

Anti-capitalist movements from global south

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SPEAKERS

Vincent Bevins, Yara Rodrigues Fowler, Vijay Prashad

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 00:13

Hello, everybody. My name is Yara and welcome to anti capitalist movements from the global south with me and Vincent Bevins and Vijay Prashad. I'm obviously not James Butler. He couldn't be here, unfortunately. So I'm going to be running this session. And I'm an author and today was researching Brazilian communists in the library. So this is a perfect ending. And before I introduce our speakers, and we kick off, I'm just gonna start with a couple of general rules and housekeeping type stuff, so engaging. We want everyone to feel welcome in these spaces and for everyone's voices to be heard. So please bear this in mind when you're engaging in the chat or in the comment boxes which you should be able to see. And so don't use inappropriate language rude or be unkind and please don't spam either. Sort of like basic common sense stuff. Participants who violate his principles may be prevented from further posting in the chat box. Hopefully this won't happen. And we will be watching to see like your questions, so if you put them there, we'll be picking those up later. So we're also using something called otter. It's a live transcription service attendees using otter will have to follow a link and open a transcript in a separate window. The link will be shared in the chat box by a tech volunteer. If you're having difficulties, please message the tech volunteer in the chat and they'll help make sure that works for you. And last of all, The World Transformed is free for everyone, but it's only made possible by the contributions of our supporters. So if you're able to and you can afford, please consider supporting us at The World Transformed org forward slash support, and you can make sure that the work can keep going all year round. So that's that. And I'm gonna introduce our panellists. And then they'll each have 15 minutes to give their kind of opening remarks, and then we'll open up to questions. So we've got Vijay prashad, who's the director of the tri continental Institute and the chief editor of leftward books, and Vincent Bevins, author and journalist, author of the Jakarta method, which has been like really exploding and doing really well. So I'm very excited to be here. And also particularly excited because Vincent is joining us of a blackberry, a proper throwback. So yeah, take it away Vincent.

Vincent Bevins 03:08

Yeah. So yeah, yeah. So hopefully this is working out. Okay, my camera at the last moment, um, didn't work out. But that's fine. I'm holding the phone up into my face in my room. So first I want to thank everyone for inviting me and for anybody that's tuning in. Um, so this is a forum on anti capitalist

movements in the global south and I am of course, a journalist from the United States that we're in. It really set this up, hold on let me set this light up. Really? Right. I'm sorry about that. Right. So I am not a member or participant in anti capitalist moments from the global south. I'm a journalist who works in mainstream corporate media. But what I've been working on recently is studies of the ways that my government has crushed, left wing movements in the global south and working on ways, the ways in which those movements have been represented in English language media worldwide. So I think I was asked on this panel because I wrote a book called The Jakarta method, which is about anti communist mass murder in the 20th century. And so I'll probably stick to analytical interventions and leave it to Vijay who has a lot more experience actually active in anti capitalist moments in the global south where as I'm just a journalist from America. So what I want to do is really quickly summarise the main points in the Jakarta method and then add two new points which might be relevant to the moment we're living through right now. So the Jakarta method, as a book reveals the extent to which we live in a world that was created by the violent deletion of socialist movements from World History. Right so these these movements, especially in the global south suffer regime change, economic terrorism, or in the most extreme cases the outright employment of mass murder of innocent civilians. And the the the last tactic the intentional mass murder of people for being leftist or for being accused of being leftist is what I call the Jakarta method and that is because it after the US and UK backed intentional mass murder of approximately 1 million people in 1965 in Indonesia, other right wing movements around the world allies of the United States potential allies of the United States employed the word Jakarta signal to signify the plan that inspired them something that they were going to do to their own leftists whether in Chile or Brazil, they spoke of this in Brazil and Central America. We saw also the discussion of employing planned Jakarta to quite literally literally decimate leftist movements in those countries. And of course, as we know, all too well, they did, right. Um, I found in my work then that in at least 20 countries backed by the United States, the intentional mass murder of leftists are people accused of the use of being leftist was used in the construction of authoritarian capitalist regimes. So this is an important distinction. This wasn't violence that was done out of a sort of rage or wanting revenge it was violence, it was important to constructing the order that we live in now. And so the scars of this anti communist violence, this violence against the left, are very much with us. In many countries around the world, most notably probably Indonesia and Brazil, two countries that I know fairly well. In Indonesia it is still actually illegal to speak of what really happened in 1965, and Brazil now is of course run by somebody who is dedicated to the full resurrection of the ideology that powered anti communist mass murder in the 20 century: Bolsanaro. And I spent, you know, I'm now back in Mone. But I spent most of the beginning of this year in Sao Paulo feeling just like the rest of the country, very, very concretely and physically what that means. But the violent deletion the mass cancellation, you might say, of left wing movements in the global south in the 20 century, has more profound and more profound effect on the shape of the entire world on it affected the shape of the type of globalisation that we got in the 21st century. This is the world we live in now. So, in the first years after world war two newly independence post colonial countries, particularly in Africa and Asia, had leaders that thought it was self evident that their countries would take their rightful place alongside the rich countries of Western Europe and North America, the so called first world, alongside the countries allied with Moscow, the so called second world and they would as a new mass of humanity, that is the majority of planet Earth, newly liberated and finally, in possession of their own destinies. They saw it as obvious that they would be able to reshape the global order according to their own wishes and take their rightful place alongside First and Second World. Now, this was the the thrust of the so called Third World movement, right, an entirely optimistic and

