

A World Where Many Worlds Fit: Manifesto for an Anti-Manifest Destiny Marxism

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The bulk of the Marxism that has been theorized and politically practiced during the 20th century globally was incapable of transforming human society by eradicating the capitalist system. Furthermore, the actualizations of socialism, as evinced in every revolutionary project around the globe during the 20th century, all have capitulated and failed to produce a qualitative and significant pathway towards a better world. The root of the problem is the toxic Manifest Destiny Marxism, a series of fallacious and inimical conceptions about revolution as primarily a western, modernist project to end capitalism with a replacement social system of some form of socialism unable to break with western modernity.

Such manifestations and theorizations of socialism have been plagued and poisoned by the following assumptions:

- (a) the inevitability of Whiteness and an a priori acceptance of the inevitability of the U.S.A.;
- (b) the inevitability of Eurocentrism and modernity;
- (c) the inevitability of technocentrism and industrialism, with industrialization viewed as the goal and exemplar of social-economic development; and
- (d) the inevitable continuation of gender as one of the most basic divides of humanity.

In sum, it is a *Manifest Destiny Marxism* that has proven to be inimical to human freedom, genocidal towards indigenous peoples (viewed as “primitive” and subordinate to the “proletariat”), generator of racist and integrationist organizing practices, and, therefore, ultimately incapable of making true and thorough revolutionary transformation.

The bulk of other 20th century revolutionary theories and practices (anarchism, Pan-Africanism/revolutionary black nationalism, radical and socialist feminism, post-modernism, etc.) have equally been unable to eliminate the capitalist system. Taken together, they signify a logger-jam of arrested developments in humanity’s struggle for liberation and *pono* (a *kanaka maoli*, indigenous “Hawaiian,” expression for exquisite and elegant equilibrium) with the rest of nature. In this essay, I shall critique each Manifest Destiny Marxist conception as listed above, and offer a replacement orientation and conception.

The Inevitability of Whiteness and the U.S.A.

This is America. We don’t just make things you don’t want. We make things you didn’t know you didn’t want.

-Television commercial advertisement for Prilosec (a heartburn and acid relief drug, symptoms usually associated with stress)

This land is your land, this land is my land
From California to the New York Island
From the Redwood Forest to the Gulf Stream waters
This land was made for you and me.

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-Woody Guthrie (1940), lyrics to “This Land Is Your Land”

The first of the above quotes is an ironic statement made in a television commercial humorously representing over-consumption and its attendant stresses in American society. The other, the opening lyrics to a song exalting America from an iconic troubadour of the American Left and its Popular Front, conveys the hope-filled vision of a more just and equitable American society. The juxtaposition of the above two excerpts emblemizes the profound conundrum of Manifest Destiny so imbued into everything American, including its purportedly anti-capitalist, pro-socialist Left.

Manifest Destiny, as a concept that arose during the 19th century, was the doctrine and belief that the American nation-state would, could and should expand and possess all land “westward” from its founding 13 colonies. That expansionist doctrine and viewpoint wasn’t simply confined to what we now call “the lower 48” (what are now the 48 contiguous states in North America), but expanded to include the entire hemisphere and beyond. This includes the annexation of two-thirds of northern Mexico to become the American southwest, derailing nascent national independence movements in the Caribbean, Central America, and even extending as far as the Pacific Islands, including the Kingdom of Ka Paeain’a—the so-called Hawaiian islands—and what would become territories in the South Pacific, with American Samoa, Guam, Palau, among others. Except possibly for the Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan, in about a century’s time, the U.S.A. nation-state became one of the fastest consolidated and largest empires in history, encompassing a land base across virtually an entire continent, acquiring an additionally huge northern land mass without military conquest or much financial expenditure (Alaska), extending southward into the southern Atlantic (Puerto Rico, the Caribbean, Central America) and westward into the southern Pacific Oceans (from Ka Paeain’a, a thousand island archipelago, to the Philippine archipelago to the aforementioned other Pacific Islands). Manifest Destiny, in terms of the geo-political expansionism of the U.S.A. and its domination over vast and far flung areas across the planet, can be expressed as American Imperialism Maximum, the assumption of the inevitability of American dominance, a self-evident accepted conclusion by the 20th century (dubbed “The American Century”), even after two World Wars, wave upon wave of independence and national liberation struggles, and the rise and fall of a rival superpower (the former USSR), and that God, had indeed, blessed America. The notion of “Pax Americana” (the preponderance of relative peace for the U.S.A., having had no serious revolutionary challenges within its borders after the Civil War, nor any external invasion of a serious nature) rests upon a notion of the indomitable security of the U.S. Empire, so mighty, gifted and endowed, as to be eternal and preeminent.

