at the height of the Obama presidency in 2011-12, and even behind Obama's last year in office. ICE detainers, the process through which ICE imprisons immigrants without due process, similarly peaked under the Obama presidency. Immigration policing is directly under the control of the executive branch, and responsibility for the millions of people arrested without due process and deported without a word to their families and friends cannot be put on a Republican congress. If Trump eclipses previous deportation rates, it will be with policing bodies and policies established under a democratic president and near super majority in congress during his first term. Trump's language on Wednesday is a clear appeal to his fascist base, but for immigrant communities who have been living in fear of ICE raids for over a decade, it is hardly a departure.



None of this information excuses Trump's hateful and fascist rhetoric, or diminishes the likelihood that deportation rates will increase drastically as Trump continues to pander to his white supremacist base, but only underlines the interconnected and foundational relationship between anti-immigrant policies, the state apparatuses used to victimize immigrant communities, and both major political parties in the US. Trump's words should anger us not because they are new or different, but because they reflect the centuries-entrenched racism at the heart of American capitalism that comes increasingly to the surface as the crises of that system deepen. Throughout our national history, the American political establishment has vacillated between the deadly rhetoric of exclusion, racism, and Nativism, and mass deportations conducted with justifications and modest objections. The urgency with which we must continue to build a movement that uncompromisingly defends immigrant rights, advocates for the dismantling of ICE, and for community control of police departments grows with each contemptible comment from the White House, and with each moderate excuse for record deportation rates. While Trump's comments are much in line with American history and our present moment in which hate crime rates are spiking, they needn't be a part of our future. In 2018, the only animals in American society are those who victimize and separate families to pander to their fascist allies, and those who value a human life only as far as it profits them.



# STATEMENT OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF IRAN (TOUFAN) ON THE U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM "THE NUCLEAR DEAL", JOINT COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ACTION-JCPOA

**The results of the Iranian government's betrayal of the national interests of the country and trust in imperialism.**

The U.S. president Trump, as he had promised in his presidential campaign, withdrew from the Nuclear Deal, and again relies on lies, bullying, and threats, as he tries to justify his decision. We raised this issue in the past and we anticipated this situation. It is clear that the Deal was not a treaty, and this was the first American demagoguery in negotiations with the Iranian nuclear team. The Deal was imposed on Iran and was hastily agreed upon by the politically inexperienced representatives of Iranian regime. Each treaty must be approved by the parliaments of the respective countries and therefore cannot be abolished by the sitting president of the country. The Iran's authorities betrayed the national interest of the country, sent the agreement to Majlis (Parliament) for approval by the representatives who were not even aware of its content; the agreement was not discussed in the society or in the press and media. The Iranian people still do not know what is hidden in the text of this agreement.

As soon as the Nuclear Deal was approved by the sham constituent assembly of the Islamic Republic, allies and sympathizers of the U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism in Iran celebrated. The officials in power blew their horn and promised that sanctions would be lifted and the economic situation in Iran would be improving. They sold Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy and nuclear technological advancement at the cost of preserving the domination of a group of bandits and thief in the government, and they hoped that US imperialists would not attempt at a regime change. What an illusion!

None of the countries that negotiated with Iran considered the piece of paper with their signature on it as a treaty. For them, that piece of paper was an agreement that they had imposed on Iran. From the beginning, as our Party predicted, the sitting U.S. president would be able to legally withdraw the agreement which was not approved by the U.S. Congress. President Obama was aware of this fact also.

Our Party has published several articles on the agreements since it was signed.

Toufan, the Central Organ of the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan), published an article entitled "The Analytical Declaration of the Party on the Nuclear Deal in Vienna" in October 2015 issue, No. 187, and stated that:

"Due to the problems they face in the Middle East region, the U.S. imperialists need to gain time to breathe. With the signing of Iran's Nuclear Deal, they have generated time for the next ten or fifteen years, and now they are busy to plot in secret for the destruction of all the nuclear facilities they have in their disposal. Imperialism should never be trusted. The nuclear agreement with the United States ties Iran's hands and it is against our national interests. The U.S. does not adhere to any agreement, and it violates all internationally recognized norms, standards, rules and treaties. To believe in fulfillment of the promises these looters have given is wishful and to disgracefully surrender. The Islamic Republic's regime remains silent about the prospect and the future consequences, scientific and technical, of the Deal. The Islamic Republic either does not understand the catastrophic consequences of the Deal or consciously pursues national treachery."

