

Who is the Lumpen in the United States

a pamphlet by MIM(Prisons)

MIM(Prisons) began to draft a book on the lumpen class a few years ago. We found a gap in the theoretical material on this subject and realized that our observations about this class are a unique contribution to Marxist theory. A lot of research was done, particularly on defining the lumpen class within U.S. borders, but due to competing projects and limited time, the book was put on hold. The larger project is an analysis and guide for developing the consciousness of the First World lumpen class within an anti-imperialist mindset. As we gathered materials, wrote and discussed the various aspects of this project, we kept coming back to the fact that the very premise of the book hinges on a class analysis that focuses on the First World lumpen as potential agents of revolution. This pamphlet contains that class analysis. All essays in this pamphlet are written by MIM(Prisons) unless otherwise indicated.

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About MIM(Prisons)

MIM(Prisons) is a cell of revolutionaries serving the oppressed masses inside U.S. prisons. We uphold the revolutionary communist ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and work from the vantage point of the Third World proletariat. Our ideology is based in dialectical materialism, which means we work from objective reality to direct change rather than making decisions based on our subjective feelings about things. Defining our organization as a cell means that we are independent of other organizations, but see ourselves as part of a greater Maoist movement within the United States and globally.

Imperialism is the number one enemy of the majority of the world's people; we cannot achieve our goal of ending all oppression without overthrowing imperialism. History has shown that the imperialists will wage war before they will allow an end to oppression. Revolution will become a reality within the United States as the military becomes over-extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony.

Since we live within an imperialist country, there is no real proletariat -- the class of economically exploited workers. Yet there is a significant class excluded from the economic relations of production under modern imperialism that we call the lumpen. Within the United States, a massive prison system has developed to manage large populations, primarily from oppressed nations and many of whom come from the lumpen class.

Within U.S. borders, the principal contradiction is between imperialism and the oppressed nations. Our enemies call us racists for pointing out that the white oppressor nation historically exploited and continues to oppress other nations within the United States. But race is a made-up idea to justify oppression through ideas of inferiority. Nation is a concept based in reality that is defined by a group's land, language, economy and culture. Individuals from oppressed nations taking up leadership roles within imperialist Amerika does not negate this analysis. The average conditions of the oppressed nations are still significantly different from the oppressor nation overall. As revolutionary internationalists, we support the self-determination of all nations and peoples. Today, the U.S. prison system is a major part of the imperialist state used to prevent the self-determination of oppressed nations.

It is for this reason that we see prisoners in this country as being at the forefront of any anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement.

MIM(Prisons) is our shorthand for the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons. Our name stems from the legacy of the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), and their party based in North America that did most of the prisoner support work that is the focus of what we now do. When that party degenerated, the movement turned to a cell-based strategy that we uphold as more correct than a centralized party given our conditions in the United States today. Our focus on prisoner support is not a dividing line question for us. In fact, we believe that there is a dire need for Maoists to do organizing and educational work in many areas in the United States. We hope some people are inspired by our example around prisons and apply it to their own work to create more Maoist cells and broaden the Maoist movement behind enemy lines.

MIM(Prisons) distinguishes ourselves from other groups on the six points below. We consider other organizations actively upholding these points to be fraternal.

1. **Communism is our goal.** Communism is a society where no group has power over any other group.
2. **Dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary.** In a [dictatorship of the proletariat](#) the formerly exploited majority dictates to the minority (who promoted exploitation) how society is to be run. In the case of imperialist nations, a Joint Dictatorship of the Proletariat of the Oppressed Nations (JDPON) must play this role where there is no internal proletariat or significant mass base that favors communism.
3. **We promote a united front with all who oppose imperialism.** The road to the JDPON over the imperialist nations involves uniting all who can be united against imperialism. We cannot fight imperialism and fight others who are engaged in life and death conflicts with imperialism at the same time. Even imperialist nation classes can be allies in the united front under certain conditions.
4. **A parasitic class dominates the First World countries.** As Marx, Engels and Lenin formulated and MIM Thought has reiterated through materialist analysis, imperialism extracts super-profits from the Third World and in part uses this wealth to buy off whole populations of so-called workers. These so-called workers bought off by imperialism form a new petty-bourgeoisie called the labor aristocracy; they are not a vehicle for Maoism. Those who work in the economic interests of the First World labor aristocracy form the mass base for imperialism's tightening death-grip on the Third World.
5. **New bourgeoisies will form under socialism.** Mao led the charge to expose the bourgeoisie that developed within the communist party in the Soviet Union and the campaign to bombard the headquarters in his own country of China. Those experiences demonstrated the necessity of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The class struggle does not end until the state has been abolished and communism is reached.
6. **The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was the furthest advancement toward communism in history.** We uphold the Soviet Union until the death of Stalin in 1953, followed by the People's Republic of China through 1976 as the best examples of modern socialism in practice. The arrest of the "Gang of Four" in China and the rise of Krushchev in the Soviet Union marked the restoration of capitalism in those countries. Other experiments in developing socialism in the 20th century failed to surpass the Soviet model (ie. Albania), or worse, stayed within the capitalist mode of production, generally due to a failure to break with the Theory of Productive Forces.

U CAN'T SELL DOPE FOREVER

"Power is the ability to define a phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner." - Huey P. Newton

Marxist socialism is based in the idea that humyns, as a group, can take charge of the natural and economic laws that determine their ability to meet their material needs. Taking charge does not mean that they can decide these laws, but that they can utilize them. In doing so they develop a scientific understanding of the world around them.

Under capitalism, the anarchy of production is the general rule. This is because capitalists only concern themselves with profit, while production and consumption of humyn needs is at the whim of the economic laws of capitalism. As a result people starve, wars are fought and the environment is degraded in ways that make humyn life more difficult or even impossible. Another result is that whole groups of people are excluded from the production system. Whereas in pre-class societies, a group of humyns could produce the basic food and shelter that they needed to survive, capitalism is unique in keeping large groups of people from doing so.

In the imperialist countries, like the United States, the culture and structure of society has eliminated opportunities and the knowledge to be self-sufficient. Production is done socially instead. Simplistically this might look like: one company produces bread, another produces shoes, and everyone working for each company gets paid and uses their pay to buy things from the other companies. Everyone gets what they need by being a productive member of the larger society.

The problem is that there are not enough jobs. At first this might seem like a good thing. We are so advanced that we can get all the work done for the whole group with only a portion of those people having to work. But under capitalism, if you're not in an exploiter class, not working means you do not get a share of the collective product. So when whole groups are not able to get jobs, they must find other ways of getting the goods that they need to survive. And we all know various ways that people do this.

So first capitalism has separated people from their need to provide everything for themselves. In doing so the capitalists alienate the worker from their product, because it becomes the property of the capitalist. But those without jobs are also alienated from the whole production process. People often turn to the illegal service economy of selling drugs or sexual favors, or robbing and fencing stolen goods. Many also turn to the state for social services to get a distribution of the social product, without participating in production.

All of these solutions are even more alienating than working for the capitalists. Being a shoemaker or a baker are productive tasks that people can find pleasure in, even if they do not have a say in how the product of their labor is then distributed. Given the option, people generally don't want to poison their community, deal with the threat of violence every day, sell their body, steal from people or even take handouts without being able to participate in producing. All of these endeavors require the individual to justify actions that they know are wrong, to dehumanize other people and themselves, and to just live under a lot of stress.

These activities, and the justifications that come with them, contribute to what then becomes the consciousness of this group of people excluded from the economy. Marx wrote about the alienation of the proletariat resulting from them not having a say in how the product of their labor is utilized. But there is a deeper level of alienation among the lumpen in that they must alienate themselves from other humyn beings, even those who are in similar situations to themselves. Capitalism promotes a dog-eat-dog mentality that is alienating for all people because we are encouraged to look out for ourselves and not trust others. But this is most pronounced for the lumpen, who are in turn demonized for their disregard for other people.

The demonization that the lumpen faces by the rest of society is one reason that none of these endeavors have futures. You can't sell dope forever. You certainly can't be a prostitute forever. Robbing and scamming is dangerous to say the least. And there are strong policies today to keep people from being on public assistance for too long. So there is a strong interest among the lumpen class to choose another path, one that addresses the alienation and lack of control they have over their own lives, including a limited ability to meet their own needs.

While we recognize that the leading force for revolution is the proletariat, our analysis clearly shows that the proletariat is virtually non-existent within U.S. borders, limited primarily to the small migrant worker population. The predominance of the labor aristocracy within imperialist countries today makes the lumpen a more important element than in times and places where the proletariat is the overwhelming majority. Just as Mao had to apply Marx's analysis to Chinese conditions and understand the key role the peasantry plays in revolution in countries where that group is large, we must apply dialectical materialist analysis to the world today to understand the role that will be played by each significant class in American society.

The lumpen are a more important class in imperialist society today than in the past, and as a result we must identify those who fall in this group and analyze whether they are friends or enemies of the revolution. This pamphlet attempts to identify the lumpen in the United States by looking at several potential indicators of economic and social position in society.

What is class?

"In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." ("On Practice" (July 1937), Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 296.)

"Above all, Marxists regard man's activity in production as the most fundamental practical activity, the determinant of all his other activities... In a classless society every person, as a member of society, joins in common effort with the other members, enters into definite relations of production with them and engages in production to meet [people's] material needs. In all class societies, the members of the different social classes also enter, in different ways, into definite relations of production and engage in production to meet their material needs. This is the primary source from which human knowledge develops." ("On Practice" (July 1937), Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 296.)

Classes first arose early in humyn history when humyns transitioned from clan commune social relations to systems of slavery where some people were profiting from the labor of others. Class society has inherent contradictions between the class in power (slave owners, feudal landlords, capitalists) and those whose labor is being appropriated (slaves, feudal serfs, the proletariat). While humyn history has demonstrated a transition through various forms of class structure as the productive forces have advanced, the contradiction between exploiter and exploited classes has remained constant. Only by establishing a society free of classes will we eliminate this contradiction.

Under the current system of class society predominant in the world today, capitalism, the main classes are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In First World countries, in today's advanced imperialist system, the petty bourgeoisie has become the dominant class. And in all capitalist societies the lumpen proletariat is an element of varying significance.

The bourgeoisie is the exploiter class most characteristic of the capitalist system. The term "bourgeoisie" now generally refers to the capitalist class. The capitalist class is that class of people who own enough property that they would not have to work to make a living. The capitalist class only works if it wants to. Also included in the group are people with very powerful positions in production or government generally. A ruler may or may not have great assets on hand, but if s/he really wanted them, s/he has the power to get them. For example, Ronald Reagan made a speech in Japan with a \$1 million fee after he retired from the presidency. If he had been "poor" during the presidency, he still would have been part of the "capitalist class." What he was doing was central enough to the ruling class of capitalism that he had de facto access to the means of production, even if he had gambled away his ranch and other assets in Las Vegas while he was in the White House.

The bourgeoisie are defined by their ownership of the means of production -- factories, tools and patents for example. What is important is not the literal ownership of means of production but access to those means of production. Such access could be merely the ability to get a loan so large that it is possible to live off the business connected to such a loan. Access to political information in the military, intelligence or executive branch would make it possible to be rich making a speech like Reagan did or by selling secrets to foreigners. People with such access to information also may be part of the bourgeoisie. For example, Reagan could take his \$1 million speech fee and convert it into means of production such as ownership of tools and factory buildings. Whether he does that or not, we can still say he has "access" to the means of production.

There is another common and critically important usage of the term "bourgeoisie." Technically the bourgeoisie includes other sections, including those more numerous than the capitalist class. The "petty-bourgeoisie" or "petit-bourgeoisie" refers to people who are exploiters but not on the scale of the capitalists. The petty-bourgeoisie often owns its own means of production or professional skills but does not hire enough workers to be able to quit working and still live a life of leisure. This includes small shop owners and professional workers. There are other categories of bourgeoisie that are not part of the capitalist class, such as what Mao called the "comprador bourgeoisie" which owes its existence to imperialist capitalists and cannot function on its own as a capitalist class.

In our global class analysis, the First World countries have become dominated by the petty bourgeoisie, who often go to work each day and get paid a salary or even a wage. In a more simplistic model of capitalism the petty bourgeoisie is able to own a small business, while the proletariat does not have the resources to do so. The fact is that most people in countries like the United States have access to the resources to open a small business, even though most don't because it is more work and more risk for potentially less gain. Instead people just get a job and make more money than a small business owner would in most of the rest of the world.

First World vs. Third World lumpen

The lumpen is defined as being excluded from the capitalist system; excluded from production and consumption. Of course, everyone must consume to survive, and the lumpen lives on as a class. But their consumption is outside the realm of capitalist relations. The lumpen must take from others what it needs to survive. And in an exploited country the lumpen takes from working people, the petty bourgeoisie and other lumpen who surround them. It is much harder and therefore more rare to take from the bourgeoisie, so the bourgeoisie doesn't much care that the lumpen exist. The lumpen in the Third World is a parasite class, but primarily a parasite on the masses of the oppressed nations.

In the United States, we have no significant proletariat, so the lumpen class must be a parasite on the petty bourgeoisie. Historically that petty bourgeoisie has been white, while the lumpen have been concentrated in the New Afrikan ghettos, the reservations of First Nations, and the inner city oppressed communities in general. The national contradiction meant that the lumpen posed a threat to the stability of the country.

The history of social services in the United States comes from the Great Depression of the 1930s. As socialism and fascism were expanding to address the problems created by the anarchy of production, U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had to take drastic measures to preserve bourgeois democracy. The New Deal recovery program was that measure. It brought a system of social safety nets that live on to this day, though they were reformed and reduced starting in the 1980s with the Reagan administration.

This system allowed the emerging lumpen class to participate in the system of distribution and consumption without participating in production. They could do so in a way that was less precarious, less dangerous and better paying than their counterparts in the Third World. In addition to the federal government's services, there is infrastructure in the First World to provide clean water and sanitation to people of all classes. There is rampant overconsumption and waste that makes acquiring basic needs like food and clothing a snap, and there is enough wealth in the country that many non-governmental organizations can fund their own programs to provide food and other materials and services to those in need. For all these reasons, the First World lumpen are a qualitatively different class than the Third World lumpen proletariat in that they do benefit from living in an imperialist country.

Some claiming Marxism tell us that those we call lumpen are really part of the proletariat; they are just part of the reserve army of labor that Marx talked about being necessary to keep wages down among the workers that were employed via competition. But as has been demonstrated, there is no significant proletariat in the United States (request our Labor Aristocracy study pack for more on this topic). And while there is a contradiction between employers and employees over wages, this has not been an antagonistic contradiction in post-WWII U.S.A.

To the extent that there is a proletariat in this country, they are migrant workers. And therefore the reserve army of labor is found south of the Rio Grande and elsewhere in the Third World.

The First World lumpen are the remnants of a long history of national oppression. The question that they face is whether the oppressor nation is willing and able to continue to integrate them into the Amerikan petty bourgeoisie, or if racism and economic crisis will lead to an increased lumpenization of the internal semi-colonies as Amerika pushes its problems off on them.

Our class analysis is conducted within a laboratory defined by nation as the principal contradiction. As a settler state, turned imperialist superpower, turned dominant country of the world, the national contradiction has always been principal within the United States. In the next chapter [unpublished] we'll expand on the national contradiction as the principal contradiction globally under imperialism. Then in chapter four [unpublished] we will look at the evolution of the different nations within the United States and the degree of integration that has occurred as the country's wealth and power grew. We will assert that complete assimilation of the internal semi-colonies is conceivable, at least to the degree necessary to prevent meaningful independence struggles among those nations.

However, some of the most advanced national liberation movements in North America are still in the recent past and live on in the hearts and minds of many today. The degree of political repression it took to destroy those movements is still part of the national contradiction today. And for these reasons we do not believe that the principal contradiction in the United States has changed.

The white nation in North America has always been a predominately petty bourgeois nation. Therefore petty bourgeois class consciousness is overwhelmingly dominant among white people of all classes. Where there is potential for revolutionary white lumpen, it will be more common when in close proximity or integrated with oppressed nation lumpen. And these will be the exception to the rule. It is for this reason that we say the principal contradiction is nation in the United States, while spending much time discussing and addressing the lumpen class.

Therefore, in the analysis that follows, we will be defining the First World lumpen as a distinct class that is only evident within the oppressed nations in the United States.

Where does Knowledge Come From?

Before we get deeper into the question of who makes up the First World lumpen today, we are going to present a couple examples of revolutionaries attempting to address the lumpen following the revolutionary upsurge in the United States of the late 1960s. While the statistics we present later will give us a glimpse of our current conditions, we cannot interpret those conditions without knowing how people reacted in similar conditions in the past, and what the outcomes of their efforts looked like. By studying scientific thinkers in other times and places we can broaden our ability to interpret our own conditions.

"We sometimes have a problem because people do not understand the ideology that Marx and Engels began to develop. People say, 'You claim to be Marxists, but did you know that Marx was a racist?' . . .

"If you are a dialectical materialist, however, Marx's racism does not matter. You do not believe in the conclusions of one person but in the validity of a mode of thought; and we in the Party, as dialectical materialists, recognize Karl Marx as one of the great contributors to that mode of thought. Whether or not Marx was a racist is irrelevant and immaterial to whether or not the system of thinking he helped develop delivers truths about processes in the material world. . . . John B. Watson once stated that his favorite pastime was hunting and hanging niggers, yet he made great forward strides in the analysis and investigation of conditioned responses."

(In Search of Common Ground: Conversations with Erik H. Erikson and Huey P. Newton)

So where does knowledge come from? It comes from humyn experience, more specifically from summing up that experience, drawing conclusions and then testing those conclusions in action (more experience). If a humyn being was raised in a controlled environment, where machines ensured her basic needs were met, but nothing else, all of her knowledge would have to come from her own experience. There is no cultural knowledge passed down to her about what is dangerous, what is good for you or what is moral. In the real world humyns live in societies, and have leisure time and language, which allow knowledge to expand over generations and society to change. As scientists, most of our knowledge comes from history. To deny this, and to say that one must learn everything anew for oneself, is to limit the humyn potential to what one humyn can accomplish in one lifetime. We call this an empiricist error.