The power of the American Empire is uncontested: the first and only power to use a nuclear weapon; an Empire that has military bases upon every continent of the world; an Empire that has occupied territories in every ocean of the planet; an Empire that lacks any serious internal threat because of its ability to destroy the indigenous resistance without substantial population or material loss to its nation-state citizenry, nor any domestic revolutionary challenge as the fundamental presumption of Manifest Destiny was never questioned or challenged in the ideological or political programs of its own anti-capitalist, pro-socialist Left; an Empire able to co-opt and assimilate its diverse nationally oppressed minorities; and lastly, but not least important, an Empire with the ability to purvey a series of ideological narratives justifying its preeminence, including “American Exceptionalism,”

“American Triumphalism,” “The End of History,” “Leader of the Free World,” “Land of Democracy,” “A Nation of Immigrants,” etc.

It is not only the jingoists and exalters of American supremacy that have unquestioningly adhered to Manifest Destiny, but its dissidents and would-be revolutionists who are also its most intransigent proponents of Manifest Destiny as well. Without exception, the U.S. Left, since its inception as a political entity, is completely implicated in the Manifest Destiny narrative. With a few exceptions, the American Left has, not surprisingly, been overwhelmingly a white Left, just as for most of its history whiteness and white supremacy has been synonymous with “American” (c.f., Ho 2012). Until the 1960s, the ostensibly revolutionary goal of the U.S. communist, socialist, Trotskyist and anarchist Left has been to create a socialist U.S.A. and not of ending the U.S.A. During the 1960s, a few but significant exceptions to the Manifest Destiny presumption of transforming the U.S.A. have come from radical and revolutionary African American and other oppressed nationality forces, who have advocated for the actual dismemberment of the U.S.A. by liberating territory via national liberation struggles. However, none articulated a consistent goal of actually destroying the U.S.A. entirely and completely. The assumption, even by nationalist independence forces struggling for the liberation of territory (and consequently dismemberment of the U.S. Empire), was that there still would be a U.S.A., albeit without some of its territory and subjugated populace. It was presumed that the end of the U.S.A. would be part of the overall withering away of nation-states in the distant communist future, and not the immediate objective of anti-imperialist struggle.

In the 1960s, a significant turning point began as the American Empire’s power started to decline internationally. The increasing victories of the Third World against the U.S. Empire were having an impact upon movements within the Empire/U.S.A., especially as the Vietnamese struggle neared victory against U.S. imperialism. By the early 1970s, radical and revolutionary movements among those oppressed nationalities within the domestic borders of the U.S.A. no longer accepted the inevitability of whiteness or the American nation-state, and some rejected the notion of an intact socialist fifty United States of America. Across a spectrum of struggle that included the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the American Indian Movement, the Black Liberation Movement (with groups from the Nation of Islam to the Republic of New Afrika calling for an independent Black Nation that would secede from the U.S.A.), the Xicano Movement (calling for the independence of the Xicano nation, or that annexed territory once-formerly northern Mexico, now known as the American southwest), the Kanaka Maoli (so-called Hawaiian) Independence Movement, all challenged the inevitability of the U.S.A. All of such forces were more than “anti-imperialist” (in contrast to a great many American/white Leftists, still stuck on the idea of a Manifest Destiny, albeit socialist, U.S.A.). These forces took positions for independence from the U.S.A., and as such, advocated its dismemberment. Some dared to imply that they sought the complete destruction of the U.S.A. As poet LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka intoned: “The destruction of America as we know it.”