In his speech, Trump said:

"The Iranian regime is the leading state sponsor of terror. It exports dangerous missiles, fuels conflicts across the Middle East, and supports terrorist proxies and militias such as Hezbollah, Hamas, the Taliban, and al-Qaeda."

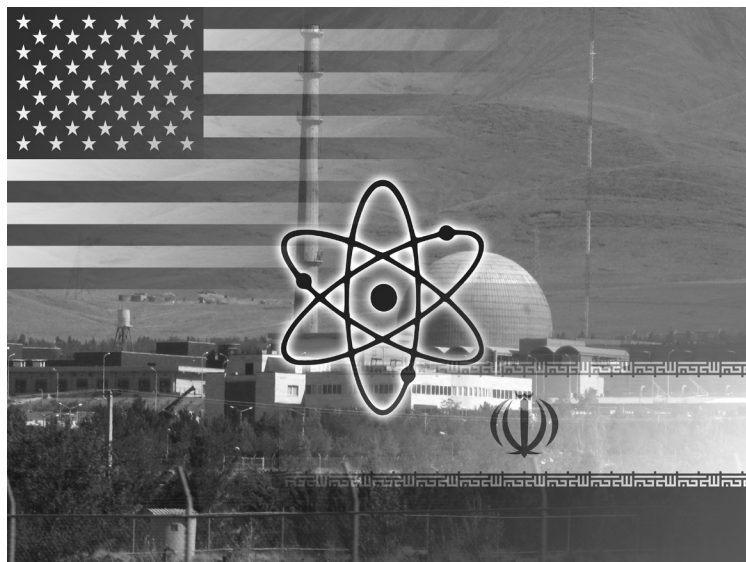
Toufan, in May 2015 issue, No. 182, published an article entitled "You give the finger, they will take the hand", on Obama's policy and the goals the U.S. is pursuing:

In an interview with the New York Times, Obama says about the lifting of the sanctions on Iran, "There are still details that need to be worked out. But I think that the basic framework calls for Iran to take the steps that it needs to around Fordow, centrifuges, and so forth. At this point, then the UN sanctions will be suspended; although the sanctions related to proliferation and ballistic missile issues remain in place. At that point, then, we preserve the ability to snap back those sanctions, if there is a violation if not, though, Iran, outside of the proliferation and ballistic missile issues that stay in place, they are able to get out from under the sanction, understanding that this constant monitoring will potentially trigger some sort of action if they are in violation."

Toufan in February 2016 issue, No. 191, in the article entitled "They took out the heart of Iran's indisputable right to peaceful use of nuclear energy," stated that:

"To make it clear that he has not retreated from his position on Iran, Obama says that 'under the nuclear agreement that we and our allies and our partners achieved with Iran last year, Iran will not get its hands on a nuclear bomb. **The region, the United States, and the world will be more secure.** As I have said it many times, **the nuclear deal was never intended to resolve all our differences with Iran.**'"

He continued: "... **We recognize that there remain profound differences between the**



**United States and Iran.** We remain steadfast in opposing Iran's destabilizing behavior elsewhere, **including its threats against Israel and our Gulf partners, and its support for violent proxies in places like Syria and Yemen.**

... **We still have sanctions on Iran for its violations of human rights, for its support of terrorism, and for its ballistic missile program. And we will continue to enforce these sanctions, vigorously.** Iran's recent missile test, for example, was a violation of its international obligations. And as a result, the United States is imposing sanctions on individuals and companies working to advance Iran's ballistic missile program. And we are going to remain vigilant about it. We're not going to waver in the defense of our security or that of our allies and partners." (Emphaeis are by Toufan)

As we see, President Trump's statements are not new; they express the continuation of past U.S. policies.

The differences between the U.S. imperialists and the European imperialists are just tactical, and one should not be deceived by them or open a separate account and dance to their tunes. All these imperialists agree with Obama and Trump's policies on Iran. The dispute between them is over the form of implementation of the policies. Trump believes that, by withdrawing from the Nuclear Deal and by intensifying economic and political sanctions against Iran with severe punishment for the offenders and by proposing joint talks for a new deal, the U.S. goals will be achieved. He is in favor of completing the old Deal by renewed negotiations that result in a new agreement with additional points.