forward looking movement powered in the global south. That was also quite, quite often was led by people who believed that just as as as automatically, that it would be natural that the world that they would take part in creating after the fall of formal colonialism between the first world and the third, that this new world would be more socialist if, or at least a softer version of capitalism. Now, of course, in 2020 this is not the world that we occupy right and as I got to know so many of the people that were involved in the Indonesian left the Brazilian left the Chilean left to the, the so called boundary movement in 1935, to 1963/4 what was most striking about speaking to them was was the extent to which the world that they believed would be here now is not and how tragically, it was for them to think about that lost possibility even more so than the the horrible violence that they or their friends and family experienced. So, um, but we don't live in that world, right. We live in a we live in a world in which the Americanization of the global economy is more or less, it was more or less complete at the end of the 20th century. We inherited a world in which capitalist, a global capitalist order led by Washington maintained more or less in the broadest strokes, the relationship between the first and third world third world that existed in the era of formal colonialism. So Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia would have called this Neo colonialism. He called that that's what he called it back in 1965. And I'm sure that's the word that you would use to describe the global economy in 2020. So, um, so but the Cold War ended right, the uh Soviet Union fell apart. And the former communist countries of Central Eastern Europe broke into a kind of oligarchic capitalism, but the United States did not fall apart. And the institutions in the US and the UK and Western Europe that were created to and employed to crush socialism in the global south or at the very least to take out perceived threats to the United States in the West, as as the officials in those countries perceive them, they still exist. All of those, none of that fell apart at the end of the Cold War, right. Um, and the the toolbook that they accumulated throughout the Cold War is still there too, right. Um, and the the one thing that I really tried to make clear after doing this research for the jakarta method, which I'll start talking about in a bit, was that these movements these global, right wing movements learn from each other, they built up a base of knowledge, they discovered which things worked, they traded secrets, they they transferred actual men and women across the world who would be, who carried new techniques between nations and they employed them, increasingly effectively and this and this toolbox, as I said, is still with us. Um, so that brings me the two points about 2020 and the new things the new the new points that I would like to make in addition to the jakarta method which I've talked about quite a bit, um, that, as I said, I'm a journalist. So these are both these are both about the these what's the level of mainstream commentary and in journalism and political discourse in the US and Western Europe. And the first is that I believe that in English language, mainstream discourse, we do not have a full enough understanding of regime change. We do not have a kind of theoretical approach to the kinds of ways to do to the kinds of processes that lead one government to lead to another to the kinds of coups that happen in the global south, the kinds of the ways in which a certain type of government can be replaced with another type of government. For some reason, these dozens and dozens and dozens of US backed coups that crush the left, or the long sort of sort of painful bleeding out of governments or as I said the employment of mass murder. All of these dozens and dozens of cases are seemed to be so pushed so far back into our collective memory whole or marginalised. So much from the centre of the narrative that we failed to have. We all too often fail to recognise the very obvious commonalities between things that are happening right in front of our eyes. And one of the things and this and this is this is one of the things that Vijay's new books Washington Bullets does so well. And it's such an important task to sort of build up a narrative about the script that exists. These are the things that usually happen before this happens. And this is what to

