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#### The aff’s refusal of coalitional politics reproduces settler violence by making solidarity against neoliberal colonial violence impossible – our choice to forefront challenges to neoliberal structures prevents destruction of native lands and creates effective challenges to settlerism

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Idle No More, anti-frack, and anti—tar sands activism confront mutually reinforcing threats to Indigenous sovereignty and cultural survival. All these struggles are linked by the extraction of natural resources, especially fossil fuels, and the exercise of national power by settler governments (whether in the United States or Canada). The Healing Walk calls attention to the devastation of the earth and First Nations communities by tar sands mining in the Athabasca River Basin.’ The Alberta tar sands are located underneath boreal forest, which provides habitat Lo wildlife and sLibsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering of food and medicines to local Cree, Dene, and Métis communities. The scale of the mining is massive, the largest industrial project on the planet (Weis et al. 2014, 4). In addition to destroying habitat, tar sands mining pollutes groundwater, threatening human health and food security of First Nations communities (Weis et al. 2014, 9). Crystal Lameman (Beaver Lake Cree Nation) describes the multiple impacts on her community (2014, 120). These losses are spiritual and collective: as Lameman observes “My children cannot safely drink water straight from the land in the way I did as a child, and in the way my aunts, uncles, parents, and grandparents (lid ... They cannot fully appreciate how water has life-giving abilities” (2014, 120). Further, Lameman expresses the way the loss of subsistence practices of hunting and gathering damages collective ways of knowing and ways of life: “our oral histories, knowledge systems, and teaching are under attack ... The elderly could talk of these medicinal plants with ease, knowing where they could be found in abundance. We are losing these connections with the land” (2014, 121). Globally, the tar sands release carbon dioxide that accelerates climate destabilization, and this particularly impacts Indigenous peoples, as Clayton Thomas-Muller (Mathais Colomb Cree Nation) explains: The carbon footprint of the tar sands, the full life cycle of it, is driving catastrophic climate change, which of course disproportionately affects indigenous peoples and coastal-dwelling peoples all over Mother Earth, I think most directly people in the arctic, and of course people from small island states who are seeing their entire nations submerge under rising sea levels. (“TRNN Replay” 2013) The Canadian tar sands store 240 gigatons of carbon (Hansen 2012; McKibben 2012). James Hansen of NASA has said that if all the carbon stored in the Canadian tar sands is released into the earth’s atmosphere, it would mean “game over for the climate” (Hansen 2012). The Healing Walk takes place in the center of this destruction, in an extraction site off Route 63 north of Fort McMurray in Alberta, passing a Suncor facility and then leading through Syncrude mines, processing plants, and worker hoting (Thomas-Muller 2013). This is land within Treaty 8 (signed in 1899) between Canada and First Nations (Treaty 8 First Nations of Canada). Treaty 8 is in dispute, especially in erms of the protections it offers lo Indigenous ways of life including hunting, fishing, and gathering—all of which are being disrupted by tar sands mining (Treaty 8 First Nations of Canada). In addition, the Athahasca River impacts the territories of First Nationslands governed by Treaties 6, 7, and il (see “Healing Gathering” n.d.). The apocalyptic scale of the Alberta tar sands has been documented in a series of photojournalistic essays and documentary films that participants have freely shared through social media)° In addition to these visual documentations of destruction, Jesse Cardinal (2014) describes the sound of air cannons during the Walk, installed to prevent migrating waterfowl from landing in the tailing ponds after 1600 birds died this way in 2008 (131). Cardinal explains: Every year, more birds are returning Lo find their homes destroyed by more industry-access roads and industrial plants, more cleared and fractured land, more drained lakes ind mining pits. and more pipelines, tailing ponds, and oil spills. It breaks my heart to imagine these living beings, flying thousands and thousands of miles to come home, only to find an industrial wasteland. (2014, 128) The Healing Walk expresses this grief through movement. The Healing Walk was organized and led by the Keepers of the Athabasca, a coalition of “First Nations, Metis, and Inuit peoples, environmental groups, and concerned watershed citizens, and communities working together for the protection of air, water, and land, and thus, for all living things today aind tomorrow in the Athabasca River and Like Watershed” (“Keepers of the Athabasca” 2016, “Our concerns and actions” page ). The leadership of the local First Nations was evident throughout the event, a powerful assembly of elders and young organizers; it was also clear that women are central to the Healing Walk and to the ongoing work against tar sands destruction. The Healing Walk included a day of teaching and learning at Indian Beach on Willow Lake near Anzac, Alberta, about 50 km south of Fort McMurray (“Schedule,” “Logistics,” Tar Sands Healing Walk). On the 400 km drive from Edmonton, the countryside shifts from industrial farming to open fields and forest. But the evidence of the tar sands development shows in the expansion of the highway on either side of the road and the massive trucks carrying equipment and pipe. The day before the Walk was full of workshops with local elders and activists, who spoke about the impact of tar sands mining on their lives and communities. The local First Nations served a feast Saturday night. The fifth Healing Walk in 2014 began with young women drumming and singing to wake participants.” The Healing Walk was led by First Nations elders, many of them women, and the walk moved at a slow and quiet pace. But this slow movement through the destruction can be exhausting; Dene drummers sustained the people. The local organizers and marshals were careful to keep walkers within the boundaries agreed to with the corporations and police. Police vehicles shadowed the walkers, but did not interfere, while some tanker truck drivers blew their horns in support. In walking as a collective and for healing, the act of walking becomes itself a ceremony. It is essential to understand that the Healing Walk is not a typical protest or political demonstration, as the Facebook page for the event explains: “The Healing Walk was horn out of a need to heal. The Healing Walk is not a rally, march, or protest, but an acknowledgement of the people and other living beings, the water, the land md the air, that is suffering due to our unhealthy energy addictions” (“Healing Gathering” 2016). Clayton Thomas-Muller (2013) describes the intentions of the Healing Walk in this way: “The idea was not to have a protest, but instead to engage in a meaningful ceremonial action to pray for the healing of Mother Earth. ... This was done by turning to ceremony and asking through prayer and the physical act of walking on the earth for the hearts of those harming Mother Earth through extreme energy extraction to be healed.” The act of slowly walking through this apocalyptic industrial wasteland is a compelling movement. It is a witness to the suffering of the earth. Thomas-Muller remembers: What I know is that a bear showed itself to us at the start of our walk and that it canied with it the teachings of courage and protection. Later, an eagle flew over us and it represented the teaching of truth and unconditional love. While we walked, we made offerings of tobacco and water on four strategic points along Highway 63. We prayed to each of the four directions anti ... called upon spirit, creator, mother earth, and all of the sacred elements to both heal the land and to touch the hearts, minds, and spirits of those responsible for her desecration. This was done so that the people destroying her could truly understand what they were doing. And wake up. (Thomas- Muller 2013) The Healing Walk is an example of coalitional politics that offers hope for further decolonial work through the power of “bodies in alliance” (Butler 2011). While the event was organized and led by local First Nations, Indigenous peoples from throughout the United States and Canada participated in a show of solidarity. In addition, the Walk has welcomed non-Indigenous allies to participate and learn. The conjunction of fossil fuel extraction and climate change is a threat to all life on earth. Indigenous movements not only protect land and water for all people; these movements, by standing on the front lines, also expose the operations of settler colonialism in the present and offer the opportunity to shift the trajectory of the future. Just as Amanda Polchies refused to be moved as she touched the earth and raised an eagle feather lo the sky, Idle No More, the Healing Walk, and other Indigenous social movements stand with the powers of the land and water. Nitanis Desiarlais (Cree/Métis, Tsimshian), reflecting on the 2014 Healing Walk, recalls a friend’s observation that “we are walking with the power of the water.”1’ In the 2015 elections, ten First Nations, Inuit, and Métis members of Parliament were elected to serve in Canada (McKenna 2015). Royal Dutch Shell has cancelled its plans for drilling in the Arctic (Krauss i,ul Reed 2015). U.S. President Barack Obama has rejected the Keystone XL Pipeline (Davenport 2015). In the midst of colonial violence and the threat of climate change, this is a powerful movement to witness, and an invitation to place our “bodies in alliance” (Butler 201 1).