## The view of the European imperialists

The European imperialists' view apparently is to stay with the Nuclear Deal, but to put more pressure on Iran and to intensify and add new elements to the sanctions so that Iran would break under pressure and accept the same Obama-Trump-Israel-Saudi Arabia plan in a new agreement. Of course, Europeans seek their own economic interests in this also. Their submission to the American pressure means to loosely transfer their economic, political, and diplomatic power to the U.S. imperialists, to violate their own laws, and act in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. authorities or the U.S. Congress. The fundamental question here is: How credible are the international treaties and agreements, and can any country rely upon them? European countries that are weaker imperialists today are uncomfortable with open violations of international treaties that may hurt their interests in the current situation. This is their basis to criticize Trump, but everyone knows that these countries themselves have violated all internationally recognized laws to advance their goals and interests, such as the illegal invasion of Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Palestine, and Syria. Everyone knows that all these countries have defended the human rights abusers, namely by Israelis and Saudis, and are the biggest violators of the global obligations. The imperialist Europe does not condemn these ugly acts of murder, genocide, and invasions. We know that these international treaties are credible as long as they are backed by force; otherwise, they are not even worth the market value on the ink on them!

When you listen to Emmanuel Macron or Angela Merkel, you will notice that they give the same rump's line but they express it calmer and in a more refined language. They too claim that the Nuclear Deal with Iran is not complete and must be completed. They oppose to withdraw from the Deal but agree to complete it by adding more chapters to it.



The German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* wrote:

"The European allies try to protect subtle tricks and the delicacies of the treaty and at the same time **consider Trump's rightful critique of Iran's conduct with its neighbors.** (Emphases are by Toufan)

The leaders of Britain, France, and Germany oppose Iran's missile program and oppose Iran's foreign policy in regard to Zionist and criminal Israeli policies and in regard to support for the struggles of the people of Yemen, Bahrain, and Palestine. They oppose Iran accepting invitation by the Syrian government to join the fight against ISIS and to defend Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Like Trump, they are interested in a puppet Iran that play the role of imperialists' gendarme in the region, that provides "security" for Israel, and that recognizes this aggressive, apartheid, and manufactured state. They want another Shah in Iran who represses the movement in Dhofar and who is allies of Saudi Arabia.

Toufan, in December 2015 issue, No. 189. In the article entitled "The Political Declaration of the Party of Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) on the Nuclear Agreement in Vienna" stated that:

"The U.S. imperialists intended to bring Iran to submission and change its foreign policy by hatching plots, by arming and strengthening Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, by strengthening and using ISIS, by aggression against Syria and Yemen and the Israeli massacre of Palestinians in Gaza, and by similar operations."

This policy has not changed, and it is still being pursued by the imperialists. Only a delay has occurred and the orders of priorities have changed.

### **Iran, another Iraq**

Imperialists and Zionists together with spy and sellout Iranian opposition claimed Iran had a nuclear bomb. But they have not yet succeeded in finding this atomic bomb. The same claim was made by the imperialists about Iraq, and falsely claimed that the Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction. The criminal British Prime Minister Tony Blair even claimed that Iraqis could destroy London within 45 minutes using weapons of mass destruction. They, standing next to their weapons of mass destruction, said that they would have to eliminate Iraqi missiles because these missiles are a few centimeters longer than the permissible missiles. The imperialists then destroyed Iraqi missiles with the help of United Nations experts. After all Iraqi weapons were destroyed; they found a favorite condition to attack the country and to occupy it to this day. There are at least fifteen thousand U.S. military advisers in Iraq who monitor, without Iraqi supervision or control, the transfer of Iraqi oil to western markets.

The imperialists plan the same plot for Iran. First, they began with the same traditional hue and cry and noise about the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iran. Then they started to talk about Iran's armaments and missile technology, with the goal to eliminate them. Eventually they involved and still involve Iran's allies in the region from Yemen, Iraq, Hamas, Hezbollah, to Syria in this scenario. They want to make the Iranian allies weak and unable to respond to future events, and then they move against Iran without difficulties. Here we talk about strategic choices of all parties involved. The defeat of Syria is the beginning of the destruction of Iran and not the destruction of the regime of the Islamic Republic.