It is for this reason that we have no problem citing European men from 100 years ago or more when they hit the nail on the head by applying scientific thought. But we know many of our readers come with a prejudice against such sources. This prejudice stems from a valid desire to counter centuries of national and gender oppression, and racism and sexism in the realm of ideas and academia. To incorporate non-European sources of knowledge to the dominant ideas is of course important. In fact, this pamphlet should play a small part in doing just that. We will advance further faster when we incorporate all of the best that the past has to offer. But we should do our best to not let our subjectivity cloud our judgment as to what is the best. It actually makes sense, historically, that men in Europe were the first to develop a systematic analysis of the capitalist system, since they were the first to be immersed in a fully-developed capitalist economy.

Ultimately, knowledge production must stand the tests of time and scientific scrutiny. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has withstood those tests. And those who don't study socialism in China and the Soviet Union because "we need to find our own way" are not applying the scientific method of dialectical materialism. It was the Black Panther Party engaging in the questions that communists across the world faced at that time that made them the vanguard in North America in the late 1960s. We call them the Maoist vanguard because they actively upheld the progress being made in China with Mao's leadership, and promoted the ideology behind those developments within New Afrika. At the time, the term "Maoism" was not yet in use as the experience that China was immersed in had not yet been summed up as a new stage in the development of Marxist thinking.

As Maoists today, our first point of reference is the trusted thinkers who paved the way for us in the past. So we looked to the following essay which was written at a time when the Black Panther Party (BPP) was peaking ideologically. This essay represents what we see as the BPP's most advanced class analysis. It gives us a good glimpse of how the leadership had viewed the lumpen class in New Afrika during their most successful years in organizing that class. It also gives us a good example of the thinking of that time that is also discussed in the next section around Bruce Franklin's essay *The Lumpenproletariat and the Revolutionary Youth Movement* from the same year.

On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party

(Black Panther Party Pamphlet, 1970)

Transcribed by MC5. *MC5 comments: MIM does not agree with all of this, but it's an important document to flesh out where the BPP stood at the time. In particular, the emphasis on the lumpen, the correct distinction between proletarian and worker and the notion that the Amerikan so-called workers are bought off do not date from MIM. Those central emphases are key to analysis of the imperialist countries today.*

The following article introduces a new series of articles on the ideology of the Black Panther Party by our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver.

"One of the great contributions of Huey P. Newton is that he gave the Black Panther Party a firm ideological foundation that frees us from ideological flunkeyism and open (sic) up the path to the future."

Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
Black Panther Party U.S.A.

We have said: the ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experience of Black people and the wisdom gained by Black people in their 400 year long struggle against the system of racist oppression and economic exploitation in Babylon, interpreted through the prism of the Marxist-Leninist analysis by our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton.

However, we must place heavy emphasis upon the last part of that definition -- 'interpreted . . . by our Minister of Defense...' the world of Marxism-Leninism has become a jungle of opinion in which conflicting interpretations, from Right Revisionism to Left Dogmatism, foist off their reactionary and blind philosophies as revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. Around the world and in every nation people, all who call themselves Marxist-Leninists, are at each other's throats. Such a situation presents serious problems to a young party, such as ours, that is still in the process of refining its ideology.

When we say that we are Marxist-Leninists, we mean that we have studied and understood the classical principles of scientific socialism and that we have adapted these principles to our own situation for ourselves. However, we do not move with a closed mind to new ideas or information. At the same time, we know that we must rely upon our own brains in solving ideological problems as they relate to us.

For too long Black people have relied upon the analyses and ideological perspectives of others. Our struggle has reached a point now where it would be absolutely suicidal for us to continue this posture of dependency. No other people in the world are in the same position as we are, and no other people in the world can get us out of it except ourselves. There are those who are all too willing to do our thinking for us, even if it gets us killed. However, they are not willing to follow through and do our dying for us. If thoughts bring about our deaths, let them at least be our own thoughts, so that we will have broken, once and for all, with the flunkeyism of dying for every cause and every error -- except our own.

One of the great contributions of Huey P. Newton is that he gave the Black Panther Party a firm ideological foundation that frees us from ideological flunkeyism and opens up the path to the future -- a future to which we must provide new ideological formulations to fit our ever changing situation.

Much -- most -- of the teachings of Huey P. Newton are unknown to the people because Huey has been placed in a position where it is impossible to really communicate with us. And much that he taught while he was free has gotten distorted and watered down precisely because the Black Panther Party has been too hung up in relating to the courts and trying to put on a good face in order to help lawyers convince juries of the justice of our cause. This whole court hang-up has created much confusion.

For instance, many people confuse the Black Panther Party with the Free Huey Movement or the many other mass activities that we have been forced to indulge in in order to build mass support for our comrades who have gotten captured by the pigs. We are absolutely correct in indulging in such mass activity. But we are wrong when we confuse our mass line with our party line.

Essentially, what Huey did was to provide the ideology and the methodology for organizing the Black Urban Lumpenproletariat. Armed with this ideological perspective and method, Huey transformed the Black lumpenproletariat from the forgotten people at the bottom of society into the vanguard of the proletariat.

There is a lot of confusion over whether we are members of the Working Class or whether we are Lumpenproletariat. It is necessary to confront this confusion, because it has a great deal to do with the strategy and tactics that we follow and with our strained relations with the White radicals from the oppressor section of Babylon.

Some so-called Marxist-Leninists will attack us for what we have to say, but that is a good thing and not a bad thing because some people call themselves Marxist-Leninists who are downright enemies of Black people. Later for them. We want them to step boldly forward, as they will do -- blinded by their own stupidity and racist arrogance -- that it will be easier for us to deal with them in the future.

We make these criticisms in a fraternal spirit of how some Marxist-Leninists apply the classical principles to the specific situation that exists in the United States because we believe in the need for a unified revolutionary movement in the United States, a movement that is informed by the revolutionary principles of scientific socialism. Huey P. Newton says that "power is the ability to define phenomena and make it act in a desired manner." And we need power, desperately, to counter the power of the pigs that now bears so heavily upon us.

Ideology is a comprehensive definition of a status quo that takes into account both the history and the future of that status quo and

serves as the social glue that holds a people together and through which a people relate to the world and other groups of people in the world. The correct ideology is an invincible weapon against the oppressor in our struggle for freedom and liberation.

Marx defined the epoch of the bourgeoisie and laid bare the direction of the Proletarian future. He analyzed Capitalism and defined the method of its doom: VIOLENT REVOLUTION BY THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS OF CLASS OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION. REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CLASS VIOLENCE PERPETRATED THROUGH THE SPECIAL REPRESSIVE FORCE OF THE ARMED TENTACLES OF THE STATE.

This great definition by Marx and Engels became the mightiest weapon in the hands of oppressed people in the history of ideology. It marks a gigantic advance for all mankind. And since Marx's time, his definition has been strengthened, further elaborated, illumined, and further refined.

But Marxism has never really dealt with the United States of America. There have been some very nice attempts. People have done the best that they know how. However, in the past, Marxist-Leninists in the United States have relied too heavily upon foreign, imported analyses and have seriously distorted the realities of the American scene. We might say that the Marxism-Leninism of the past belongs to the gestation period of Marxism-Leninism in the United States, and that now is the time when a new, strictly American ideological synthesis will arise, spring up from the hearts and souls of the oppressed people inside Babylon, and uniting these people and hurling them mightily, from the force of their struggle, into the future. The swiftly developing revolution in America is like the gathering of a mighty storm, and nothing can stop that storm from finally bursting, inside America, washing away the pigs of the power structure and all their foul, oppressive works. And the children of the pigs and the oppressed people will dance and spit upon the common graves of these pigs.

There are some Black people in the United States who are absolutely happy, who do not feel themselves to be oppressed, and who think that they are free. Some even believe that the President wouldn't lie, and that he is more or less an honest man; that Supreme Court decisions were almost written by god in person; that the Police are Guardians of the Law; and that people who do not have jobs are just plain lazy and good-for-nothing and should be severely punished. These are like crabs that must be left to boil a little longer in the pots of oppression before they will be ready and willing to relate. But the overwhelming majority of Black people are uptight, know that they are oppressed and not free; and they wouldn't believe Nixon if he confessed to being a pig; they don't relate to the Supreme Court or any other court; and they know that the racist pig cops are their sworn enemies. As for poverty, they know what that is all about.

These millions of Black people have no political representation, they are unorganized, and they do not own or control any of the natural resources; they neither own nor control any of the industrial machinery, and their daily life is a hustle to make it by any means necessary in the struggle to survive.

Every Black person knows that the wind may change at any given moment and that Lynch Mob, made up of White members of the "Working Class", might come breathing down his neck if not kicking down his door. It is because of these factors that when we begin to talk about being Marxist-Leninists, we must be very careful to make it absolutely clear just what we are talking about.

On the subject of racism, Marxism-Leninism offers us very little assistance. In fact, there is much evidence that Marx and Engels were themselves racists--just like their White brothers and sisters of their era, and just as many Marxist-Leninists of our own time are also racists. Historically, Marxism-Leninism has been an outgrowth of European problems and it has been primarily preoccupied with finding solutions to European problems.

With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948 and the People's Republic of China in 1949, something new was injected into Marxism-Leninism, and it ceased to be just a narrow, exclusively European phenomenon. Comrade Kim Il Sung and Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied the classical principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in their own countries and thereby made the ideology into something useful for their people. But they rejected that part of the analysis that was not beneficial to them and had only to do with the welfare of Europe.

Given the racist history of the United States, it is very difficult for Black people to comfortably call themselves Marxist-Leninists or anything else that takes its name from White people. It's like praying to Jesus, a White man. We must emphasize the fact that Marx and Lenin didn't invent Socialism. They only added their contributions, enriching the doctrine, just as many others did before them and after them. And we must remember that Marx and Lenin didn't organize the Black Panther Party. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale did.

Not until we reach Fanon do we find a major Marxist-Leninist theoretician who was primarily concerned about the problems of Black people, wherever they may be found. And even Fanon, in his published works, was primarily focused on Africa. It is only indirectly that his works are beneficial to Afro-Americans. It is just easier to relate to Fanon because he is clearly free of that racist bias that blocks out so much about the Black man in the hands of Whites who are primarily interested in themselves and the problems of their own people. But even though we are able to relate heavily to Fanon, he has not given us the last word on applying the Marxist-Leninist analysis to our problems inside the United States. No one is going to do this for us because no one can. We have to do it ourselves, and until we do, we are going to be uptight.

We must take the teachings of Huey P. Newton as our foundation and go from there. Any other course will bring us to a sorry and regrettable end.

Fanon delivered a devastating attack upon Marxism-Leninism for its narrow preoccupation with Europe and the affairs and salvation of White folks, while lumping all third world peoples into the category of Lumpenproletariat and then forgetting them there; Fanon unearthed the category of the Lumpenproletariat and began to deal with it, recognizing that vast majorities of the colonized people fall into that category. It is because of the fact that Black people in the United States are also colonized that Fanon's analysis is so relevant to us.

After studying Fanon, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale began to apply his analysis of colonized people to Black people in the United States. They adopted the Fanonian perspective, but they gave it a uniquely Afro-American content.

Just as we must make the distinctions between the mother country and the colony when dealing with Black people and White people as a whole, we must also make this distinction when we deal with the categories of Working Class and Lumpenproletariat.

We have, in the United States, a "Mother Country Working Class" and a "Working Class from the Black Colony." We also have a Mother Country Lumpenproletariat and a Lumpenproletariat from the Black Colony. Inside the Mother Country, these categories are fairly stable, but when we look at the Black Colony, we find that the hard and fast distinctions melt away. This is because of the leveling effect of the colonial process and the fact that all Black people are colonized, even if some of them occupy favored positions in the schemes of the Mother Country colonizing exploiters.

There is a difference between the problems of the Mother Country Working Class and the Working Class from the Black Colony. There is also a difference between the Mother Country Lumpen and the Lumpen from the Black Colony. We have nothing to gain from trying to smooth over these differences as though they don't exist, because they are objective facts that must be dealt with. To make this point clear, we have only to look at the long and bitter history of the struggles of Black Colony Workers fighting for democracy inside Mother Country Labor Unions.

Historically, we have fallen into the trap of criticizing mother country labor unions and workers for the racism as an explanation for the way they treat Black workers. Of course, they are racist, but this is not the full explanation.

White workers belong to a totally different world than that of Black workers. They are caught up in a totally different economic, political, and social reality, and on the basis of this distinct reality, the pigs of the power structure and treacherous labor leaders find it very easy to manipulate them with Babylonian racism.

This complex reality presents us with many problems, and only through proper analysis can these problems be solved. The lack of a proper analysis is responsible for the ridiculous approach to these problems that we find among Mother Country Marxist-Leninists. And their improper analysis leads them to advocate solutions that are doomed to failure in advance. The key area of the confusion has to do with falsely assuming the existence of one All-American Proletariat; one All-American Working Class; and one All-American Lumpenproletariat.

O.K. We are Lumpen. Right on. The Lumpenproletariat are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of capitalist society. That part of the "Industrial Reserve Army" held perpetually in reserve; who have never worked and never will; who can't find a job; who are unskilled and unfit; who have been displaced by machines, automation, and cybernation, and were never "retained or invested with new skills"; all those on Welfare or receiving State Aid.

Also, the so-called "Criminal Element," those who live by their wits, existing off that which they rip off, who stick guns in the faces of businessmen and say 'stick'em up', or 'give it up'! Those who don't even want a job, who hate to work and can't relate to punching some pig's time clock, who would rather punch a pig in the mouth and rob him than punch that same pig's time clock and work for him, those whom Huey P. Newton calls "the illegitimate capitalists." In short, all those who simply have been locked out of the economy and robbed of their rightful social heritage.

But even though we are Lumpen, we are still members of the Proletariat, a category which theoretically cuts across national boundaries but which in practice leaves something to be desired.

Contradictions within the Proletariat of the USA

In both the Mother Country and the Black Colony, the Working Class is the Right Wing of the Proletariat, and the Lumpenproletariat is the Left Wing. Within the Working Class itself, we have a major contradiction between the Unemployed and the Employed. And we definitely have a major contradiction between the Working Class and the Lumpen.

Some blind so-called Marxist-Leninists accuse the Lumpen of being parasites upon the Working Class. This is a stupid charge derived from reading too many of Marx's footnotes and taking some of his offhand scurrilous remarks for holy writ. In reality, it is accurate to say that the Working Class, particularly the American Working Class, is a parasite upon the heritage of mankind, of

which the Lumpen has been totally robbed by the rigged system of Capitalism which in turn, has thrown the majority of mankind upon the junkheap while it buys off a percentage with jobs and security.

The Working Class that we must deal with today shows little resemblance to the Working Class of Marx's day. In the days of its infancy, insecurity, and instability, the Working Class was very revolutionary and carried forward the struggle against the bourgeoisie. But through long and bitter struggles, the Working Class has made some inroads into the Capitalist system, carving out a comfortable niche for itself. The advent of Labor Unions, Collective Bargaining, the Union Shop, Social Security, and other special protective legislation has castrated the Working Class, transforming it into the bought-off Labor Movement -- a most un-revolutionary, reformist minded movement that is only interested in higher wages and more job security. The Labor Movement has abandoned all basic criticism of the Capitalist system of exploitation itself. The George Meanys, Walter Reuthers, and A. Phillip Randolphs may correctly be labeled traitors to the proletariat as a whole, but they accurately reflect and embody the outlook and aspirations of the Working Class. The Communist Party of the United States of America, at its poorly attended meetings, may raise the roof with its proclamations of being the Vanguard of the Working Class, but the Working Class itself looks upon the Democratic Party as the legitimate vehicle of its political salvation.

As a matter of fact, the Working Class of our time has become a new industrial elite, resembling more the chauvinistic elites of the selfish craft and trade guilds of Marx's time than the toiling masses ground down in abject poverty. Every job on the market in the American Economy today demands as high a complexity of skills as did the jobs in the elite trade and craft guilds of Marx's time.

In a highly mechanized economy, it cannot be said that the fantastically high productivity is the product solely of the Working Class. Machines and computers are not members of the Working Class, although some spokesmen for the Working Class, particularly some Marxist-Leninists, seem to think like machines and computers.

The flames of revolution, which once raged like an inferno in the heart of the Working Class, in our day have dwindled into a flickering candle light, only powerful enough to bounce the Working Class back and forth like a ping pong ball between the Democratic Party and the the Republican Party every four years, never once even glancing at the alternatives on the Left.

Who speaks for the Lumpen Proletariat?

Some Marxist-Leninists are guilty of that class egotism and hypocrisy often displayed by superior classes to those beneath them on the social scale. On the one hand, they freely admit that their organizations are specifically designed to represent the interests of the Working Class. But then they go beyond that to say that by representing the interests of the Working Class, they represent the interests of the Proletariat as a whole. This is clearly not true. This is a fallacious assumption based upon the egotism of these organizations and is partly responsible for their miserable failure to make a revolution in Babylon.

And since there clearly is a contradiction between the right wing and the left wing of the Proletariat, just as the right wing has created its own organizations, it is necessary for the left wing to have its form of organization to represent its interests against all hostile classes -- including the Working Class.

The contradiction between the Lumpen and the Working Class is very serious because it even dictates a different strategy and set of tactics. The students focus their rebellions on the campuses, and the Working Class focuses its rebellions on the factories and picket lines. But the Lumpen finds itself in the peculiar position of being unable to find a job and therefore is unable to attend the Universities. The Lumpen has no choice but to manifest its rebellion in the University of the Streets.

It's very important to recognize that the streets belong to the Lumpen, and that it is in the streets that Lumpen will make their rebellion.

One outstanding characteristic of the liberation struggle of Black people in the United States has been that most of the activity has taken place in the streets. This is because, by and large, the rebellions have been spear-headed by Black Lumpen.

It is because of the Black people's lumpen relationship to the means of production and the institutions of the society that they are unable to manifest their rebellion around those means of production and institutions. But this does not mean that the rebellions that take place in the streets are not legitimate expressions of an oppressed people. These are the means of rebellion left open to the Lumpen.

