# 1NC

## Cap K:

#### [Fukuda 10] The corporate globalization of the 1AC is capitalism in decay – the next step in neoliberal regulation of markets and expansion of the new age of imperialism. Localization becomes turned into globalization, every decision is now monitored through the lens of market efficient and capitalist expansion. Production becomes continually outsources and expanded in the name of growth

Fukuda 10 WTO REGIME AS A NEW STAGE OF IMPERIALISM: DECAYING CAPITALISM AND ITS ALTERNATIVE Author(s): Yasuo Fukuda Source: World Review of Political Economy, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Fall 2010), pp. 485-499 Published by: Pluto Journals Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/41931884 Yasuo Fukuda, Professor of Graduate School of Economics at Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, and author of Modern Market Economy and Inflation ( 1 992), Commodificationf Land and Urban Problems (1993), Distribution of Wealth and Income in Modern Japan (2002) and Corporate Globalization and Local Sovereignty (2010). Email: [fukuda@econ.hit-u.ac.jp](mailto:fukuda@econ.hit-u.ac.jp) <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262097784_WTO_REGIME_AS_A_NEW_STAGE_OF_IMPERIALISM_DECAYING_CAPITALISM_AND_ITS_ALTERNATIVE> //avery

Thus, the WTO regime is nothing short of a regime of imperialism, whereby monopoly capital exercises governing power over both national markets and the world economy. Whereas the first four of the five pillars by which Lenin defined imperialism still apply under the WTO regime, in place of the fifth (colonization), monopoly capital has gained new tools of dominance, most specifically the ability to design market rules. In losing the policy space to protect and develop local firms, developing countries are obliged to become incorporated into a global network managed by monopoly capital. In this way, income is steadily transferred from the lower rungs of the global economy to monopoly capital at the top. In short, the WTO regime constitutes a new stage of imperialism, in which monopoly capital holds hegemony over market rules in place of colonization. The WTO Regime: A Decaying Stage of Capitalism The WTO regime was devised under the initiatives of monopoly capital as a means to promote corporate globalization. The next task is to explore what corporate globalization has brought to society. The true nature of corporate globalization is expressed in its outcomes. Lenin characterized imperialism as a decaying stage of capitalism, owing to its unproductive character, which he described as rentier capitalism. The aim of this section is to show that corporate globalization too is nothing more than a decaying stage of capitalism. WRPE1.3 Produced and distributed by Pluto Journals WRPE.plutojournals.org This content downloaded from 162.38.186.136 on Mon, 1 Sep 2014 16:38:13 PM All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions 490 YASUO FUKUDA Over the past three decades, multinational corporations have drastically increased their shares of foreign investment and have greatly expanded their activities in the global marketplace. UNCTAD publishes the Trans-Nationality Index (TNI), which is a composite of three ratios: (foreign assets)/(totalssets), (foreign sales)/(total sales), and (foreign employment)/(total employment). The TNI for the world's top 100 companies increased from 47.0 percent in 1993 to 55.8 percent in 2003, an increase of 8.8 percent (UNCTAD 2007). The top 200 companies increased their share of total assets by 655.9 percent between 1983 and 2002, while the world GDP increased by just 179.5 percent over the same period (Anderson et al. 2005). This gap between the growth rates of corporate assets and GDP shows a considerable income shift from wages to profits. This rise in profits against wages has advanced considerably in the course of globalization (Ellwood 2001). Turning to the issue of standards of living in local communities, here the bleak side of corporate globalization is on full display. Corporate globalization has created a divided society, distinguished by rising levels of poverty among those at the lower end of the economic spectrum. In the US, which is the most unequal society among the OECD, the Gini coefficient (which measures household income inequality) has risen almost constantly since the late 1960s. Presently, the top 20 percent of US households possess 47.3 percent of total household income (2007) and 84.7 percent of net assets (2004) (Wolff 2001; Mishel et al. 2008/2009). This level of inequality is the result of considerable income gaps between capital and labor; management and the rank-and-file; standard and non-standard forms of employment; and large companies and subcontractors. It is the activities of monopoly capital which have caused the widening of these gaps. Moreover, multinational corporations have developed so-called downsizing policies, replacing standard employees with their non-standard counterparts. Such downsizing has drastically changed the make-up of society. These changes have transformed what was once basically a cooperative society into one which is markedly divided. Furthermore, this policy of downsizing is itself the result of corporate globalization in two key ways. One is a shift in the power balance toward multinational corporations; the other is the intensificationf global competition among multinationals. Large multinational firms benefit from a wide range of selection-capacity in deciding where to locate facilities, including the ability to outsource production abroad. On the other hand, it is very difficult for workers to cross national borders in search of better employment opportunities; workers must seek jobs within their respective region. This difference in the flexibility of capital against labor gives capital the upper hand in regards to negotiated labor contracts. Deregulation of labor markets further advantages management over labor. Therefore, neo-liberal policies in the labor market affect the power balance between management and labor in just World Review of Political Economy This content downloaded from 162.38.186.136 on Mon, 1 Sep 2014 16:38:13 PM All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions WTO REGIME AS A NEW STAGE OF IMPERIALISM 491 the same way as a collapse of trade unions. For just the same logic as in the labor market, the power balance has undergone a steady shiftoward monopoly capital and away from small to medium-sized firms. Corporate globalization has also widened the per capita income gap between the north and the south, exacerbating the south 's poverty. While the number of people living on less than $1.25 per day decreased between 1981 and 2005, the number of people living on less than $2 per day rose considerably over the same period. After the collapse of the housing bubble in 2008, around 1 billion people now face chronic hunger and starvation. Poverty in developing countries often has a historical context, such as estate ownership or civil war. Still, neo-liberal policies have made it much more difficult for developing countries to address issues of poverty within their borders (Oxfam 2002; UNCTAD 2004: 189). The IMF and the World Bank have occupied a central role in bringing developing countries into the fold of corporate globalization. Since the 1980s, under the IMF's Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), more than 100 developing countries have been forced to adopt "open door" policies with respect to investment and trade (Chossudovsky 1 997, 1 998). Once the door has been pried open, large multinational firms - for instance, the major players of agribusiness and infra-business - are quick to extend their reach into the newly available markets. As a result, considerable damage results to the people of developing countries through, for example, loss of traditional industries like family farming and the privatization of hitherto public resourcesuch as community water supplies. After the 1997 East Asian financial crisis, the IMF met with severe criticism for imposing neo-liberal based readjustment regimes on the afflicted countries. Nevertheless, the IMF has continued to adhere to a neo-liberal approach with respect to the global recession which is currently underway following the collapse of the housing bubble in 2008 (Weisbrot et al. 2009). The IMF's Structural Adjustment Program was formulated as global rules by WTO agreements. Thus, neo-liberalism has become the predominant feature with respect to international rules on trade. Liberalization of trade policy amounts to nothing but the loss on the part of national governments of the policy space to govern. Developing countries need flexible tariff systems, quantitative import controls, and capital controls to protect their local industries. They also need policies such as local content controls and export subsidies to foster new economic development. WTO agreements prohibit or strictly limit the use of these industrial policies, in spite of the fact that these very same policies were employed to great effect by developed countries during their earlier stages of development. Deprived of this policy space, developing countries are easily brought under the governance of monopoly capital. Following the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, global capitalism underwent a variety of considerable changes, leading to the intensification ofa casino-like character on the part of the financial sector, accompanied by increasing levels WRPE1.3 Produced and distributed by Pluto Journals WRPE.plutojournals.org This content downloaded from 162.38.186.136 on Mon, 1 Sep 2014 16:38:13 PM All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions 492 YASUO FUKUDA of instability with respect to peoples' lives. This transformation of the structure of capitalism proceeded in parallel with the financialization of the economy, the phenomenon whereby trends in financial markets have come to lead the non-financial sectors. In the US, the ratio of financial assets to GDP rose from 4.2 in the 1 970s, to 6.0 in 1980s, and to 10.0 by 2007. The share of financial-sector profits, including insurance and real property, exceeded the profits of all non-financial sectors in the US in the late 1990s. In the course of financialization, it is not just industry that is drawn into the casino economy. Private citizens are also forced to become involved in the action. After retirement, dependency on financial markets increases considerably. The predominant share of pension plans has now shifted from defined-benefit packages to defined-contribution plans for both public and private pension accounts. Pension funds are often tied to speculation in commodity futures, such as futures for cereals or fuels. Nobody knows how much retirement income he or she will eventually gain. In the end, it is the casino economy which determines the final value of pension benefits. The explosive growth of the financial sector, particularly since the 1980s, is attributable to two factors: over-accumulation on the part of manufacturing industries (especially monopoly capital sectors), and deregulation. Manufacturing sectors in the G7 were faced with over-accumulation in the 1970s, after the period of prolonged growth following the end of the Second World War. Since then, both the rate of profits and accumulation for the manufacturing sector have markedly declined (Brenner 2002). On the other hand, the ratio of operating surplus (cash flow over gross fixed capital formation) has increased (Stockhammer 2007). Overaccumulation leads to the accumulation of surplus money. Monopoly capital has sought an alternative to holding money idle by investing it in the financial sector. In order to realize this alternative, deregulation of financial markets was required. In short, monopoly capital has utilized the financial sector as a means of changing idle