Needless to say, the U.S.A. imperial state forces understood these nascent revolutionary forces to be a considerable danger to its imperial integrity, and exerted maximum efforts to destroy all of them. While American state forces have also repressed, and violently so, the mostly white anarchists, communists and socialists, they did not treat these still white compatriots with the brutal, genocidal assaults directed at oppressed

nationality radicals, who experienced genocide and military campaigns of far greater horror and viciousness. The threat to capital expansionism from its own working class has never been considered as threatening or dangerous to the national security interests of the U.S.A. as the threat to land occupation from oppressed nations and nationalities. What is conveniently ignored by the Howard Zinn version of American populist struggle and revolt is that the repression against the Native peoples, enslaved Africans and Asians and Mexicans—unlike for white rebellions against capital—were genocidal in intention and effect. More than to crush resistance, the American Empire was hell-bent upon actually eliminating and exterminating these peoples, as evidenced by unremitting military (state and populist) campaigns of both conquest, genocide and terror (from the centuries of Indian Wars, to organized racial terror such as the Ku Klux Klan and the anti-Asian White Working Man's Party to the Texas Rangers, to centuries of formally codified racial policies).

For a white supremacist, the racist settler-colonial Empire, in which its settler proletariat (white workers) have always accepted that “This Land is my Land”, for which racial unity (meaning with whites) is the goal, rests on the maintenance and perpetuation of Manifest Destiny. In that sense, the Marxist-Leninist proposition that “National Struggle is Class Struggle” has two pathways. The first, which the entirety of the Marxist-Leninist movement took, and through which it has capitulated to Manifest Destiny, is the struggle to transform the U.S.A. into a socialist society for which racial integration was the *a priori* goal (visible, e.g., in slogans like “Black and White Unite to Fight the Capitalist Class!”). The second pathway, never espoused or advocated, would have been something to the effect of: End the American Empire, Destroy the U.S.A.! The first pathway was instead undertaken through a politics of integrationism aligning Marxism with Manifest Destiny ideology, with the *a priori* assumption that class struggle must and should be about uniting with the white settler proletariat. But why would the white proletariat be the assumed an ally when it is implicated in Manifest Destiny? The notion of a unified, “one” America retains the inevitability of the American Empire as it territorially exists.

The Inevitability of Eurocentrism and Modernity

Marxism is both a product of western European modernity and its most revolutionary critique within that tradition. However, that challenge to capitalism, from within that tradition, has proven to be completely inadequate to actually destroy capitalism and replace it with a better, more communal (communistic) existence. To ultimately produce a revolutionary break from that tradition, its critique and opposition must seek unity and synthesis with traditions that have consistently stood against it. The fundamentals of Marxism—its purported scientific standing, its purported dialectical and historical materialism, its stand with the working class and all those “who have nothing to lose but their chains”—have all proven to be insufficient to end capitalism and more significantly, to offer a vision and actual pathway to eliminate, transcend, replace and detoxify the past five centuries of rule, domination and poisoning by capitalism. Valiant efforts have been waged, all having been quickly derailed or aborted.

The adherents to Manifest Destiny Marxism would say that the “true” ideas and practices of Marxism have not really been affected. That's like the argument that Christianity is good and true, but the problem is Christians. The reality is that no matter where Christians have gone, or, for that matter, Europeans—or more precisely Europeanism or

Eurocentrism—, conquest and death, especially to indigenous peoples, and the way of life of non-industrial societies, has been the result. As capitalism extends its toxicity everywhere, the resistance has included indigenous peoples whose former subsistence and locally productive economies are destroyed and when possible, and not completely destroyed, integrated into the world capitalist system. Marxism has gained followers among indigenous peoples around the world who have adapted it but who aren't "classically" industrial workers, such as "peasants," most significantly among the so-called Maoist movements beginning with China and its socialist revolution in 1949, but also from "peasants" in anti-capitalist struggles against the colonization of their lands, cultures, water, pharmacology, food production—an epic battle to destroy the enclosures and restore and expand the communing of land, culture and identity.