#### Class is a key starting point—not to obscure intersecting inequalities, but to historicize them and address the engines of mass oppression

Taylor 11 [Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, on the editorial board of the International Socialist Review and a doctoral student in African American Studies at Northwestern University; “Race, class and Marxism,” SocialistWorker.org, http://socialistworker.org/2011/01/04/race-class-and-marxism]

Marxists believe that the potential for that kind of unity is dependant on battles and struggles against racism today. Without a commitment by revolutionary organizations in the here and now to the fight against racism, working-class unity will never be achieved and the revolutionary potential of the working class will never be realized. Yet despite all the evidence of this commitment to fighting racism over many decades, Marxism has been maligned as, at best, "blind" to combating racism and, at worst, "incapable" of it. For example, in an article published last summer, popular commentator and self-described "anti-racist" Tim Wise summarized the critique of "left activists" that he later defines as Marxists. He writes: [L]eft activists often marginalize people of color by operating from a framework of extreme class reductionism, which holds that the "real" issue is class, not race, that "the only color that matters is green," and that issues like racism are mere "identity politics," which should take a backseat to promoting class-based universalism and programs to help working people. This reductionism, by ignoring the way that even middle class and affluent people of color face racism and color-based discrimination (and by presuming that low-income folks of color and low-income whites are equally oppressed, despite a wealth of evidence to the contrary) reinforces white denial, privileges white perspectivism and dismisses the lived reality of people of color. Even more, as we'll see, it ignores perhaps the most important political lesson regarding the interplay of race and class: namely, that the biggest reason why there is so little working-class consciousness and unity in the Untied States (and thus, why class-based programs to uplift all in need are so much weaker here than in the rest of the industrialized world), is precisely because of racism and the way that white racism has been deliberately inculcated among white working folks. Only by confronting that directly (rather than sidestepping it as class reductionists seek to do) can we ever hope to build cross-racial, class based coalitions. In other words, for the policies favored by the class reductionist to work--be they social democrats or Marxists--or even to come into being, racism and white supremacy must be challenged directly. Here, Wise accuses Marxism of: "extreme class reductionism," meaning that Marxists allegedly think that class is more important than race; reducing struggles against racism to "mere identity politics"; and requiring that struggles against racism should "take a back seat" to struggles over economic issues. Wise also accuses so-called "left activists" of reinforcing "white denial" and "dismiss[ing] the lived reality of people of color"--which, of course, presumes Left activists and Marxists to all be white. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - What do Marxists actually say? Marxists argue that capitalism is a system that is based on the exploitation of the many by the few. Because it is a system based on gross inequality, it requires various tools to divide the majority--racism and all oppressions under capitalism serve this purpose. Moreover, oppression is used to justify and "explain" unequal relationships in society that enrich the minority that live off the majority's labor. Thus, racism developed initially to explain and justify the enslavement of Africans--because they were less than human and undeserving of liberty and freedom. Everyone accepts the idea that the oppression of slaves was rooted in the class relations of exploitation under that system. Fewer recognize that **under capitalism, wage slavery is the pivot around which all other inequalities and oppressions turn**. Capitalism used racism to justify plunder, conquest and slavery, but as Karl Marx pointed out, it also used racism to divide and rule--to pit one section of the working class against another and thereby blunt class consciousness. **To claim**, as Marxists do, **that racism is a product of capitalism is not to deny** or diminish **its importance** or impact in American society. It is simply to explain its origins and the reasons for its perpetuation. Many on the left today talk about class as if it is one of many oppressions, often describing it as "classism." What people are really referring to as "classism" is elitism or snobbery, and not the fundamental organization of society under capitalism. Moreover, it is popular today to talk about various oppressions, including class, as intersecting. While it is true that oppressions can reinforce and compound each other, they are born out of the material relations shaped by capitalism and the economic exploitation that is at the heart of capitalist society. In other words, it is the material and economic structure of society that gave rise to a range of ideas and ideologies to justify, explain and help perpetuate that order. In the United States, racism is the most important of those ideologies. Despite the widespread beliefs to the contrary of his critics, Karl Marx himself was well aware of the centrality of race under capitalism. While Marx did not write extensively on the question of slavery and its racial impact in societies specifically, he did write about the way in which European capitalism emerged because of its pilfering, rape and destruction, famously writing: The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of Black skins, signalized the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. He also recognized the extent to which slavery was central to the world economy. He wrote: Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance. Without slavery North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe out North America from the map of the world, and you will have anarchy--the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear and you will have wiped America off the map of nations. Thus slavery, because it is an economic category, has always existed among the institutions of the peoples. Modern nations have been able only to disguise slavery in their own countries, but they have imposed it without disguise upon the New World. Thus, there is a fundamental understanding of the centrality of slave labor in the national and international economy. But what about race? Despite the dearth of Marx's own writing on race in particular, one might look at Marx's correspondence and deliberations on the American Civil War to draw conclusions as to whether Marx was as dogmatically focused on purely economic issues as his critics make him out be. One must raise the question: If Marx was reductionist, how is his unabashed support and involvement in abolitionist struggles in England explained? If Marx was truly an economic reductionist, he might have surmised that slavery and capitalism were incompatible, and simply waited for slavery to whither away. W.E.B. Du Bois in his Marxist tome Black Reconstruction, quotes at length a letter penned by Marx as the head of the International Workingmen's Association, written to Abraham Lincoln in 1864 in the midst of the Civil War: The contest for the territories which opened the epoch, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the immigrant or be prostituted by the tramp of the slaver driver? When an oligarchy of 300,000 slave holders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world "Slavery" on the banner of armed revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the rights of man was issued...when on the very spots counter-revolution...maintained "slavery to be a beneficial institution"...and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice'...then the working classes of Europe understood at once...that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor... They consider it an earnest sign of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggles for the rescue of the enchained race and the Reconstruction of a social order. Not only was Marx personally opposed to slavery and actively organized against it, but he theorized that slavery and the resultant race discrimination that flowed from it were not just problems for the slaves themselves, but for white workers who were constantly under the threat of losing work to slave labor. This did not mean white workers were necessarily sympathetic to the cause of the slaves--most of them were not. But Marx was not addressing the issue of consciousness, but objective factors when he wrote in Capital, "In the United States of America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed as long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the Black it is branded." Moreover, Marx understood the dynamics of racism in a modern sense as well--as a means by which workers who had common, objective interests with each other could also become mortal enemies because of subjective, but nevertheless real, racist and nationalist ideas. Looking at the tensions between Irish and English workers, with a nod toward the American situation between Black and white workers, Marx wrote: Every industrial and commercial center in England possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland. This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it. Out of this quote, one can see a Marxist theory of how racism operated in contemporary society, after slavery was ended. Marx was highlighting three things: first, that capitalism promotes economic competition between workers; second, that the ruling class uses racist ideology to divide workers against each other; and finally, that when one group of workers suffer oppression, it negatively impacts the entire class.