money into active capital, leading to the advance of financialization. In the US, deregulation of the financial sector has proceeded as follows. Firstly, all "interest and financial transaction fee" regulations were abolished by 1986. Second, in 1985, securitization of mortgages was invented by Salomon Brothers. Third, the McFadden Act, which prohibited banks from operating branches across state lines, was deregulated step-by-step from 1974, and finally abolished in 1994. Fourth, the Glass-Steagall Act, which included aprovision prohibiting bank holding companies from owning other financial firms, was finally abolished in 1999. Lastly, commodity futures were deregulated in 2000, from which followed the abolition of leveraging regulations in 2004. These acts of deregulation proceeded under the cooperation of the US government and Wall Street. Robert Rubin, a former co-chairman of Goldman-Sachs, served as Treasury Secretary for the Clinton adminWorld Review of Political Economy This content downloaded from 162.38.186.136 on Mon, 1 Sep 2014 16:38:13 PM All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions WTO REGIME AS A NEW STAGE OF IMPERIALISM 493 istration. Following his tenure at the treasury, Rubin became an executive officer for Citibank. Alan Greenspan, upon stepping down from his chairmanship at the Federal Reserve, took a consulting job at Pimco. Henry Paulson, a former Goldman-Sachs CEO, served the George W. Bush administration as Treasury Secretary. Furthermore, it is Wall Street banks which have benefited most from the policies of deregulation. They created new financial businesses, inflated them with cash sucked up from household savings, pension funds, and deposits in S&L institutions, channeling these funds into the securities markets. The resulting influx of funds pushed stock prices up. Following the "management buyout" boom, which began in the late 1970s and proceeded through the 1980s, Wall Street banks expanded into the mergers and acquisition (M&A) business, including "hostile" takeovers. Regarding non-financial firms, direct financing has become more attractive because of the rise of stock prices. Thus, since the mid-1980s, household savings and pension funds have flowed into securities markets, especially via institutional investors (such as mutual funds), thus bypassing bank deposits. In short, financialization has gone hand in hand with securitization. After the collapse of the IT (or dotcom) bubble in 2000, surplus money rushed into the real-estate market, causing a housing bubble. Here again, the activities of Wall Street banks played a key part in the inflation of the bubble. Since the 1980s, they had invented new securitized commodities, such as Mortgage Backed Securities (MBS), Collateralized Debt Obligations (CDO), and Credit Default Swaps (CDS), channeling the surpluses which they had inhaled from all over the world into speculation, and blowing up the housing bubble as a result. Modern capitalism needs speculation to keep the economy afloat. Financial markets now serve not only as a place for speculation, but also as a source of funds, which in turn fuel still more speculation. What forced these changes to the financial sector was over-accumulation by monopoly capital and deregulation initiated at monopoly capital's behest. In this sense, the casino economy, and the instability which it breeds, are direct outcomes of the dominance of monopoly capital. Furthermore, corporate globalization damages the ecology, thus threatening food security. Multinational negotiations on agriculture were conducted for the first time during the GATT Uruguay Round. Agribusiness leaders, most notably the CEOs of Cargill and Monsanto, took part in negotiations as representatives of the US government. The resulting Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) was written with the primary aim of liberalizing trade in agricultural goods. Liberalization of agricultural trade causes immense damage to farmers and consumers alike. Those who benefit are overwhelmingly the large stakeholders of agribusiness. The food system is comprised of three parts: the upper stream (seeds, agrochemicals, farm machinery, and fertilizer), the lower stream (trade, processing, and retail), and farming. Agribusiness firms concentrate ownership in both upper and lower stream markets. They then vertically integrate the three stages of the food WRPE1.3 Produced and distributed by Pluto Journals WRPE.plutojournals.org This content downloaded from 162.38.186.136 on Mon, 1 Sep 2014 16:38:13 PM All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions 494 YASUO FUKUDA system, often combining the upper and lower streams (Heffernan and Hendrickson 2002, 2005; Hendrickson and Heffernan 2005; Hendrickson et al. 2001). Farming, caught in the middle, loses initiative in the food system and is put under pressure to cut costs. This impetus to cut costs itself derives from globalization. By putting local products into global competition, agribusiness forces farmers to compete in the world market. The result is a sort of "race to the bottom" in regards to farming. These cost-cutting pressures force farmers to either exit from farming or expand the scale of production so as to realize lower costs. Through this process, corporate globalization leads to the intensification of industrial farming. What emerge are highly mechanized and immensely capital-intensive farming practices. Moreover, industrial farming consumes natural resources in large quantities, such as groundwater and fossil fuels, both in the transport of products over long distances and in the use of farming chemicals. Industrial farming is also heavily reliant on monoculture, which is used to further raise productivity. However, this kind of industrialized farming is not sustainable. It is said that nearly 40 percent of the world food supply depends on wasteful irrigation from rivers, lakes, and groundwater. This leads to groundwater depletion and salinization of the land. In the US, 23 percent of farmland is already affected by salt that has accumulated through wasteful irrigation methods (Briscoe 2002). Moreover, massive chemical use poisons land and water, thus destroying vegetation and animal life. These living creatures constitute indispensable elements of ecological systems, which are circular movements responsible for the reproduction of every organism on the planet. Presently, the most devastating risk to biodiversity is biotech crops, introduced by multinational corporations such as Monsanto. Although biotech seeds, such as herbicide or pest resistant strains, may raise productivity in the short term, they also adversely affect crop diversity. Once biotech seeds are in use, it is hard to control their migration, and cross-pollination is prone to occur with other plants. This sort of accident has already been reported across many countries. For these reasons, industrial farming does not guarantee food security for the people. For one, it forces farmers into insolvency due to the pressure to cut costs in the face of competition from multinational agribusiness. It also destroys the ecology, thereby damaging the integrity of both the natural environment and species diversity, which are indispensable to sustainable farming. Finally, corporate globalization undermines local communities, which are the fundamental basis of peoples' lives. The local community stands on three legs: a viable local economy, common control of public resources such as infrastructure and public services, and self-governance of community affairs (policy space). Corporate globalization threatens each of these three legs. First, it deprives workers, small to medium-sized firms, the self-employed, and farmers of their livelihoods. World Review of Political Economy This content downloaded from 162.38.186.136 on Mon, 1 Sep 2014 16:38:13 PM All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions WTO REGIME AS A NEW STAGE OF IMPERIALISM 495 Multinational corporations have no reason to adhere to the will of a particular community. In their quest for higher profits, they downsize, outsource, replace local workers with subcontractors overseas, and undermine small-scale farming. All of these things destroy employment prospects, and thereby diminish the effective demand of local communities. Corporate globalization also eats away at the second leg, common control of public resources. It is becoming difficult for local governments to sustain public services because of pressures from monopoly capital to cut corporate taxes and privatize the commons. WTO Agreements take priority in regards to business decisions relating to the commons. GATS opens the door for large companies to force local governments to privatize public goods and infrastructure. TRIPS ensures the right of monopoly capital to own living forms, such as seeds and genetic information, as private property. Corporate globalization also undermines the third leg, community selfgovernance. As mentioned above, corporate globalization is a stage of capitalism whereby monopoly capital both governs the market and determines the market rules. Local community interests were virtually unrepresented during GATT Uruguay Round negotiations, as big business CEOs and government officials colluded to draft agreements which deregulated trade and deprived local communities of their policy space. The effects of corporate globalization on community life allow for no other conclusion than that corporate globalization represents a decaying stage of capitalism. Corporate globalization guarantees people neither ahappy and stable life nor security of food or livelihood. This decaying character originates from the power of large firms. In regards to the power balance between capital and labor, the WTO regime occupies the opposite pole of democracy. The history of capitalism is a history of collusion between economic and political power, by which capital has been steadily concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, and especially from the early 20th century onward, into the hands of big business. Corporate globalization is the culmination of a process whereby corporations have seized control of the power of governance as a means of influencing economic and political affairs. R. Reich (2007) criticizes modern capitalism (which he terms "supercapitalism") for "its negative social consequences" such as the widening of the income-inequality gap, "reduced job security," the loss of local community, the weakening of public morality, etc. And, while he concedes that large firms now hold overwhelming economic and political power, he does not accept the notion that monopoly capital is the culprit behind these social diseases. The culprits are, he insists, the activities of consumers and investors who are merely out "to get the best deals [they] possibly can" (that is, low prices, quick responses, and high returns). WRPE 1.3 Produced and distributed by Pluto Journals WRPE.plutojournals.org This content downloaded from 162.38.186.136 on Mon, 1 Sep 2014 16:38:13 PM All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions 496 YASUO FUKUDA While it is true that progress in information ad communication technology has made global competition among large firms harsher, it is also the case that large multinational corporations control global markets through the command of high market shares, and that they tailor the market rules to fit their businesses and to facilitate expansion into new markets (Crotty 2007; Balanyá et al. 2003). Simply put, power and gain are two sides of the same coin. Reich should have stopped to think about who has gained most from globalization. It is monopoly capital which has benefited most, and it is the governing power of monopoly capital which has spawned the divided society in which we now live, undermining the ecology and hollowing out local communities all the while.