The most sympathetic Euro-centric Marxists have dubbed the Maoists and non-Maoist indigenous waves of struggle across the globe as "Fourth World Marxism"; while the most chauvinist have dismissed such movements to not even be any variant of Marxism, but simply peasant petty-bourgeois (small land owning) nationalism. Again, the Eurocentrism of both analyses are self-evident. The values of Marxism possess the *a priori* assumptions of Eurocentrism, the idea that the best and most correct of anything is a product of western Europe: science (as conceived as observable, subject to testing and proof, and cohered into laws or replicable phenomena); written literacy (codification, expression, transmission and documentation relying upon written text); chronological linearity (measured in a linear, progressive advancement); and materialism (only the real is knowable). The blatant Manifest Destiny assumption is that the West (that which emanates from the Eurocentric tradition) is the inevitable apex and exemplar of development. Manifest Destiny Marxism suffers inevitably from this conceit: that it is self-sufficient and requires no external contribution. It is assumed that its advancement can only be made from within its tradition, i.e., from the ideological and political struggle within what the Eurocentric Marxist camp deems to recognize or accept. We see how rampant this fixation upon "correctness" in the arrogance of Leftists and Marxists that their science is beyond reproach. Rare is self-criticism, much less admission of being incorrect, ever made, especially should such criticisms and opposition emanate from "primitive" pre-industrial peoples.

What is disregarded has become its necessary salvation. The imagination, spirit, indigenous sciences that emphasize complementarity and interdependence, subordination and submission to Mother Earth, a rejection of materialism for the spiritual and creative, intrinsic value—that which is essential and important but non-quantifiable (such as wisdom, love, creativity) —over the primacy of use- and exchange-value; the rejection of industrial mass production for the local, subsistence, organic and human, rather than machine, crafted. The often-quipped position is that we can't return to the past, implying that the past was inferior to the modern. Arguments are made that the past had humans subject to the whims of nature, lacking the miracles of modern medicine, modern mass communications, modern information, modern enlightenment, modern progress, modern mass production, modern civilization... What is postulated is a fraudulent superiority for modernity. The existence of unparallel velocity, intensity, centralization, quantitative acceleration and abundance characteristic of the western modernism is in reality a social and ecological world that is significantly degraded, denatured and poisoned. The much-vaunted "productive" power of modern industrialism is actually a force of unparalleled destruction, destruction towards most organisms on this planet, including humans. As ecological destruction, degradation and

toxicity increase, so does the suffering, sickness and stultification of humanity. No wonder the late-American Indian militant Russell Means called all-things-and-ideas European a “death culture.” As its modernity has marched across the planet, thousands of species are made extinct, and the entire biosphere is poisoned and deformed. Humanity, I contend, has indeed Fallen from Grace, a result of its choice for civilization over the Garden of Eden, and consequently, brought Hell to the Earth at a loss to itself, as, to use a Marxist phrase, its species-being is tremendously alienated and worse, poisoned.

And here is the final blind-spot of Manifest Destiny Marxists in the U.S.A.: that everything in Native American society prior to the European invasion was significantly better, sociologically and ecologically, than anything produced since then. The historical, anthropological and biological record is self-evident. Prior to the European invasion of North America there was no prison industrial complex, no factory system of exploitation, no standing armies, no pollution, no eco-destruction, no species extinction, no deforestation, no capital punishment, no weapons of mass destruction or genocidal warfare, no slavery, no patriarchy...and the list goes on; all with a population of about 75 million people, and in some larger population areas, surpassing comparable settlements in Europe at the same point in history. When the Europeans first stepped on the island of Manahata (Manhattan) in what is now New York City, 15,000 peoples lived there, but virtually left no carbon footprint (c.f., Pritchard 2007; Sale1991) because their society produced no lasting waste or ecological damage. The principles of North American Native society was the original communism, for which anti-Manifest Destiny Marxists should strive and make central to constructing a post-capitalist future.

The Inevitability of Techno-centrism and Industrialism

“The majority of the world does not find its roots in Western culture or traditions. The majority of the world finds its roots in the Natural World, and it is the Natural World, and the traditions of the Natural World, which must prevail if we are to develop truly free and egalitarian societies.”

-Akwasasne Notes 1978, 85

The ultimate destructive hubris is the supremacy of humanity, as argued for in human endowment for technology, social complexity and abstract thinking, a feature so deeply ingrained in Eurocentric thought. Humanity over her Mother—Mother Earth. To make one’s mother the ultimate commodity as slave and prostitute.