The imperialists tried to overthrow the legal regime of Assad in Syria by setting up, mobilizing, and strengthening the terrorist groups Al-Quida, Al-Nusr, ISIS, and the likes. Trump shamelessly related these to Iran. They want to secure outskirts of the gates of Israel and then go after Iran. Trump has started to make noise about Iran's nuclear bombs, the bomb that does not exist!

### **Europe and the United States of America**

All Western imperialists agree with Trump's policy to curb Iran's activities in their favor, they differ in tactics only. Moreover, Europeans are not able to resist American pressure. It's not about investments by German or French capitalists; it's about exchange of revenue of goods and that the movement of foreign exchange is controlled by the Americans. The Germans and the French capitalists cannot export goods to Iran because they cannot receive payments. Moreover, with economic and banking sanctions against Iran, Iran's foreign exchange earnings have fallen sharply, and this foreign exchange earning fluctuate due to dependency on dollar and due to dollar fluctuations and financial crises. Iran does not have the income to import foreign goods or to invest at home. In addition, there is no guarantee that, as at the time of the Iraq war, Europe will not split into two groups. The U.S. and Israeli pressures on Europe are very intense and this can undermine the unity of Europe. For Trump, an attempt to control Iran is an attempt to control Europe also.

Today, the Iranian leaders, who took the path of national betrayal in the struggle to assert Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy, appeal to European imperialists to save them from Trump's attacks. They complete the former treason with a new treason. The Iranian government's appeal to Europe is an act of desperation and stems from lack of perspective.

### **The Iranian opposition; Pro American-Israeli opposition**

There are Iranians who formally and openly support Trump's withdrawal for the Nuclear Deal. These were always in the counter-revolutionary front. There are also Iranians who make up their mistakes with new mistakes. These are those who have always been sympathetic to the US aggression against Iran and defended the aggressive policies of George W. Bush. There are self-claimed revolutionary Iranians who claimed that Iran had nuclear bomb, and who, in harmony with imperialism and Zionism, propagandized against Iran's nuclear bomb that was never found. These Iranians defended the treacherous Deal, claiming that the risk of war against Iran was overcome by this action. They claimed that Iran would find economic prosperity and would become a paradise. These liar Iranians have changed the color of their deceptions today and repeat the same Europeans' claim that Iran should "Stop interfering in the affairs of its neighbors."

and that "Iran should abandon its adventurist missile activities."

The U.S. President Trump and his administration have called for a regime change in Iran. Pro Imperialist-Zionist Iranian opposition does not consider this stand as U.S. interference into internal affairs of Iran.

This opposition paves the way for the political presence of imperialism in Iran. Their silence on the exposure of the nature of imperialism and Zionism discloses their reactionary and even treacherous nature.

### **The danger of war has increased**

After the violation of Iran's absolute right to peaceful nuclear energy and the imposition of the Nuclear Deal and withdrawal from the Iran's Nuclear Deal, the risk of war on Iran, which was never eliminated, has increased. The United States is working to strengthen Saudi Arabia, Israel, the United Arab Emirates, the Iranian sellout opposition, and the Kurdish and Azeri separatists to wage a full-scale war in the region. The United States has come to the Persian Gulf region from ten thousand Kilometers away, has set up many military bases in the region, have deployed ten thousand soldiers in Qatar, etc. , but the Iranian sellout opposition does not speak of the U.S. involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria or Yemen. The United States had never changed its strategic policy. It had delayed the implementation of its policy because Syrians, Lebanese and the Palestinians have been standing behind Iran. After failure of the policy followed by the U.S. and its allies on Syria, Yemen, and Bahrain, the Trump administration thinks it is time for a war on Iran.

At the time when Iran defended its right to peaceful use of nuclear energy, the economic condition in the country was better than now, the science of nuclear technology was developing, and the nuclear facilities were working. Comparing the conditions in those days with today's conditions, due to the betrayal of its national right, Iran has lost the game in this regard. The U.S. Imperialists have continued their strategic policy.

The regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran that gave the imperialists a finger, it has to give a hand and a head now. Reliance on European imperialists cannot save this regime either. The corruption and embezzlement that has encompassed the mafia rule in Iran, in which the whole blood family of clergymen have interest, have caused such a wide spread poverty that life has become intolerable for many millions of people. If even some of these gigantic scandals and embezzlements are prevented, if some of the clergies' sons are prosecuted for corruption and their wealth is confiscated, then financial problems of many people can be resolved and the many-months delayed workers' salary payments could be paid. It is not in the interest of the Commerce Department of the Islamic regime and its ally merchants in Bazaar to prevent import of products that destroy the domestic production. These imports produce poverty and their prevention can alleviate the wounds in our society. But the regime of the Islamic Republic, which is sunk in corruption it has produced, is not only facing the deep and general dissatisfaction of the people, but also faces fierce imperialist powers. The fate of all regimes that do not rely on their own people and do not meet the demands of the masses to oppose the imperialists' orders is the same stalemate that the regime of the Islamic Republic is facing today.

The Iranian people must overthrow this corrupt regime by their own struggles, and for fulfilling this task, they need organization and the leadership of the working class party of Iran. The struggle of the Iranian people must have an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, and democratic theme in order to be a revolutionary, progressive and effective movement. This movement must sharply distinguish itself from the very beginning from the reactionary movements of the velvet revolutions. Our party will put its utmost effort to make it happen. In Iran, free from the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is certain that the people of Iran will have their legitimate right to peaceful use of nuclear energy and will not submit to any kind of pressure and bullying.

## ***U.S. imperialism hands off Iran!***

The Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan)

May 19, 2018

[www.toufan.org](http://www.toufan.org)



# PRIDE MEANS FIGHT BACK

By: O. QUEEN

Pride once meant the pride that it took to not become a statistic in a system of oppression that produced early graves and starvation-level poverty. Pride once meant remembrance of the sacrifices made by historical LGBTQ+ figures who put their lives on the line at Stonewall in a riot against police brutality. Pride once meant memorializing those lost in the AIDS crisis to stigma and capitalist indifference.

Pride has become a time for brands to espouse how socially conscious they are without having to ante up any sort of meaningful LGBTQ+ liberation. Pride has become an exhausting ritual in seeking the approval of other LGBTQ+ people to prove that not only are you LGBTQ+, but that you are on their side. Pride has become liquor brands sponsoring events even as the effects of alcoholism disproportionately hit LGBTQ+ people.

I wish that I could say that I was excited for Pride this year as I was in my youth, before I saw the insidious nature of the event. I wish that it wasn't with a heavy heart that I was writing this, and that I was here to bring good news regarding LGBTQ+ liberation. It would be more fun if I could say that it would be easy to push forward or to succeed. The reality, the unfortunate, savage reality, is that capitalism has sought, at every single turn, to punish those who are alien, those who are other. When the capitalist attack on LGBTQ+ people could no longer be sustained primarily through their efforts to actively police LGBTQ+ people, they sought a new method.

The liquor companies kept free drinks flowing, knowing alcoholism was rampant. Banks denied loans for housing knowing the homelessness rates. The reality was that the attack never stopped, they shifted tactics to one that gave them an advantage. They brought cops to Pride events to make sure that the true spirit of Pride, the spirit of resistance, the spirit of survival, would be squashed.

So, this Pride, and for every Pride hereafter, there has to be a message heard by the capitalists, heard by the exploiters who would extend to us a rose, knowing damn well the thorns are poison. The message? Fight back. Fight back like your life depends on it, because, god damn it it does. Fight back against the gentrifiers seeking to use Pride as an excuse to drive out the homeless. Fight back against the police who are there to feint defense only to administer the beating in secret. Fight back. Just keep fighting.

The liberal "queer theorists," ultimately enemies of liberation, will tell you that you surviving alone is revolutionary. This, an insidious lie, was propagated to quell the idea that to be revolutionary there must be an objective of revolution. The bourgeois amongst LGBTQ+ will tell you that the goal is not the death of capitalist institutions that oppress us, it's integration into them. For some of us, that may be possible. For them, that's true. That capitalism has protected them, benefited them. For them, they would cut off your head to see their position protected.

Not every LGBTQ+ person will be an ally of the working class, and this pride is a time to assess, who are our allies, and who are our enemies. I know, you will find that without economic liberation there is no LGBTQ+ liberation. Without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary practice. Without Marxism there is no LGBTQ+ liberation.