#### [Badiou 08]“The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it” – truth is the process from theory to practice, pure theorization divorced of practice and rebellions are essentially reactionary and leads to useless accumulation of ideas and idealist absurdities. Thus, the role of the ballot is to vote for the best method that rebels against the capitalist reactionaries

Badiou 08 [(Alain Badiou, a professor emeritus of philosophy at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris, works with Organisation Politique, a postparty organization.)“The Maoism of Alain Badiou.” The Marxist-Leninist, The Marxist-Leninist, 24 Mar. 2008, marxistleninist.wordpress.com/2008/03/23/the-maoism-of-alain-badiou/. Accessed 4 Sept. 2021.] Comrade PW

A. Practice, Theory, Knowledge We are already handed something essential here: every Marxist statement is—in a single, dividing movement—observation and directive. As a concentrate of real practice, it equals its movement in order to return to it. Since all that is draws its being only from its becoming, equally, theory as knowledge of what is has being only by moving toward that of which it is the theory. Every knowledge is orientation, every description is prescription. The sentence, “it is right to rebel against the reactionaries,” bears witness to this more than any other. In it we find expressed the fact that Marxism, prior to being the full-fledged science of social formation, is the distillate of what rebellion demands: that one consider it right, that reason be rendered to it. Marxism is both a taking sides and the systematization of a partisan experience. The existence of a science of social formations bears no interest for the masses unless it reflects and concentrates their real revolutionary movement. Marxism must be conceived as the accumulated wisdom of popular revolutions, the reason they engender, the fixation and detailing of their target. Mao Zedong’s sentence clearly situates rebellion as the originary place of correct ideas, and reactionaries as those whose destruction is legitimated by theory. Mao’s sentence situates Marxist truth within the unity of theory and practice. Marxist truth is that from which rebellion draws its rightness, its reason, to demolish the enemy. It repudiates any equality in the face of truth. In a single movement, which is knowledge in its specific division into description and directive, it judges, pronounces the sentence, and immerses itself in its execution. Rebels possess knowledge, according to their aforementioned essential movement, their power and their duty: to annihilate the reactionaries. Marx’s Capital does not say anything different: the proletarians are right to violently overthrow the capitalists. Marxist truth is not a conciliatory truth. It is, in and of itself, dictatorship and, if need be, terror. Mao Zedong’s sentence reminds us that, for a Marxist, the link from theory to practice (from reason to rebellion) is an internal condition of theory itself, because truth is a real process, it is rebellion against the reactionaries. There is hardly a truer and more profound statement in Hegel than the following: “The absolute Idea has turned out to be the identity of the theoretical Idea and the practical Idea. Each of these by itself is still one-sided” (Hegel, [Science of Logic](http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/hl/hlconten.htm)). For Hegel, absolute truth is the contradictory unity of theory and practice. It is the uninterrupted and divided process of being and the act. Lenin salutes this enthusiastically: “The unity of the theoretical idea (of knowledge) and of practice—this NB—and this unity precisely in the theory of knowledge, for the resulting sum is the “absolute idea” (Lenin, [Philosophical Notebooks](http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/cw/volume38.htm)). Let us read this sentence very carefully, since, remarkably, it divides the word “knowledge” into two. That is a crucial point, on which we shall often return: knowledge, as theory, is (dialectically) opposed to practice. Theory and practice form a unity, that is to say, for the dialectic, a unity of opposites. But this knowledge (theory/)practice contradiction is in turn the very object of the theory of knowledge. In other words, the inner nature of the process of knowledge is constituted by the theory/practice contradiction. Or again, practice, which as such is dialectically opposed to knowledge (to theory), is nevertheless an integral part of knowledge qua process. In all Marxist texts we encounter this scission, this double occurrence of the word “knowledge,” designating either theory in its dialectical correlation to practice or the overall process of this dialectic, that is, the contradictory movement of these two terms, theory and practice. Consider Mao, [“Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?”](http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-9/mswv9_01.htm): “Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process . . . leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge” (Mao Zedong, Five Philosophical Essays). The movement of knowledge is the practice-knowledge-practice trajectory. Here “knowledge” designates one of the terms in the process but equally the process taken as a whole, a process that in turn includes two occurrences of practice, initial and final. To stabilize our vocabulary,2 and remain within the tradition, we will call “theory” the term in the theory/practice contradiction whose overall movement will be the process of “knowledge.” We will say: Knowledge is the dialectical process practice/theory. On this basis we may expose the reactionary illusion entertained by those who imagine they can circumvent the strategic thesis of the primacy of practice. It is clear that whoever is not within the real revolutionary movement, whoever is not practically internal to the rebellion against the reactionaries, knows nothing, even if he theorizes. Mao Zedong did indeed affirm that in the theory/practice contradiction—that is, in a phase of the real process—theory could temporarily play the main role: “The creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role in those times of which Lenin said, ‘Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement'” (Mao, [On Contradiction](http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-1/mswv1_17.htm)). Does this mean that, at that moment, theory amounts to an intrinsic revolutionary possibility, that pure “Marxist theoreticians” can and must emerge? Absolutely not. It means that, in the theory/practice contradiction that constitutes the process of knowledge, theory is the principal aspect of the contradiction; that the systematization of practical revolutionary experiences is what allows one to advance; that it is useless to continue quantitatively to accumulate these experiences, to repeat them, because what is on the agenda is the qualitative leap, the rational synthesis immediately followed by its application, that is, its verification. But without these experiences, without organized practice (because organization alone allows the centralization of experiences), there is no systematization, no knowledge at all. Without a generalized application there is no testing ground, no verification, no truth. In that case “theory” can only give birth to idealist absurdities. We thus come back to our starting point: practice is internal to the rational movement of truth. In its opposition to theory, it is part of knowledge. It is this intuition that accounts for Lenin’s enthusiastic reception of the Hegelian conception of the absolute Idea, to the point that he makes Marx into the mere continuation of Hegel. (“Marx, consequently, clearly sides with Hegel in introducing the criterion of practice into the theory of knowledge,” Lenin, [Philosophical Notebooks](http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/cw/volume38.htm).) Mao Zedong’s sentence lends its precision to Lenin’s enthusiasm. It is the general historical content of Hegel’s dialectical statement. It is not just any practice that internally anchors theory, it is the rebellion against the reactionaries. Theory, in turn, does not externally legislate on practice, on rebellion: it incorporates itself in the rebellion by the mediating release of its reason. In this sense, it is true that the sentence says it all, an all that summarizes Marxism’s class position, its concrete revolutionary significance. An all outside which stands anyone who tries to consider Marxism not from the standpoint of rebellion but from that of the break; not from the standpoint of history but from that of the system; not from the standpoint of the primacy of practice but from that of the primacy of theory; not as the concentrated form of the wisdom of the working people but as its a priori condition.

#### [Neilson 21] Capitalist crisis tendencies causes a doom loop – Climate change, economic collapse, rise of neofascism, and international wars – extinction

Neilson 21 Neilson D. Reversing the catastrophe of neoliberal-led global capitalism in the time of coronavirus: Towards a democratic socialist alternative. Capital & Class. 2021;45(2):191-213. doi:10.1177/0309816821997114 David Neilson, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, 3240 New Zealand. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0309816821997114 //avery