The eco-socialist movement, to make ecology central, must be the only kind of socialism (and it must be simultaneously matriarchal, see below). It must shed what has been the Eurocentric Manifest Destiny Marxism reliance upon “productive forces” in favor of “class struggle”, but a fundamentally different conception of class struggle that accepts natural limits, human subordination and submission to Mother Earth, and rejects industrial mass production and all of its attendant political, social, institutional, cultural and psychological features (a.k.a. “The Matrix”). Such an orientation of eco-socialist politics of class struggle would challenge the inevitability of many features of capitalist society that are considered a *fait accompli*: such as the internal combustion engine, plastics, factory systems of production (including colleges and universities and public schools which are simply factories of institutionalized education), mass institutions of all kinds, electro-magnetic technology,

the mass market, in other words, the entirety of modern existence. It would require the development of forces of production that do not undermine our or anyone else's health elsewhere, the health of Mother Earth, and it would require a restoration of the commons, individual creativity, self-sufficiency, local economies, and the primacy of intrinsic value. Furthermore, the concept of technology would have to be re-shaped towards reliance on existing technologies already tried and tested from Indigenous communities the world over. The second aspect is what is involved in revolutionary Luddism (which was never just about technology, but about people resisting impositions on their lives through the deployment of machinery and compelling people to use such machinery). The restoration of the commons is also the reclamation of crafts, skills, talents, and vision quests before and beyond the machine.

Mass society is the product of mass production with its massified Matrix. Mass production is the cornerstone to the generation of surplus-value (profit) for capitalism: more produced, more quickly, to be sold to more and more consumers, requiring more consumption, more waste, more markets, more obsolescence and more destruction of Mother Earth. With the rise of mass, centralized, consumerist society, the inevitable by-product of capitalist expansion and unlimited growth, the Manifest Destiny Marxism acceptance has only been mitigated by a caveat that the control and ownership of massification should be by a massified working class, the proletariat, as opposed to the minority bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, as a class, is small; however, its culture and hegemony is massive. That is why it is, as Marx posited, the dominant class' ideas are the dominant ones. The circulation of massive amounts of commodities and the entire Matrix to make possible that circulation and the management of massive amounts of money produce an acceptance of the inevitability of machinery-and-electro-magnetic-based technology and the industrial system of production. Manifest Destiny Marxists qualify this with an *a priori* assumption that a just and equitable arrangement will be the result of industry directed to the interests of the industrial working-class masses.

It is inconceivable to most Marxists that the sacred cow of industrial production under proletarian control should be challenged and opposed. The factory system, as so many Marxists have critiqued, is inimical to human liberation. Why would it be any different with the workers controlling it? Industrialism is a matrix that mandates division of labor, reliance upon machinery and electro-magnetic technology (all of which is toxic in terms of both radiation and its waste), mass production of material products, mass forms of distribution, etc. Are socialist malls acceptable? Or socialist commercials (including mass propaganda)? Or socialist super-highways? Worse, the mass culture of a massified society inexorably and inevitably generates mediocrity (some classical Marxists would say alienation), generating a fixation upon the quick, easy and plentiful, instead of the poetic, meditative, and ascetic.

Can we imagine human society in smaller communities instead of mass, sprawling, blighted, light-polluted neon, carbon monoxide-smelly, tasteless and homogenized blandness? The problem with eco-socialist "green" technological advocates (such as David Schwartzman) and their metric-based arguments for non-carbon energy solutions is that they don't challenge the basic features of the over-production/over-consumption Matrix of an obese modern industrial social life. They want to argue for an eco-socialism of plenty, never questioning industrial production and mass society. Indeed, if all industrial production was to halt for two generations (40 years), and everyone was to simply repair, re-use and re-cycle

what they currently have, and moreover, partake in the what the 1% (the super-rich) throw away as garbage (from food to clothing to toys and consumer goods), the 99% would live very comfortably with a huge amount of relief to the ecological stresses of Mother Earth. Why can't revolutionaries and socialists stand for that; not just theorize and conjecture about it, but actually practice it in their own daily lives, and organize for it as fundamental to the building of a revolutionary movement?