look for when regime change of the type that we're so used to seeing. If we pay attention to the history of left wing movements in the global south. This isn't the this is a body of knowledge that we have almost intentionally removed from our Arlen toolbox and I think those are obvious example of this in the last year is Bolivia. Right? So at the end of last year, when Evo Morales fled the country after the military told him he had to end his mandate before his before it was up. You had people that are apparently responsible and thoughtful commentators in the liberal English language press, saying things that would be impossible to say if they had even sort of scanned the Wikipedia of regime change in Latin America saying outrageous things like well, that can't be a coupe because some people in Bolivia wanted this to happen. And because or can't be a coup because Morales lost some of his support or made my case made mistakes or can't be a coup, because some people in the international liberal media think it's good for Bolivia. If those three things made it not a coup, there has never been a coup in the history of Latin America. But the people that wrote they were writing about these things at the end of 2019 were so unfamiliar with a constant, constantly unfolding process in Latin American global South that they failed to make the obvious connections. I think partially, I mean, who knows what the if it's if it was more ignorance for more cynicism, but, um, we need to start to think about regime change as a category of, of processes and develop sort of a theoretical approach or even just a, just a recognition that this is a type of thing that happens. And the second thing is I think that in mainstream English language discourse, we have a really insufficient understanding of white Terror. Now, we know all too well, the stories of left wing regimes or collectivist regimes that have employed violence in the pursuit of their goal. We hear these very often in the English speaking world, we have a very immature understanding of the fact that when the most powerful people in society have their privileges threatened or perceived that they have their privileges threatened, they can often react much more violently or much more radically than then anybody expects and they often have the tools at their disposal to be quite effective to deploy institutional power or violence against those that they believe to be a threat. And this doesn't have to be just rounding up hundreds of thousands of people. And killing them throwing into rivers, as we saw in Indonesia or doesn't have to be the White Terror that we saw in South Korea before the green water or in Taiwan when you can also consider you know, this process to be at work in the kinds of things like the purge of of left wing political party, the purge of, of the left from a political party, or when, for example, a group of oligarchs get together to shut down in media operations. Now, those things might be might be resonating people living in the first world in in the rich or really imperialists north, but I think their work throughout the world, and I think that those two, those two things that we understand insufficiently regime change and White Terror employed with the blessing or active participation of local elites really played a key role in violently removing socialism from the fabric of politics in the global south. And that's important to understanding that um, and the final question is whether or not changes in the nature of the global system right now allow for its reinsertion or allow for a very different set of dynamics to be at work between the first and third world which is, I think, an open question. So, yeah, so, so thank you.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 17:29

Thank you so much Vincent. Yeah, brilliant. Vijay.

Vijay Prashad 17:46

Okay, here we go. First, thanks a lot to Vincent. Thanks, Yara. For, for hosting us. Thanks to Vincent for those comments. Just want to say Vincent that a book I've written a few years ago, Red Star over

the third world has just been published in Indonesian by an extremely brave publisher. It is an act of extraordinary courage, I think for them to publish a book like this in Indonesia, so it spreads out over the third world in Indonesian. Tomorrow, I'm going to release. I'm not doing like a whole series of announcements, by the way, but these are appropriate. So what I'm going to release this book, I only have a cover as a piece of paper. It's called Washington Bullets. It will be out in Spanish tomorrow. And I'm going to talk a little bit about the book, which Vincent mentioned. Last year as Vincent said there was a coup against brother Evo Morales of Bolivia, the legitimate president of Bolivia. When the coup happened, honestly, I was. I mean, I'm not only going to start my time when. I'm not a naive person, but I was quite shocked by the reaction not only of like, you know, the New York Times and the garbage media, not only their reaction because one expected them to line up behind the United States State Department in many ways, that entire group of media as stenographers of you know, of the Pompeos of the world, they might sniff a little bit when Mike Pompeo speaking because he's a little vulgar for them. But they basically agree agree with the Pompeo Trump approach to Venezuela, to Iran, to China and so on this broad ruling class agreement in the United States, I wasn't surprised about that. I was actually surprised that the so called Western left was lining up to chair the coup against Morales because they felt well as Vincent rightly said, they were saying things like, well, you know, you lost support and so on, as if that is a sufficient reason to overthrow somebody after all. After the third election Morales had a mandate til January. So why was he driven out of power in November his mandate did not end until January. Now it turns out and Manuel Berton and I have written a piece about this for your trucker. It turns out that a number of American political scientists have looked at the election data forensically. And they've shown that there is no question of fraud in the October 2019 election, Bolivia no question that this was the organisation of American States playing a very dirty game. Very good again, which was used by the US government and the far right wing in Bolivia to put pressure on Evo Morales in the mass. They use general Cali man who had been training course in the United States to go and essentially tell Morales time to leave. It was a coup. And I'm amazed and quite shocked that sensitive sensible people are still unwilling to Call it for what it was, you know what the hell else was it. It was a coup d'etat against a person would govern 14 years. I want people to think about this. Today is the birthday of Eduardo Galeano. One of my great friends and a superb writer, a great inspiration to people like us. In open veins of Latin America he writes about the destruction of what becomes Bolivia from the time of the conquest out till you know yesterday, the destruction you know, the resources taken out of their large indigenous population completely set aside marginalised, treated as labour not treated as human beings and then arise mass then arise Abel there is that whole movement that after Cochabamba after the gas wars, the water wars, they come to office in Bolivia and they started process of democratising society and mark this democratising the economy. When we talk about anti capitalist movements in the global south, it's not about human rights and democracy fellas. It's about democratising the economy. And that's what Morales must do in Bolivia. It's because that they had to get rid of Morales because he was one of the last shining lights of governments, which had been able to totally pivot and transform an economy that had been utterly treated as an imperial outpost of multinational US and Canadian companies. Let's not forget the Canadians. Over 60% of mining companies are located based in Canada, things like Barrick Gold, and so on. The Canadian and US companies treated Bolivia essentially as the place from which they stripped out whatever wealth is possible, and left the people behind where Morales just before the coup was at the UN, and he laid out a bunch of statistics showed that poverty declined in Bolivia from about 38% of the population to around 15%. That life expectancy had risen by nine full years. But more because of mass because of the