Following Wallerstein’s theory of ‘world capitalism’, the rise and now deep descent of the Empire of the US hegemon bifurcates the time line from 1945 to the present (Robinson 2011). This temporal bifurcation also coincides with the rise and falling of two ‘models of development’: the ‘Keynesian-led Fordist model of development’ (1945–1980) and since then the ‘neoliberal model of development’ (Neilson 2012, 2020a). The ‘model of development’ concept deployed here resonates with the world capitalism sense of ‘model’ that refers to the national exemplar of the hegemon that stamps its institutional form on other countries. It also resonates with standard regulation theory, where the ‘model’ concept is extended to mean an ideal-typical national ‘mode of regulation’ (i.e. institutions and discourses that ‘counteract’ capitalism’s inherent instability) plus a ‘regime of accumulation’ (i.e. an associated stable pattern of production, investment and consumption) that a group of countries have more or less followed (Lipietz 1988). While retaining the regulation accumulation nexus, critical renovation of the FRS perspective brings in the national-trans-national connection, ‘pro-active’ regulation and praxis. In this revised conception, regulation is conceptualised as ‘a prospective national regulatory template that multiple nation states are encouraged to adopt as part of a trans-national project’ that has been purposefully designed to achieve calculated transnational and international economic and social effects when widely adopted (Neilson, 2020a: 94). The agents of the ‘neoliberal model of development’ have followed Keynes’ breakthrough praxis that theorised and then practically promoted the world’s first ‘model of development’, though in the opposite direction. The key shift is from ‘counteractive regulation’ to ‘proactive regulation’. In the era of the Keynesian–Fordist Long Boom counteractive regulation stabilised capitalism’s inherent instability by protecting countries from trans-national capitalist forces and thereby, enabling the former to pursue politically organised demand-led counteractive national regulation that facilitated stable nation-centric accumulation. In contrast, the neoliberal model of development institutes forms of ‘proactive’, that is, pro-capital and pro-market, regulation that confirm the inherently unstable logic of global capital accumulation both trans-nationally and nationally (Neilson & Stubbs 2016). In brief summary, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organization (WTO) agents of the neoliberal model of development have encouraged the widespread adoption of its regulatory national template that opens up countries to the free movement of capital both within and across their borders. In aggregate effect, the widespread adoption of the national template has generated movement towards a global market ‘level playing field’ on which capital can move freely and for whom competition can come from anywhere. In turn, this level playing field has transformed countries into ‘competition states’ that must contest with each other to win a viable share of this moving capital by operating within global wage and productivity norms compatible with capitalist competitiveness and profitability (Cerny 2010; Hirsch 1997). This level playing field entails a win–lose contestation as its sporting analogy implies, but not just among capitalist players. This global market form of capitalism also disciplines and divides nation states and their labouring populations in competitive struggle. Capital’s capacity to move without regulatory impediment or discrimination across and within fixed national territories subordinates nation states and their labouring populations to the narrow priorities of capital. Capital, and the cosmopolitan elements of the capitalist and middle classes, have a world opened up for their free movement, while nation states and the immense majority of their labouring populations that are fixed in space must attract these free moving forces to be economically viable (Aglietta 1998). This competitive power structure unleashed by the neoliberal model of development is at the heart of the perfect storm of contemporary capitalism’s interacting and mutually intensifying multi-dimensional crisis tendencies. They comprise planet-wide ecological degradation and destabilisation, recurring economic crises, intensifying uneven development between winner and loser countries linked with a dangerously regressive nationalist tendency towards neo-fascism, and now a global pandemic. At the same time, nation state viability is dependent on achieving a competitive place within the neoliberal-led global mode of accumulation. Global competition forces national specialisation, not just of whole products but also due to the ‘third international division of labour’s’ (Lipietz 1997) globally segmented production of single commodities, of parts of products, or global commodity chains (Foster & Suwandi 2020; Wallace et al. 2020). As a result, national economic viability within the terms of this crisis-ridden neoliberal model of development is dependent on achieving specialised export competitiveness and importing everything else. Inversely, nation state dependence on this unstable world of market competition and global production undermines local autocentric accumulation. The connecting thesis focusing this article is that reversing contemporary capitalism’s crisis tendencies and putting in place a new sustainable and progressive trajectory requires a new cooperative model of development that can unite all countries of the world in the project to facilitate their ecologically sustainable economic self-sufficiency. Neoliberal globalisation and ecocatastrophe Intrinsic to the capitalist mode of production is the ‘exploitation’ of Nature that has been ‘absolutely’ extended by the neoliberal model of development. Especially in Marx’s ‘absolute surplus value’ sense of labour’s exploitation, capital’s wealth and power grows by destructively consuming or using up the living labouring population.1 In a parallel way, capital’s wealth and power grows by the ‘absolute exploitation’ of Nature (see Foster & Clark 2018). Capital accumulation by destructively consuming Nature includes the industrial exploitation of non-human sentient life for food, unsustainable consumption of non-renewable raw materials and relatedly, destruction of pre-existing ecologies that now are all culminating in the whole planet’s descent towards ecological crisis that is presently intersecting with economic and epidemiological crises (Foster and Suwandi 2020). The neoliberal model of development has both extended and intensified capitalism’s absolute exploitation of Nature. Like absolute labour exploitation in that it is ‘extensive’, the exploitation of Nature under neoliberal-led global capitalism has spread to engulf the whole planet. This spreading also intensifies the ‘relative surplus value’ form of Nature’s exploitation as it goes hand in hand with a rising ‘organic composition of capital’ and the shift towards a global industrial scale of accumulation. Increasing the scale of accumulation that increases the physical distance between production and consumption, in turn ceteris paribus, directly increases the rate at which human and natural energy is consumed. Global accumulation increases the labour diseconomies of scale towards their natural planetary limit. As well, it leads to diseconomies and ‘dis-ecologies’ of natural resource consumption. Unless there is a fundamental reversal of the neoliberal model of development’s global market-competition-based regulatory architecture that has facilitated global scale capital accumulation, continuing escalation and compounding of present unsustainable levels of ecological destruction are guaranteed The global financial crisis and the enduring core truth of the Keynesian critique The neoliberal model of development’s reversal of Keynes’ project to construct the transnational conditions that made organised and autocentric national economic development viable is central to the recurring national, regional and now global economic crises of the current era. While the recent global economic crisis took the form of an overaccumulation crisis that has its deep roots in the rising organic composition of capital, the immediate regulatory problem is that widespread proactive neoliberal regulation has created a patchwork of competition states overlaid by a single global market that systematically depresses global aggregate demand. An enduring truth of Keynes’ project, and also central to the FRS’s explanation of the post-Second World War Fordist Long Boom, is that stable national economic growth depends on being able to deliberately coordinate demand to match increasing supply. More specifically, as the FRS argue, the key relationship underpinning the counteractively regulated stability of the advanced capitalist countries in the post-Second World War era of the Long Boom took the form of ‘class compromise’ based institutions that calibrated wage growth (including social wage growth) with productivity increases (Lipietz 1988). However, while Keynes’ demand-side analysis of how to create stable autocentric local accumulation is widely appreciated; there is less appreciation, first, of his supply-side advocacy of local accumulation: A considerable degree of international specialisation is necessary in a rational world in all cases where it is dictated by wide differences of climate, natural resources, native aptitudes, level of culture and density of population. But over an increasingly wide range of industrial products, and perhaps of agricultural products also, I have become doubtful whether the economic loss of national self-sufficiency is great enough to outweigh the other advantages of gradually bringing the product and the consumer within the ambit of the same national, economic, and financial organisation [my emphasis]. (Keynes 1933) Second, not so widely appreciated either is that Keynes was deeply aware that the viability of nation-centric accumulation depended on the existence of a transnational framework that could neutralise the demand-depressing logic of international capital mobility (Neilson 2020a). From Keynes’ perspective, the current after-Fordist neoliberal-led crisis prone accumulation trajectory is completely expected. That is, capital’s global mobility that turns countries into competition states undermines local production and turns demand-led domestic economic management into economic suicide. In particular, by increasing the propensity towards increased local consumption of imported commodities, increasing wages undermines both countries’ export competitiveness and local production. In a classic private–public good dilemma, this narrow national interest in containing wage growth that has been forced on countries by the current framework of locational competition, directly conflicts with viable production at the local level and with stable demand at the transnational aggregate level. When productivity grows everywhere but demand is locally depressed everywhere, then there will be strong tendencies towards recurring ‘realisation’ crises, that is, where capital cannot turn surplus value into profit. Ironically, given the moralistic hype of monetarist theory in the 1970s, the global market has been prevented from falling even more deeply and often by the massive increase of cheap credit-driven debt, and especially by the United States borrowing that enabled it to act as the ‘market of last resort’ (Van Elteren 2009). The fundamental instability of this model of growth expresses itself as a deepening disconnection between a rapidly growing ‘enchanted world’ of credit and the underlying reality of accumulation (Lipietz 1985). For Marx, this overaccumulation crisis tendency where insufficient outlets for profitable capital investment leads to expansion in the ‘enchanted world’ of speculation and asset inflation, has its deep structural cause in the rising ‘organic composition of capital’ (Clark 1990; Marx 1976, 1981) defined as the increasing proportion of fixed capital to variable capital. On the production side, capitalist development and deployment of new fixed capital that do not generate at least an equivalent increase in the productivity of labour results in a declining rate of profit. On the consumption side, labour’s oversupply (‘relative surplus population’) due to increasing productivity that pushes down wage levels drives demand deficiency (Neilson & Stubbs 2011). The Keynesian model of development’s form of regulation countered capitalism’s overaccumulation tendency on the demand-side, while the neoliberal model of development’s proactive regulation unleashes capitalism’s demand deficiency tendency on a global level. In this era, overaccumulation that begins with the collapse of speculative financial bubbles is underpinned by the zero-sum downwards spiral logic of competitive wage advantage viciously interacting with a rising organic composition of capital. Furthermore, the logic of competition between unequally equipped countries that leads to some countries crashing also contributes to the problem of insufficient global demand. Uneven development and the race to the bottom Contrary to a superficial reading of what Marx wrote in Capital Vol. 1’s preface, the long history of capitalism is one of uneven development (Neilson 2018a). Since Marx, and after Lenin, Bukharin and Trotsky as well, capitalism has gone through several mid-range variations in the form of its uneven development. The ‘World Capitalism’ approach offers a theory of capitalism’s uneven development that includes application to the pre-neoliberal stage of the era of the US Empire (e.g. Amin 1976; Wallerstein 2004). Their perspective on recent capitalist history is grounded in their analysis of the ‘second international division of labour’ that is coordinated by an ‘unequal exchange’ relationship. That is, industrial commodities produced by well-paid socially protected workers of the advanced capitalist countries in the core capitalist metropoles are exchanged with raw materials and primary products produced by poorly paid socially unprotected workers in the development enclaves of peripheral industrially undeveloped countries.2 This school has tended to view this unequal exchange relationship as resulting in an iron-law of ‘underdevelopment’. However, the successful industrialisation of some peripheral countries who have pursued low wage export-led competitiveness strategies has undermined this position (Lipietz 1987). In particular, the successful industrialisation of a cluster of East Asian ‘tigers’ during the terminal 1970s crisis stage of the Fordist or Keynesian model of development has demonstrated that low wages can be a key component of export competitiveness-led industrialisation for some peripheral countries. However, at the same time, the zero-sum logic of demand-depressed competition in the contemporary era of neoliberal-led global capitalism has brutally activated competitive industrialisation among peripheral countries. Such countries that are unequipped to be globally competitive but have been forcibly brought into the ambit of global capitalism by structural adjustment programmes have descended towards deep economic and social dislocation (Neilson 2020a). This competitive logic interacts both with the ‘third international division of labour’ and ‘relative surplus population’ driven (un)employment effects. Interconnected sets of mutually dependent firms located across geographically remote national localities produce parts of single commodities are brought together for final assembly (Taylor 2008). Global capitalist firms technologically enabled by advanced systems of information and communication command this global supply-side-chain form of production. Simpler parts of the production process are sub-contracted to firms located in the industrially developing countries where high ‘formal subordination’ of labouring populations facilitates ‘absolute surplus value’ strategies. In turn, conception and the more technically