#### Class focus is absolutely necessary to combat exclusion—the affirmatives politics aims towards reconciliation and cultural inclusion—class antagonism strives for annihilation. Examining isolated aspects of identity at the expense of class obscures the way class structures other antagonisms into chains of meaning.

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(Slavoj, The Year of Dreaming Dangerously, p.32-4)

The first thing to note here is that it takes two to fight a culture war: culture is also the dominant ideological topic of the “enlightened” liberals whose politics is focused on the fight against sexism, racism, and fundamentalism, and for multicultural tolerance. The key question is thus: why has “culture” emerged as our central life-world category? With regard to religion, we no longer “really believe,” we simply follow (some of the) religious rituals and mores as part of our respect for the “lifestyle” of the community to which we belong (non-believing Jews obeying kosher rules “out of respect for tradition,” etcetera). “I dont really believe in it, it s just part of my culture” seems to be the predominant mode of the disavowed or displaced belief characteristic of our times. Perhaps, then, the “non-fundamentalist” notion of “culture” as distinguished from “real” religion, art, and so on, is in its very core the name for the field of disowned or impersonal beliefs—“culture” as the name for all those things we practice without really believing in them, without “taking them seriously.” The second thing to note is how, while professing their solidarity with the poor, liberals encode their culture war with an opposed class message. More often than not, their fight for multicultural tolerance and womens rights marks the counter-position to the alleged intolerance, fundamentalism, and patriarchal sexism of the “lower classes” One way to unravel this confusion is to **focus on the mediating terms whose function is to obfuscate the true lines of division**. The way the term “modernization” has been used in the recent ideological offensive is exemplary here: first, an abstract opposition is constructed between “modernizers” (those who endorse global capitalism in all its aspects, from the economic to the cultural) and “traditionalists” (those who resist globalization). Into this category of those-who-resist is then thrown everyone from traditional conservatives and populists to the “Old Left” (those who continue to advocate the welfare state, trade unions, and so on). This categorization obviously does capture an aspect of social reality. Recall the coalition between the Church and trade unions in Germany in early 2003, which prevented the legalization of Sunday opening for shops. However, it is not enough to say that this “cultural difference” traverses the entire social field, cutting across different strata and classes; it is also inadequate to say that it can be combined in different ways with other oppositions (so that we get conservative “traditional values” resisting global capitalist “modernization,” or moral conservatives who fully endorse capitalist globalization). In short, it is useless to claim that this “cultural difference” is one in a series of antagonisms operative in contemporary social processes. The failure of this opposition to function as the key to the social totality means not only that it should be articulated with other differences. It means that it is “abstract,” and the wager of Marxism is that there is one antagonism (class struggle) which overdetermines all the others and which is as such the “concrete universal” of the entire field. The term “overdetermination” is here used in its precise Althusserian sense: it does not mean that class struggle is the ultimate referent and **horizon of meaning of all other struggles; it means that class struggle is the structuring principle that allows us to account for the very “inconsistent” plurality of ways in which other antagonisms can be articulated into “chains of equivalences”** For example, the feminist struggle can be articulated into a chain with the progressive struggle for emancipation, or it can (as it certainly often does) function as an ideological tool with which the upper-middle classes assert their superiority over the “patriarchal and intolerant” lower classes. The point is not only that the feminist struggle can be articulated in different ways with the class antagonism, but that the class antagonism is, as it were, doubly inscribed here: it is the specific constellation of the class struggle itself that explains why the feminist struggle was appropriated by the upper classes. (**The same goes for racism: it is the dynamics of class struggle itself that explain why open racism is more prevalent among the lowest strata of white workers.)** Class struggle is here “concrete universality” in the strict Hegelian sense: in relating to its otherness (other antagonisms), it relates to itself, **it (over)determines the way it relates to other struggles.** The third thing to underline is the fundamental difference between feminist, anti-racist, anti-sexist and other such struggles and the class struggle. In the first case, **the goal is to translate antagonism into difference** (the peaceful coexistence of sexes, religions, ethnic groups), while the goal of the class struggle is **precisely the opposite**, to turn class differences into class antagonisms. The point of subtraction is to reduce the overall complex structure to its **antagonistic minimal difference**. What the series race-gender-class obfuscates is the different logic of the political space in the case of class: while anti-racist and anti-sexist struggles are guided by a striving for the full recognition of the other, the class struggle aims at overcoming and subduing**, annihilating even, the other**—even if not a direct physical annihilation, it aims at wiping out the others socio-political role and function. In other words, while it is logical to say that antiracism wants all races to be allowed to freely assert and to realize their cultural, political, and economic **strivings, it is obviously meaningless to say that the aim of the proletarian class struggle is to allow the bourgeoisie to fully assert its identity and realize its goals**. In the one case, we have a horizontal logic of the recognition of different identities, while in the other we have the logic of the struggle with an antagonist. The paradox here is that it is populist fundamentalism that retains this logic of antagonism, **while the liberal left follows the logic of recognition of difference, of defusing antagonisms into coexisting differences**. In their very form, conservative-populist grassroots campaigns took over the old leftist-radical stance of popular mobilization and struggle against upper-class exploitation. Insofar as, in the US two-party system, red designates Republicans and blue Democrats, and insofar as populist fundamentalists (of course) vote Republican, the old anti-Communist slogan “Better dead than red!” now acquires a new and ironic meaning—the irony residing in the unexpected continuity between the “red” attitude of the old-style leftist grassroots mobilization and the new Christian fundamentalist populism.