The Lumpen have been locked outside of the economy. And when the Lumpen does engage in direct action against the system of oppression, it is often greeted by hoots and howls from the spokesmen of the Working Class in chorus with the mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie. These talkers like to put down the struggles of the Lumpen as being "spontaneous" (perhaps because they themselves did not order the actions!), "unorganized", and "chaotic and undirected." But these are only prejudiced analyses made from the narrow perspective of the Working Class. But the Lumpen moves anyway, refusing to be straitjacketed or controlled by the tactics dictated by the conditions of life and the relationship to the means of production of the Working Class.

The Lumpen finds itself in the position where it is very difficult for it to manifest its complaints against the system. The Working Class has the possibility of calling a strike against the factory and the employer and through the mechanism of Labor Unions they

can have some arbitration or some process through which its grievances are manifested. Collective bargaining is the way out of the pit of oppression and exploitation discovered by the Working Class, but the Lumpen has no opportunity to do any collective bargaining. The Lumpen has no institutionalized focus in Capitalist society. It has no immediate oppressor except perhaps the Pig Police with which it is confronted daily.

So that the very conditions of life of the Lumpen dictates the so-called spontaneous reactions against the system, and because the Lumpen is in this extremely oppressed condition, it therefore has an extreme reaction against the system as a whole. It sees itself as being bypassed by all of the organizations, even by the Labor Unions, and even by the Communist Parties that despise it and look down upon it and consider it to be, in the words of Karl Marx, the father of Communist Parties, "The Scum Layer of the Society." The Lumpen is forced to create its own forms of rebellion that are consistent with its condition in life and with its relationship to the means of production and the institutions of society. That is, to strike out at all the structures around it, including at the reactionary Right Wing of the Proletariat when it gets in the way of revolution.

The faulty analyses which the ideologies of the Working Class have made, of the true nature of the Lumpen, are greatly responsible for the retardation of the development of the revolution in urban situations. It can be said that the true revolutionaries in the urban centers of the world have been analyzed out of the revolution by some Marxist-Leninists.

[note: Typos and spelling errors corrected by MIM(Prisons).]

Historical Context for the Eldridge Cleaver Pamphlet

Cleaver denounced the above essay a couple years later after splitting with Huey P. Newton while in exile in Algeria and taking up an anarcho-focoist line. He echoed Frantz Fanon and the correct analysis of the white working class above to say that the working class was a privileged class globally and that those excluded from technology were the lumpen and were the real revolutionary force. (see *On Lumpen Ideology*, 1972) As we'll discuss in the next chapter [unpublished], there is still a very large, very exploited and very oppressed proletariat and peasantry globally. So we do not see this latter analysis by Cleaver as proving true.

Another problem with the direction that Cleaver took his theory of the lumpen in is that he promoted an international class alliance similar to the organizers of the white working class that he had originally distanced himself from in the essay above. Because the imperialist system is organized on the basis of exploiting nations and exploited nations, nation becomes our best line to divide the world between those with an interest in socialism and those who oppose it.

Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) History

As discussed earlier, the First World lumpen are distinct from the lumpen proletariat of the Third World because of the lack of a proletariat (exploited workers) in the First World countries. The close proximity between the solidly bourgeoisified classes and the lumpen in First World countries impacts the First World lumpen's culture and material conditions, in that they benefit from the overall wealth and infrastructure of the rich countries. Classically, the lumpen class is a vacillating class because of their detachment from the means of production. The partial bourgeoisification of the lumpen pulls them toward reactionary politics, but it exists in stark contrast to their very material national oppression, pushing them toward revolution. For these reasons, the First World lumpen must be examined for their unique potential for revolutionary activity.

Due to the lack of a proletariat, and lack of class antagonisms overall, we see the lumpen in the United States defined by nation just as much as by class. MIM wrote about the emergence of gender free of class in the imperialist countries (*Clarity on What Gender Is*, 1998 MIM Party Congress resolution), and there is a similar phenomena with nation, even though nation and class are so tied up. Therefore we will be looking particularly at the class structure within the internal semi-colonies, identifying how they differ from the exploited nations of the Third World, and where there is potential for antagonism with Amerikanism and imperialism overall.

Just as there is no lumpen class with a common interest across all nations, and just as there is no proletariat with a common interest across all nations, we cannot pretend that all wimmin across the world have the same material interests, nor all youth. Within the oppressor nations, the youth contradiction is the most antagonistic, and for this reason, white activism in the 1960s was strongest among the student and youth movement.

In 1970, Bruce Franklin wrote the article *The Lumpenproletariat and the Revolutionary Youth Movement*. Portions of this essay draw parallels between youth and the lumpen. He refers to a "section of white youth [that] has dropped out of its privileged position and consciously assumed a sub-proletariat mode of existence." While there is some relationship between youth and the lumpen class that we will look at later in this chapter, his analysis has proven overly optimistic (as many did from this time).

Franklin's essay is quite valuable, though, as he brings together the positions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and others on the natural

trajectory of the lumpen class. Franklin not only consolidates these writings, but he put them in historical context, both in the time they were written and how they may apply to the conditions he was facing in the United States in 1969. Here we omit the final sections of the article because Franklin's class and national analysis reflect the Revolutionary Youth Movement's line. Not insignificantly, RYM later evolved into the Revolutionary Communist Party USA.

Written within a year of Eldridge Cleaver's piece (*On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party*), it is no coincidence that these theoretical developments were happening at this time. The Black Panther Party and the revolutionary student movement were both at their peaks, with years of ideological struggle and practice behind them. While we stress the study of history to have well-rounded knowledge, we cannot advance beyond what others have learned without putting our ideas into practice and testing our hypotheses.

While Franklin's essay is addressing ideas that could be found in and around the Black Panther Party and the RYM I, it is possible that Cleaver's essay was a response to Franklin. Franklin's essay was first published in 1969 (*The Red Papers 2*, Bay Area Revolutionary Union, 1969) and the date on Cleaver's pamphlet is 1970.

Here we will provide a brief context to these two essays and the ideological struggles they came out of. As Franklin talks about in his essay, there are two movements that are dominant in the radical scene at the time: Black Liberation, primarily the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, and the student movement. The student/youth movement was dominated by white youth who were mobilized in response to the draft to occupy Vietnam. A large organization formed to represent this movement, with chapters on college campuses across the country, called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The formerly-Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was heavily involved in this mass organization, pushing the PLP political line. In 1969, the national leadership of SDS split with the SDS conference that had become dominated by PLP. This split was principally over the PLP's opposition to national liberation struggles and criticisms of the Black Panther Party. The group that split from the PLP-dominated SDS called itself the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The RYM were in effect recognizing the BPP as the vanguard in the United States as opposed to the PLP.

The Revolutionary Youth Movement itself split into RYM I and RYM II. The RYM I was made up of the SDS national leadership, who took up a focoist line that armed struggle now would spark the revolution, and they formed the Weather Underground. They also correctly took up the line that the majority of Americans' interests were allied with U.S. imperialism. The RYM II adopted a more traditional Maoist party building strategy, while still having a strong focus on organizing the American working class. The largest group in the RYM II was the Bay Area Revolutionary Union (RU), which itself was made up of many groups. Bruce Franklin wrote this essay while a member of the RU.

"In late 1970, the Revolutionary Union, an organization made up of dozens of revolutionary collectives, mostly in the San Francisco Bay area, split on the question of armed struggle, particularly as it related to national liberation movements within the U.S." One half of the RU, concentrated in the South Bay, merged into the Chicano organization *Venceremos*. "*Venceremos* was committed to showing that a diversified multi-national revolutionary organization could work." (Bruce Franklin, *From the Movement Toward Revolution*, p. 128-129) The other half of the RU went on to form the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

While the RYM II groups never took up the Weather line on the white working class, both of the RYMs and the Black Panthers recognized the reality on the ground, forcing them to come up with an analysis of why it was youth and oppressed nations that were leading what was the largest anti-imperialist movement the country has seen to date. The experience of that time provides us with crucial insights into how to organize today.

In this essay by Bruce Franklin, we see an example of how to study and understand material from different times and places. To merely repeat and copy what others say is not a scientific approach. One must understand what they're saying and why, what were their conditions and influences, before one can learn from and apply that analysis on their own.

The Lumpenproletariat and the Revolutionary Youth Movement

by Bruce Franklin (1969)

The first major Black rebellions since 1943 broke out in several large cities in the summer of 1964. That fall, the Free Speech Movement erupted at Berkeley. Since then, it has become increasingly obvious that the Black Liberation Movement plays a leading part in revolutionizing large sections of white youth, and recently we have come to see a Revolutionary Youth Movement in the mother country dialectically related to the struggle of the internal Black nation.

Clearly it is crucial that some of those engaged in both struggles develop a correct theoretical understanding of the relation between the two. In trying to arrive at this understanding, some people within both the Black and youth movements have started relying on the term "lumpenproletariat."

The reasons for this are clear. A section of white youth has dropped out of its privileged position and consciously assumed a sub-proletariat mode of existence. These "street people" now live a life at least superficially similar to that into which a large section of Black youth has been forced. Black youth on the block and white street people own no property, rarely sell their labor (in one case because they cannot, in the other because they will not), hustle and drift; they despise and are despised by bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie, and privileged sectors of the working class alike. Their resemblance to each other has now been driven home by the police, who have begun to use on the white drop-outs the kind of systematic terror and brutality usually reserved for Black and brown people and the poorest whites.

All this has led some to theorize that the principal class struggle in the United States is not that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but that between the lumpenproletariat and all other classes, who are seen as more or less bourgeoisified. They visualize an anarchic force, made up of the most desperate and alienated sub-groups in society, ripping the vitals out of the Empire and dragging the rotting corpse to some fiery Armageddon. Since this idea has been advanced by some people strategically enough placed in the movement to be able to put it into practice, we must seriously analyze both its theoretical foundations and practical consequences.

To do this, we must answer two very difficult questions: What precisely is the lumpenproletariat? What are its possible roles in the American revolution? This paper is offered as a preliminary examination of these questions.

Marxist-Leninist Theory and the Lumpenproletariat

The lumpenproletariat is a class that has received extremely little attention in classical Marxist-Leninist theory, and what has been said about it is somewhat puzzling.

Marx and Engels were writing at a time when most other writers about the history of revolutionary struggle took a consistently bourgeois viewpoint. To these other writers, revolutions -- and for them of course the French revolution was the archetype -- were carried out by a mob, an undifferentiated mass, le fou. Marx and Engels, in singling out the industrial proletariat as the vanguard of socialist revolution, were anxious to distinguish it from that urban mob of the bourgeois writers. This may help account both for the contempt they express for the lumpenproletariat and for their lack of detailed analysis of its conditions of life, its consciousness, and its relations to capitalist production.

In the Communist Manifesto, they refer to the lumpenproletariat as "the 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society," and claim that although it "may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution, its conditions of life prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." (*Selected Works*, I, 44) In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, Marx says that the lumpenproletariat "in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," and analyzes it as "a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, gens sans feu et sans aveu, varying according to the degree of civilization of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their lazzaroni character." (*Selected Works*, I, 155). The most savage passage comes in Engels' "Prefatory Note to The Peasant War in Germany":

The lumpenproletariat, this scum of the depraved elements of all classes, which established headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: Mort aux voleurs! Death to thieves! and even shot some, they did it, not out of enthusiasm for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary above all to keep that gang at a distance. Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as guards or relies on them for support proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement. (*Selected Works*, I, 646)

Yet even this passage, taken with the others, presents some apparent contradictions.

First of all, what do Marx and Engels see as the class background of the lumpenproletariat? This is not an idle or academic question. Class background should certainly have something to do with determining consciousness, both actual and potential. And recently it has become fashionable in some quarters to write off the street people as not even lumpenproletariat but "lumpenbourgeoisie," or fake lumpenproletariat. In the previous passage from Engels he says that they come from the "depraved elements of all classes." But the Manifesto says that they come only from "the lowest layers of old society." And in the very passage in which Marx says that the lumpenproletariat is "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," he also indicates that it comes directly from only one class, that same proletariat ("And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst . . ."). Yet in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, Marx is quite explicit in stating that the lumpenproletariat comes from all classes:

Alongside decayed rouses with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzaroni, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, maquereaus (pimps), brothel keepers, porters, literati, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars -- in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term la bohème; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December

10. A "benevolent society" -- in so far as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation. This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself chief of the lumpenproletariat, here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues\C9 recognizes in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally . . . (*Selected Works*, I, 295)

But this is all very confusing, because in the Manifesto the paragraph which immediately follows the sentence condemning the lumpenproletariat describes the pauperization of the proletariat in these terms:

In the condition of the proletariat, those of the old society are already swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relation . . . Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests. (*Selected Works*, I, 44)

A few paragraphs later, it states that "the modern laborer . . . sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of his own class"; "He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." Well, then, if this is true, what happens to the pauperized proletariat? How do they manage to live? Why is a knife grinder or a tinker or a porter or a beggar or a discharged soldier or even a discharged jailbird a member of some other class, the lumpenproletariat, "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat"? It cannot be just a question of values, because to the true proletarian "law, morality, religion" are just "bourgeois prejudices." And it cannot be a question of personal relation to the means of production, because in that case any worker who becomes unemployed would automatically become a member of the lumpenproletariat and the industrial reserve army would become a lumpen army.

I would like to draw the following working conclusions: Marx and Engels, perceiving the existence of an important but ill-defined social class and angered by the treacherous role often played by that class, tended to make an ethical judgement rather than a Marxist analysis of its role in capitalist society and revolutionary struggle. This class may be defined as follows: It does not engage in productive labor, and is therefore not exploited in industry (The bourgeoisie, however, does utilize it as police, army, or agents). Its principal means of support is the labor of the productive class, and its relationship to the proletariat is therefore inherently parasitic. Its members have come from all classes, and they have ceased to be members of those other classes because of a combination of two conditions, one objective, the other subjective -- they no longer have the same relationship to the means of production and they no longer have any loyalty to their former class. From this it follows that the lumpenproletariat will contain more varied forms of consciousness than any other class in society, for the previous experience of the individuals within it will be most varied and their present precarious means of existence will throw them into many different forms of contact with all the other classes (the prostitute providing the most striking example of this). So the role of the lumpenproletariat is inherently unpredictable both strategically and at each and every moment.

If this is true, we should be keenly aware of the unreliability of the lumpenproletariat, but we must reject Engels' condemnation of them as completely worthless and merely dangerous. Marx provides a key insight in a passage which foreshadows the analysis of Mao and Fanon and relates directly to the development of the Revolutionary Youth Movement. At a "youthful age," he says in *The Class Struggles in France*, the lumpenproletariat is "thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption." (*Selected Works*, I, 155) If so, at least the youth of the lumpenproletariat should be able to play an extremely important part in revolutionary struggle, because they are the only group to combine this potentiality for heroism with an intimate daily knowledge of how to cope with the police and to engage in underground activities as a way of life. And remember that in *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin makes the mastery of these skills the primary requirement of the professional revolutionary and of the revolutionary party as a whole, primary because these skills are needed to survive.

Lenin himself deals with one aspect of the lumpenproletariat quite relevant at the present moment -- their tendency to engage in spontaneous and disorganized armed struggle against the state and in "expropriation" of state property. Lenin violently condemns those Bolsheviks who disassociate themselves from this by "proudly and smugly declaring 'we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this.'" (*Guerilla Warfare*, *Collected Works*, XI, 220.) He attacks "the usual appraisal" which sees this struggle as merely "anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralize the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganize the movement and injure the revolution." (*Works*, XI, 216-17) Lenin draws the following keen lesson from the disorganized state of this struggle: it is not these actions "which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions under its control." (p. 219) The Bolsheviks must organize these spontaneous acts and "must train and prepare their organizations to be really able to act as a belligerent side which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy's forces."

Mao's basic analysis of the lumpenproletariat and of their possible role in the revolution is clear and simple:

Apart from all these other classes, there is the fairly large lumpenproletariat, made up of peasants who have lost their land and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. They lead the most precarious existence of all . . . One of China's difficult problems is how to handle these people. Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance. ("Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society")

Although in American society the lumpenproletariat consists of more groups than the dispossessed farmers of the South and Mid-West and unemployed handicraftsmen, Mao's final generalization seems to be as fitting here as there. But unfortunately for us, Mao does not give any detailed theory on working with this particular almost entirely urban class. The closest he comes is a passage in "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (*Works*, II, 325-26):

China's status as a colony and semi-colony has given rise to a multitude of rural and urban unemployed. Denied proper means of making a living, many of them are forced to resort to illegitimate ones, hence the robbers, gangsters, beggars and prostitutes and the numerous people who live on superstitious practices. This social stratum is unstable; while some are apt to be bought over by the reactionary forces, others may join the revolution. These people lack constructive qualities and are given to destruction rather than construction; after joining the revolution, they become a source of roving-rebel and anarchist ideology in the revolutionary ranks. Therefore, we should know how to remould them and guard against their destructiveness.