advanced parts of the production process that Marx identifies with ‘relative surplus value’ are located in industrially advanced countries. In sum, a contractual chain of global capitalist coordination connects specialised production units across nationally diverse locations that enable global corporations to optimise surplus value by combining absolute and relative surplus value accumulation. However, the terms of locational competition across unevenly developing countries are actually more complex. To begin with, the second international division of labour still exists, most extensively in the form of China’s belt and road initiative. As well, developed and developing countries move somewhat towards more hybrid two-speed national economies that include both low tech or low pay peripheral, and high tech or high pay metropolitan, sectors. In sum, neoliberal globalisation has unleashed a complex competitive advantage logic for countries that has led to their reduced self-sufficiency, and thus integrally, to their dependence on the global mode of accumulation. Second, this neoliberal-led competition-driven version of uneven development has been intensified by the zero-sum logic implied by capital scarcity caused by a growing ‘relative surplus population’ (Marx 1976; Neilson & Stubbs 2011). An increasing relative surplus population driven by redundancy of industrial production workers in the advanced capitalist countries is being intensified, not just by the transfer of material production to the recently proletarianised workers of newly industrialising capitalist countries, but also by rapid automation. Simultaneously, by extending the ‘coercive whip of competition’ to the countryside of the Global South, the first wave of the relative surplus population tendency driven by peasant dispossession has been brutally activated across previously protected peasant modes of agriculture. For newly industrialising competition states, a necessary but not sufficient source of competitive advantage has been low wages enabled by labour’s high ‘formal subordination’ driven by a growing relative surplus population. In general, growing demand to facilitate employment – but hastening ecological destruction – is prevented by the demand-depressing effects of global market competition that is intensified by labour’s increasing oversupply that inversely increases the scarcity of capital. Moreover, ‘relative surplus population’ employment logic has particular relevance to the present virus-led crisis because labour made redundant by increasing productivity in agriculture and industry spreads to the service sector (Neilson & Stubbs 2011). Although outside the core necessary economy in Marx’s sense, the service sector has become a significant source of employment and economic viability for many countries. With this neoliberal-led zero-sum terms of international competition, a significant proportion of service sector employment has become dependent on nation states’ capacity, in competition with other nation states, to attract overseas tourists. In turn, this process has unleashed a global movement of people that now spreads the virus. Especially for countries struggling to retain or achieve international competitiveness, which is central to local employment, there is entailed an international race to the bottom in wages, working conditions and, relatedly, in ecological standards (Olney 2013). In sum, the neoliberal model of development has activated a zero-sum international competition for scarce capital, including money coming in through overseas tourists. Regressive nationalism and the rise of neo-fascism Defenders of the neoliberal model of development do their best to cast the ‘regressive nationalism’ of the Alt. Right as the antithesis of its cosmopolitan project. Actually, regressive nationalism is the degenerate effect of the neoliberal project’s competition-driven globalisation logic (Neilson 2020c). However, the deep causes of regressive nationalism that lie with the effects of the neoliberal model of development are mystified both by neoliberals and Alt. Rightists (Gray 2018). The volatility of national economic competitiveness under neoliberal globalisation implies employment insecurity and uncertainty for local populations, which is heightened further by importing overseas labour. In particular, both legal and illegal low-paid workers are imported from the relative surplus populations of competitively struggling countries into more economically successful countries. Both indirectly and directly, foreign forces and peoples can thus be cast as the cause of local economic insecurity and of undermining pre-existing cultural identities. Insecure local labouring populations are invited to release their anxiety as xenophobic anger towards scapegoated immigrant labour forces. In turn, the Alt. Right argue that the solution is to expel residing immigrant populations and halt further immigration. In their aggressive pursuit of proactive regulation domestically, agents of the Alt. Right are degenerately vulgar neoliberals. However, they break more fundamentally with neoliberalism because they directly oppose both neoliberal cultural cosmopolitanism and neoliberal market globalisation. In particular, regardless of moral, legal or political implications, all strategies that may render a national advantage can be rationalised because there are no rules in their worldview of a primordial zero-sum war between warring nations fighting for survival. Therefore, they wilfully oppose and transgress the strictly prescribed and transparent rules of economic competition that define the project of the neoliberalised global market. As the world descends into recurring, escalating and viciously interacting crises, mistrust and economic competition fed by the primordial ideology and amoral practices of the agents of regressive nationalism threaten to spill over into direct forms of civil and international war. The global pandemic The global spread of COVID-19 is also related to limitations arising from the neoliberal model of development’s modes of regulation and accumulation. Its proactively capitalist mode of competitive regulation has been ideologically promoted, institutionally constructed and managed by key United Nations based regulatory agencies, and is now also embedded in the institutions and expectations of national agents. However, it is radically unsuited to the forms of international cooperation that are needed for controlling a global pandemic. Indeed, when such a global crisis occurs, the present mode of global regulation can trigger blaming, disorganisation and intensified competition. At the same time, national dependence on the global structure of the neoliberal mode of accumulation is highly destabilising. Specifically, because dependent on the global scale system of accumulation, nation states are in a weak position to be able to sustain themselves locally. This dependence manifests as a direct contradiction between maintaining national economic viability and stopping the pandemic’s spreading into a nation state from off-shore. Directly contrary to the neoliberal ideology of self-sufficiency, national economic viability under the neoliberal mode of accumulation is dependent on achieving specialised export competitiveness within complex global commodity chains that now ‘are breaking in numerous places’ (Foster & Suwandi 2020: 9; Moody 2020). This dependence on their position within a disintegrating global system is in direct tension with the need to pursue economic localisation in order to stop COVID-19 entering the nation sate. A global crisis thus becomes a local crisis, but also a local economic crisis can have ripple effects across other countries. The original breakout of a pandemic in one place is in-itself related to the destructive capitalism-led march of humanity into the wilderness (Wallace 2016; Wallace et al. 2020; WWF International 2020). The neoliberal model of development constitutes the perfect environment for the virus to spread rapidly from this particular locality to the whole of humanity because its forms of regulation and accumulation have generated unparalleled movement of people backwards and forwards across the planet. The global flow of things and people unleashed by the neoliberal model of development spreads the virus everywhere. Inversely, because of global market capitalist dependence and corresponding lack of local self-sufficiency, all nation states struggle to – but must – break from this global system if they are to avoid being overwhelmed by the contagion’s local invasion from off-shore. In sum, this viral-led crisis is centrally related to capitalism’s neoliberal-led global form. On one hand, its intensification of human movement across and within national borders that now engulfs the whole planet is also what spreads the virus everywhere. It only stops spreading when we stop moving. On the other hand, as we struggle to stop moving to halt the virus, the prevailing global form of the capitalist mode of production upon which basic human existence now depends cannot be maintained. The shocking immediate choice confronting political actors is thus between containing the virus’ spread and avoiding economic breakdown. The worst case scenario is where neither goal is achieved, that is, where the spread of the virus is reactivated every time countries are driven to return to ‘business as usual’ before it has been properly stamped out. Thus, economic breakdown follows when a country locks down, and the spreading of the virus follows when a country re-opens. The extremely unstable and inflexible nature of this form of the capitalist mode of production spreads COVID-19 to the whole world in an uneven process of refracted diffusion. This complicated transmission logic has interacting international, political and class dimensions. The movement of the virus into and within nation states initially spreads most rapidly among industrially advanced capitalist countries where the frequency and distance of human movement is highest. In contrast, spread of the virus is delayed and reduced for the shorter and less frequent moving of people and things that occurs in the non-developed countries of the Global South. With fewer economic reserves and less developed national health systems, non-developed countries have the least structural capacity to respond to this double-headed economic or health crisis. However, they do have the pre-existing advantage of more localised economies and they have time to learn from other national experiences and thereby more chance to implement successfully lockdowns and social distancing rules. Furthermore, regardless of the economic stage of capitalist industrialisation, countries with strong state capacity, decisive political leadership and a collectively responsible citizenry may be able to stop the virus by reducing citizens’ movement outside of their immediate locations while at the same time promoting ‘social distancing’.3 Despite complexly overdetermined form, a class process of diffusion overlaid by cultural inequalities is discernible. The virus is internationally carried, first, by the cosmopolitan members of the capitalist class and middle class who move freely for business and pleasure back and forth across countries. Second, it is carried by low-paid labour forces imported from poorer countries to richer countries to do informal, temporary, unskilled work in the industrial and service sectors of richer countries. Once landing in a new national territory, through cosmopolitan classes and imported labour, the virus spreads towards the local labouring population. In particular, the cosmopolitan classes who tour the world transmit the virus to low-paid service sector workers. Thus, the virus moves towards the strata of the ‘relative surplus population’, which is also overrepresented by subaltern ethnic groups. These strata are very vulnerable due to insecure, close and impoverished living conditions around working, food and housing. In the advanced capitalist countries, the virus spreads towards workers located in vulnerable parts of service and manufacturing sectors, and from there to more desperate segments of the relative surplus population including the homeless and the incarcerated. In the Global South, it spreads towards the street dwelling inhabitants of the city slums. When the economies of the countries of the Global South are closed to stop the spread of virus, there is rapid loss in the survival capacity of those in the relative surplus population with only daily stores to meet their basic material needs. In this situation, the poor and the dispossessed confront an increasingly precarious double effect. Both as breakdown of their precarious employment based material existence, because living in vulnerable material circumstances without adequate public health, and perhaps already having compromised physical constitutions, these groups become simultaneously exposed and vulnerable to the virus while lacking the means to combat it (Foster & Suwandi 2020: 12; Onyishi et al. 2020). Descent towards the terminal crisis of western capitalism In one concentrated conjuncture of viciously interacting crises, the coronavirus brings to the surface symptoms of the terminal stages of the western capitalist project. The global capitalist organisation of material existence spreads the virus while undermining viable local economic responses that can contain it. Simultaneously, closing national economies in response to the virus is bringing on the deepest and most comprehensive economic crisis in human history. These manifesting contradictions that now threaten the whole of Gaia, also bring to the surface the spectre of the original epistemological and ontological contradictions of the western capitalist project’s ‘primitive’ ascendancy that have been reproduced to this day. Especially in the United States, the present global exemplar and leader of the western capitalist project, all these viciously interacting contradictions are concentrated. The capitalist expression of Enlightenment theories that have legitimated Western capitalism’s absolute exploitation particularly through the destruction of Indigenous civilisations and the brutal industrial scale absolute exploitation of enslaved African peoples, live on to the present. Racist mentalities are reproduced across the major institutional forms centrally including labour market, education and the repressive apparatuses of the state that are also reflected in COVID-19 vulnerabilities (Pirtle 2020). Thus, there is destructive intersection of class and race oppressions (Saad-Filho 2020: 480). The present (as I write) social uprising united under the banner ‘Black Lives Matter’ may lead to a fundamental break with the institutions and mentalities of systemic racism. However, a last gasp backlash White supremacy movement, led in this case by the President, is promoting deepening social division and conflict. Even more fundamentally, the destructively expansive logic of the capitalist mode of production, legitimated by the western modernist meta-narrative that celebrates human-centred exploitation of the natural world and that has been extended and intensified under the neoliberal model of development, now expresses itself as a steady march towards ecocatastrophe. Today, dynamically expanding material capital accumulation unleashed globally by the neoliberal model of development threatens Gaia as capital scours all the world in search of dwindling raw materials, as species go extinct daily and as the manifold effects of global warming undermine the most basic conditions of life on the planet. At the same time, the human component of Gaia is suffering, more or less, as a result of this ecological destruction, and by the relative-surplus-population-led descent of human civilisation into a chaotically disorganised ‘planet of slums’ ravaged by global viruses and deep social dislocation (Davis 2006, 2020; Foster & Suwandi 2020). In sum, the present conjuncture condenses the manifold contradictions of the western capitalist project in a terminal cycle of interacting crises.