#### Failure to understand how IPR are situated within the capitalist frameworks overlooks the root cause and problematizes the symptoms, a Marxist analysis of TRIPS and WTO are desperately needed to understand the topic which comes before the aff.

Rikowski 06 [(Ruth Rikowski is the author of Globalisation, Information and Libraries: the implications of the World Trade Organisation's GATS and TRIPS Agreements, Chandos publishers, 2005.)|A Marxist Analysis of the World Trade Organisation’s Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights] Comrade PW

An Open Marxist Theoretical Perspective on TRIPS In my book, Globalisation, Information and Libraries (Rikowski, 2005), I place TRIPS within an Open Marxist theoretical perspective. In essence, my argument is that IPRs, through TRIPS, are being transformed into international tradable commodities. Value that is created from labour (and particularly from intellectual labour in this regard) becomes embedded in the commodity. Furthermore, value can only ever be created from labour. These commodities are then sold in the marketplace and profits are made and this ensures the continued success of global capitalism, whilst labour is exploited, alienated and objectified. Following on from Marx, we need to begin our analysis of capitalism with the commodity. The logic of capitalism is the commodification of all that surrounds us. Now, we are seeing this process A Marxist Analysis of TRIPS 407 starting to take effect in areas that were unheard of before – this includes schools, universities and libraries. These are areas that were previously thought to be something beyond commercialisation and trading. But through the WTO we are now witnessing a dramatic change. The logic of this at a future date will be that the public will probably have to pay for services, the same way that they pay for other goods in shops, and services provided by other private companies, such as a taxi service. So, the aim in TRIPS is to transform knowledge, information and ideas into IPRs that can then be traded in the marketplace. Fundamentally, the TRIPS assists with the process of commodifying more and more areas of social life. But what exactly is this value, which becomes embedded in the commodity? I consider this in depth in my dissertation on value creation through knowledge (Rikowski, 2003a), and also provide an overview of it in Globalisation, Information and Libraries (Rikowski, 2005), and further explore it in the forthcoming book that I am editing, Knowledge Management: social, cultural and theoretical perspectives (Rikowski, 2007). Capitalism goes through different stages, such as the Agricultural Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, and now we are moving into the knowledge revolution (see Rikowski, 2000a, b, 2003b). Throughout all these periods, capitalism is sustained by value, and this value can only ever be created by labour. As Marx said: ‘human labour creates value, but is not itself value. It becomes value only in its congealed state, when embodied in the form of some object’ (1867, p. 57). In the Industrial Revolution, value was largely extracted from manual labour, but in the knowledge revolution value is being increasingly extracted from intellectual labour. TRIPS assists with this extraction of value, and with the embedding of it in the commodity. Conclusion Thus, in essence global capitalism is being perpetuated and furthered through the WTO. This is because trade agreements that are being developed at the WTO, such as the GATS and TRIPS, are helping to ensure that more and more areas of social life are being commodified. Capitalism is sustained by value, and not by any set of moral principles, and this includes any possible moral issues in regard to intellectual property rights. We need to try to grasp the complexities of the world that we find ourselves in, in global capitalism today, so that we can then try to find a way to break free from it all, in order to create a better, a kinder and a fairer world. If one took a different position, and argued that global capitalism was a very good system, and that we just need to work through the various issues and dilemmas, one would quickly come up against an insurmountable number of problems (as indeed people do) in regard to issues such as IPRs, moral and humane issues, the public service ethos and the balance in copyright. A Marxist analysis is complex, but it seeks to explain and solve many of these real problems and contradictions, whilst also enabling us to face up to these contradictions. We need a theoretical analysis that helps us to understand and explain the system that we find ourselves in – global capitalism, with all its injustice, inequality, cruelty, suffering and death – and an Open Marxist theoretical analysis provides us with this, in my view. Once we have this understanding, we can then endeavour to create a better, kinder and a fairer social, economic and political system – one that is based on human wants and needs and one that will enable humans to find selfexpression and fulfilment, rather than a system that is based on the exploitation, alienation and objectification of labour, value-creation and the never-ending drive to increase profit margins.

#### The WTO is rooted in corporate capitalism – it is established to ensure that corporate-lead globalization will not be interrupted

Johns et al 10 [(Fleur Johns is Professor in the Faculty of Law & Justice at UNSW Sydney, working in the areas of public international law, legal theory, and law and technology.)( Sundhya Pahuja is the Director of Melbourne Law School's [Institute for International Law and the Humanities](https://law.unimelb.edu.au/centres/iilah).)( Dr Richard Joyce is a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Law at Monash University, PhD practised as a solicitor in the intellectual property group of a leading Australian law firm.)Events: The Force of International Law | “The Emergence of the World Trade Organization”] PW

Given this final rapprochement between greater trade liberalization and the new institution of the WTO, it is tempting to argue that the greatest significance of the WTO lies in its free trade credentials. This argument gains strength from the fact that it was the US, consistently standing for the interests of trade liberalization in selected sectors, that drove the process that concluded the Uruguay Round. Given this US dominance, it does not seem unreasonable to go even further and suggest that, in its final form, the institution of the WTO serves the cause of the (sectorally selective) free traders, rather than free trade serving the cause of greater institutionalism in multilateral trading relations. If this is so, then we need to ask what motivated the free trade warriors of the late twentieth century? It is notable that, rhetorically at least, considerable emphasis was placed on the economic benefits of trade liberalization. However, leaving aside the questions that have been raised about these above and (especially) the question of the distribution of these benefits, it seems that the WTO was not in any case essential to the expansion of world trade. As Bello remarks, on the basis of the WTO’s own statistics, ‘[w]orld trade did not need the WTO to expand 87-fold between 1948 and 1997, from $124 billion to $10,772 billion’ (Bello 2000: 104, citing World Trade Organization 1998, 12). Rather as an explanation of the emergence of the WTO, it seems much more likely that the WTO was a response to that economic interdependence to which GATT had so successfully contributed. That is, the WTO was a response to the rise of so-called globalization in the form of corporate capitalism. Globalization as a vehicle of corporate capitalism was considerably inhibited by a range of non-tariff measures introduced after the ‘exogenous shocks’ (Hoekman & Kostecki 2001: 43), including the collapse of the fixed exchange rate system established under the auspices of Bretton Woods institutions and the OPEC crisis, of the 1970s and 1980s (Hoekman & Kostecki 2001: 41-4; Odell & Eichengreen 2000: 187-9). The rise of the WTO, therefore, with its emphasis on the removal of non-tariff barriers, is a response to the interruption of the process of corporate-lead globalization. Perspectives emerging from structuralist theory tend to reinforce the idea of an interdependent relationship between globalisation, corporate capitalism and the emergence of the WTO as an institution. Sociological institutionalism (Nichols 1998: 482), for example, which focuses on the interaction of individual actors and institutions in the light of the political, social and cultural environment in which those interactions take place, posits ‘that institutions are created or changed because the new institution will confer greater social legitimacy on the organization or its individuals’ (Nichols 1998: 485). Indeed, this concern with legitimacy in the context of the wider cultural, political and social milieu is a key feature of sociological institutionalism. From this theoretical perspective, the mutually constitutive relationship between globalization and international organizations like the WTO can be explicitly recognised. It is also apposite to note that it is not merely the case that globalization has a legitimating effect on the WTO. The constitution of legitimacy is mutual so that the WTO has a legitimating effect on globalization. That is, there is a compelling argument that the legalization and juridicization of the trade regime through the framework of the WTO is a legitimization of the processes of globalization (Picciotto 2003: 386; Davis & Neacsu 2001: 737). 24 Remaining within the structuralist tradition, post-Marxist accounts tend to build upon this type of approach by taking a longer and more nuanced view of the relationship between the structure of the world economy and the emergence of the WTO as an institution. Specifically, these accounts draw attention to a range of structures of varying depth and longevity. At the deep and long end, the structural development of capitalism is relevant to an account of the origins of the WTO. Occupying a median position is the birth of the Westphalian system and its relationship to the structure of international trade relations. The post World War Two bifurcated system of international law, especially its management of international economic relations and the associated rise of corporate capitalism, occupies significant space at the shallower and shorter end of the spectrum.