We will not be afraid to drive out the wolves in sheep's clothing who seek to turn LGBTQ+ against the working class with myths of the reactionary nature of workers. We will not be afraid to turn on these, the true enemies of liberation, and to treat them as they are. We will drive out the gentrifiers, the capitalists, the police. We will remind them that Pride is not a celebration of a liberation that has never come. We will remind them that Pride means fight back.



**“No force, no torture, no intrigue,  
no deception can eradicate  
Marxism-Leninism from the minds  
and hearts of men.”**

**- Enver Hoxha, “Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism”**

**Legalize Workers - No More Detentions, No More  
Deportations, Abolish I.C.E.!**

**Guaranteed Work and a Livable Income!**

**Socialized Healthcare For All!**

**Nationalized Healthcare!**

**Free Education For All!**

**Equal Rights, Pay, and Housing For All!**

**End All Wars of Aggression!**

**Abolish Private Prisons, Free All Political  
Prisoners!**

**No Platform for Fascists!**

**Abolish Profit Made By the Exploitation of Labor!**

## Our General Line.

1. The American Party of Labor comes from and represents the American working class. From time to time and place to place there may be individuals who are admitted to the Party who do not have a working class background, or are not currently considered to be working class by Marxist-Leninist ideology and principles. Such individuals are exceptions to the general rule, as they have in effect transcended their class through conscious application of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

2. The American Party of Labor maintains that value in society is produced by human action within the material world. That is to say, value is created by the consumption of labor power. The working classes, which have only their labor power to sell for their daily sustenance, therefore make production possible. We call for the reorganization of society to provide the means of production to the working class to be administered either under an elected or selected management or collectively through a council system.

3. The American Party of Labor demands the abolition of private property and that all means of production be in the hands of the working class. Profit under capitalism is extracted surplus value from the consumption of labor power and constitutes a theft from the working class by the capitalist ruling class. Under our system, the working class will be paid the full value of their production less the necessary deductions to support the state and its various cultural, economic and social support projects.

4. The American Party of Labor demands that all oppressed nations within the context of the American Empire, including, but by no means limited to, Indigenous peoples, Native Hawaiians, Guamanians and Puerto Ricans (within the context of Puerto Rico), be given national self-determination as to whether or not they wish to remain in the American socialist state, which shall be constructed on the remnants of the United States. We call for the end of the so-called commonwealth system in all U.S. imperial possessions. The nations in these political organizations should either choose to become a U.S. state or an independent country.

5. The American Party of Labor demands the cancellation of all current

debt held by developing countries to the U.S. These loans were not made with the intention of helping the people of these countries, but rather to enslave those countries with debt.

6. The American Party of Labor is a party against all imperialism. We are opposed to all wars of aggression on the world stage and all other threats of war and military intervention. We call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from abroad. We stand shoulder-to-shoulder with all occupied peoples and with all nations living underneath neo-colonial regimes. We call for the end of foreign aid to Israel, Colombia and other outposts of capitalist and imperialist aggression.

7. The American Party of Labor is an internationalist party. All peoples around the globe struggling for their emancipation from their own systems of exploitation are our allies. We extend our hands to all revolutionary organizations guided by Marxism-Leninism worldwide and to national liberation movements of exploited peoples of all countries because our cause is one and the same.

8. The American Party of Labor demands the U.S. withdrawal from NATO and other imperialist alliances.

9. The American Party of Labor stands fully against the militarization of the U.S.-Mexican border. It supports the rights of immigrants and the ending of neo-liberal policies in other countries, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean, that drive sustenance farmers off their lands and to the United States due to a lack of economic opportunity in their native countries.

10. The American Party of Labor has a more generalized list of our demands and positions in a separate document called the Party Platform.

**The Red Phoenix is published bi-monthly  
by The American Party of Labor.**

American Party of Labor  
P.O. Box 30232  
Chicago, IL 60630-0232

<http://AmericanPartyofLabor.org/>

**Editorial Board:** Victor Vaughn, Mike Bessler, Alfonso Casal, Mike DeRuiter, Sebastian Lemba, Leonard Zorfass.

**Managing Editor:** Leonard Zorfass.

**Staff:** Polina Brik, Garit Boshcka, Kevin Connolly, John Palameda

Labor donated.