struggle of the women comrades in mass, more than 50% of the people in the legislature in Bolivia were women representatives. You know, these were substantial gains for a country that had been treated so wretchedly by imperialism and colonialism. And it's a bloody irony that we live in a world where the colonial and imperial countries are the ones that come out there, and they tell us what human rights are. I am unprepared to listen to the US government, lecture me about human rights. I don't want Boris Johnson or all god damn people to tell me about human rights. I don't need the French to go to Beirut and tell people about good governance and human rights and it's certainly don't want the Belgians to walk around the Congo or the Dutch to stroll around in Indonesia, in the, you know, the nice cut suits talking about human rights, these people are yet to apologise for the history of colonialism, and they are yet to provide adequate reparations. You know, what would be a good beginning, we don't want the reparations as such, unless we can seize it from them. A good beginning is if they totally cancelled the \$30 trillion of debt, which is going to increase during this covid 19 pandemic and its aftermath. They don't even want to suspend that payments, unwilling to do that, let alone cancel the debt. We are demanding a total cancellation, of all debt, you know, there should be no question that the London club and the Paris Club should have no rights at any table to talk about debt servicing. You know, why I'm saying this to you. If I go to a casino, and I put money down on black 19 or whatever, and my number doesn't come up. I lose the money. But the way Paris and London clubs, these are the debt securing agencies work when these Western banks and when the bond holders lend money to Argentina or when they lend money to Indonesia, whether the ball comes for their number or not, they get paid. And I think they have stopped, you know, being essentially penalised for taking bad decisions. It's the banks and the bondholders that don't deserve to be paid anymore. They used the fact they use the stick, they have the military clout, the instruments of hybrid war, the instruments of good data. They use this to secure the power over the well being of people. Our anti capitalist movements in the global south, not able to develop to grow to breathe because these wealthy bondholders, government, sec, factum, and so on, can use every instrument possible including the coup d'etat to get their way. You know, let's be straight about this, you know, Evo Morales was not overthrown in November 2019, because of something that happened on the 20th of October in 2019, an election from the first day that he was elected and voted into power. The US Ambassador was trying to undermine Evo Morales from the first day. And we know this, we know this, thanks to a very brave person, Chelsea Manning, because Chelsea Manning was able to get those State Department cables, she handed them into Julian Assange, Julian Assange, to me is a personal hero. On the seventh of September, the British government to its eternal shame. There's so many things the British government should be ashamed that it's done in history. But now again, eternal shame is going to open extradition hearing against to extradite Julian Assange to United States and I seriously hope every one of you listening is going to be out there banging the drum against the extradition of Julian Assange to the United States because they are going to put him into prison for life. If not do something worse to Julian, a brave person published what Chelsea Manning had found. And in those Wikileaks cables, we know we here we can see the US ambassador from the beginning from day one, wanting to undermine Evo Morales, and the agenda of mass, which is an agenda of resource socialism. In other words, using the fruits of the resources, wherever money is gained, to turn it around to help the well being of the people. I mean, that's what they were using the wealth of Bolivia for 14 years, and that's how they were able to reduce the poverty rate and so on. The government was overthrown in a coup d'etat, one of our anti capitalist movements. They attempted to suffocate with that coup d'etat and they killed so many of our comrades in the aftermath, just as they've been systematically killing comrades in Colombia, in India, across the world, I