The classic Marxist conception of the "withering of the state" must be conjoined with the accelerated withering away of mass society, industrialism, and anything inculcated, instilled and ingrained by bourgeois society (eventually soon to include its garbage that will be the primary source of consumption until a local-subsistence, commoned, and de-massified economy can be reconfigured). The question of "renewable" energy becomes a platitude when the scourge of oil production is simply relegated to the question of what will fuel transportation (from planes to motor vehicles), when the real problem is oil used for the production of synthetics (principally, but not limited to, plastic). The presence of plastic is now ubiquitous, but plastics have only been around for the past 80 years. The culture engendered by plastic (one could say "plastic society") promotes human values of convenience of disposal, expectation of the ephemeral and acceptance of perpetual obsolescence. Furthermore, the degradation of plastic into a variety of lethal toxins (e.g., dioxin) aggravates the toxicity of soil, water and biological tissue. It is no irony that the largest source of dioxin found in human society is in mother's breast milk. And what is this connection to breast cancer in women?

What has been lost from the industrial-techno-centric Matrix? Ironically, most Marxists would concede the following: de-skilling, loss of extended craftsmanship; pervasive alienation; exploitation of enormous magnitude; destruction of the commons and the enclosure of everything (from the genome to the biosphere); and a host of attendant cultural, psychological, and spiritual, perhaps irretrievable, losses and perversions. What is so inevitable about industrialism and the dependency upon electro-magnetic technology? Especially since the losses and toxic consequences are, within a generation's time, of epidemic proportions? Mass society dominates and rules our daily lives, what Marcuse critiques as producing The One Dimensional Man via the nature of ever-increasing and massified institutions attaining ubiquity, as bureaucracy, mediocrity, superficiality, alienation, tastelessness, homogeneity, hype, fashion, and centralism destroy individuality, improvisation and intuition. Institutionalization enforces a domesticity and compliance with capital with far greater efficacy and efficiency than any state-instilled hegemony. We stand in line because there's no other way, convinced that it is the way.

The failures of the Great Leap Forward (China), Soviet collectivization, and the re-colonization by capital via the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, U.S.A.I.D., and humanitarian imperialism (NGOs), all are founded upon the objective of modernization, of competing with the developed world, of the unquestioning desire to industrialize. Land reform, collective production and management, redistribution of wealth and resources, cultural and social redemption (literacy, education, women's rights and increasing "democracy") are attempts to break from the shackles of "feudalism" and colonialism, but have yoked peoples who were once completely self-sufficient into the colonialism of modernity and its quagmire of wages, factories, debt, pollution, materialism, beef-consuming diets and cancer rates endemic and typical to the allegedly advanced Western models. No

Third World liberation project has been able to extricate itself from the web of imperialism and modernity and restore a pre-colonial, pre-dependent way of life it once had prior to the rise of the European nation-state project. This is not to imply that everything from “the past” should be exalted. Empires of the past (the Mughal, Inka, Maya, Mongol, etc.), with the features of social stratification, patriarchy, massive militaries and repressive apparatuses, rapacious appropriation, etc. were the consequences of “civilization” that were predicated upon the capture and destruction of indigenous, subsistence, local productive economies and societies.

Add to the underdevelopment and dependency fostered by centuries of European/Western colonialism-imperialism, fabricated nation-state borders, media-market-instilled materialism and nihilism, the continuing decline of matriarchy, the loss of cultural integrity and dignity for mimetic aping of Western values and identity, a cynical vortex of economic and social dysfunction, ever-increasing rise of narco-trafficking, cultural and physical prostitution, become seemingly inevitable, logical and insurmountable.

Instead of production to satisfy local, indigenous needs and values, by the revolutionary goal to restore the commons, forced collectivization under the rule of mechanization (“The Machine”) and petro-chemical dependency (fertilizers, pesticides, medicines, plastics, etc.) and the further destruction of matriarchy (the position of women and mothers), provide only further dependency, enslavement, cultural entropy and addiction to everything Western. This is the Way of the World as it has gone under the socialist cause of the 20th century. The destruction of the modernist project of a unitary world system (capitalism) requires a multiplicity of worlds, preferably based upon small, local communities which are self-sufficient and whose production and culture is entirely predicated upon and primarily oriented to needs, learning from Indigenous methods.