#### [Escalante 18] The alt is to embrace the dual power strategy through party organizing – builds popular support by serving the people, offers accountability measures, and unified in the long-term goal of creating a better society to replace capitalism

[Escalante 18 (Alyson Escalante is a Marxist-Leninist, Materialist Feminist and Anti-Imperialist activist.)theforgenews. “Party Organizing in the 21st Century.” The Forge News, The Forge News, 21 Sept. 2018, theforgenews.org/2018/09/21/party-organizing-in-the-21st-century/. Accessed 15 Aug. 2021.] Comrade PW

Chauvinism = aggressive/exaggerated patriotism

The Need For A Party: I would argue that within the base building movement, there is a move towards party organizing, but this trend has not always been explicitly theorized or forwarded within the movement. My goal in this essay is to argue that base building and dual power strategy can be best forwarded through party organizing, and that party organizing can allow this emerging movement to solidify into a powerful revolutionary socialist tendency in the United States. One of the crucial insights of the base building movement is that the current state of the left in the United States is one in which revolution is not currently possible. There exists very little popular support for socialist politics. A century of anticommunist propaganda has been extremely effective in convincing even the most oppressed and marginalized that communism has nothing to offer them. The base building emphasis on dual power responds directly to this insight. By building institutions which can meet people’s needs, we are able to concretely demonstrate that communists can offer the oppressed relief from the horrific conditions of capitalism. Base building strategy recognizes that actually doing the work to serve the people does infinitely more to create a socialist base of popular support than electing democratic socialist candidates or holding endless political education classes can ever hope to do. Dual power is about proving that we have something to offer the oppressed. The question, of course, remains: once we have built a base of popular support, what do we do next? If it turns out that establishing socialist institutions to meet people’s needs does in fact create sympathy towards the cause of communism, how can we mobilize that base? Put simply: in order to mobilize the base which base builders hope to create, we need to have already done the work of building a communist party. It is not enough to simply meet peoples needs. Rather, we must build the institutions of dual power in the name of communism. We must refuse covert front organizing and instead have a public face as a communist party. When we build tenants unions, serve the people programs, and other dual power projects, we must make it clear that we are organizing as communists, unified around a party, and are not content simply with establishing endless dual power organizations. We must be clear that our strategy is revolutionary and in order to make this clear we must adopt party organizing. By “party organizing” I mean an organizational strategy which adopts the party model. Such organizing focuses on building a party whose membership is formally unified around a party line determined by democratic centralist decision making. The party model creates internal methods for holding party members accountable, unifying party member action around democratically determined goals, and for educating party members in communist theory and praxis. A communist organization utilizing the party model works to build dual power institutions while simultaneously educating the communities they hope to serve. Organizations which adopt the party model focus on propagandizing around the need for revolutionary socialism. They function as the forefront of political organizing, empowering local communities to theorize their liberation through communist theory while organizing communities to literally fight for their liberation. A party is not simply a group of individuals doing work together, but is a formal organization unified in its fight against capitalism. Party organizing has much to offer the base building movement. By working in a unified party, base builders can ensure that local struggles are tied to and informed by a unified national and international strategy. While the most horrific manifestations of capitalism take on particular and unique form at the local level, we need to remember that our struggle is against a material base which functions not only at the national but at the international level. The formal structures provided by a democratic centralist party model allow individual locals to have a voice in open debate, but also allow for a unified strategy to emerge from democratic consensus. Furthermore, party organizing allows for local organizations and individual organizers to be held accountable for their actions. It allows criticism to function not as one independent group criticizing another independent group, but rather as comrades with a formal organizational unity working together to sharpen each others strategies and to help correct chauvinist ideas and actions. In the context of the socialist movement within the United States, such accountability is crucial. As a movement which operates within a settler colonial society, imperialist and colonial ideal frequently infect leftist organizing. Creating formal unity and party procedure for dealing with and correcting these ideas allows us to address these consistent problems within American socialist organizing. Having a formal party which unifies the various dual power projects being undertaken at the local level also allows for base builders to not simply meet peoples needs, but to pull them into the membership of the party as organizers themselves. The party model creates a means for sustained growth to occur by unifying organizers in a manner that allows for skills, strategies, and ideas to be shared with newer organizers. It also allows community members who have been served by dual power projects to take an active role in organizing by becoming party members and participating in the continued growth of base building strategy. It ensures that there are formal processes for educating communities in communist theory and praxis, and also enables them to act and organize in accordance with their own local conditions. We also must recognize that the current state of the base building movement precludes the possibility of such a national unified party in the present moment. Since base building strategy is being undertaken in a number of already established organizations, it is not likely that base builders would abandon these organizations in favor of founding a unified party. Additionally, it would not be strategic to immediately undertake such complete unification because it would mean abandoning the organizational contexts in which concrete gains are already being made and in which growth is currently occurring. What is important for base builders to focus on in the current moment is building dual power on a local level alongside building a national movement. This means aspiring towards the possibility of a unified party, while pursuing continued local growth. The movement within the Marxist Center network towards some form of unification is positive step in the right direction. The independent party emphasis within the Refoundation caucus should also be recognized as a positive approach. It is important for base builders to continue to explore the possibility of unification, and to maintain unification through a party model as a long term goal. In the meantime, individual base building organizations ought to adopt party models for their local organizing. Local organizations ought to be building dual power alongside recruitment into their organizations, education of community members in communist theory and praxis, and the establishment of armed and militant party cadres capable of defending dual power institutions from state terror. Dual power institutions must be unified openly and transparently around these organizations in order for them to operate as more than “red charities.” Serving the people means meeting their material needs while also educating and propagandizing. It means radicalizing, recruiting, and organizing. The party model remains the most useful method for achieving these ends. The use of the party model by local organizations allows base builders to gain popular support, and most importantly, to mobilize their base of popular support towards revolutionary ends, not simply towards the construction of a parallel economy which exists as an end in and of itself. It is my hope that we will see future unification of the various local base building organizations into a national party, but in the meantime we must push for party organizing at the local level. If local organizations adopt party organizing, it ought to become clear that a unified national party will have to be the long term goal of the base building movement. Many of the already existing organizations within the base building movement already operate according to these principles. I do not mean to suggest otherwise. Rather, my hope is to suggest that we ought to be explicit about the need for party organizing and emphasize the relationship between dual power and the party model. Doing so will make it clear that the base building movement is not pursuing a cooperative economy alongside capitalism, but is pursuing a revolutionary socialist strategy capable of fighting capitalism. The long term details of base building and dual power organizing will arise organically in response to the conditions the movement finds itself operating within. I hope that I have put forward a useful contribution to the discussion about base building organizing, and have demonstrated the need for party organizing in order to ensure that the base building tendency maintains a revolutionary orientation. The finer details of revolutionary strategy will be worked out over time and are not a good subject for public discussion. I strongly believe party organizing offers the best path for ensuring that such strategy will succeed. My goal here is not to dictate the only possible path forward but to open a conversation about how the base building movement will organize as it transitions from a loose network of individual organizations into a unified socialist tendency. These discussions and debates will be crucial to ensuring that this rapidly growing movement can succeed.