The major Marxist theorist of the lumpenproletariat is Frantz Fanon, whose view is like an amplification of Mao's. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon, writing mainly about African colonies, sees the lumpenproletariat as made up almost exclusively of landless peasants.(p. 90) This is the part of the analysis least relevant to the U.S., although, of course, almost all of the Black and part of the white lumpenproletariat has been driven from the land into the cities. But he argues that, for three reasons, the revolution cannot succeed without these people:

(1) They are the most ready to fight. (2) They therefore provide the way by which the revolutionary forces of the countryside enter the city. (3) If they are not fighting on the side of the revolution, they will be fighting against it. Fanon gives many specific examples of the counter-revolutionary role sometimes played by the lumpenproletariat. In Madagascar, the colonialists assisted in "the creation of a party out of the unorganized elements of the lumpenproletariat" and then used "its distinctly provocative actions" as "the legal excuse to maintain order."(p. 93) In Angola, Algeria, and the Congo, the colonialists were able to use elements of the lumpenproletariat as soldiers, agents, laborers, and counterrevolutionary demonstrators. Fanon concludes from this not that the lumpenproletariat should be ignored, but quite the contrary: the real danger lies in depending on its spontaneity:

Colonialism will also find in the lumpen-proletariat a considerable space for manoeuvring. For this reason any movement for freedom ought to give its fullest attention to this lumpen-proletariat. The peasant masses will always answer the call to rebellion, but if the rebellion's leaders think it will be able to develop without taking the masses into consideration, the lumpen-proletariat will throw itself into the battle and will take part in the conflict -- but this time on the side of the oppressor. And the oppressor, who never loses a chance of setting the niggers against each other, will be extremely skillful in using that ignorance and incomprehension which are the weaknesses of the lumpen-proletariat. If this available reserve of human effort is not immediately organized by the forces of rebellion, it will find itself fighting as hired soldiers side by side with the colonial troops.(p. 109)

What makes all this particularly dangerous is that it may occur after the lumpenproletariat has fought on the side of the revolution and may therefore take the revolutionary forces completely by surprise. Fanon points out that the enemy relies on careful analysis to take advantage of any such opportunity:

The enemy is aware of ideological weakness, for he analyzes the forces of rebellion and studies more and more carefully the aggregate enemy which makes up a colonial people; he is also aware of the spiritual instability of certain layers of the population. The enemy discovers the existence, side by side with the disciplined and well-organized advance guard of rebellion, a mass of men whose participation is constantly at the mercy of their being for too long accustomed to physiological wretchedness, humiliation, and irresponsibility.(pp. 109-110)

It's certainly not difficult to imagine a similar situation here, and we should be warned of the necessity of raising the consciousness of all those who join the struggle. The Black Panthers' political education courses, based on intensive study of Mao and stressing an application to people's immediate experience, here serves as a model. Many of their early recruits, although unaccustomed to reading and used to the life of a criminal, learned to serve the people with complete dedication. And, like Malcolm X, not only Eldridge Cleaver, but several other leaders of the Panthers are the "discharged jailbirds" which Marx sees as part of the lumpenproletariat.

Two other parts of Fanon's analysis are of even more strategic importance. The first is the theory of the lumpenproletariat as the way the countryside enters the city. "The rebellion, which began in the country districts, will filter into the towns through that fraction of the peasant population . . . which has not yet succeeded in finding a bone to gnaw in the colonial system." "It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the lumpen-proletariat that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead."(p. 103) How does this apply to the U.S.? It is easy enough to see the unemployed people of the Black ghettos as part of this mass of humanity. But where is the rebellion that began in the country districts? The answer, of course, is in the world revolution as described by Lin Piao in *Long Live the Victory of People's War!* The country districts of the world are Asia, Africa, and Latin America, homelands of the wretched of the earth. There are various groups of people in the United States who share the physical misery of these rural masses -- American Indians, Chicano farm laborers, Black tenant farmers in the South, the dispossessed whites of Appalachia. But most of these groups are scattered and weak, living on the fringes of capitalist society,

away from its vital centers. There is only one group that not only shares the degradation of the world's revolutionary masses but is sufficiently concentrated to attack imperialism at home -- the urban lumpenproletariat. This class in American society is largely made up of Third World people, but also includes whites dispossessed from the land or dropped out of their class. This last is no inconsiderable group, and it has taken over areas of several important cities, from the Haight Ashbury and Telegraph Avenue through Madison to the Lower East Side, Cambridge, and Georgetown. Wherever the lumpenproletariat lives in America, "law and order" are rapidly disintegrating. Imperialism, caught in its own contradictions, finds it increasingly difficult to develop effective weapons to use within its own diseased vital organs, its cities. Here stirs the lumpenproletariat, the one class whose physical existence approximates that of the main forces of the world revolution.

Fanon points to the symptoms of breakdown in the colonized country, and we see the same symptoms, perhaps more pronounced, in the colonizer; to "juvenile delinquency," "stealing, debauchery, and alcoholism," we can add the effects of methedrine and heroin.

The constitution of a lumpen-proletariat is a phenomenon which obeys its own logic, and neither the brimming activity of the missionaries nor the decrees of the central government can check its growth. This lumpen-proletariat is like a horde of rats; you may kick them and throw stones at them, but despite your efforts they'll go on gnawing at the roots of the tree.

The lumpen-proletariat, once it is constituted, brings all its forces to endanger the "security" of the town, and is the sign of the irrevocable decay, the gangrene ever present at the heart of the colonial system.(p. 104)

The other extremely important part of Fanon's analysis has to do with the changing values and lifestyle of the lumpenproletariat within revolutionary struggle. The conditions of life have shaped them to fight, but the fighting itself is a new condition which transforms them into a new kind of people:

So the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed and the petty criminals, urged on from behind, throw themselves into the struggle for liberation like stout working men. These classless idlers will by militant and decisive action discover the path that leads to nationhood. They won't become reformed characters to please colonial society, fitting in with the morality of its rulers; quite the contrary, they take for granted the impossibility of entering the city save by hand-grenades and revolvers. These workless less-than-men are rehabilitated in their own eyes and in the eyes of history. The prostitutes too, and the maids . . . , all the hopeless dregs of humanity, all who turn in circles between suicide and madness, will recover their balance, once more go forward, and march proudly in the great procession of the awakened nation.(p. 104)

All this emphasizes both the danger of tailing after the lumpenproletariat's existing values and life-styles, and the necessity of conscious leadership for the lumpenproletariat to assert their own liberation through revolutionary struggle. Of all classes, this may be the one that most needs to be led by conscious revolutionaries with a sense of their historical condition and an awareness of their weaknesses and instability. It would be a mistake, probably a fatal mistake, to think that the only peoples qualified to lead them are individuals just as unpredictable and as lacking in ideology.

Discussion of Bruce Franklin's Essay

from MIM(Prisons)

In defining the lumpen class here, Franklin first points out "that it cannot be a question of personal relation to the means of production, because in that case any worker who becomes unemployed would automatically become a member of the lumpenproletariat and the industrial reserve army would become a lumpen army."

Cleaver addresses this by saying,

"The Lumpenproletariat are all those who have no secure relationship or vested interest in the means of production and the institutions of capitalist society. That part of the "Industrial Reserve Army" held perpetually in reserve; who have never worked and never will;" He includes in his definition of lumpenproletariat: "all those on Welfare or receiving State Aid...Also, the so-called "Criminal Element", those who live by their wits, existing off that which they rip off, who stick guns in the faces of businessmen and say 'stick 'em up', or 'give it up'! Those who don't even want a job, who hate to work... those whom Huey P. Newton calls "the illegitimate capitalists." In short, all those who simply have been locked out of the economy and robbed of their rightful social heritage."

After consideration, Franklin largely dismisses Marx and Engels's descriptions of the lumpen-proletariat as subjective and inadequate, and provides the following definition:

"This class may be defined as follows: It does not engage in productive labor, and is therefore not exploited in industry (the bourgeoisie, however, does utilize it as police, army, or agents). Its principal means of support is the labor of the productive class, and its relationship to the proletariat is therefore inherently parasitic. Its members have come from all classes, and they have ceased to be members of those other classes because of a combination of two conditions, one objective, the other

subjective -- they no longer have the same relationship to the means of production and they no longer have any loyalty to their former class."

We caution against Cleaver's inclusion of "those who don't even want a job." To the extent that this is a result of being "robbed of their rightful social heritage" he has a point. But there are plenty of people who don't want to work, especially those who have no survival need to work because of their class privilege, and this, of course, does not define them as lumpen. This would be the white youth who drop out of society (for a time) that Franklin saw as "consciously assum[ing] a sub-proletariat mode of existence."

Our critics will often try to minimize the lumpen class. They say it doesn't include the unemployed as they are part of the reserve army of the proletariat. They will divide the imprisoned class saying the lumpen are the real bad guys, but most prisoners are just working class victims of the system. They will say that those on welfare aren't lumpen because they receive a direct distribution of wealth from the bourgeoisie. We see this as efforts to pad their roster. There is no denying that there are groups worse off than the white so-called "worker" in the United States, so by including those groups in their definition of proletariat they make it appear more correct to focus on organizing this class, which to them includes the white so-called "worker."

For us, it is important to draw a line between the potentially revolutionary groups and the labor aristocracy. While nation still does this well, the class contradictions within the oppressed nations themselves have become more important. So it is this problem that forces us to get more in depth into our class analysis within the principal contradiction of nation.

If we fast forward from the time period discussed above to the 1980s we see the formation of the Maoist Internationalist Movement as well as a consolidation of theorists coming out of the legacy of the Black Liberation Army and probably the RYM as well. Both groups spoke widely of a Black or New Afrikan proletariat, which dominated the nation. MIM later moved away from this line and began entertaining Huey P. Newton's prediction of mass lumpenization, at least in regard to the internal semi-colonies. Today we find ourselves in a position where we must draw a line between ourselves and those who speak of an exploited New Afrikan population. If the U.S. economy only existed within U.S. borders then we would have to conclude that the lower incomes received by the internal semi-colonies overall is the source of all capitalist wealth. But in today's global economy, employed New Afrikans have incomes that are barely different from those of white Americans compared to the world's majority, putting most in the top 10% by income.

Are There Anti-Imperialist Classes in the First World?

The vast majority of Americans recognize a wealth disparity between the labor aristocracy and the big bourgeoisie in this country. In fact many are fond of complaining vaguely about their "bosses" who are getting rich, as if they themselves were living in poverty. But they fail to recognize the vast wealth disparity between all First World inhabitants and the rest of the world. In truth, the labor aristocracy is more similar to the big bourgeoisie, that so many of them resent, than they are to any other group in the world. This is evidenced not only by economic facts, but by the lack of class antagonisms in this country.

Those who speak of the need to equalize wealth between Americans echo Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party. That's not hyperbole, but a central tenant of what national socialism is about. When the "99%" cry about wanting the "1%" to share their wealth with them, they are really rallying for national socialism. On the other hand, when Americans open their borders to all workers, then we will entertain the question of relative poverty in the United States. But as long as they maintain militarized borders, that conversation is about national socialism.

The primary objective measure of class is asking the question of whether a group is exploited (produces more value than they enjoy) or is exploiter (consumes more value than they produce). Various methods have been applied backwards and forwards to show unequivocally that a vast amount of wealth is transferred to the American labor aristocracy, which includes and exceeds all legally employed wage-earners making U.S. minimum wage or above. By this measure, we're left with the group of people that are employed illegally, and are overwhelmingly not U.S. citizens, as a class with revolutionary potential.

A second objective measure of class is a qualitative measure of a group's relation to production. The proletariat and labor aristocracy work for a wage, and the petty and big bourgeoisie own the means of production. Outside of these classes that define the capitalist relationship there are large groups that are excluded, or at least largely excluded, from the production process, owning no capital, nor earning a proper wage. This is the second place we will look in our class analysis, and the primary focus of this study overall.

Contemporary Class Analysis

"If revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately because technology is making leaps (it made a leap all the way to the moon), and if the ruling circle remains in power the proletarian working class will definitely be on the decline because they will be unemployables and therefore swell the ranks of the lumpens, who are the present unemployables. Every worker is in jeopardy because of the ruling circle, which is why we say that the lumpen proletarians have the potential for revolution, will probably carry out the revolution, and in the near future will be the popular majority. Of course, I would

not like to see more of my people unemployed or become unemployables, but being objective, because we're dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts." - Huey P. Newton, Speech at Boston College, 18 November 1970

Huey's theory of lumpenization has played out in some regards, though not to the degree that Eldridge Cleaver was claiming one year after the above quote. A few years later China began down the capitalist road and eventually became the largest industrial proletariat in the world. Some are saying that this trend has reached its peak though, and that robotics, artificial intelligence, 3D printing and nanotechnology have begun replacing the Chinese proletariat, and will soon do so with ease. In the next chapter [unpublished] we will look at lumpenization on the international scale.

In regards to our class analysis in the United States, we do not see a significant proletariat population. Therefore, we don't see lumpenization occurring here via the mechanism that Huey predicted. The internal semi-colonies in the United States are now mostly consumer nations that are marketed to, rather than producer nations that are forced to work. While the Panthers certainly had New Afrika in mind when developing their theory of the lumpen, we think it has not come to fruition because the once proletarian nation became a consumer nation, rather than a displaced lumpen nation.

We could still see lumpenization in the First World as a side effect of the de-linking of the exploited nations that are the source of our wealth. This has not yet happened since the time of Huey Newton. But when it does, it will result in a decrease of wealth, strengthening white solidarity, which will push the oppressed nations out of the job market and off of public assistance and even out of the country, more than ever. While the national contradiction seems relatively quiet today, if U.S. wealth began to shrink, the white nation would most certainly struggle to distinguish itself along national lines as it has in the past.

In the last few decades we can already point to an expanding prison population, and the cutting of welfare roles, without an increase in employment, as some evidence to support lumpenization at the margins. As expected, this lumpenization has been disproportionately suffered by the oppressed nations. To the extent that whites have lost (or will lose) their class status, this concerns us as a likely trigger for growing fascist currents in Amerikkka, due to their historical consciousness as a settler nation and more recently as the most powerful nation on the planet. As we get into the numbers below, we'll see that the white "lumpen" population could arguably outnumber that in the internal semi-colonies. But percentage-wise they are a smaller minority within their nation, and their national identity pulls them much more strongly towards fascism. For this reason, we will disregard poor whites in most of the analysis below. Of course there are exceptions to every rule. And in particular, among youth and where poor whites are more influenced by oppressed nation culture there could certainly be some splits in the white nation.

While we have not seen a massive de-linking of the exploited populations, the internal contradictions of imperialism have brought significant economic downturns in recent years. In 2009 there was a steep rise in the percent of long-term unemployed (greater than 26 weeks), which has not yet declined significantly. It has hovered around 40 and 45% of all unemployed people; this is about double other high points dating back to 1960. [As of June 2017, over the 4 years since the original writing, this figure has declined to 24%, which is still higher than the 17-18% rates that were normal before 2008.] While this could be a sign of a growing de-classed population, the U.S. economy is so rich that this unemployment has only resulted in modest increases in poverty rates.

Yet, even in the recent recession, government-defined poverty rates have not yet reached the levels they were at prior to 1965 when they were around 20%, give or take. In 2011 the poverty rate was recorded as 15%. Even this rate is inflated since assistance in the form of tax credits and food stamps is not counted as taxable income. If this income was included in their calculations it would pull 9.6 million people above the poverty line and bring the percent below the poverty rate to less than 12%. (Poverty in the United States, Urban Institute, 12 September 2012) So it is only a small group at the margins that may be seeing a shift in their material conditions such that they could arguably be seen as not largely benefiting from imperialism. (Poverty in the United States, Urban Institute, 12 September 2012)

In order to paint a clearer picture of who is in the First World lumpen class, the following sections look at the empirical evidence both historically and today to figure out where to draw the line between lumpen and petty bourgeoisie within the United States. Above we defined the lumpen class as those who are excluded from the production and distribution of goods under capitalism. If you translate this into U.S. census statistics, this group would fall into those who are not participants in the civilian labor force.

Lumpen Defined by Employment Status

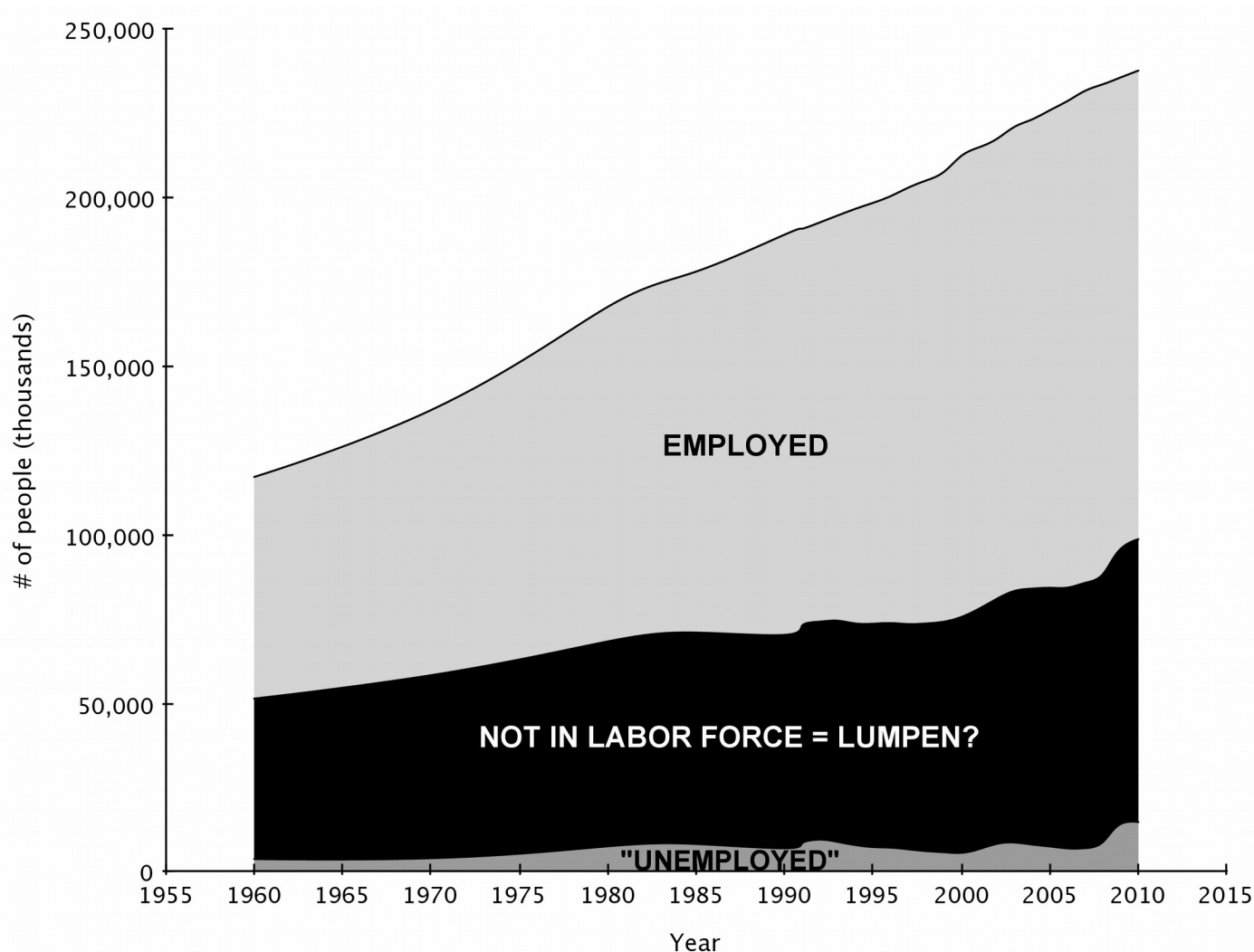
To clarify the different employment statistics from the U.S. Census, here are a couple definitions from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics:

"The *civilian noninstitutional population* consists of persons 16 years of age and older residing in the 50 States and the District of Columbia who are not inmates of institutions (for example, penal and mental facilities and homes for the aged) and who are not on active duty in the Armed Forces."