The Inevitability of Patriarchy and the Construction of Gender

“The Woman Question” (or Women’s Liberation) has been the classic conception of Manifest Destiny Marxism. In the early stages of the socialist and communist Manifest Destiny Marxist movements, women’s oppression was given scant recognition and attention. However, as women’s liberation struggles, wave upon wave, have hammered at this myopia, forms of advancement have been manifested in “radical feminism” and “socialist feminism.” However, as in all of the 20th century radical “isms”, feminism in all of its forms falls considerably short of actually uprooting and eliminating patriarchy. The most ardent socialist feminists advocate for equality of gender, and not its abolition. Even the term “feminist” relies upon a notion of a “feminine.”

The original communism had no conception of gender, though social roles between men and women varied and differed, but possessed none of the social inequality or differentials that have become accepted as inevitable or assumed in the concept of gender. Fluidity of gender identities was also prevalent in pre-invasion North American Native American societies, as also evidenced in cultures in other parts of the world. Ancient matriarchies (matri-focal, matri-centric, matri-local forms of early human societies) cannot be re-established, just as pre-invasion Native American societies cannot be restored. However, the principles for a revolutionary matriarchy (the future project) must reject the inevitability of gender as a form of social differentiation in meaning and power, restore communing as

the ultimate social justice in which the producers enjoy the fruits of their labor (unlike modern society in which such fruits are expropriated and unequally distributed), and the re-socialization of men to become mothers (the end of patriarchal men and fathers and the construction of matriarchal men and fathers).

Gender persists as perhaps the oldest division of humanity. The gender division of labor, while in original human societies did not have the stratification and power inequality as it has become accentuated by the rise, growth and pervasion of class society, nonetheless, should not persist if identity is to transcend biological difference. Meaning, physical characteristics and differences should not be a factor in any forms of social division of labor. Furthermore, the nuclear family, bourgeois hetero-normative marriage, and property rights primarily held by the father (father-right) must be eliminated. As someone who is considered unemployable to any educational institution, I have been teaching privately from my kitchen table. What I have observed is the abhorrent education of all of my students, all of who have gone through institutional schools (from primary to college and advanced post-undergrad tracks). I have concluded that institutional education must be destroyed as it simply mediocritizes and infantilizes young people. Rather, the Apache credo for young people would be far better: insisting that young people Rise Early, Run Fast and Shun No Hard Work; instead of the present ethos of Sleep Late, Procrastinate and Slack Off! Teaching today, as a business, is about servicing the student as client and not kicking their ass while loving, caring and nurturing for them, as would be the impulse of a revolutionary matriarchal society.

Conclusion

I am a marxist—small M, not capital M. I believe that marxism continues to offer the best explanation as to the unacceptability of capitalism to the well-being of humans and Mother Earth. Furthermore, marxism contains the capacity to be enriched, transformed and ultimately, transcended, just as its intended goal of communism will transcend the division of society into classes, and every social division of society, eliminate the state and mass institutions, a goal that Marx and Engels, by all accounts, seemed to sketch based upon pre-invasion North American Native American society, the original communism. However, Marxism as understood and practiced has been overwhelmingly counter to that conception of communism, and instead, produced its monstrous opposite: a state that didn't wither away but became frightening and repressive bureaucracies, toxic collectivized industrialism, patriarchal, and genocidal to indigenous peoples, cultures and to the commons. That has been what I call Manifest Destiny Marxism.

This Manifesto is a call to arms for all creative and capable revolutionaries to reject Manifest Destiny Marxism and replace it with a transcendent, eco-centric, matriarchal, indigenous-communistic marxism. One no longer ossified by the capital M, free of doctrinarism, and able to generate creative maroon societies (of maroon whites, of maroon luddites, of maroon matriarchalists)—all who desire to and will jettison Manifest Destiny Marxism, committed to an exodus from Eurocentric modernity and industrial civilization, willing to fight completely free of personal ego, species-centric hubris, and political ambitions for hegemony.