mean, the attack on our people, including in South Africa, the attack in southern Africa, the shaquil movement is something that you got to pay attention to, and lift your voices in places like the United Kingdom, Europe and so on. Don't let them forget what's being done in the name of the wealthy bondholders. Well, they do all that that's all very well, they overthrew Mr. Morales and then Jeanine Anez, who is the so called president of Bolivia has essentially suspended elections forever. There will not be elections for an entire year. And I haven't read one editorial in The Guardian so called liberal media, New York Times not one editorial, condemning the government of Bolivia for running a government for an entire year without an election. They supported the coup against Evo saying it was an undemocratic election. got sick, that was an election. She's never had an election. And I haven't seen you once sniff your nose at that Human Rights Watch. You know Kenneth Roth has been the head of Human Rights Watch as long as the dictator Mubarak headed Egypt. He is very happy to attack Venezuela in a recent report. They are very happy to attack every country that the United States doesn't like. Countries that the United States likes like Ivan Duque's Colombia, I don't see them taking a strong position against what the government in Colombia is, you know, not only allowing happened, but in many cases is suggesting to people to do which is to kill social movement leaders like Patron recently killed just a few weeks ago. You know, what we see in India, the total calamity these governments unable to deal with the covid 19 pandemic, you know, meanwhile, the Chinese government has swiftly broken the chain of infection. In Laos, we have a socialist government infection is gone, you know, almost gone in Vietnam. The government uses science, not a hallucinatory approach to COVID-19. But science using the public sector using public action and internationalism has been fighting to tackle, you know, this pandemic. I mean, the last example I'm going to give you is Cuba. Cuba. Extraordinary the Cubans, despite for almost 70 years facing direct attack from the imperialists our Cuban comrades. 11 million people have held their heads up and said as, as Fidel Castro said in 1953, once people win something, they will not give it up easily. 29,000 medical students walked out of the dormitories in Cuba and tested every one of the 11 million Cuban people living in Cuba. They tested everybody, they are taking care of the people. You know, these small socialist experiments like we see in Cuba or like we see in many movements around the world. We are committed to the well being of the people of the world. These other characters these Bolsonaros, these Narendra Modi's, these Donald Trump's these people are principally committed to the small ruling bourgeoisie that wants to suck all of the wealth out of the world and leave the rest of us to starve on the streets. I mean, you have to make a choice. When you look at something that happened in Bolivia, you have to make a choice. Where do you want to stand? Do you want to stand with the hyperventilating liberalism of the New York Times, which is perfectly happy to see people starve on the streets of the United States, hasn't made hunger in the United States issue, or are you going to stand with people like Evo Morales there's no choice here friends, I mean, we're at a point in world history. Where you really have to pick a stand. Are you going to stand with the movements in Bolivia that we're trying to bring justice to the people are you going to stand with the military with a fascism that Santa Cruz committee, you're going to stand with the RSS in India are you going to stand with people like that, that's the choice you have. I've made my choice. You know, I might sound you like I'm just a little unnuanced for the 21st century. Let me tell you something. The 21st century doesn't give us the opportunity to be altogether nuanced. Thanks a lot.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 32:22

Hello, and thank you so much, um, so much passion for a Thursday night. Um, did you also want to talk a bit more about your book because you talked about other things. I'm just gonna you've got a few minutes. I just want to give you the chance.

Vijay Prashad 32:36

What are you asking me to talk more about my book?

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 32:40

Oh, yeah, yeah, just give me a second. I actually told you everything about my book, but I didn't talk about the book. It's every single email. It's about coups it's about and then let me just say one thing. One of the reasons I like Vincent's book so much is that basic goes into an era, which is, as he says, has been, by deliberate amnesia forgotten. What was done to the left and less left sympathisers. And Vincent. I'm just going to take Indonesia, because I know the book is got Brazil in a big way. But let's just take Indonesia, what was done to the very brave and sensitive people of the Communist Party of Indonesia and their sympathisers what was done to them is so grotesque, it's so grotesque, you know, when I say the word gulag, people have an entire understanding of you know, what they think they know happened in the USSR. But if I say the beaches of Bali, they were to think about your holidays, you know, drinks music that hideous music from Ibiza playing in the beaches of Bali, but underneath the sand, Yara underneath the sand, not very far down, is the blood of 10s of thousands of people in Bali who were slaughtered on those very beaches, every tourist that walks on that beach. should know that on those very beaches, there was people slaughtered. And if you have a chance, you must see the film called invented, please remind me it's called the act of killing, act of killing, you must see the film act of killing this, in a way the act of killing was the movie that came out first. And then Vincent wrote the book afterwards. And what I've done is to go a little further. I've done the history in a sense of American imperialism from 1776. All the way to today. So it's, it's, it goes ahead, it goes back to 1776. Sounds wonderful. Okay, so we're gonna do questions now. And, and, yeah, before we do, I just wanted to say that it what you were both saying really struck a chord with me. I remember growing up and hearing stories of the Brazilian dictators From my mom and I going into school in South London, and we had this textbook that were talking about the Cold War. And I remember my hand up and saying, like, I think there's bits that are missing. And even the teacher looking at me and being like, What are you talking about? And just how this classroom full of migrant kids was actually really divorced from where their parents had come from and why they had come. And so yeah, thanks for writing that feedback for us and talking about it. And Okay, so the first question is from Robert Donahue. I think it's going to come up on the screen as well do socialists in the north the global North too narrowly conceive of anti capitalist politics, in exclusively European terms and overlook the success of socialist projects in South America? How do we change that? So that's something you both worked on and talked about.