#### Capitalism causes every impact—poverty, inequality, democratic decline, disease, climate change, women and worker exploitation, and nuclear war

Foster 19 (John, PhD from York University, Professor at the University of Oregon Department of Sociology, “Capitalism Has Failed—What Next?,” Monthly Review, 2/1/19, <https://monthlyreview.org/2019/02/01/capitalism-has-failed-what-next/>, JLin)

Less than two decades into the twenty-first century, it is evident that capitalism has failed as a social system. The world is mired in economic stagnation, financialization, and the most extreme inequality in human history, accompanied by mass unemployment and underemployment, precariousness, poverty, hunger, wasted output and lives, and what at this point can only be called a planetary ecological “death spiral.”1 The digital revolution, the greatest technological advance of our time, has rapidly mutated from a promise of free communication and liberated production into new means of surveillance, control, and displacement of the working population. The institutions of liberal democracy are at the point of collapse, while fascism, the rear guard of the capitalist system, is again on the march, along with patriarchy, racism, imperialism, and war. To say that capitalism is a failed system is not, of course, to suggest that its breakdown and disintegration is imminent.2 It does, however, mean that it has passed from being a historically necessary and creative system at its inception to being a historically unnecessary and destructive one in the present century. Today, more than ever, the world is faced with the epochal choice between “the revolutionary reconstitution of society at large and the common ruin of the contending classes.”3 Indications of this failure of capitalism are everywhere. Stagnation of investment punctuated by bubbles of financial expansion, which then inevitably burst, now characterizes the so-called free market.4 Soaring inequality in income and wealth has its counterpart in the declining material circumstances of a majority of the population. Real wages for most workers in the United States have barely budged in forty years despite steadily rising productivity.5 Work intensity has increased, while work and safety protections on the job have been systematically jettisoned. Unemployment data has become more and more meaningless due to a new institutionalized underemployment in the form of contract labor in the gig economy.6 Unions have been reduced to mere shadows of their former glory as capitalism has asserted totalitarian control over workplaces. With the demise of Soviet-type societies, social democracy in Europe has perished in the new atmosphere of “liberated capitalism.”7 The capture of the surplus value produced by overexploited populations in the poorest regions of the world, via the global labor arbitrage instituted by multinational corporations, is leading to an unprecedented amassing of financial wealth at the center of the world economy and relative poverty in the periphery.8 Around $21 trillion of offshore funds are currently lodged in tax havens on islands mostly in the Caribbean, constituting “the fortified refuge of Big Finance.”9 Technologically driven monopolies resulting from the global-communications revolution, together with the rise to dominance of Wall Street-based financial capital geared to speculative asset creation, have further contributed to the riches of today’s “1 percent.” Forty-two billionaires now enjoy as much wealth as half the world’s population, while the three richest men in the United States—Jeff Bezos, Bill Gates, and Warren Buffett—have more wealth than half the U.S. population.10 In every region of the world, inequality has increased sharply in recent decades.11 The gap in per capita income and wealth between the richest and poorest nations, which has been the dominant trend for centuries, is rapidly widening once again.12 More than 60 percent of the world’s employed population, some two billion people, now work in the impoverished informal sector, forming a massive global proletariat. The global reserve army of labor is some 70 percent larger than the active labor army of formally employed workers.13 Adequate health care, housing, education, and clean water and air are increasingly out of reach for large sections of the population, even in wealthy countries in North America and Europe, while transportation is becoming more difficult in the United States and many other countries due to irrationally high levels of dependency on the automobile and disinvestment in public transportation. Urban structures are more and more characterized by gentrification and segregation, with cities becoming the playthings of the well-to-do while marginalized populations are shunted aside. About half a million people, most of them children, are homeless on any given night in the United States.14 New York City is experiencing a major rat infestation, attributed to warming temperatures, mirroring trends around the world.15 In the United States and other high-income countries, life expectancy is in decline, with a remarkable resurgence of Victorian illnesses related to poverty and exploitation. In Britain, gout, scarlet fever, whooping cough, and even scurvy are now resurgent, along with tuberculosis. With inadequate enforcement of work health and safety regulations, black lung disease has returned with a vengeance in U.S. coal country.16 Overuse of antibiotics, particularly by capitalist agribusiness, is leading to an antibiotic-resistance crisis, with the dangerous growth of superbugs generating increasing numbers of deaths, which by mid–century could surpass annual cancer deaths, prompting the World Health Organization to declare a “global health emergency.”17 These dire conditions, arising from the workings of the system, are consistent with what Frederick Engels, in the Condition of the Working Class in England, called “social murder.”18 At the instigation of giant corporations, philanthrocapitalist foundations, and neoliberal governments, public education has been restructured around corporate-designed testing based on the implementation of robotic common-core standards. This is generating massive databases on the student population, much of which are now being surreptitiously marketed and sold.19 The corporatization and privatization of education is feeding the progressive subordination of children’s needs to the cash nexus of the commodity market. We are thus seeing a dramatic return of Thomas Gradgrind’s and Mr. M’Choakumchild’s crass utilitarian philosophy dramatized in Charles Dickens’s Hard Times: “Facts are alone wanted in life” and “You are never to fancy.”20 Having been reduced to intellectual dungeons, many of the poorest, most racially segregated schools in the United States are mere pipelines for prisons or the military.21 More than two million people in the United States are behind bars, a higher rate of incarceration than any other country in the world, constituting a new Jim Crow. The total population in prison is nearly equal to the number of people in Houston, Texas, the fourth largest U.S. city. African Americans and Latinos make up 56 percent of those incarcerated, while constituting only about 32 percent of the U.S. population. Nearly 50 percent of American adults, and a much higher percentage among African Americans and Native Americans, have an immediate family member who has spent or is currently spending time behind bars. Both black men and Native American men in the United States are nearly three times, Hispanic men nearly two times, more likely to die of police shootings than white men.22 Racial divides are now widening across the entire planet. Violence against women and the expropriation of their unpaid labor, as well as the higher level of exploitation of their paid labor, are integral to the way in which power is organized in capitalist society—and how it seeks to divide rather than unify the population. More than a third of women worldwide have experienced physical/sexual violence. Women’s bodies, in particular, are objectified, reified, and commodified as part of the normal workings of monopoly-capitalist marketing.23 The mass media-propaganda system, part of the larger corporate matrix, is now merging into a social media-based propaganda system that is more porous and seemingly anarchic, but more universal and more than ever favoring money and power. Utilizing modern marketing and surveillance techniques, which now dominate all digital interactions, vested interests are able to tailor their messages, largely unchecked, to individuals and their social networks, creating concerns about “fake news” on all sides.24 Numerous business entities promising technological manipulation of voters in countries across the world have now surfaced, auctioning off their services to the highest bidders.25 The elimination of net neutrality in the United States means further concentration, centralization, and control over the entire Internet by monopolistic service providers. Elections are increasingly prey to unregulated “dark money” emanating from the coffers of corporations and the billionaire class. Although presenting itself as the world’s leading democracy, the United States, as Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy stated in Monopoly Capital in 1966, “is democratic in form and plutocratic in content.”26 In