"*Unemployment* consists of all persons who had no employment during the reference week, were available for work, except for temporary illness, and had made specific efforts to find employment some time during the 4-week period ending with the reference week." (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 20 November 2012)

Employment is counted as working at least 1 hour of paid time, 15 hours of unpaid time in a family business, or being off of work (such as vacation or maternity leave) during the week referenced. The civilian labor force includes everyone defined as employed or unemployed (looking for work). Therefore the lumpen would be found in the group that is outside the civilian labor force. In the following graph we can see that this excluded group has grown in size only slightly since 1960, whereas the labor force has grown much more.

Figure 2.1



(sources for 2.1,2.2,2.3: Employment, labor force participation and unemployment numbers from 1. Table 588. Civilian Population--Employment Status by Sex, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Ethnicity: 1960 to 2010. Housewife population estimated from differential between males and females in this table. Age 65 and up population from U.S. Census data. Unemployed students estimated as 22% of all college students based on data from 1995 -2008. From Profile of Undergraduate Students: Trends From Selected Years, 1995-96 to 2007-08. U.S. Department of Education, September 2010, NCES 2010-220. Total student population numbers from Source: U.S. National Center for Education Statistics, 1900-1985. 120 Years of Education, A Statistical Portrait; beginning 1986, Digest of Education Statistics, annual; National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, Fall Enrollment Survey (various years); and National Science Foundation, National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics, Integrated Science and Engineering Resources Data System (WebCASPAR), <http://webcaspar.nsf.gov>.)

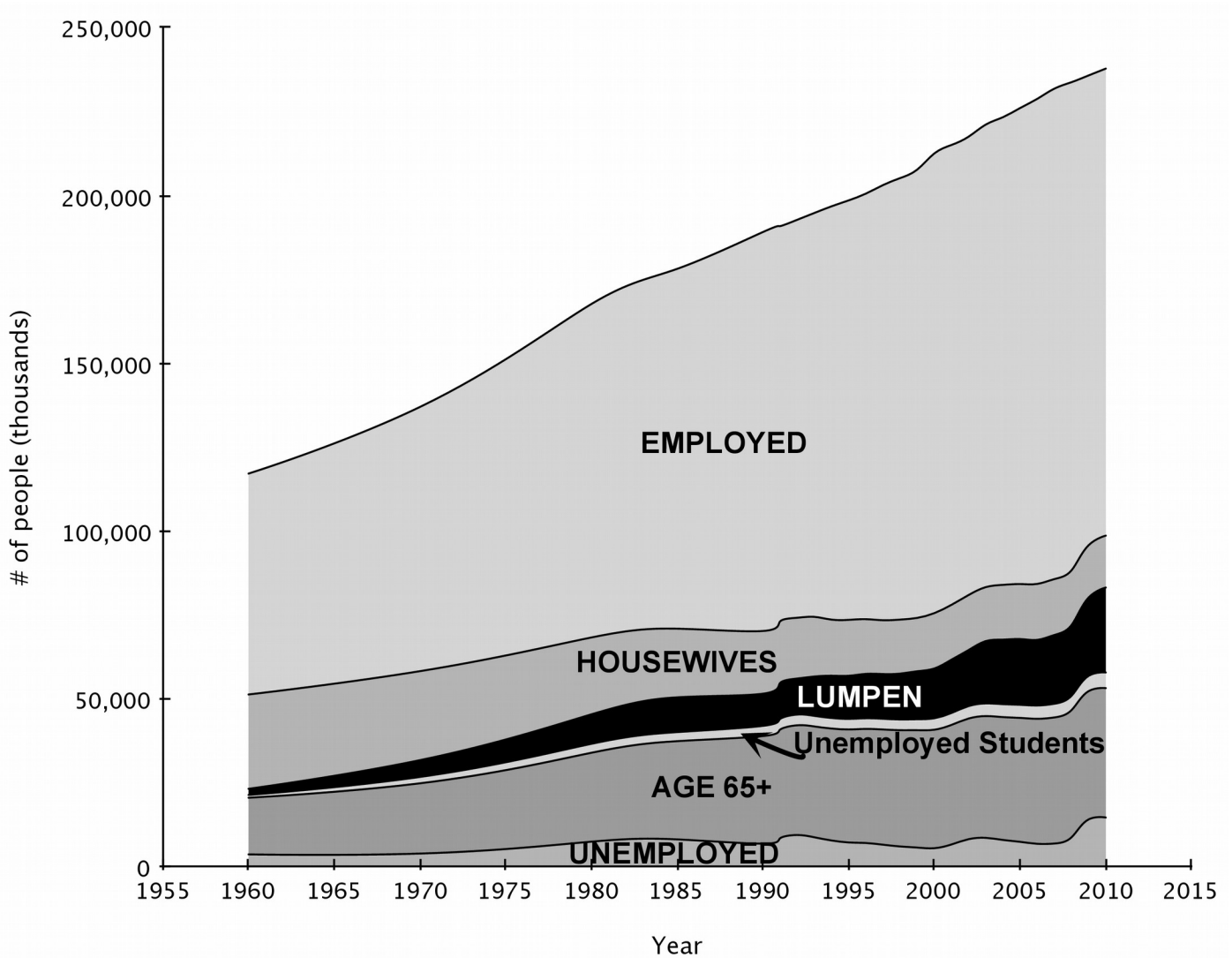
Not everyone in the middle group in figure 2.1 is part of what we would consider the lumpen. First, we have the elderly who do not work due to health status, not class status. While many people work after age 65 and many retire before then, we subtract out the 65-and-over crowd as our best approximation of this group.

The other largest group in this category will be homemakers, who mostly are in the petty bourgeoisie due to the income/wealth of their spouses and family members. This calculation is even rougher here. What we did is subtract the labor participation rates of wimmin from that of men and assume that the difference represented housewives (which misses potential disproportionate unemployment of wimmin who do want/need jobs). As expected, this group shrinks from 1960 to 2010. One problem with this

method is that an increase in stay-at-home dads will mean that these men are being left in the lumpen group in the graph below.

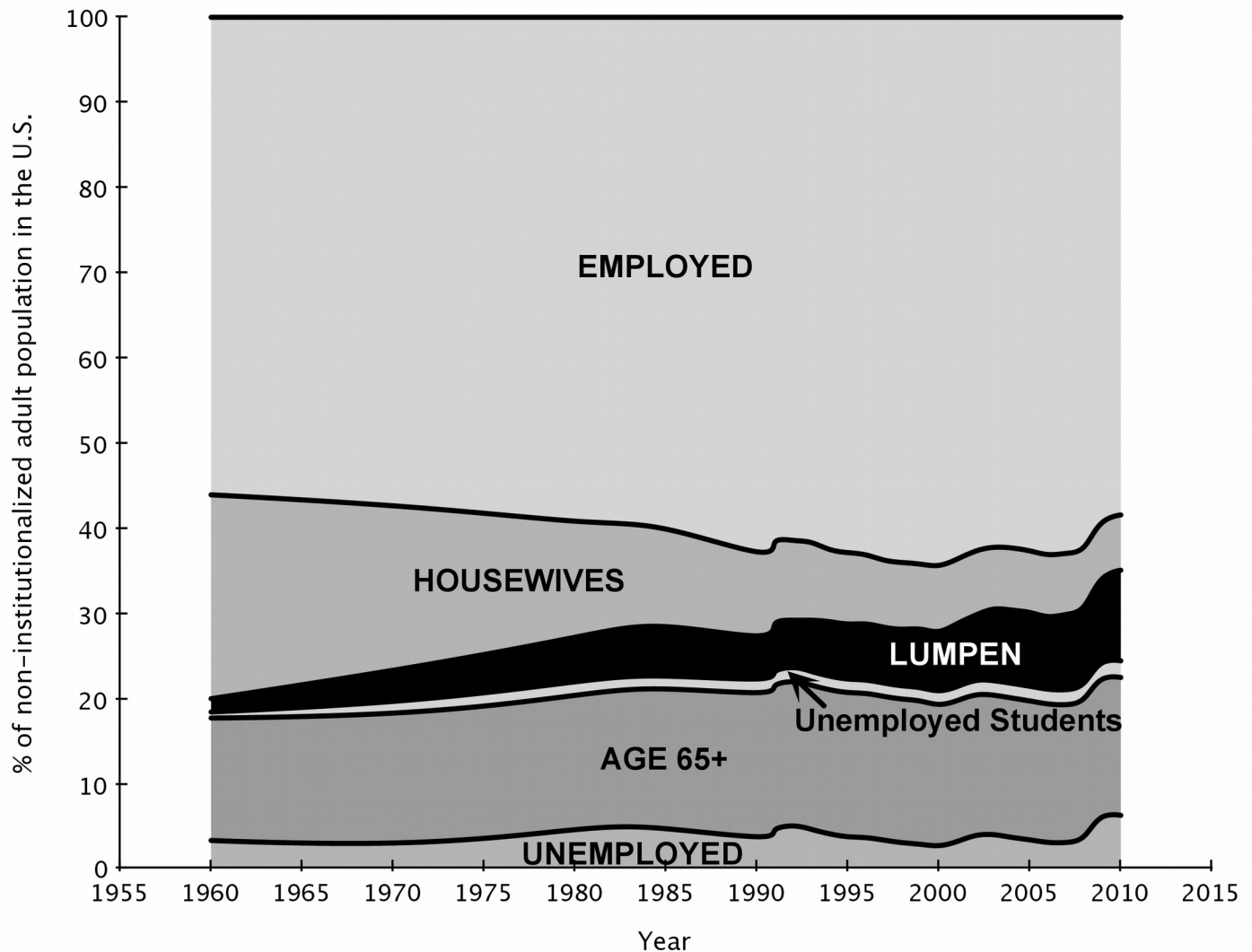
Finally, a third group that is part of the civilian noninstitutional population, but is not included in unemployment rates is the mostly young people who have not looked for work recently because they are full-time students. While there are some similarities between students and the lumpen, and they have historically both played important roles in social change in the First World, we would not put students in the lumpen class, and instead define them as predominately petty bourgeois youth. When we subtract out the full-time undergraduate population we have only a tiny population remaining after 1990, while before 1990 the "lumpen" is a negative number. This is because most students do work, and if they work for one hour a week paid they are considered part of the employed population. From 1995 to 2008 the percentage of undergraduates who worked was pretty consistent at between 78 and 81%. (U.S. Department of Education, 2007-2008 National Postsecondary Student Aid Study.) We therefore multiplied the student population by 22% to get what is shown in the graph below as only a tiny sliver of those not in the labor force.

Figure 2.2



While we see a seemingly steady increase in the lumpen class based on this calculation, every group except the housewives are increasing as population increases overall. To account for this, in Figure 2.3 we normalize the numbers from absolute population to percentage of the total adult non-institutionalized population.

Figure 2.3



In this graph we see the biggest changes being the increase in the lumpen (from 1.5% in 1960 to 10.6% in 2010) and the decrease in the housewives category. While this is completely feasible, the direct relationship between these two groups in the way we did the calculation leaves us cautious in making any conclusions from this method alone. In order to confirm that our big picture estimate of the lumpen here is in the ball park we will look at this a couple of other ways, including trying to break down the lumpen via its constituent parts to see how they add up.

Also, keep in mind that we are concerned with the oppressed nation lumpen as a progressive force for national liberation struggles. The above method does not differentiate between nations, and we can assume that somewhere around half of that 10.6% is white Amerikans.

Marc Levine of the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee has done work to break down these employment rates to get a better picture of what is happening to the urban New Afrikan population. (Race and Male Employment in the Wake of the Great Recession: Black Male Employment Rates in Milwaukee and the Nation's Largest Metro Areas 2010. Center for Economic Development, Working Paper, January 2012) He shows that "in 2010 the employment rate for African American males reached historic lows in metropolitan areas across the country." Dating back to the 1980s New Afrikan and Puerto Rican employment has consistently lagged behind whites, Asians and Chicanos by over 5%. (U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2012, Table 588.)

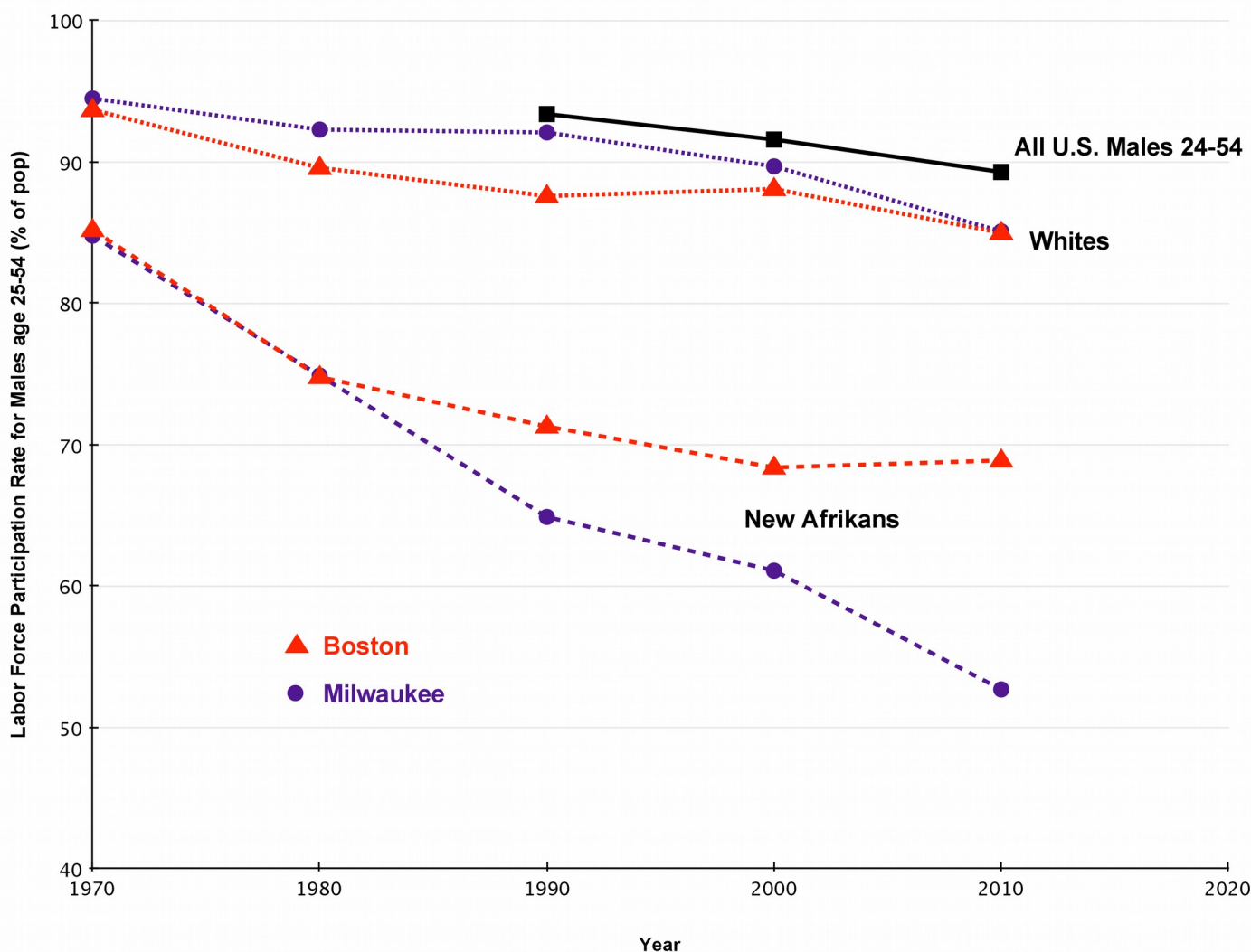
Gaps in employment rates between New Afrikan males and white males are quite large, and they have increased over the period of 1970-2010. Further, the unemployment rate does not include those in prison or those on public assistance programs. So when "unemployment" rates are reported as being twice as big as for New Afrikans compared to whites, this is an understatement because those rates are only calculated on the civilian labor force who is looking for work. Austan Goolsbee, former economic advisor to U.S. President Barack Obama has stated that since the mid-1980s "the government has cooked the books" on

unemployment rates "because government programs, especially Social Security disability, have effectively been buying people off the unemployment rolls and reclassifying them as not 'in the labor force.'"(Levine, 2012) This is a prime example of what we call the First World lumpen.

As we saw above, the definition of "unemployment" by the U.S. Census is helpful to differentiate between the temporarily unemployed and those not in the labor force. But a more useful indicator to compare economic participation is the employment rate. Levine reports: "In 2010, in only two metro areas (Washington, D.C. and Dallas) was the *black* male employment rate *higher* than 60 percent; conversely, in only two metro areas (Portland and Detroit) was the employment rate for white males *lower* than 70 percent." "Yet, the top-ranked black male employment rate in Washington, D.C. was lower than even the lowest white male employment rate in *any* of the large metropolitan areas examined in this study (for both age-cohorts)."(Levine, 2012)

Not only are these gaps currently quite large, they have increased over the period of 1970-2010, adding validity to Huey's statement above if applied to the New Afrikan nation as distinct from Amerika. In Milwaukee, the difference between Black male unemployment and white male unemployment, between the ages of 16 and 65, went from 12.5 percentage points in 1970 to 32.7 in 2010. St. Louis went from a difference of 8.1 points to 23.2, and Baltimore went from 10.4 to 20.8. Limiting the data to 25 to 54 years of age to eliminate the variability in youth and the elderly gives similar increases from 6 percentage points up to 23 from 1970 to 2010 in various cities. In figure 2.4 we can see visually the drastic shift that has occurred in some of these cities. We can also see that the white males in these cities are employed at rates pretty close to the rest of the country, while New Afrikan males move further below this average over time.