Vincent Bevins 35:59

Yeah, sure. Um, Yes, I think I think and it's not just at the level of left politics in Europe versus the left box in the global south, I think we and I hold myself and a lot of publications I write for account for this, too, are just very narrowly myopic in terms of political horizons in the in sort of NATO, the West, United States and Western Europe. Um, there is, I think, Far too often the automatic assumption that we are the global subject of history, whether, you know, the idea that the future of global politics will come from

Brooklyn or sort of Islington is sort of, deeply a sort of ingrained into maybe the Anglophone consciousness and I think that's, that's probably something we should fight back against. Um, there is the vast majority of the world's peoples are not in first world they're in third world. It's very possible that this is really where history is being made and will be made. So, how to how do we change that? I think, you know, just, I think a little bit of humility and read widely and recognise if you can pick up a book like mine or Vijays and recognise that the very chair that I sit on here in east London and the circumstances that led to almost all of the material comforts that the middle and upper classes in the First World enjoy came from a history of violence, oppression, and colonialism, Neo colonialism, and just try to think as widely as possible about where you fit into that global system. Sort of like act, you know, think globally and act locally, like really, you know, we try to be as cognizant of your particular particular outlet and what is the size of your particular nature of your of your subjectivity rather than to assume that you're at the forefront just because you're in a rich country with it makes all the movies and music.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 37:57

Yeah, Vijay. Oh, you're muted. Sorry about that. I just don't want you to hear me breathing inappropriately. So the first thing I would like to say is that, you know, some Italian communists went to visit Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi during the US war on Vietnam. And they asked What should we do? And what you may know is he is a unfathomably polite and lovely man. I mean, obviously, I was two years old when he died. So I don't know it, but I'm writing a book about it. So I have feel like I've digested everything about his personality. Not true, but I want to try. They asked him, you know, what should what can we do comrade and so on? And what Ho Chi Minh said, Go back home and make a revolution. And I that is the advice I give people. What can I do in my country? What can I do? Well, for God's sake, you're in The United Kingdom, Jeremy Corbyn, perfectly decent man, you allowed him to be hounded out of the Labour Party. I mean, why weren't millions of people in Britain standing up against the bullshit campaign that hounded Jeremy Corbyn? You know, with a team that included such fine insensitive people like dynamic JOHN McDonnell, people I highly respect, you know, you had a chance in Britain. Imagine if Jeremy was the Prime Minister instead of this buffoon Boris Johnson that you have, it would have been a different situation. I think partly you could have changed some of the balance, of course, it would have been so interesting. Go home and make a revolution friends. And while you're at it, please join the campaign to make sure that the Cuban medical workers win the Nobel Prize. That would be amazing. If 200,000 people in the United Kingdom. God knows what Kingdom it is and how united it is. But that's the name you've chosen. If 200 300,000 people in the United Kingdom signed the petition, demanding that the people in Oslo wherever the hell they are, award, the only viable candidate for the Nobel Prize during this pandemic. If they come and stand behind the Cuban doctors, and the Cuban doctors win the Nobel Prize. The world will sigh with relief just for a minute. When that first news is broadcast here, just for a very brief minute, the people of the world will sigh, it will be such a deep sigh, that carbon around us will quiver. And just for that I'm begging you please help us organise the Nobel Peace Prize. But otherwise, it's a very simple task. Go home, make a revolution. Um, yeah, thank you for that very clear message. Vijay. Okay, I'm gonna go to the next question. Is it from Sandy? And it's for Vincent. I know. Oh, this is my spot. And I know it's really soon after Jakarta method has been released. But what do you do you have any plans on what you're going to write next?

Vincent Bevins 41:25

Yeah, well, that's really nice. Uh, um, yes, I'm trying to work on something. I can't say too much, because I'm still trying to make sure that it happens again. But I do I do want to do a movie. What I'll say is that I think that, um, over the last from 2010 to 2020. We, around the world, there was a lot of mass protests that in Brazil is one that you know, you already know the case of what happened in 2013. And how that led to Mostar in the long term. Um, there was a lot of mass protests, often leader less, spontaneous mass protests was the way that was supposed to go Supposed to be spurred on by social media, a lot of they didn't work out the way that they wanted to, or that the global liberal liberal narrative sort of insisted they should. So I'm looking at that, and hopefully, I'll get a chance to look at it a lot more closely.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 42:19

And, Charlie rainbird, I'm skipping your question, because I think Vijay and Vincent have already covered it. And, and I'm going to mitali bassins question. And this is for vj. Would love to know VJs thoughts on the anti CAA protests that took place in India recently? In a lot of ways the protests were not just in it, not just against fascism, but by extension against capitalism, too.