## MP:

#### Even if there’s an objective morality, it can’t be transcendent like a scientific law—moral judgements depend upon lower-level laws that require exceptions

Lance and Little 6 Mark Norris Lance and Margaret Olivia Little. “Defending Moral Particularism.” In *Contemporary Debates in Moral Theory*, James Dreier (ed.), 2006. Z. Smith Reynolds Library at Wake Forest University. Mark Norris Lance is a professor in the Philosophy Department and Justice and Peace Studies Program at Georgetown University Margaret Olivia Little Director, Kennedy Institute of Ethics Associate Professor, Philosophy Department Georgetown University https://philpapers.org/rec/LANPAA-2 //avery

But what if one does believe cruelty and the like to be univalent? The first thing to say is that, **even if there are exceptionless moral generalizations** functioning as higher-order laws in morality, this doesn’t itself obviate the (now **lower-order**) lawlikeness of the generalizations concerning our old friends lying, promise-keeping, and the infliction of pain. Higher-order laws, it turns out, can’t do all the heavy lifting. To give an example of Lange’s, it might be the case that all the phenomena of island biodiversity can be unified as instances of Darwinian survival strategy; pointing to laws at that higher level, that is, may unify and constrain patterns of behavior at the level of islands. Nonetheless, there are inferences – the raison d’être of theoretical principles – we can **make only by invoking the lower-level laws.** Laws of island biodiversity allow us to predict with fair accuracy, for instance, the population of a species given only the size of the island, something that cannot be done within Darwinian theory, which makes no mention of islands. Higher-level laws, in short, even where they exist, often fail to capture the content of laws at a lower level. Lower-level laws retain autonomous value. Second, once we realize that genuine laws admit of exception, space opens for a more radical rejoinder. For once we realize this, pressure is placed on why one should believe that exception-filled laws must be backed up at some higher level by a strict one. It places pressure, that is, on any ex ante commitment to the claim that exception-laden laws depend, for their existence, on exceptionless ones. Again, one may have a particular view about morality – here, about its metaphysical backing rather than its first-order normative structure – that implies the existence of strict higher-order moral laws. A Natural Law theorist, or again a Platonist about morality, is committed to the existence of strict moral laws that determine everything’s ethical nature, in much the same way the laws of physics determine all physical nature. But for those who have an essentially **organic, practice-based notion** of morality, according to which morality is **objective but not transcendent**, **there may be no hidden “scientific moral image” lying behind the manifest one.**15 Given the practice we find ourselves engaged in – and only from the perspective of such engagement – we have a sense of the point of that practice, and an understanding of our goals and purposes that allows us to amend that practice. But apart from our skillful involvement with it, we could not formulate any conception of its point, much less produce a codified theory of it that could be used to determine appropriateness within the practice. Moral understanding, while drenched in exception, is understanding of a structure, not merely a series of instances. What one comes to understand is a complex whole, in which intuitions about cases, privileged conditions, and compensatory moves all exert leverage on one another..

#### Moral principles frequently have exceptions—it’s not that nothing’s universal, but there’s no way to compare or codify values independent of context

Lance and Little 6 Mark Norris Lance and Margaret Olivia Little. “Defending Moral Particularism.” In *Contemporary Debates in Moral Theory*, James Dreier (ed.), 2006. Z. Smith Reynolds Library at Wake Forest University. Mark Norris Lance is a professor in the Philosophy Department and Justice and Peace Studies Program at Georgetown University Margaret Olivia Little Director, Kennedy Institute of Ethics Associate Professor, Philosophy Department Georgetown University https://philpapers.org/rec/LANPAA-2 //avery

Moral particularists like exceptions. At any rate, they regard exceptions as **ubiquitous to moral principles**; more importantly, they view them as friend rather than foe. This is of course simply to state their philosophical intuition. We believe, though, that it’s the right intuition; and in this paper, we try to say why. In doing so, we will argue more to the second point than the first. We’ll be concerned less with demonstrating that the right moral principles in fact irreducibly admit of exception, and more with demonstrating that, if such exceptions do (as we suspect) exist, they should be tolerated and indeed embraced. This distinction points to two quite different bases for objecting to the type of moral particularism we’ll be developing. The first, about which we’ll have less to say, stems from substantive moral commitments. One might well believe that, all things considered, the best moral theory is one that in fact ends up cleaning up all exceptions; if so, one certainly won’t be a particularist. Resistance to particularism thus sometimes reflects commitment to a view such as **Kant**’s about lying, say, or the **util**itarian’s about pain, on which it turns out that lying is always wrong-making and pain always bad-making. This is a stance we respect (though we do not agree with it). After all, even those who believe that exceptions can be important must agree that **not all realms admit of them**. Physics, for instance, may well be a system susceptible to a codifiable structure of exceptionless laws (though its exceptionless laws may ending up having statistical quantifiers embedded in them); and even those who are particularists about physics would agree that we could, at any rate, make up a game whose every move is governed by a finite set of exceptionless rules. For many people, though, resistance to moral particularism stems not from any ex ante commitment to a given normative theory. It stems, instead, from commitment to an extra-moral view about the nature of explanation. It stems from a conception of the way in which reasons and explanation must function in any realm – namely, by subsumption under strict theoretical generalizations or laws. According to this view, exceptions stand in the way of genuine explanation. Those committed to such a picture will regard the presence of moral exceptions as an embarrassment to the theoretical task of moral understanding and justification: morality had better be secured by a structure that doesn’t admit of exception, on pain of morality’s demotion to second-class epistemic status. The answer to this sort of resistance is provision of a different model of explanation. We believe that, while reasons and explanation can travel by way of subsumption under strict laws, it is a deep mistake to think they always do – a mistake which, unless resisted, will obscure some of the richest views available. For some realms, ethics included, understanding and expertise is, at its heart, **a matter of understanding, not eliminating, exception**. Exceptions and Explanation Few people believe that lying is always wrong. After all, there may be some contexts in which another moral duty or principle – relief of terrible suffering, say – proves more important. Except where we are prepared to be absolutist, then, claims about the all-things-considered rightness or wrongness of following a given duty will have exceptions. Amongst those who concur with this rather innocuous statement, some believe we can recover a tractable calculus governing the interactions of the various duties or principles that come our way. Perhaps justice is lexically ordered over utility maximization; perhaps we can find a way to render duties’ strengths that will allow us to recover a calculative procedure for balancing them; perhaps specifying the duties to specific roles will allow us to set forth a once-and-for-all ordering of them. Others have set this aside as a misguided project. There is **no algorithm** or quantitative method, they urge, for deciding when justice should trump mercy rather than the other way round, no setting out a way to order or balance the virtues, principles, or duties (take your personal favorite) **independently of context**. Instead, it takes **qualitative judgment** or phronesis to make the comparative judgments in individual cases. Whichever side of that debate one comes down on, though, the vast majority of contemporary philosophers believe that relevant moral duties or features always make the same sort of contribution to a moral situation. Like the forces of physics, but without the vector calculus, we can isolate various moral forces that always push, as it were, in the same moral direction as telling for or against an action. We could put it by inserting a ‘ceteris paribus’ or ‘prima facie’ or ‘pro tanto’ qualifier in front of the claim that ‘lying is wrong’, where those qualifiers function to abstract away possible competing moral considerations. Such a claim is in essence equivalent to asserting an exceptionless connection between lying and a milder moral property: lying may sometimes be morally justified, but it is always wrong-making (see, e.g., Pietrowski 1993). It is here that moral particularists part company. Pain is always bad-making – well, except when it’s constitutive of athletic challenge; intentionally telling a falsehood is prima facie wrong – well, not when done to Nazi guards, to whom the truth is not owed, or when playing the game Diplomacy, where it’s the point of the contest. Pleasure always counts in favor of a situation – well, except when it’s the sadist’s delight in her victim’s agony, where her pleasure is precisely part of what is wrong with the situation.1 It is always wrong-making not to take competent agents at their word; well, not in the S&M room, where ‘no’ precisely does mean ‘yes’. Considerations that in one context tell in favor of an action can in another **go neutral or flip directions entirely**, and all in a way that **cannot be codified** in any helpful concrete way.