the Trump administration, following a long-established tradition, 72 percent of those appointed to the cabinet have come from the higher corporate echelons, while others have been drawn from the military.27 War, engineered by the United States and other major powers at the apex of the system, has become perpetual in strategic oil regions such as the Middle East, and threatens to escalate into a global thermonuclear exchange. During the Obama administration, the United States was engaged in wars/bombings in seven different countries—Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Somalia, and Pakistan.28 Torture and assassinations have been reinstituted by Washington as acceptable instruments of war against those now innumerable individuals, group networks, and whole societies that are branded as terrorist. A new Cold War and nuclear arms race is in the making between the United States and Russia, while Washington is seeking to place road blocks to the continued rise of China. The Trump administration has created a new space force as a separate branch of the military in an attempt to ensure U.S. dominance in the militarization of space. Sounding the alarm on the increasing dangers of a nuclear war and of climate destabilization, the distinguished Bulletin of Atomic Scientists moved its doomsday clock in 2018 to two minutes to midnight, the closest since 1953, when it marked the advent of thermonuclear weapons.29 Increasingly severe economic sanctions are being imposed by the United States on countries like Venezuela and Nicaragua, despite their democratic elections—or because of them. Trade and currency wars are being actively promoted by core states, while racist barriers against immigration continue to be erected in Europe and the United States as some 60 million refugees and internally displaced peoples flee devastated environments. Migrant populations worldwide have risen to 250 million, with those residing in high-income countries constituting more than 14 percent of the populations of those countries, up from less than 10 percent in 2000. Meanwhile, ruling circles and wealthy countries seek to wall off islands of power and privilege from the mass of humanity, who are to be left to their fate.30 More than three-quarters of a billion people, over 10 percent of the world population, are chronically malnourished.31 Food stress in the United States keeps climbing, leading to the rapid growth of cheap dollar stores selling poor quality and toxic food. Around forty million Americans, representing one out of eight households, including nearly thirteen million children, are food insecure.32 Subsistence farmers are being pushed off their lands by agribusiness, private capital, and sovereign wealth funds in a global depeasantization process that constitutes the greatest movement of people in history.33 Urban overcrowding and poverty across much of the globe is so severe that one can now reasonably refer to a “planet of slums.”34 Meanwhile, the world housing market is estimated to be worth up to $163 trillion (as compared to the value of gold mined over all recorded history, estimated at $7.5 trillion).35 The Anthropocene epoch, first ushered in by the Great Acceleration of the world economy immediately after the Second World War, has generated enormous rifts in planetary boundaries, extending from climate change to ocean acidification, to the sixth extinction, to disruption of the global nitrogen and phosphorus cycles, to the loss of freshwater, to the disappearance of forests, to widespread toxic-chemical and radioactive pollution.36 It is now estimated that 60 percent of the world’s wildlife vertebrate population (including mammals, reptiles, amphibians, birds, and fish) have been wiped out since 1970, while the worldwide abundance of invertebrates has declined by 45 percent in recent decades.37 What climatologist James Hansen calls the “species exterminations” resulting from accelerating climate change and rapidly shifting climate zones are only compounding this general process of biodiversity loss. Biologists expect that half of all species will be facing extinction by the end of the century.38 If present climate-change trends continue, the “global carbon budget” associated with a 2°C increase in average global temperature will be broken in sixteen years (while a 1.5°C increase in global average temperature—staying beneath which is the key to long-term stabilization of the climate—will be reached in a decade). Earth System scientists warn that the world is now perilously close to a Hothouse Earth, in which catastrophic climate change will be locked in and irreversible.39 The ecological, social, and economic costs to humanity of continuing to increase carbon emissions by 2.0 percent a year as in recent decades (rising in 2018 by 2.7 percent—3.4 percent in the United States), and failing to meet the minimal 3.0 percent annual reductions in emissions currently needed to avoid a catastrophic destabilization of the earth’s energy balance, are simply incalculable.40 Nevertheless, major energy corporations continue to lie about climate change, promoting and bankrolling climate denialism—while admitting the truth in their internal documents. These corporations are working to accelerate the extraction and production of fossil fuels, including the dirtiest, most greenhouse gas-generating varieties, reaping enormous profits in the process. The melting of the Arctic ice from global warming is seen by capital as a new El Dorado, opening up massive additional oil and gas reserves to be exploited without regard to the consequences for the earth’s climate. In response to scientific reports on climate change, Exxon Mobil declared that it intends to extract and sell all of the fossil-fuel reserves at its disposal.41 Energy corporations continue to intervene in climate negotiations to ensure that any agreements to limit carbon emissions are defanged. Capitalist countries across the board are putting the accumulation of wealth for a few above combatting climate destabilization, threatening the very future of humanity. Capitalism is best understood as a competitive class-based mode of production and exchange geared to the accumulation of capital through the exploitation of workers’ labor power and the private appropriation of surplus value (value generated beyond the costs of the workers’ own reproduction). The mode of economic accounting intrinsic to capitalism designates as a value-generating good or service anything that passes through the market and therefore produces income. It follows that the greater part of the social and environmental costs of production outside the market are excluded in this form of valuation and are treated as mere negative “externalities,” unrelated to the capitalist economy itself—whether in terms of the shortening and degradation of human life or the destruction of the natural environment. As environmental economist K. William Kapp stated, “capitalism must be regarded as an economy of unpaid costs.”42 We have now reached a point in the twenty-first century in which the externalities of this irrational system, such as the costs of war, the depletion of natural resources, the waste of human lives, and the disruption of the planetary environment, now far exceed any future economic benefits that capitalism offers to society as a whole. The accumulation of capital and the amassing of wealth are increasingly occurring at the expense of an irrevocable rift in the social and environmental conditions governing human life on earth.43 Some would argue that China stands as an exception to much of the above, characterized as it is by a seemingly unstoppable rate of economic advance (though carrying with it deep social and ecological contradictions). Yet Chinese development has its roots in the 1949 Chinese Revolution, carried out by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Mao Zedong, whereby it liberated itself from the imperialist system. This allowed it to develop for decades under a planned economy largely free of constraints from outside forces, establishing a strong agricultural and industrial economic base. This was followed by a shift in the post-Maoist reform period to a hybrid system of more limited state planning along with a much greater reliance on market relations (and a vast expansion of debt and speculation) under conditions—the globalization of the world market—that were particularly fortuitous to its “catching up.” Through trade wars and other pressures aimed at destabilizing China’s position in the world market, the United States is already seeking to challenge the bases of China’s growth in world trade. China, therefore, stands not so much for the successes of late capitalism but rather for its inherent limitations. The current Chinese model, moreover, carries within it many of the destructive tendencies of the system of capital accumulation. Ultimately, China’s future too depends on a return to the process of revolutionary transition, spurred by its own population.44 How did these disastrous conditions characterizing capitalism worldwide develop? An understanding of the failure of capitalism, beginning in the twentieth century, requires a historical examination of the rise of neoliberalism, and how this has only served to increase the destructiveness of the system. Only then can we address the future of humanity in the twenty-first century.