Vijay Prashad 42:47

Well, metalia It's a great question. And as it happens today, at New Labour forum, my comrade and colleague, Sarah Luca Chakravarthy, and I have an essay called the wretchedness of the Indian ruling class, in which we go into the NPC in a protests, we look at particularly Delhi, where as you may know, there was of course the Shang bar occupation. And then there was the pogrom against Muslims in mainly northeast in Delhi, areas like Singapore, which I know very well because I was a young reporter there now in the early 1990s and I wrote a book called untouchable freedom, which was about a Dalit community and I did a lot of fieldwork in Singapore. There was a pogrom against Muslims in Singapore, you may have seen recently and this tells you a little bit about liberals and also about British publishing. The British publisher called Bloomsbury was going to release a book called Delhi riots, which is a total Hindu right wing propaganda book about those riots saying that they were started by Muslims and so on. The person who was going to launch the book in India is a right wing zealot who helped fanned the flames of that pogrom. This is Bloomsbury. Mark you. This is not a, you know, some right wing press. I think, I'm not sure. Bloomsbury By my calculations. This is the neighbourhood in London where Virginia Woolf and so on used to live and By my calculations is supposed to be a quite a, you know, considerably upper class type press right. This is not some bottom feeder press. This is some top level cultural press well, so much for them, you know, honestly because they basically published a book, which is this is like publishing Hitler's autobiography in 1921. This is exactly what Bloomsbury did. They pulled it. But by the way, on the on the list, they also have the autobiography of the Indian Home Minister, Amit Shah, which is a total disgrace that I can't believe they published even in the interest of public information, because there is that argument that you should publish the world leaders for the sake of public information and so on. But my god you publish that, and then you did this. So yes, of course, the npca protest is not just about, you know, liberal democracy. It wasn't merely about Muslim rights and the idea of Indian citizenship, it was entirely an anti fascist development. And certainly if it's an anti fascist development, remember the whole slogan, if you're not against capitalism, we used to say you can't be against fascism. And so if you if it's anti fascist, genuinely anti fascist movement is going to have an anti capitalist dimension which it did have, but it was really and if you were in India, if you're writing from India, I don't know mitali but I walked through every single one of the protests in

Calcutta, Delhi and so on. These were such joyous demonstrations with song with poetry with hum making a you know, we will see I mean, just bold, tough poetry and loving Ahmed Aziz read out a beautiful poem at a protest and it was such a great moment of fortune. I had sent it to Roger Waters in London at a protest for Julian Assange. Roger read out Amir Aziz mtca protests. It was so beautiful kind imagine this young Indian poet was so happy that his childhood idol from Pink Floyd Roger Waters read out his poem as a demonstration for Julian Assange.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 46:33

Thank you. Um, okay, I've got a question here from Alex Bren. And we need solutions outside of electoral politics aside from the mass strike, what other tools do left movements have in resisting capitalism and imperialism abroad?

Vincent Bevins 46:53

Was anyone to start off on this one?

Vijay Prashad 46:57

I mean, it depends on what you mean by politics. That's the main thing. I would like to say that the understanding that we have from over 100 years of building left struggles in left theory, the principal objective of left politics prior to coming to power is to build the confidence of the working class of the peasantry of the masses. You know, one of the things capitalism does as a sociological force, is it atomizes people erodes confidence that we can have power in the world, you know, the sensibility sensibility develops that you must go You must vote, you know, and then four or five years later, depending on the cycle, you can come back and do it but in the interim, you're sort of powerless you become a consumer news, you know, you watch the politicians argue amongst each other, you really don't have a role. So democracy is something that Ironically, the way it's constructed in terms of its its, its manipulation of power. It makes you feel innocence apolitical, or even anti political, you get sick and depressed. And the role of the left apart from you're trying to develop the understanding of the system and so on is to build people's confidence and that is why ceaseless participation struggles. If you remember guys, when you first went to a demonstration, somebody said does it demonstrate and I will appear in London, it's, you know, wherever, in front of XYZ place, and you're so scared to go because you thought people will judge you badly. You know, it's like you're in middle school again. You're walking into the cafeteria with a tray alone, your skin scared to go there. You don't know like it beaten, arrested. Maybe your parents are not political people. So they don't advise you to go and feel a lot of negative pressure. But then you go and you realise Well, these are lovely people and people are not mean people are welcoming. And then you go again and your confidence gets raised. And then you're confident to tell somebody when they say something outrageous. That's not going, that's a sexist thing or don't talk like that. But look at the mark of confidence, the practice it took for you to be able to tell somebody on the cue, you can't do you can't touch somebody like that. That's outrageous, you know, they don't accept it early, you might have seen that in good scale. Politics is about building confidence. So these questions of electoral politics, mass strike, these things are all for later, you know, you've reached a stage we reached the stage globally, where we forgotten the essence of political action, which is to make people feel subjects of history. After that we can have the subjects of history of debates and discussion, should we go on strike now Should we do this? Should we do that? You can't predetermine you know the programme of action before you have mass struggles of confident people.

So when I look at Brazil, and I see like the MST building, you know, encampments, and settlement and see ordinary life spent a lot of time into settlements, because we have an office, and some incredible comrades working there, when you see ordinary working class people develop immense confidence to come in to speak their minds, let the process determine the forms of action, don't have a debate about the forms of action before you've created confident people in a process that can have that conversation.