Figure 2.4



While many have brought attention to the difference in employment rates for New Afrikans and whites since the financial crisis started in 2008, we can see that this trend is nothing new. While the Panthers pioneered the thought of an emerging lumpen class at the time, most Blacks in their day were the children of the Black proletariat that had been a source of surplus value for Amerika since they were brought from Africa in chains, until the period of deindustrialization and underemployment that has continued for

the New Afrikan nation since the 1960s.

The continuity in these periods has been a continued gap in income and wealth between nations in this country. This is true despite the Black and Brown bourgeoisie being allowed to flourish as a result of integration in the 1960s. Income itself can be a good indicator of class status, so let us turn to that.

From this analysis of employment status we conclude that the 10.6% of the population that is unemployed and not housewives, students or elderly is principally lumpen (See Figure 2.3). Conservatively we can assume that whites as 65% of the population are that same portion of the lumpen. This means that the oppressed nation lumpen defined by employment status constitutes about 10% of the oppressed nation population.

Lumpen Defined by Income

One thing that jumps out when looking at income data is the difference between individual income levels and household incomes. Some 39% of households had two or more income earners in 2010, so that over 20% of households made six figure incomes, while only 6.61% of individuals did.

Because individuals do tend to live in small group households, we will mostly look at that data below. Another thing that such an approach captures is the difficulties faced by many single-parent households. Single-parent households are the exception in that they do not benefit financially from having many members in their house because one earner must provide for many people. While this is very doable on a labor aristocracy wage, the demands of child-care and also keeping a job make it difficult for many single mothers who end up on public assistance. As a result there is a strong gendered component of the poor and lumpen that we will look at more below.

Before jumping into the numbers, let's look at the definition of employed. While some in the unemployed group (defined as those who have been looking for work) may fall into the lumpen class, probably even more in the employed group do, seeing that you only have to get paid for one hour of labor per week to be considered employed. Those who are marginally employed, but are dependent on public assistance or the criminal underground to meet their needs, might reasonably be considered part of the First World lumpen class, especially in the context of the oppressed nation ghettos, barrios and reservations.

Here are some numbers to keep in mind as we look at income levels. A person working full-time for minimum wage will make at least \$14,000 per year, depending on the state they work in. An estimate of average value produced per hour is between \$3 and \$5 based on global GDP and global workforce. (Serve the People, IRTR) At that rate, working 40 hours a week year-round, one would produce almost \$10,000 per year, which may be a good cut off point for saying whether a full-time worker is making more or less than the value of their labor.

From this we can assume that a person earning \$14k or more is participating full time or nearly full time in the labor force. They are, therefore, not a candidate for the lumpen. Since wages for American citizens are all above the global average wage, any legally employed worker will be making more than the value of their labor. Those making less than \$14,000 per year will be in 3 main categories: part-time employed youth, migrants making proletarian or semi-proletarian wages, or marginally employed people who depend on public assistance and other sources of income.

Around 30% of those with an income, and over age 15, were under the \$15,000 per year mark in 2010, while 15% were under \$10,000 per year. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Personal_income_in_the_United_States) This excludes people with no income, especially youth under working age who are a special case we will look at later. But it includes people who are part of households with others who also have incomes. For example, a housewife who works one day a week for extra income and has a husband who makes \$50,000 a year could be in this group. But this 15% gives us one more reference point to think about when estimating the First World lumpen.

Almost 50% of those earning at or below minimum wage are 16 to 24 years old, and 23% are just 16 to 19 years old. (<http://www.bls.gov/cps/minwage2009tbls.htm#10>) This is a case where we would not necessarily see income defining class status. Most of these youth know that they are likely to make more money when they get older by looking at the adults around them. To eliminate the effect of these temporarily low-paid youth, who are still making more than the value of their labor, we will now look at household income and break it down by nationality.

Quintiles break up a population into five different equal-sized groups defined by a range, such as income level. Looking at the lowest quintiles of the population in terms of income is one way to tease out the size and composition of the lumpen. The average income of the lowest quintile is dramatically different between whites and New Afrikans/Latin@s with the poorest whites earning more than double the poorest New Afrikans/Latin@s.

Income for lowest quintile of earners in the U.\$, 2011

Race	Upper limit of lowest quintile	Avg income, lowest quintile
New Afrikan	\$15,996	\$7,816
white	\$33,514	\$19,887
"Hispanic"	\$18,944	\$9,821

(Tables F-1 and F-3, <https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income/data/historical/families/>)

The upper limit of income for the lowest quintile shows further these differences by nation, but also suggests that quintiles alone are not sufficient to define the lumpen as the upper limit of the lowest 20% of New Afrikans (the lowest earning of the nations) is still \$16k per year, a solid labor aristocracy income at an \$8/hr full time job.

One problem with just looking at income in defining lumpen is that it may be a temporary state of someone being in a low income group. Youth definitely fall in this category (see discussion above). Some older folks who are retired, who are clearly not lumpen, also fall in this category. Among the 20-55 age group there are good reasons why some people have temporarily lower income but still are part of the labor aristocracy, such as short-term unemployment.

Family Income by Race

Income	Numbers in 1000s			Percent		
	white	New Afrikan	"Hispanic"	white	New Afrikan	"Hispanic"
Under \$2,500	680	409	308	1.2	4.4	3.0
\$2,500 to \$4,999	273	152	146	0.5	1.6	1.4
\$5,000 to \$7,499	382	180	197	0.7	1.9	1.9
\$7,500 to \$9,999	525	321	264	1.0	3.4	2.5
\$10,000 to \$12,499	664	319	362	1.2	3.4	3.5
\$12,500 to \$14,999	658	301	311	1.2	3.2	3.0

(Table 695. Money Income of Families -- Number and Distribution by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2009)

This table shows that a relatively small percent of families are earning less than \$10k annually: 3.4% of whites, 11.3% of New Afrikans and 8.8% of Latin@s. This table includes those not participating in the workforce since it is at the family level and so should be counting non-working spouses and children among others.

Clearly there are significant differences between single individuals earning \$10,000 per year and a head of household with 4 children earning that same income. Looking at income by size of household gives us more detail on the total economic situation of a family.

Size of household by income level and race (numbers in thousands)

Race	Household	<\$5,000	\$5,000-\$9000	\$10,000-\$14,000	\$15,000-\$19,000	All income levels
New Afrikan	1 Person	508	845	868	519	5,229
	2 people	258	218	310	303	4,249
	3 People	136	152	158	191	2,647
	4 People	88	76	92	117	1,878
	5 People	69	51	42	50	931
	6 People	23	25	14	8	294
	7+ People	88	19	15	11	255
	All	1,089	1,395	1,498	1,197	15,583
white	1 Person	1,213	1,797	3,018	2,640	24,024
	2 people	602	457	782	1,067	31,274
	3 People	202	153	313	318	12,335
	4 People	91	112	121	182	9,970
	5 People	37	42	67	53	4,016
	6 People	15	21	14	35	1,367
	7+ People	9	7	9	11	586
	All	2,168	2,589	4,324	4,306	83,573
Hispanic	1 Person	206	345	396	280	2,516
	2 people	148	127	215	259	3,396
	3 People	145	126	142	180	2,926
	4 People	102	92	120	168	2,912
	5 People	53	58	66	97	1,798
	6 People	30	15	28	44	776
	7+ People	3	20	25	38	615
	All	688	785	992	1066	14939
All	All	4261	4972	7127	6882	121084

(https://www.census.gov/hhes/www/cpstable/032012/hhinc/hinc01_000.htm HINC-01. Selected Characteristics of Households, by Total Money Income in 2011)

And we can use this data to calculate the maximum possible income per persyn for each group. This underscores the dramatic difference in financial situations faced by families based on the number of kids they have. We might use this data to create cut-offs for families whose kids are falling in the lumpen. While parents earning minimum wage and working close to full time are not part of the lumpen by definition, their income puts their kids basically outside of traditional economic financial participation and likely on the streets hustling for extra cash.

Maximum income per person, by size of household in each income category

Household	<\$5,000	\$5,000-\$9,000	\$10,000-\$14,999	\$15,000-\$19,999
1 Person	5,000	10,000	15,000	20,000
2 people	2,500	5,000	7,500	10,000
3 People	1,667	3,333	5,000	6,667
4 People	1,250	2,500	3,750	5,000
5 People	1,000	2,000	3,000	4,000
6 People	833	1,667	2,500	3,333
7+ People	714	1,429	2,143	2,857

Again, the First World lumpen are not dying of starvation or water-borne diseases that the Third World masses face. But they do suffer malnutrition, temporary states of lacking housing, water or electrical service, and exposure to environmental pollutants that most Americans do not have to deal with. And youth growing up in a family with a total income of less than \$20,000 provides a standard of living relatively outside of the economic participation of the majority of Americans. An average of \$5k per person per year in a family of 4 may provide for survival needs but nothing beyond that. In this country, youth who can not find a job to supplement their family's income are likely to end up on the streets working outside of the traditional labor force, as a part of the lumpen. This data suggests that children of the lowest 15-20% of oppressed nation workers are good candidates for lumpen who may work their way out into the labor aristocracy as they get older.

Included in the calculations above are individuals making minimum wage or above at a full-time job, so we discard the two highest income categories for single people and, just to be conservative, the highest income level for 2 people. Using the rest of the categories to define either lumpen or migrant proletarian households, we get the following summary table.

Lumpen or Migrant Proletarian Families Defined by Income Categories

	New Afrikan	white	Latin@
# of families	3489	11,220	2596
% of nation	22%	13%	17%
% of nation <\$10/family	16%	5%	10%

We do an additional calculation for only families making less than \$10k per year, since one full-time worker making \$10k would be making above our value of labor estimate. While at both levels, there are more white families than other nations, the rates are obviously higher for New Afrikans and Latin@s. The migrant proletariat population is of course much larger in the Latin@ category. So we could say that the New Afrikan lumpen defined by income is around 20% of the population, even though the maximum for the lowest quintile was given as \$16,000/ year above. One report puts the migrant workers earning less than minimum wage in 2002 at 2 million people. (<http://www.urban.org/publications/310880.html>) With some 80% of immigrants in the U.S. coming from Latin America and just 2.5 million Latin@ families in these low-wage categories above, it would seem that the Latin@ poor were dominated by working immigrant families and not lumpen. If true, this is one reason nation-specific parties are needed to lead the revolutionary movements in the different oppressed nations. The class content and interests of the lowest quintile of Latin@s and New Afrikans may look similar based on income level, but have very different relations to the means of production and to other nations.

Summing up the income data for defining the lumpen population, we can conservatively use the cut off of \$10k/year for family income to say that 16% of New Afrikan families are lumpen and 10% of Latin@ families are lumpen or migrant proletarian. Further, youth in families earning less than \$5k per person fall in the lumpen even though their parents are still working full time and are not part of the lumpen. That is the children of the lowest 10-15% of oppressed nation workers. So conservatively we can say between 15-20% of New Afrikan families are lumpen and between 10-15% of Raza are lumpen or migrant proletarian.

Lumpen defined by education level

There is a strong connection between educational background and what people end up earning financially later in life. There is a clear linear association between higher degrees attained and higher earnings. We do not care so much about the distinction between

college graduates and those with advanced degrees, as this is the difference between levels of labor aristocracy, petty bourgeois and bourgeois income (all enemy classes). What is potentially interesting to a study of the lumpen in the United States is the population not even graduating from high school. Those without a high school degree earn significantly less than people who complete high school or college, and this group includes a much higher proportion of people who earn little to no money from legal employment. Therefore we look to educational attainment as a good candidate for a proxy to measure socioeconomic status in the United States.

Educational attainment, income and employment rates

Unemployment rate in 2011	Education gained	Median weekly earning in 2011
2.5%	Doctoral degree	\$1,551
2.4%	Professional degree	\$1,665
3.6%	Masters degree	\$1,263
4.9%	Bachelors degree	\$1,053
6.8%	Associates degree	\$768
8.7%	Some college, no degree	\$719
9.4%	High-school diploma	\$638
14.1%	Less than a high school diploma	\$451

(Bureau of Labor statistics: http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_chart_001.htm)

Looking at educational achievement by nationality, we see from the table below that youth not getting a high school degree are disproportionately New Afrikan and Raza.

Non-institutional population education achievement 25 years and older

Educational level	white	New Afrikan	“Hispanic”
No GED	7.60%	15.50%	35.70%
GED	2.70%	3.00%	2.80%
High School	45.60%	51.60%	40.60%
Associates	10.00%	9.90%	6.80%
Bachelors	21.60%	13.20%	10.00%
Advanced degree	12.40%	6.70%	4.10%

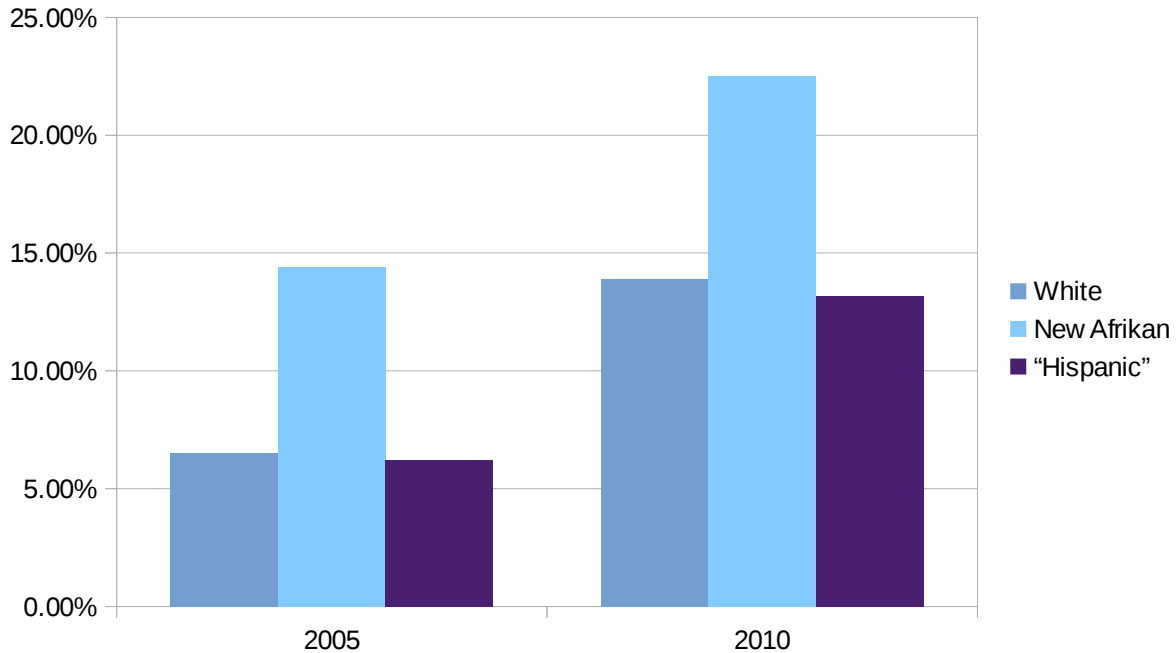
(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2011 Annual Social and Economic Supplement)

Further, looking at unemployment rates for those without a high school diploma by nationality reveals interesting differences. New Afrikans who did not complete high school had a 22.5% unemployment rate compared with whites at 13.9% and Raza at 13.2%. The rate of employment among Raza probably reflects the large migrant population working low paying jobs such as farm workers, who are fully employed but earning very little.

Unemployment rate for people without a high school diploma

Year	White	New Afrikan	“Hispanic”
2005	6.5%	14.4%	6.2%
2010	13.9%	22.5%	13.2%

Unemployment rates for people without a high school diploma, from table above displayed as a graph



(2012 Statistical Abstract, US Census Bureau: https://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/labor_force_employment_earnings.html. Table 627. Unemployed and Unemployment Rates, by Educational Attainment, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2000 to 2010)

As discussed above, while the unemployed may be part of the lumpen, this population includes some who are temporarily out of work but are actually participating in the workforce overall as part of the petty bourgeoisie. In addition, these statistics are only collected on people who are considered to be part of the labor force.

Combining income with education level reveals significant differences between whites and oppressed nations. However, the mean earnings for those without a high school diploma are not so low that we can lump everyone without a high school degree into the lumpen, even among oppressed nations.

Mean income for people without a High School degree

Gender	Race	Mean Income
Male	white	\$22,353
Female	white	\$15,187
Male	New Afrikan	\$18,936
Female	New Afrikan	\$15,644
Male	"Hispanic"	\$21,588
Female	"Hispanic"	\$16,170

(2012 Statistical Abstract, US Census Bureau. Table 232. Mean earnings by highest degree earned: 2009)

These numbers reinforce the theory that lack of a high school diploma in and of itself does not define the lumpen. There are plenty of people entering the ranks of the labor aristocracy without much education, pulling the average income for this group up into the labor aristocracy range. It appears that there is a split among high school dropouts where some are able to join the labor aristocracy and others are pulled down into the lumpen.

If we include those with zero income in the calculation, the mean annual earnings of the nation's dropouts in 2007 was \$8,358.(The Consequences of Dropping out of High School: joblessness and jailing for high school dropouts and the high cost for taxpayers, Northeastern University Center for Labor Market Studies, October 1, 2009) But this number is misleading because it artificially reduces the average earnings of the high school dropouts who are employed and part of the labor aristocracy. It appears that there

is a split among high school dropouts where some are able to join the labor aristocracy and others are pulled down into the lumpen.