#### The alternative is to affirm the model of the Communist Party – only the Party can provide effective accountability mechanisms to correct chauvinist tendencies, educate and mobilize marginalized communities, and connect local struggles to a movement for international liberation

**Escalante 18**  
(Alyson Escalante is a Marxist-Leninist, Materialist Feminist and Anti-Imperialist activist. “PARTY ORGANIZING IN THE 21ST CENTURY” September 21st, 2018 <https://theforgenews.org/2018/09/21/party-organizing-in-the-21st-century/> cVs)

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.

#### We must push anti-neoliberal pedagogy into the debate space – it is the only way to produce new ideas and escape the military-industrial-academic-cultural complex – Thus the ROB is to affirm for the best method for challenging global capitalism

Giroux 14—(Henry A. Giroux, Chair for Scholarship in the Public Interest​, The Paulo Freire Distinguished Scholar in Critical Pedagogy, April 15, 2014, "Neoliberalism and the machinery of disposability," Philosophers for Change, https://philosophersforchange.org/2014/04/15/neoliberalism-and-the-machinery-of-disposability/, 6-28-2019)//don

Such movements are not simply about reclaiming space but also about producing new ideas, generating new conversations, and introducing a new political language. While there has been considerable coverage in the progressive media since 2001 given to the violence being waged against the movement protesters in Brazil, the United States, Greece and elsewhere, it is important to situate such violence within a broader set of categories that enables a critical understanding of not only the underlying social, economic and political forces at work in such assaults, but also makes it possible to reflect critically on the distinctiveness of the current historical period in which they are taking place. For example, it is difficult to address such state-sponsored violence against young people without analyzing the devolution of the social state, emergence of a politics of disposability, and the corresponding rise of the warfare and punishing state. The merging of the military-industrial-academic-cultural complex and unbridled corporate power points to the need for strategies that address what is specific about the current warfare state and the neoliberal project and how different interests, modes of power, social relations, public pedagogies, and economic configurations come together to shape its politics of domestic terrorism, cruelty, and zones of disposability. Such a conjuncture is invaluable politically in that it provides a theoretical opening for making the practices of the neoliberal revolution visible to organize resistance to its ideologies, policies and modes of governance. It also points to the conceptual power of making clear that history remains an open horizon that cannot be dismissed through appeals to the end of history or end of ideology.[20] It is precisely through the indeterminate nature of history that resistance becomes possible and politics refuses any guarantees and remains open. A number of neoliberal societies, including the United States, have become addicted to violence. War provides jobs, profits, political payoffs, research funds, and forms of political and economic power that reach into every aspect of society. As war becomes a mode of sovereignty and rule, it erodes the distinction between war and peace. Increasingly fed by a moral and political frenzy, warlike values produce and endorse shared fears as the primary register of social relations. Shared fears and the media-induced panics that feed them produce more than a culture of fear. Such hysteria also feeds the growing militarization of the police, who increasingly use their high-tech scanners, surveillance cameras and toxic chemicals on anyone who engages in peaceful protests against the warfare and corporate state. Images abound in the mainstream media of such abuses. As a mode of public pedagogy, a state of permanent war needs willing subjects to abide by its values, ideology and narratives of fear and violence. Such legitimation is largely provided through a market-driven culture addicted to production of consumerism, militarism, and organized violence, largely circulated through various registers of popular culture that extend from high fashion and Hollywood movies to the creation of violent video games and music concerts sponsored by the Pentagon. The market-driven spectacle of war demands a culture of conformity, quiet intellectuals and a largely passive republic of consumers. But it also needs subjects who find intense pleasure in the spectacle of violence.

## Case

### No 1AR theory

#### No 1ar theory –

#### 1] Time skew – Forces me to answer the shell, which distracts from substance – substantive clash is k2 education and 1ar theory distracts from it.

#### 2] Judge intervention – I only have 1 speech to answer it and no 3NR which means that the judge has to intervene and decide if my answers were good enough after taking into account to 2ars lies.

#### 3] Reciprocity – I only have once chance to respond after it is introduced while they have two chances

#### 4] Persuasive spin in the 2ar appeals to judges more ows on judge psychology bc they will always win that debate

#### 5] DTA Solves – they can indict the arguments that are abusive and I have strategic options to respond

### Colonialism – Root Cause

#### The universalizing drive of capital is the root cause of the hegemonic power of the West—only a capitalist lense through the alternative can solve colonial struggles

Chibber ‘13--(Jonah Birch, a graduate student in sociology @ NYU, interviewing Vivek Chibber, an American academic, Marxist theorist, editor, and professor of sociology @ NYU, “How Does the Subaltern Speak?” April 21st, 2013, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2013/04/how-does-the-subaltern-speak/>) kb

