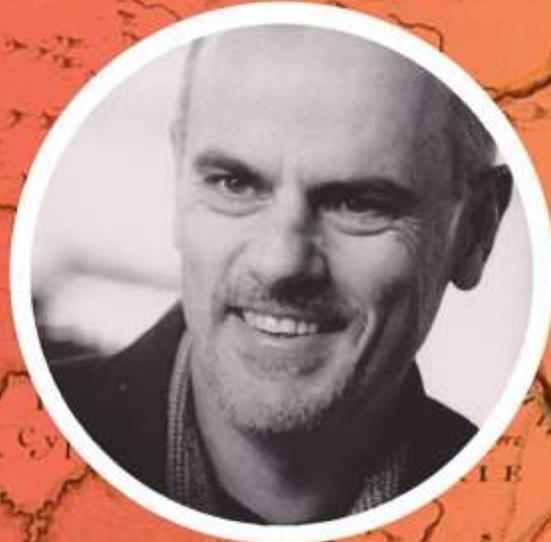


Dr. Tim Anderson

21 March 6-8pm



Theories of Imperialism:
Hybrid Wars in the Middle East

Jay Tharappel

28 March 6-8pm



The War on Yemen
& Australia's Arms Industry

MUA Building, Unit 3, 365-375 Sussex St, Sydney CBD

FREE UNIVERSITY SEMINARS

This series of Free University seminars is an educational collaboration between the Centre for Counter Hegemonic Studies and the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA). The aim is to provide free interactive classes for workers, students and others, on a range of political-economic topics.

The seminars will introduce academics, unionists and progressive activists to present information and debates, to spread knowledge and encourage participation on contemporary topics.

The two initial topics are: (1) theories of imperialism, hybrid wars in the Middle East (Presenter: Dr Tim Anderson) and (2) The War on Yemen and Australia's arms industry (Presenter: PhD candidate Mr. Jay Tharappel). Future topics will respond to demand, see the table below.

What topics would you like to see in future Seminars?

Theories of Imperialism – notes

V.I Lenin (1916) *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism*

online: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/>

- monopoly finance capital demands new markets for expansion
- European empires compete for control and so drive war

Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy (1966) *Monopoly Capital*

Review online: https://monthlyreview.org/product/monopoly_capital/

- Capitalism is not a competitive system but rather dominated by monopolies
- Imperialism and world political economic relations have to be reinterpreted accordingly

Samir Amin (2012) ‘The Surplus in Monopoly Capitalism and the Imperialist Rent’

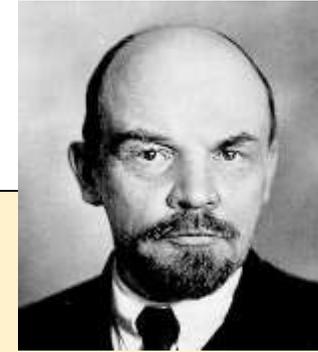
online: <https://monthlyreview.org/2012/07/01/the-surplus-in-monopoly-capitalism-and-the-imperialist-rent/>

- ‘surplus’ is not just drawn from labour, it is extracted internationally by monopoly power
Baran ‘extended Marx’s analysis of the dynamic of capital accumulation’ which had been restricted to the ‘two departments’ of production and consumption, ‘by introducing a surplus-absorbing ‘third department’. Baran said and Amin agreed that ‘monopoly capital’ can ‘pay workers in the periphery of global capitalism a wage considerably below that in the center ... This results in an enormous growth of surplus in the periphery much of which is siphoned off as imperial rent’ and this mostly goes to the ‘center’ via MNCs.

Latin America’s anti-imperialist school

- Imperialism v. independence is the fundamental international contradiction
- Social and socialist development must be original, built on historical circumstances (Simón Rodríguez 1769-1854; José Martí 1853-1895; José Carlos Mariátegui 1894-1930).
- A ‘second independence’ is required, after the colonial era, to be free of the imperial-comprador class relationship (José Martí, Fidel Castro, Hugo Chavez).

Imperialism: Neo-Marxist views



Does finance capital drive empires?

- **Lenin's influences:** Marx & Engels, Hobson, Hilferding
- 'economically imperialism – or the era of **finance capitalism** – is the highest stage in the development of [monopoly] capitalism ... [which] has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and **financial strangulation** of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries. And this 'booty' is shared by **two or three world-dominating pirates**, armed to the teeth who embroil the whole world in their **war** over the division of their booty'

V. I. Lenin (1916) *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism*

Two key ideas:

- **Imperial competition drives war (e.g. WW1)**
- **Economic domination through financial monopolies**

Central neo-Marxist ideas of imperialism:

- Capitalism is not a basically competitive system (as Marx suggested) but rather is dominated by monopoly corporations (Baran, Sweezy);
- Centres of monopoly power accrue surplus capital which they have to export; in this way monopoly finance capital drives imperialist ventures
- 'Surplus' is not only extracted from labour by capital; it is extracted from peripheral economies by monopoly power in the 'core' metropolis;
- Other neo-Marxist sub-theories (dependency theory, world systems theory) build on these ideas.



Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy:
20th century capitalism is
monopoly capitalism



Samir Amin: Eurocentrism ignores the
historic role of the Arab-Muslim world



Utsa Patnaik: 'Britain plundered \$45
trillion from India during 'Raj' days'

Andre Gunder Frank: 'Under-
development' distorts political elites



Anglo-American liberalism – capitalist ‘sustained growth’ & ‘Hegemonic Stability’

Neither English nor US American liberalism had traditions of historical analysis, but some were invented in the 1960s and 1970s, often responding to popular Marxist and Neo-Marxist views.

Walt Rostow (1960) The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, online:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20130223023302/http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/ipe/rostow.htm>

- all countries can emulate British and Japanese industrialisation, in stages (traditional, enclosure, surplus, industrialisation, maturity, mass consumption) of endogenous growth

Hegemonic stability theory (HST) – a North American counter to ‘imperialism’

- HST says the international order requires a single ‘benevolent dictator’ to stabilise relations, carry the costs of global security and provide ‘public goods’ (stable currencies, free trade) to all (Charles Kindleberger, Robert Gilpin, Stephen Krasner) – relied on by ‘single superpower’ advocates

Critics of Anglo-American liberalism: what about the ‘surplus’ robbed from the colonies?

Caribbean: sugar plantations & British capitalism - Eric Williams (1944) *Capitalism and Slavery*

Latin America: silver and gold funded Spanish and Portuguese development for centuries

India: biggest colony, stolen resources and ‘unequal trade’ funded British capitalist development

Imperialism: 'neo-realist' views

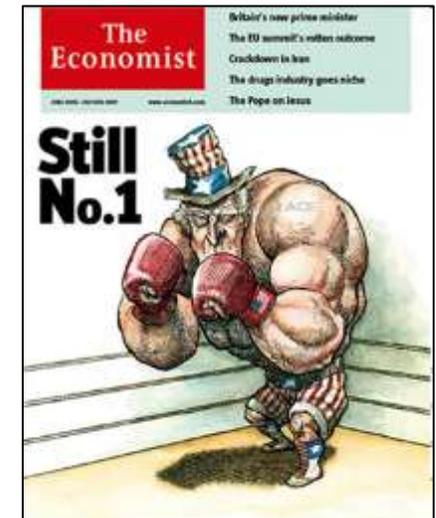
- **'hegemonic stability'**

- (a) 'hegemonic altruism', (b) stabilise world order, (c) 'free trade' guarantor, (d) carries military expense for world.

Charles Kindleberger (r), 1970; Robert Keohane, 1977

- **democratic formalism**

- US supports 'independent, democratic' states (including Afghanistan 2001+, Iraq 2003+, etc),
- effectively backs investor friendly regimes of all types, whether 'democracies' or 'dictatorships' (Saudis, etc)
- the '**single superpower**' idea, 1991+ - 'non-proliferation' and unilateral disarmament projects



Resistance in the Arab-Muslim world, 2001+

Essentially a single war for control of the region, Washington's 'New Middle East'

- **Initial invasions** (Afghanistan, Iraq) are replaced by '**smart power**' interventions, using propaganda, economic war, terrorist proxy armies and occupations
- **Targets:** Palestine, Iran*, Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Yemen
- **'Realist and 'Liberal' consensus** on 'exceptionalist' interventions
John Stuart Mill (19thC): “Colonisation ... is the best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can engage ... the same rules of international morality do not apply ... between civilised nations and barbarians ... any separation [from our colonies] would greatly diminish the prestige of England ... [and hurt] mankind”.
- **Resistance** must be understood historically (in contingent forms), not in terms of idealism (what we would like to see). Note the importance of **Iran** to the region
- Resistance can only succeed through combination and unity, c.f. Latin America



Report card, Washington:
progress in destroying independent Middle East peoples & states

Palestine	Failing	Zionist colony becomes apartheid state, legitimacy nosediving, resistance survives.
Afghanistan	Quagmire	State smashed but resistance blocks imperial dominance.
Iraq	Failing	State smashed but new state is recovering political will, joining neighbours.
Lebanon	Failing	'Confessional' state, set up to fail, recovers integrity through resistance.
Iran	Fail	Full spectrum war has made the Islamic Republic of Iran stronger.
Libya	Success	State smashed, no sign yet of recovery.
Syria	Fail	Massive proxy war defeated, imperial occupation forces looking for a way out.
Yemen	Quagmire	Saudis unable to dominate Yemen.

TA

NB. We ignore claimed 'democracy' and 'humanitarian' motives, those were never serious contenders