Another way to look at this is proposed by researchers at Northeastern University, who calculated the net lifetime financial contribution to society by people with and without a high school degree. They looked at the cost to society of things like free education, as well as other public services used by individuals (food stamps, medicaid, public housing, etc.), as well as incarceration costs, and contrasted this with tax payments made by these individuals. Their findings suggest that we might define the entire group of high school dropouts as lumpen because they do not make a net financial contribution to society: "Over their working lives, the average high school dropout will have a negative net fiscal contribution to society of nearly -\$5,200 while the average high school graduate generates a positive lifetime net fiscal contribution of \$287,000. The average high school dropout will cost taxpayers over \$292,000 in lower tax revenues, higher cash and in-kind transfer costs, and imposed incarceration costs relative to an average high school graduate." (The Consequences of Dropping out of High School: joblessness and jailing for high school dropouts and the high cost for taxpayers, Northeastern University Center for Labor Market Studies, October 1, 2009)

The problem with this analysis is that it appears the authors of the study are calculating tax revenues lost as the difference between what high school dropouts pay and what they might pay if they had a high school degree. This should not be a part of our calculation of who is lumpen. While tax revenue may be used as a proxy for not participating in the labor force, as we see from the income figures above, many high school dropouts earn a labor aristocracy wage, and we don't particularly care if they are contributing lower tax revenue to society than those earning even higher labor aristocracy wages. But aside from that, this might be an interesting way of measuring lumpen status: those who are net receivers over their working lives are not participating much in the labor force.

Using this analysis to label all high school dropouts lumpen may ignore key parts of the definition of lumpen as many in this group may be working full time for much of their lives, but still not earning enough to offset the costs of incarceration, healthcare, etc. Rather than put them in the lumpen, this would actually categorize these individuals as net recipients of the benefits of imperialism and part of the labor aristocracy.

MIM has argued that youth are the most revolutionary group among the white nation because of their special status outside of the class to which they were born and because of the way that capitalist society puts youth in a position of dis-empowerment. A key to the labor aristocracy's attitude as a class is the fact that individuals who may not be making much money at the moment can look around at their peers and see that they should anticipate improving their position. This is especially true for whites. Oppressed nation youth without a high school diploma, on the other hand, receive a mixed message. They look at their peers of their age group and see that they truly can not expect to get a job any time soon. On the other hand they can look at older folks around them and see a large percent having joined the labor aristocracy. This may result in a split in the oppressed nations by age where youth are part of the lumpen class for a period of time but eventually are pulled into the labor aristocracy by the wealth and decadence of imperialist society, even if they exist at the low end of the labor aristocracy. [See "Age as Gender: The Third Strand Shaping the Oppressed Nation Lumpen" for more on this.]

The education analysis doesn't give us a definitive calculation of the lumpen but we can conclude that a sizable portion of the group with no GED or high school degree is part of the lumpen, and this group is 15% of New Afrikans and 35.7% of Raza. These numbers will overlap with unemployment and family income numbers as many people will fall into all three groups.

What About First Nations?

The First Nation populations within the United States remain decimated from the history of settler genocide and continued oppression. As a result, the native people of this land, not including Chicano@s, is less than 1% of the total population. An estimated one third of them live on reservations, totaling about 700,000 people.

Despite their decimation, First Nations tend to have a greater consciousness as nations separate from Amerika with rights to their own land, compared to the oppressed nations in the United States as a whole. And there remain concentrations of the indigenous population in certain regions that provide a base for significant resistance. On a number of these larger reservations, the percentage of families with incomes less than \$3000 per persyn ranges between 15 and 25%. For New Afrikans as a whole that figure was 10%, though in regions such as south central Los Angeles it may be similar to First Nations.

Similarly, labor force participation rates on many of the larger reservations are lower than the average for other nations in the United States by as much as 23%. In San Carlos Indian Reservation 31% of people were receiving cash assistance in 2000, about 15 times the average for the country. About 34% received food stamps. Five of the ten largest reservations had almost a third of the population on food stamps and six had at least 15% receiving cash assistance.

One disadvantage that First Nations face on reservations is the lack of infrastructure benefits that virtually everyone else in the United States enjoys, which factors into our class position and perspective in this country. On reservations 14% of homes lack electricity, 18% lack adequate sewage, 18% lack complete kitchen facilities, and 20% lack indoor plumbing. These are unique conditions that First Nation vanguards must address that will not be of concern for the general U.\$ population.

We present these numbers separately because the First Nation population is so much smaller than the other nations we focus on here, and because data on people living on reservations overall is not very complete. (All data taken from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reservation_poverty)

Groups within the Lumpen

Above we looked at employment status, education level and income to estimate the size of the lumpen class in the United States. A third approach is to look at the individual groups that make up the lumpen class as a whole. The main categories of people we will discuss below are the population that is imprisoned and under correctional supervision, the homeless, those dependent on public assistance and those involved in the underground economy.

1) Lumpen in prison and under correctional supervision

The imprisoned population is one segment of the lumpen that is excluded from the methods previously discussed since they are part of the "institutionalized population" in the U.S. Census data. For that reason, we might think that the above calculation underestimates the size, as well as the growth, of the lumpen class in the United States.

In 2011, there were 6.98 million adults under the supervision of the state via imprisonment, probation or parole, in the United States. This was 2.9% of the overall population, with just those in prison being slightly less than 1%. The overall percentage increased at a decreasing rate between 1980 and 2008. (Correctional Populations in the United States, 2011, U.S. Department of Justice, November 2012).

Focusing on the oppressed nations, over 3% of New Afrikan men are in prison. That number is about 1.3% for Latin@s, and less than 0.5% for whites. Rates for First Nations were not given in this report, but tend to be even higher than those for New Afrikans. If we extrapolate imprisonment statistics to all adults under supervision, we get about 8.7% of New Afrikan men and 3.8% of Raza men under some form of state supervision. With recidivism rates as high as they are, we are comfortable saying that those 1 million Raza men and 1.6 million New Afrikan men are part of the lumpen class. The same calculations put around 56,000 Raza wimmin and 73,000 New Afrikan wimmin in this group, plus a significant, but uncertain number of First Nation and Asian lumpen under state supervision. As a result, we suggest that 2.5 million is a safe estimate of those who'd fall in the group of imprisoned/formerly imprisoned lumpen, excluding whites. This would add less than one percentage point of the overall U.S. population to our total, but would include another 4.5% of New Afrikans and another 4% of Raza. Note that these numbers can't be added to the totals from the unemployed or income-based lumpen groups above because those out of prison will overlap greatly with this group.

White men in this group number about 1.3 million, but are much more likely to find employment and join the labor aristocracy after release from prison. While in prison white men do fall into the lumpen class but lack the oppressed nation outlook and so often join white supremacist groups rather than supporting revolutionary organizing. This is just one factor contributing to a national outlook that leads us to exclude whites overall when discussing the revolutionary potential of the First World lumpen.

On any given day, nearly 23 percent of all young New Afrikan men ages 16 to 24 who have dropped out of high school are in jail, prison, or a juvenile justice institution in the United States. (<http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/black-male-dropouts-lead-nation-in-incarceration-63870242.html>) So there is a significant overlap between those without a high school diploma and the prison population. This reinforces the lack of a high school degree as an indicator of the lumpen, but as we showed above, it's not sufficient alone to identify the lumpen as plenty of labor aristocracy people come from this group as well.

There is an additional, relatively small number of youth incarcerated.

Youth in juvenile facilities 2008 (estimate on any given day)

white	New Afrikan	Latin@
21,000	32,000	18,000

(Source: NCLR: Just the Facts: A snapshot of Incarcerated Hispanic Youth)

The total youth population in 2008 (age 10-17) was 33.5 million so the percentages in youth facilities are quite small. Although these folks are almost certainly headed for a life among the lumpen, either in prison or on the streets, they are not a big enough group to define the lumpen overall.

2) Underground Economy

The underground economy parallels the legal economy, and has a parallel class structure. While the economy is capitalist and therefore dominated by bourgeois ideology, the majority of the people in this economy could be considered part of the First World lumpen in that they live at the margins, often with a parasitic relationship to the greater economy. While all communities have people who work "off the books," just as they all have drug dealers, there is a qualitative difference between communities where

that is the exception and where that is the rule.

We divide the underground economy into the following categories:

- a. illegal national bourgeoisie in drugs
- b. illegal labor aristocracy
- c. parasitic hustlers (thieves, scammers, pimps)
- d. illegal service workers (prostitutes, corner boys)
- e. small-time service workers (food prep, car repair, reselling)

Mao saw the national bourgeoisie as a class that can be an ally in the anti-imperialist war, but cannot liberate the nation itself. Due to the parasitic class nature of the internal semi-colonies in the United States today, we do not see the traditional Black and Brown bourgeoisie playing this role. Instead they are some hybrid of petty bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie economically benefiting from the empire. Where we see a parallel to the national bourgeoisie of the exploited nations is among the marginally employed and illegally employed lumpen who rise within the illegal economy. Just as Mao's national bourgeoisie was disadvantaged by imperialist control of their nation, it is the lumpen alone that is excluded from participating in the spoils of empire as the majority of oppressed nationals within U.S. borders do today. And when they do tap into those spoils through illegal enterprises, they remain in a precarious position.

The underground economy includes many small-time service workers who provide food preparation, car repair, vendor and small maintenance services in oppressed communities. The work performed is no different than any other service worker in the legal economy, but their work is usually irregular in such a way that they are part of an underclass that we consider close to the lumpen as they are excluded from the legal economy.

The illegal economy can be looked at separately from the service workers providing legal services off the books. The illegal economy is where we find those traditionally considered the lumpen. It would include the obviously-parasitic hustlers who rob, scam, fence and pimp. But the biggest sector of the illegal economy, and one of the most important sectors of the global economy, is the drug trade. The drug trade, while largely in the realm of the lumpen class, is successful enough to support a well-defined class structure of its own including a full-on bourgeoisie, a stable group earning what would be the equivalent of labor aristocracy wages, and a workforce that receives a more marginal income. The small-time drug dealers in oppressed communities could be grouped with the, largely female, sex workers as a group of illegal service workers who make incomes that are marginal in terms of global wage distribution.

Much of the illegal drug economy in the oppressed communities is carried out by lumpen organizations (LOs). These organizations historically were more dependent on extortion, and this still plays a large role in the economics of LOs. Extortion would be another example of clear parasitic relations of the lumpen with the rest of the community.

LOs are often formed along national lines, bringing with them a legacy or ideology of nationalism. Where these organizations are successful enough to create a bourgeoisie, or even an aspiring bourgeoisie, we see the basis for a national bourgeoisie in the internal semi-colonies. When we explore the class structure of the internal semi-colonies themselves we will discuss the lack of a national bourgeoisie in the Maoist sense when it comes to the oppressed nations who are involved in the legal economy in the United States.

3) Public Assistance Dependents

While 8% of the U.S. population receives some form of assistance from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, about 1.7% of the population receives more than half of their income that way. That translates to about 5.34 million people we could say are dependent on public assistance. Of those, about 3.25 million (61%) are not white and 2.13 million (40%) are New Afrikan.

Approximately 90% of U.S. citizens receiving cash assistance benefits are single mothers.

(<https://womenslawproject.wordpress.com/2010/11/02/debunking-the-myth-of-the-%E2%80%9Cwelfare-queen%E2%80%9D-who-actually-receives-tanf-benefits/>) Just as the imprisoned lumpen is mostly men, the population on certain forms of public assistance is largely made up of wimmin with children, most of whom are actually white. (<http://www.huppi.com/kangaroo/L-welfareblack.htm>, <http://theobamacrat.com/2012/01/05/welfare-recipients-which-race-gets-more-benefits/>)

46.4 million people received food stamps in 2012, a 77% increase over past 5 years. Almost half have children, meaning 1 in 4, or 21.6 million children receive SNAP benefits. 16 million children (22.5% of children in the United States) come from families with incomes of less than \$18,000 for a family of 3. (The Recession's Ongoing Impact on Children, 2012, Urban Institute)

Children are gender oppressed in our society and excluded from the means of production. It may be reasonable to assert that children in a household with such a relatively low income, who see less benefits from their parents' income than other kids their age, would have a lumpen class consciousness even though their parents are working and part of the labor aristocracy. Whatever

the percentage of the children on SNAP benefits cut-off age could be considered part of the lumpen. For example, we could assume children start developing their own class consciousness around age 8 (the age when some children are actually detained by police, and others are already partaking in the activities of their older siblings and cousins.) This number would be additive to any of the other calculations we have made thus far.

4) Homeless

Up to 3.5 million people are homeless in the United States, about 1% of the population each year.

First Nations are overrepresented in the homeless population by a factor of 4, while New Afrikan are by a factor of 3.25. Youth under 18 are overrepresented by a factor of 1.65. Whites and Asians are underrepresented in the homeless population.

	Homeless Population	Welfare Population	Overall Population
white	39%	39%	64%
New Afrikan	42%	40%	13%
Latin@	13%	16%	15%
First Nation	4%	2%	1%
Asian	2%	3%	6%

We would put the homeless squarely into the lumpen category, although some of these people are only homeless temporarily and have a support structure that will enable them to move back into the labor aristocracy relatively quickly. Further, many of the homeless will also be on some form of public assistance and are unemployed, therefore groups can not be summed up without double counting a lot of people.

Conclusions

The table below sums up the conservative estimates we have made with regard to who constitutes the lumpen within U.S. borders. Our best total estimate for New Afrikan and Raza comes from the sum of the people identified based on family income and those actively in prison or jail. First Nations are calculated separately. All other methods of calculation are going to double count people we identified by family income and so can not be added to our totals.

Non-Bourgeois Populations by National Groupings

	% Lumpen	# Lumpen	Semi-Proletariat	Non-Bourgeois Classes
New Afrikan	20%	8,160,000	0	8,160,000
Latin@	5%	2,620,000	8,500,000	11,120,000
First Nations	30%	700,000	0	700,000
<i>Total</i>		<i>11,480,000</i>	<i>8,500,000</i>	<i>19,980,000</i>

We conclude that conservatively we can count 20-25% of the New Afrikan nation as part of the lumpen. Among Raza we calculate between 15-20% as part of the lumpen or migrant proletariat.

To separate out the lumpen from the migrant proletariat among Raza we need to look at the number of migrant Raza in the United States. A Pew Hispanic Center 2005 report estimated 11.5 to 12 million total "illegal immigrants," 56% from Mexico, and 22% from other Latin American countries. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security in 2009 estimated 10.7 million "illegal immigrants," 62% from Mexico, and at least 15% from other Latin American countries. These numbers give us an estimate of between 8 and 9 million Latin American migrants in the United States. If the census accurately counts Latin American migrants, 17% of this population (based on 8,500,000 migrants) is not in the U.S. legally and most of that group would be migrant proletariat. That leaves a rather small group of lumpen. We can probably assume, however, that the census undercounts migrant workers because of both the transitory nature of the population and the fear around filling out government paperwork. Based on

this reasonable assumption, we can perhaps estimate that the lumpen population among Raza is between 5-10% of the total population.

Given the volatility of the people who are still young and are excluded from the system economically and along national lines, the imperialists have no interest in an expanding lumpen class. And the only internal contradiction that would force an expanding lumpen class in the imperialist countries is extreme economic crisis.

As a baseline we can say conservatively that around 2010 the lumpen class represented about 20% of New Afrika, 5% of Raza and 30% of First Nations. This population represents about 4% of the overall population of the United States, and there is no strong evidence of the First World lumpen increasing in a significant way in recent years.

One example MIM had cited in support of the Panther theory of an expanding lumpen due to mechanization was the skyrocketing prison population centered around the 1990s, but spanning the time between the demise of the Panthers and today. While the numbers are staggering, this is still a tiny proportion of the oppressed nations. And rather than being the product of shifting economic conditions, we argue that they are primarily a product of the open conflict between the white nation and oppressed nations in the United States via the white power structure of the state.

The police and prisons were the white nation's stick and the economic opportunities and integration were the carrot presented to the oppressed immediately following the strong liberation movements of the 1960s/70s. Therefore, if we see oppressed nation prison populations shift into a downward trend, that would support the idea that the carrot is increasing in effectiveness in integrating them into Amerika.

The flip side of that is as long as oppressed nation prisoners keep increasing, we have strong evidence of an antagonistic contradiction along the lines of nation in the United States. Of course we have seen the trend level off a bit in recent years, ironically, largely in response to economic crisis. But it is too soon to say what that means.

Age as Gender: The Third Strand Shaping the Oppressed Nation Lumpen

At a "youthful age" Marx says in *The Class Struggles in France*, the lumpenproletariat is "thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption." (Selected Works, I, 155)

The young Black male is the archetypal image of the lumpen that is feared by Amerika. The cultural cues that distinguish an experienced criminal from a successful student are lost on most Americans who need not nor care not to differentiate. Young men are generally more associated with both violence and change across cultures.

While the gendered roles between men and women in the First World lumpen are pronounced, there is not strong evidence of a class division that puts one group more solidly in the lumpen. At the margins, female employment is higher for New Afrikans, while New Afrikan males tend to be the group with the hardest time getting a job. (<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.t02.htm> shows a higher participation rate for Black males, but a lower unemployment rate, when compared to Black females. There seems to be a mutual rejection that reinforces itself as lumpen men reject the working world and the working world rejects them. Even so, the difference is mostly at the margins, and similar rates of women end up in the lumpen class from what we see.

Where gender plays a stronger role in interacting with how we define the lumpen is in the form of age.

Why do we talk about youth in the realm of gender? MIM Thought was the first to develop a theory of what gender was that is outside of biology but based in materialism and not just cultural norms. (see Clarity) First, gender was identified as occurring in leisure time, unlike class that was based on relationships during work hours. Later, MC5 identified gender's material basis today in health status. A healthy young American woman who is able to get in to exclusive clubs every weekend and have drinks bought for her while experiencing great pleasure from that experience would be one example of gender privilege based in the MIM definition. Since biological age is one determinant of health status, we can see how age is solidly found in the realm of gender.

Youth are inherently parasites, as they are dependent on adults and they are largely excluded from employment in any independent way. While 18 years is the standard legal age of adulthood in the United States, work becomes an option for many around 15. Yet for the 15-to-18-year-old, and even older, a large portion approach work as more of a leisure time question in the realm of gender than a class question. Whether one works has more to do with what one wants to do with their leisure time and how much money that activity requires, or what one's friends or peers are doing, or even about padding one's application for college.