#### A] The Affirmative positions itself as moral principle regarding a situation – This makes morality impossible to achieve since we are now constrained by engrained generalizations that fail to account for exceptions within principles - thus negate on presumption since the 1AC can never contextually justify their moral actions

#### B] Tying morality to principles causes harmful ethical thought – means we can never adjust our thoughts or break principles even if the situation would be better for it

#### C] Affirmative’s generalizations make weighing ethicality between actions impossible – Moral principles will see actions that violate that moral principle as ethically the same – Means we can never decide between conflicting principles and causes the inability to make decisions – Means even if moral principles are good, they make it impossible to act under principles

#### D] MP necessary to formulating real world ethical thinking – not all situations are in the same context and require specific moral analysis to derive moral action

## Case (PW & RG style):

### UV

#### No 1ar theory

#### Time skew – they have both the 1ar and 2ar to go for theory, that’s a total of 7 minutes while I only have 6 minutes to respond

#### Irresolvable – aff gets the last speech meaning judge will always hear what aff gets to say and more likely to default to 2ar interp

### Contention

#### 1] Turn – the WTO is literally an institution enforcing static ideals of the neoliberal fantasy, the symbol of corporate capitalism

#### 2] Specificity – No reason why IP on medicines are specifically key but only why IP in general are bad, which means even if they’re right that fluidity is good and IPs restrict fluidity, reducing IPs on meds not key and not going to solve

### Framing

#### Yes Consequentialism

#### 1] you read an UV means that you are anticipating and predicting how I would responde to your aff two implications a] perfcon and b] takes out butterfly effect, it’s predictable and past things disprove

#### 2] capitalist façade – justifies cap bc cap can say “oh yeah the theory of cap makes sense and is benign and beneficial to everyone” but we know in reality and looking at the consequences it’s a different story

#### 2 – gets coopted by capitalism – their idea of complete fluidity allows capitalists to mask their exploitation and brutal violence by claiming that sometimes cap isn’t as violent as it always is when in fact the violence is masked underneath. Justifies things like ethical cap and

#### 3 – The aff’s alternative definition of desire does not alter the specificity of the desiring subject rather it fails to consider the relations between desire, power, and subjectivity. This model of desire results in the reproduction of submission to a ruling ideology of workers resulting in exploitation.

Spivak 88 Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, 1988, pp. 271–313., doi:10.1007/978-1-349-19059-1\_20. – Hebron AL

The link to the workers' struggle is located, simply, in desire. Elsewhere, Deleuze and Guattari have attempted an alternative definition of desire, revising the one offered by psychoanalysis: 'Desire does not lack anything; it does not lack its object. It is, rather, the subject that is lacking desire, or desire that lacks a fixed subject; there is no fixed subject except by repression. Desire and its object are a unity: it is the machine, as a machine of a machine. Desire is machine, the object of desire also a connected machine, so that the product is lifted from the process of producing and something detaches itself from producing to product and gives a leftover to the vagabond, nomad subject.,5 This definition does not alter the specificity of the desiring subject (or leftover subject-effect) that attaches to specific instances of desire or to production of the desiring machine. Moreover, when the connection between desire and the subject is taken as irrelevant or merely reversed, the subject-effect that surreptitiously emerges is much like the generalized ideological subject of the theorist. This may be the legal subject of socialized capital, neither labor nor management, holding a 'strong' passport, using a 'strong' or 'hard' currency, with supposedly unquestioned access to due process. It is certainly not the desiring subject as Other. The failure of Deleuze and Guattari to consider the relations between desire, power and subjectivity renders them incapable of articulating a theory of interests. In this context, their indifference to ideology (a theory of which is necessary for an understanding of interests) is striking but consistent. Foucault's commitment to 'genealogical' speculation prevents him from locating, in 'great names' like Marx and Freud, watersheds in some continuous stream of intellectual history. 6 This commitment has created an unfortunate resistance in Foucault's work to 'mere' ideological critique. Western speculations on the ideological reproduction of social relations belong to that mainstream, and it is within this tradition that Althusser writes: 'The reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression, so that they, too, will provide for the domination of the ruling class "in and by words" [par la parole].,7

#### 4 – difference and sameness are dialectically opposites and unifying forces, the aff overemphsize the difference among ppl but fails to recognize there are more similarities than differences

### AT subjectivity

#### It is the inherent nature for humans to engage in free and creative production – only within their material production and development of social relations humans are created and subjectivity emerges

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2. Human Self-Creation and the Role of Labour in Our Transformative Relationship with Nature In Marx’s writing revolutionary subjectivity is depicted as a form of individuality which emerges amid the activities and relations of the productive process in capitalist society. A successful revolution which marks the transition to truly “human” life is the result of a broader historical process of “human” development out of our bestial origin in nature, from which we emerge with only the potential to become free. 254 According to Marx this process is driven from the outset by fundamental features of our socio-productive activity.255 In his view the labour process is the locus of the dialectic between human activity as natural activity and the natural activity of humanity in which nature is turning into humanity as humanity is transforming nature and becoming consciously free.256 We participate in this fundamentally social life-activity initially only to satisfy immediate “natural necessity” and according to Marx the growth of our “species-powers” is an unintended result of it.257 Through labour we alter the natural world—as we find it altered by socio-historical activity—and ourselves as well. As Marx claimed in Capital, “Labour is...a process by which [humanity], through [its] own actions, mediates, regulates and controls the metabolism between [itself] and nature. [We set] in motion the natural forces which belong to [our] own body…in order to appropriate the materials of nature in a form adapted to [our] own needs. Through this movement [we act] upon external nature and [change] it, and in this way [we] simultaneously [change our] own nature. [We develop] the potentialities slumbering within nature, and [subject] the play of its forces to [our] own sovereign power.”258 A fundamental aspect of Marx’s notion of humanity is that we are self-created. 259 From his perspective, real self-determination essentially involves self-creation.260 Humanity is able to have a free relationship with nature—in which we are self-determined but not independent of nature per se—insofar as we develop our “species-powers” because nature is governed by ‘natural laws’ which are “reason.”261 In this way the human being—as “self-conscious reason”—is fully developed nature. Marx articulated this dialectic of nature and humanity in the following passage: “The human essence of nature primarily exists only for social man, because only here is nature a link with man, as his existence for others and their existence for him, as the life-element of human actuality—only here is nature the foundation of man’s own human existence. Only here has the natural existence of man become his human existence and nature become human. Thus society is the comprehended, essential unity of man with nature, the true resurrection of nature, the fulfilled naturalism of man and humanism of nature.”262 With the growth of our inherent capacity for “universally” conscious labour, the development of productive technology and organization, etc., we are able to overcome the alien and dominating character of nature overtime.263 As Marx put it, “the human being comes to relate more as watchman and regulator to the production process”; e.g., we insert “the process of nature, transformed into an industrial process, as a means between [ourselves] and inorganic nature, mastering it.”264 Marx does not suggest that we will be entirely independent from the necessity for instrumental activity associated with our organic body, although this does not necessarily entail activity determined by something other than the human ‘self’. Instead, freedom—in an “advanced phase of communist society”—can be characterized as being in tune with nature and adapting it as much as possible to our “universal” life-activity rather than being subjected to its unconquered might,265 but the “natural necessity” associated with the maintenance of our life at a desirable standard (or at all) will remain because we are always internally related to nature. This transformation and control over forces of the natural world through labour involves the modification of features of our own natural-physical being throughout the historical process. Marx imagined “the full development of human mastery over the forces of nature, those of socalled nature as well as of humanity’s own nature.”266 Hegel’s philosophy was an important influence on Marx in this regard,267 although this Hegelian view of the “self-creation” of humanity comes with a terrible catch. “At the same pace that mankind masters nature,” Marx claimed, “man seems to become enslaved to other men or to his own infamy.”268 Appropriating Hegel, Marx made “estrangement” a key feature of the social labour process (throughout the “prehistory of human society”) which provides the dynamism whereby “reason” becomes increasingly conscious and we create the objective and subjective conditions for a life in which the full development of humanity is consciously pursued as an end-in-itself.269