Subaltern studies offers two distinct arguments for how and why the universalizing drive of capital was blocked. One argument comes from Ranajit Guha. Guha located the universalizing drive of capital in the ability of a particular agent — namely, the bourgeoisie, the capitalist class — to overthrow the feudal order and construct a coalition of classes that includes not only capitalists and merchants, but also workers and peasants. And through the alliance that is cobbled together, capital is supposed to erect a new political order, which is not only pro-capitalist in terms of defending the property rights of capitalists, but also a liberal, encompassing, and consensual order. So for the universalizing drive of capital to be real, Guha says, it must be experienced as the emergence of a capitalist class that constructs a consensual, liberal order. This order replaces the ancien régime, and is universalizing in that it expresses the interests of capitalists as universal interests. Capital, as Guha says, achieves the ability to speak for all of society: it is not only dominant as a class, but also hegemonic in that it doesn’t need to use coercion to maintain its power. So Guha locates the universalizing drive in the construction of an encompassing political culture. The key point for Guha is that the bourgeoisie in the West was able to achieve such an order while the bourgeoisie in the East failed to do so. Instead of overthrowing feudalism, it made some sort of compact with the feudal classes; instead of becoming a hegemonic force with a broad, cross-class coalition, it tried its best to suppress the involvement of peasants and the working class. Instead of erecting a consensual and encompassing political order, it put into place highly unstable and fairly authoritarian political orders. It maintained the rift between the class culture of the subaltern and that of the elite. So for Guha, whereas in the West the bourgeoisie was able to speak for all the various classes, in the East it failed in this goal, making it dominant but not hegemonic. This in turn makes modernity in the two parts of the world fundamentally different by generating very different political dynamics in the East and West, and this is the significance of capital’s universalizing drive having failed.

#### Colonialism is perpetuated by the capitalist desire of economic exploitation

Azikiwe ‘14-- (Abayomi, Detroit organizer of the Workers World Party and editor of the Pan-African Newswire, “Neo-Colonialism and the Changing Nature of Imperialism in Africa”, 5/6/14, <http://www.whenthenewsstops.org/2014/06/neo-colonialism-and-changing-nature-of.html>) kb

V.I. Lenin provided the most comprehensive as well as succinct definition of imperialism in his famous book, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism” that was published during World War I. In this book Lenin deals with changing character of imperialism and the supremacy of international finance capital as the dominant interests within the world capitalist system. After nearly a century, Lenin’s study of the changing economic character of world capitalism remains important in understanding the nature of international relations and the class character of modern society. Wealth has become even more concentrated during the first two decades of the 21st century despite monumental strides in the areas of technological development and industrial productivity. Lenin said in Chapter VII of this above-mentioned work that “If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. Such a definition would include what is most important, for, on the one hand, finance capital is the bank capital of a few very big monopolist banks, merged with the capital of the monopolist associations of industrialists; and, on the other hand, the division of the world is the transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unseized by any capitalist power, to a colonial policy of monopolist possession of the territory of the world, which has been completely divided up.” The two World Wars fought during the first half of the 20th century were designed to carve up the spoils of colonial conquest and exploitation. Nonetheless, these wars could not resolve the quest for hegemony by the imperialist states, of course, due to the intervention of the masses of workers and peasants who rose up during the aftermath of these conflagrations. Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism- Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a leader in the Gold Coast Revolution (later Ghana) and a proponent of Pan-Africanism and Socialism, later identified neo-colonialism as the final phase of imperialism in a book he published in 1965 entitled “Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism” issued on the eve of his removal from power by a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) engineered coup in Feb. 1966. The colonial and semi-colonial powers may relinquish the appearance of control through the recognition of independent states and their governments, yet they maintain their quest for hegemony through the control of the international division of labor and the dominance over the economic relations of production, ownership and trade. Nkrumah wrote in the chapter entitled “The Mechanisms of Neo-Colonialism,”that “Faced with the militant peoples of the ex-colonial territories in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, imperialism simply switches tactics. Without a qualm it dispenses with its flags, and even with certain of its more hated expatriate officials. This means, so it claims, that it is ‘giving’ independence to its former subjects, to be followed by ‘aid’ for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is this sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about ‘freedom’, which has come to be known as neo-colonialism.” In the following paragraph, Nkrumah then goes on to identify the principal enemy of the forces of national liberation, anti-imperialism and socialism throughout the world. He notes that “Foremost among the neo-colonialists is the United States, which has long exercised its power in Latin America. Fumblingly at first she turned towards Europe, and then with more certainty after world war two when most countries of that continent were indebted to her. Since then, with methodical thoroughness and touching attention to detail, the Pentagon set about consolidating its ascendancy, evidence of which can be seen all around the world.” These words still carry resonance in the second decade of the 21st century. The motivations behind imperialist militarism are based upon their attempts to maintain control of the economic resources of the world. In relationship to the situation in Africa today there appears to be a counter-narrative related to the reports of phenomenal economic growth while at the same time the ominous threat of “global terrorism” provides a rationale for deepening military and intelligence interventions. Although the U.S. is leading in this approach, other imperialist states such as France, Britain, Canada and Germany are also heavily involved. The formation of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) signaled a renewed threat to the sovereignty of the continent. In this current phase of post-colonial history, the Pentagon, the CIA and NATO forces along with the State of Israel are involved in numerous African states. Under the guise of providing emerging African states with assistance in enhancing their internal security apparatuses to guard against “terrorism,” the African Union member-states are becoming less stable and incapable of resolving their own internal problems. This contradiction also has served to undermine the tenuous existence of African unity as demonstrated in the EU-Africa summit held in Brussels, Belgium. The Domestic Character of Neo-Colonialism- When the character of imperialism is analyzed it cannot be merely limited to foreign policy concerns of the Western capitalist states. Within the domestic confines of these countries there are oppressed nations that have been subjected to domination and super-exploitation. In the U.S., the growing populations of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Middle Eastern communities, etc., are creating the conditions for major shifts in the political culture of the country. Consequently, a renewed series of attacks are being carried out against these populations under the rubric of privatization aimed at capitalist re-structuring. For example in Detroit, the banks have driven nearly a quarter-of-a-million people, mainly African Americans, from the city over the last decade-and-a-half. This assault on the population was carried out utilizing economic means such as home foreclosures and predatory municipal lending engineered by the financial institutions. The imposed emergency management and forced bankruptcy of Detroit, the largest per capita African American populated municipality in the U.S., was carried out not by the people who live in the city but by racist right-wing governor utilizing a dictator who works as an agent of the banks. This is why we raised the slogan “Cancel the Debt.” We realize that the current situation was created by the criminal actions of international finance capital carried out on a domestic level. These attacks against the people of Detroit and other municipalities in Michigan, most of whom have majority African American populations, are also designed to set a precedence for the nationwide seizure of public pension funds, public assets, the privatization of schools, the driving down of wages and the theft of any semblance of even bourgeois democratic practice and norms. This is why the most advanced forces in Detroit have reached out to nationally oppressed and working class communities throughout the U.S. and indeed the world. The struggle in Detroit and other municipalities throughout the country is part and parcel of a world struggle against imperialism. Consequently, despite the increasing impoverishment and repression of the majority of the world’s population, which is well under way, this current phase provides the basis for the building of greater solidarity efforts which in the end will prevail over the ever-shrinking ruling class that remains mired in perpetual crises necessitating even more wars and greater degrees of economic exploitation.