This is not the case for everyone under 18 in the United States, and employment statistics demonstrate that. Black youth are more likely to be looking for full-time employment, indicating their need to actually support themselves and/or their family.

Unemployment rates for youth aren't that telling alone because many youth don't need a job and youth suffer from a temporary status of being low on the totem pole for hiring that most know they will grow out of. But there is a strong national difference worth noting, where white youth participate in the labor force more, yet still face much less unemployment.

Youth Employment Ages 16-19

"race"	Labor force participation rate	Unemployment rate
white	35.1%	19.4%
New Afrikan	25.6%	39.8%
"Hispanic"	28.7%	30.1%

(http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empst.t02.htm#cps_empst_a02.f.1)

The labor force participation rates may indicate greater numbers of Black and "Hispanic" youth turning to the underground economy, but it could also just be showing white youth getting part-time jobs in order to pad their academic resumes in anticipation of college applications. The unemployment rates are more telling, and reinforce the idea that Blacks and Latinos would likely turn to the underground economy as offering more employment opportunities.

Of course, the low labor force participation rates for youth of all nationalities has to do with them being full time students. So looking at employment for youth who dropped out of high school would better tell us where we might find the lumpen class.

If we focus on just 16 to 24 year olds who dropped out before getting a high school diploma, 54% were jobless in an average month during 2008. The portion that was jobless for the entire year was 40%. Breaking it down by nation, New Afrikans had a 69% jobless rate, followed by Asians at 57% and whites at 54%. "Hispanic" dropouts had the lowest jobless rates at 47 percent, reflecting the higher employment rate of young Latino migrants.(2)

Perhaps a more obvious example of what we would call the gender oppression of youth, that is manifested in the realm of economics, is in poverty rates. Here we can see the disproportionate poverty suffered by a population who mostly can't work legally due to their health status, as they have not developed fully.

2011 poverty rates (based on less than \$23,050 for a family of four) (1)

Youth under 18	Adults 18-64	Seniors 65+
21.6%	13.7%	8.7%

Childhood poverty is even more striking when broken down by nation. It is this legacy of national oppression that helps keep the United States at the bottom of OECD countries for childhood poverty rates.

2011 poverty rates among children (1)

white	Latin@	New Afrikan
17%	32.3%	38.2%

Another predictor for childhood poverty is having a single mother, which puts your probability of living in poverty at almost 50%, over four times as likely as those living with married parents.(1) Nearly 38% of female high school dropouts ages 16 to 24 were mothers. Young high school dropouts were nearly 9 times as likely to have become single mothers as their counterparts with undergraduate college degrees.(2) While males and females similarly suffer from poor educational opportunities, there is a sharp gender divide here in how that plays out. Females are frequently locked into the lumpen class by children who they must care for on their own, greatly reducing employment opportunities. Males, in contrast, are more often locked out of the job market by criminal records and gendered hiring practices that favor wimmin and migrants for low-wage service work.

Yet, male and female youth have the same chance of being born to a single mother in poverty, and this has a significant effect on one's future. Dividing those who spent most of their childhood in poverty from those who spent less than half of it, a Columbia University study showed 45% of the former were still poor at age 35 while only 8% of the latter were.(1) In other words, spending your youth in poverty, something that you have no way of controlling due to the gender disempowerment of youth, seems to be strongly influence your poverty as an adult. Even more clear, is that poverty is a result of national oppression, as the numbers above show.

While people are generally born into their class, young people have much more flexibility in their lives in general and have more interest in changing the current system that oppresses them as youth and threatens their futures. There is an intersection between

youth and lumpen that provided the base for much revolutionary and nationalist organizing in the 1960s urban United States. While a minority of the greater youth movement, this group was found disproportionately in the more radical organizations of the time, with the best of them having found a proletarian outlook.

As we saw in the essay by Bruce Franklin, our predecessors saw youth and lumpen intersecting and interacting, but like Franklin, we want to be clear that these are different groups. White youth resisting the draft had different interests than the New Afrikan lumpen joining the Panthers. When looking at the oppressed nations alone, this can be harder to tease out. Oppressed nation youth are often labeled "street youth" by American society regardless of their class status. Yet, most are not engaged in the underground economy, and today most have a future in the petty bourgeoisie. At the same time, participation in lumpen organizations involved in criminal activities is something that disproportionately attracts youth. To call the population that makes up LOs anything but lumpen would be inaccurate, despite how their class status may change in the future. While being clear that most oppressed nation youth are not lumpen, and that class and gender are separate things, there is an aging out effect where a larger percentage of the oppressed nations do join the petty bourgeoisie as they get older.

A good way to deal with oppression and disempowerment is to gang up with your fellow oppressed. Humans are a social species, so forming social groups is not just defined by oppression. However, among youth in the United States it is common for a sense of protection to evolve with one's social group, whether it be emotional protection from a competitive, individualistic society or actual physical protection of one's life. This applies to youth organizations in all sectors of society to different degrees. Looking at the different roles of youth organizations in different conditions helps illustrate the intersection of class, gender and nation that creates what we see as a distinct underclass in U.S. society.

There is also an inherent rebellious nature to youth groups where young people organize themselves to the exclusion of adults who represent the status quo and positions of power. We point out the parallels between all youth groups here to say that the targeting of oppressed nation youth groups for repression, as opposed to their white counterparts, is often just manifested white supremacy. For example, graffiti may be treated with a slap on the wrist for white petty bourgeois youth and lead to gang enhancement charges for oppressed nation youth in certain neighborhoods. On the other hand, this white supremacy is justified by the oppressors based on the many oppressed nation youth organizations that do engage in violent criminal activities at rates that their white counterparts do not. As materialists, we know there are explanations in the different conditions of these groups that explain this different behavior. This is where something that is common to all youth, who are all gender oppressed in our society, becomes colored by class and national differences.

Particularly among bio-male youth, we can draw parallels between lumpen youth gangs, and the gangs that youth of all classes, form in imperialist society. One might ask, if class is defined by labor time and lumpen are defined as not participating in labor, how do we define them as a class? Well, it is this very absence from the production process and parasitism on the distribution process that defines their class. But youth gangs give us another answer to this question. The difference between the lumpen and the petty bourgeoisie is that the lumpen do not age out of their gangs at the same rate. Virtually all petty bourgeois youth have left any sort of local neighborhood gang or clique by the time they are 18 and are no longer idle on the streets but busy with college or a job.

Based on a small number of surveys we've conducted, we've found that depending on the nature of the organization, it is common for today's lumpen organizations to be dominated by males in either the 18-24 age bracket or the over 25 group. And we would argue that 18 is a late age to begin considering someone an adult based on health status. For the lumpen, gangs are not just a kid thing as they are for the petty bourgeoisie. They become their main social structure and means for supporting themselves through at least middle age. For those who do age out of the gang, they are not necessarily leaving the lumpen class. Many find themselves intermittently homeless, dependent on drugs, hustling on the streets or in prison where they may or may not still be connected to the LO they grew up in.

It is this participation of adults, who are trying to earn a (petty bourgeois) income via these social networks, that really distinguish LOs from other youth gangs in the United States. It means they are long-term institutions; the childhood nicknames and symbols live on into adulthood. It also means they are more serious institutions, when it comes to both business and violence. Though they may have rivalries, we only see youth going out and shooting each other up over territory they don't own with the influence of adults and the criminal businesses that they operate. Even when these murders are not directly related to making money, they reflect the brutal lumpen culture that was created by criminal lumpen organizations.

While "Even in the poorest neighborhoods, high school dropout, joblessness, and teenage pregnancy are far from universal," studies in the 1980s and 1990s showed youth in urban neighborhoods had a greater diversity of social interactions by both age and class.(3) The class exposure is not surprising, since urban areas tend to be more diverse than suburban neighborhoods. Young adults of all classes are also more likely to live in urban areas than in the suburban areas where most petty bourgeois children grow up.

The lumpen have a disproportionate influence on youth growing up in oppressed communities because they are just around more than the workers and students. For male youth in particular, there is an allure of prestige and protection that often comes from the older lumpen who have access to resources and have reputations for having dealt with the violence the youth themselves are

facing.(3) The economic and social status of youth parallels that of the lumpen class in such a way that when there is a strong lumpen presence, large sectors of the youth will identify with it.

It should also be noted that there has been an intentional operation to eliminate dedicated revolutionary adults from oppressed communities by imprisonment or outright murder. This government strategy not only reduces the influence of these leaders on oppressed nation youth, but serves to intimidate others from following in their already pariah-like footsteps. These efforts were combined with an intentional flooding of narcotics and weapons into oppressed communities. So we shouldn't be fooled into thinking that the current status quo is the one natural response of people to conditions of poverty and oppression. The oppressor nation played a significant role in guiding which direction things went, and many in the lumpen class recognize that there is a better way.

While things have calmed down a bit since the 1980s and 90s, the culture that evolved during that time remains dominant, and is even mainstream in a caricatured form. The transformation in the 1980s was triggered by an influx of the narcotics and arms trades into poverty-stricken areas. By 1988, homicides in the United States were more likely to be committed by 14-17-year-olds than 25-34-year-olds, for the first time on record. Those groups switched places again in 1999. But in that decade homicides by the 14-17 and 18-24 age groups hit unprecedented levels. While 14-17-year-olds seem to have calmed down, 18-24-year-olds remain significantly higher than any other age group. (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Homoffendersbyage.svg>) Of course those being killed were mostly in those age groups as well and they were mostly New Afrikan and Latino males. Death rates for New Afrikan males tripled in the 13-17 age range and doubled for 18-24-year-olds around the same time. In 2007, more people took their own lives with a firearm than were killed by someone else, but homicide rates among youth in oppressed nation communities remains a serious problem.

Deaths rates for youth by age group (2005)

Age	% of Population	% of Killed	% of Killers
13-16	6.0%	3.6%	2.7%
17-19	4.3%	11.2%	10.6%
20-24	7.1%	22.5%	17.7%
Total	17.4%	37.3%	31%

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gun_violence_in_the_United_States)

In summary, 13-24-year-olds are more than twice as likely to die of homicide than the overall population. While much of this killing is within this age range, there is a 6% discrepancy indicating that those over 25 are killing younger people more than the other way around. This reinforces the theory that it is the involvement of adults, who are trying to meet their economic needs, in LOs that are pushing the levels of violence from fighting to killing.

Demonstrating that it is the lumpen who is dying, numbers from the 1990s showed more than three-quarters of homicide victims in the cities of Boston, Philadelphia and Richmond, Virginia had criminal records. There is an obvious cause and effect there that is not surprising. But we include this statistic to stress the material interest that the First World lumpen youth have in changing the status quo.

In a later chapter [unpublished] we'll look more in-depth at the nature of the lumpen organizations in contemporary U.S. society. As we'll show, there are a number of qualities that come from or are parallel to existing lumpen organizations that are favorable for building effective anti-imperialist LOs. And while we can't put the same degree of optimism on the First World lumpen that Fanon put on the lumpen of Africa in the 1960s, there is much we can take from his analysis to guide us towards building such organizations.

Notes:

1. Jason M. Breslow. By the Numbers: Childhood Poverty in the U.S. Frontline, 20 November 2012. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/social-issues/poor-kids/by-the-numbers-childhood-poverty-in-the-u-s>
2. The Consequences of Dropping out of High School: joblessness and jailing for high school dropouts and the high cost for taxpayers, Northeastern University Center for Labor Market Studies, October 1, 2009.
3. David J. Harding, Violence, Older Peers, and the Socialization of Adolescent Boys in Disadvantaged Neighborhoods, Am Sociol Rev. 2009 June 1; 74(3): 445-464.

Summing Up

Given the volatility of the people who are still young and are excluded from the system economically and along national lines, the imperialists have no interest in an expanding lumpen class. And the only internal contradiction that would force an expanding lumpen class in the imperialist countries is extreme economic crisis.

The capitalists depend on the consuming classes to keep productive capital circulating, and they depend on the productive classes to keep producing new value. Integrating peoples into the global capitalist system means maximizing their productive labor time and/or maximizing their consumption in leisure time. Both the exploited oppressed people and the privileged oppressor people play many other roles in realizing profits and/or maintaining the stability of the system. The lumpen are neither producers nor big consumers as a class, even in the First World.

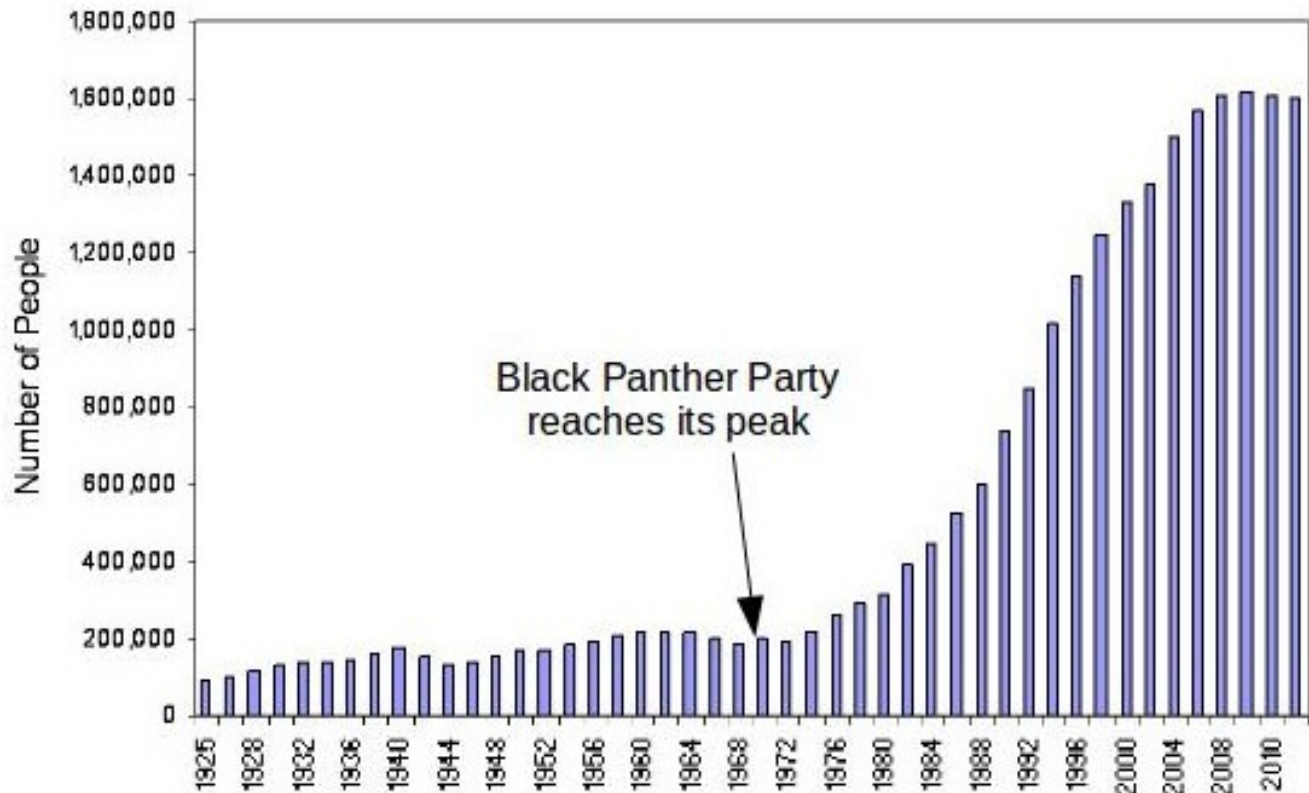
One sector of the lumpen class that is involved in the realization of profits is those involved in the drug trade. They do not produce anything, they are largely poor, but they ensure a significant volume of product is moved into oppressed communities. The global drug trade is estimated at \$300 to \$500 billion per year, with Americans being the biggest consumers in that market. However, more research is needed to establish the importance of the oppressed nation lumpen as laborers in realizing the value of these products. While the drug trade can seriously destabilize oppressed communities, much more of the profits are coming from the consumption of the more wealthy oppressor nation where drug consumption is at least as common.

Assuming that a large First World lumpen is not vital to maintaining drug sales, the capitalists would avoid a significant growth in idle oppressed people in their own countries. Such an increase would therefore indicate a serious crisis had hit the heart of imperialism.

As a baseline we can say conservatively that around 2010 the lumpen class represented about 20% of New Afrika, 5% of Aztlán and 30% of First Nations. This population represents about 4% of the overall population of the United States, and there is no strong evidence of the First World lumpen increasing in a significant way in recent years.

The U.S. State and Federal prison population has increased over 800% in just 40 years

STATE AND FEDERAL PRISON POPULATION, 1925-2011



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics *Prisoner Series*.

One example MIM had cited in support of the Panther theory of an expanding lumpen due to mechanization was the skyrocketing prison population centered around the 1990s, but spanning the time between the demise of the Panthers and today. While the numbers are staggering, this is still a tiny proportion of the oppressed nations. And rather than being the product of shifting economic times, we argue that they are primarily a product of the open conflict between the white nation and oppressed nations in the United States via the white power structure of the state.

The police and prisons were the white nation's stick and the economic opportunities and integration were the carrot presented to the oppressed immediately following the strong liberation movements of the 60s/70s. Therefore, if we see oppressed nation prison populations shift into a downward trend, that would support the idea that the carrot is increasing in effectiveness in integrating them into Amerika.

The flip side of that is as long as oppressed nation prisoners keep increasing, we have strong evidence of an antagonistic contradiction along the lines of nation in the United States. Of course we have seen the trend level off a bit in recent years, ironically, largely in response to economic crisis. But it is too soon to say what that means.

As we pointed out in the beginning of this pamphlet, the first question is who are our friend and who are our enemies? And while humyn knowledge is 99% history, this question cannot be answered passively with statistics and a study of the past. That is only the first, crude step. Once we get our orientation straight with these methods we must engage in work and see where people fall and who are friends and who are enemies in practice. In the later chapters [unpublished] we will discuss the experiences of contemporary organizations and see how these ideas apply.