I've been a revolutionary since age 14 when I rejected racist oppression and white assimilation. I have built revolutionary organizations across the U.S.A., developed, trained and recruited nearly 100 revolutionaries (of which 90% dropped out, faded out or sold out), innovated a revolutionary Afro-Asian music, opera and cultural movement, been a pioneering leader in the Asian American radical political and cultural movements, outspokenly repudiated bourgeois marriage, monogamy and the nuclear family, never owned a car, never owned a cell phone, reduced my retention of plastic to 5% of my possession (the bulk of which are my colostomy and urostomy appliances), never had a job or been employed by any institution, consider Žižek et. al. to be frauds and people who idolize these pedantic intellectuals to be saps because they are incapable of placing practice as primary over theory, am a friend to a true revolutionary theorist and intellectual African American political prisoner Russell "Maroon" Shoatz (as well as an organizer to free him from prison), and founder and ardent member of the freshest, most innovative anti-Manifest Destiny Marxist revolutionary organization, Scientific Soul Sessions (though it is not identified as Marxist!—see www.scientificsoulsessions.com).

And my anti-industrial, pro-luddite, anti-capitalist, pro-indigenous-centric positions stem from a profound transformation I have undergone in the past seven plus years from a brutal personal war against what now is a stage 4b metastatic cancer, and the soon-to-be end of my physical life. Therefore I close this essay with the following ten points that comprise the Manifesto against Manifest Destiny Marxism in the context of a profound understanding of the cancer-capitalism nexus, an analysis far more expounded upon in my book *Diary of a Radical Cancer Warrior: Fighting Cancer and Capitalism at the Cellular Level* (Sky Horse Publishing, 2011):

1. Capitalism is the cancer for the planet (it is teratogenic--earth-killing). Cancer is the social and environmental toxicity of capitalism for the individual human being. Capitalism must be eliminated from our cells to the planet.
2. Native society prior to white euro settler-colonialism was quintessentially communist (matriarchal, egalitarian, eco-centric) and more advanced and therefore did not need capitalism; the introduction of capitalism was the biological and sociological genocide against humans and the ecology. Native American communist principles must be the guide to a post-capitalist future.
3. There is nothing better about capitalist society and its commodification and massification imperatives. It destroys, alienates and poisons. Therefore, our productive activity must be primarily for intrinsic value (the unquantifiable, such as love, wisdom, creativity) over exchange and use value.
4. It is understandable that native peoples can't accept "socialism" as long as that "socialism" is techno/industrial-centric, stratified, patriarchal and authoritarian. However, a new socialism that is indigenous-centric, eco-centric and revolutionary (innovative, experimental and emancipatory) is essential to replace capitalism thoroughly. The past can't be returned to, but we can avoid continuing the toxicities of manifest destiny Marxism. We can build decentralized, subsistence-based, non-industrial, indigenous-technological methods and systems of production that have no damaging impact to people or to mother earth.

5. Manifest destiny Marxism is the plague of all 20th century manifestations of Marxism and ironically, it is not Marxism. The free association of producers and a subsistence-economy that meets needs and not wants, and actualizes “from each according to their abilities, to each according to their intrinsic and subsistence needs” is the ethos of the new, revolutionary eco-socialism. Socialism is not about more material goods more quickly, but for the intrinsic values of love, creativity, wisdom and respect for mother earth.
6. There can be no cure for cancer as there is no singular cause as it is part of the matrix of modern industrial capitalist existence. Therefore, that existence must be eliminated for the possibility of a cure.
7. Cancer and capitalism are the same accelerative malignant processes. That is why cancer rates and types are highest in the richest societies on this planet, lowest among the most “primitive” societies.
8. Industrialism offers nothing, absolutely nothing, better. To de-industrialize is what revolution must be about: restoration of the commons, elimination of money and the monetizing of value/worth, elimination of division of labor and alienation, elimination of gender and all forms of social divisions (e.g., privileging mental over manual labor, etc.), etc.
9. To fight cancer and capitalism, a cellular transformation must begin: which is what pre-figuration is on the macro-social level; and what the de-industrialization of our bodies, water, and food sources, as well as our mental/psychological health must be about.
10. Revolution is the only solution, the only cure. That revolution must eliminate all of the features of Manifest Destiny Marxism, restore the conception and practice of Native American society in North America as the original communism, and restructure and transform society upon the principles of Native American communism.

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