Vincent Bevins 50:25

Yes, can I my my offer in addition is sort of more limited. And these are sort of what an obviously, you know, the obvious journalist answers that if you're a citizen in the US or the UK, and you want to resist imperialism, in you know, as VJ said, you get an opportunity to vote every four years but in in that entire time between all those elections, what you can do is insist upon a full and transparent account of what your government is really doing right. So insist upon the truth about history and insist upon truth about what is happening right now. Because far too much of what has been done in our name in United States and Western Europe has happened because people have been, have allowed for this was the phrase which I use the intentional intentionally imposed amnesia, right? amnesia about the past, but also amnesia about what's happened, you know, three months ago, nine months ago, 18 months ago. So, um, you have a responsibility to limit damage done by your own government. So, um, in the long term, you know, if the goal may be empowering the working class or the ministry, but in the in the end, I think you also can just insist upon the truth, um, and and be very loud when people are lying to you, you know, don't don't allow that to happen and, and insist upon transparency.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 51:47

Thank you. And we've got two minutes left. So I'm gonna squish two questions into one and I'll ask you both to answer in like 30 seconds. If really. that's possible, but in the spirit of helping everyone who is on this stream, like feel like a subject of history, and which I think is a really beautiful way of putting it. And do you think Natalie pearl has asked, Do you think Trump's us is weaker now than in the past or not? And this is a very speculative consideration. But like, Is there a way that US Latin American relations could have gone differently at some point in history? So I guess basically, I just want you to answer with some sense of like, yes, there is a way that history can.

Vincent Bevins 52:36

Yeah, I think the first question the answer is pretty simple. I think that the United States is in relative decline in some still the most powerful military economic force on the planet, but it is less powerful than it used to be. I think that is a trend that will continue and this opens up all kinds of possibilities for a reconfiguration of global politics. When it was that that means things to get way better. It can mean what they get worse also, but I think that the decline of US relative to its previous power does open up possibilities. And it puts us at a very contingent and interesting juncture in world history. And yes, absolutely, I think that the United States did not need to become what it eventually became a lot of people that I spoke to, you know, Ho Chi Minh is a good example of when he declared independence from France in 1945. He dedicated the Declaration of Independence to the American Declaration of Independence, not only sort of, because he didn't want America to attack him, but because peoples from around the world had been inspired by the revolutionary history, it was in the US. But I think that

the sort of slaveholding settler colonial history the other sort of darker demon in our past was the one that emerged I didn't think it had I don't think it had to be that way.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 53:46

Okay, we could vj go.

Vijay Prashad 53:48

Well, this is the second event that I've done with Vincent, and I would like to do a third event where we can pick up on the question of is the United States, necessarily the most dangerous force in the world. Vincent, that would be a great forum. And I think it's unfair in 30 seconds to even attempt an answer. But I enjoy. I really enjoyed chatting with you the last time and this time, I highly recommend Jakarta method. I think people should read it. You know, Yara, I think that what I'm going to just say 10 seconds is that, you know, we have a lot of work to do. And I just want to say that, you know, these are difficult times. As I said, it's a birthday of my friend, Eduardo Galliano. And I would say that one of the things I learned from Eduardo is that you just need to love one another. And you've got to really take care of each other. You've got to be less harsh with each other. When we think about these difficult issues. That doesn't mean that we're not going to draw strong lines against the enemy. And there is an enemy. I mean, I'm not saying go and hug everybody. But from the standpoint of the left, I just want to say there is a kind of tendency that develops of tearing each other apart. And these are difficult issues. I agree with Vincent, that the United States is a is a is a place in decline. It's a territory in decline. But it's not going to go down easily because as he said, it's terribly dangerous military, and it can destroy China. And I want people to go to a website called no cold water or it's a no cold war between the United States and China, please go sign the statement.

Yara Rodrigues Fowler 55:25

Thank you. And I've got a few comments I need to make to wrap up. And but before I do, I want to say thank you both so much. And I know I really enjoyed that discussion. And well, yeah, what a pleasure to be, like, virtually sat between you both. And, and thank you, everyone who asked questions and how exciting but there were so many questions, we can even answer them all. And so yeah, what a joy to have been here with you both. Thank you. So to continue the discussions that we have set up a dedicated space On our community forum. So if you've got a world, world transformed account, then you can log on but it also the instructions and stuff will be in the chat. And also register for other events. So there are lots of other world transformed 2020 events. They're filling up very quickly. So make sure that you've registered and make sure you've registered for the festival at The World Transformed org, forward slash register and then go and book the individual events that you want. And I'm going to plug it again please consider donating it's The World Transformed org forward slash support. And, and VJs book is Washington Bullets and Vincent's is the Jakarta method. And then lastly, before we go, I just want it we just wanted to say a big rest in power to David Graeber, who passed away at 58 recently, and I know that my timeline is just full of things from people that learn so much from him, and also organised with him, so yes want to take the space to remember him