

FOR A WORLD IN COMMON

The Road to Anti-State

Anti-market Socialism

By

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Eko Publications
2020

**In memory of Doug Fine
“I am not your fucking puzzle piece!”**

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The Road Yet Traveled

The Road to Anti-State, Anti-market Socialism

Throughout history, we see the rise and fall of numerous class-based societies. As society moves from the depths of hunter-gather communalism to the present system of neo-liberal & crony capitalism, social forces within society continually bring change. New classes arise to overthrow and abolishes the older ruling classes; one tribe invades and conquers the lands of another tribe, setting itself up as a new ruling class. Yet we must remember that no type of class-based society has ever lasted exceptionally long before collapsing from the weight of the class struggle within, or from an invasion without. Never forget that just as the empires of history have fallen, so too will the present Empire of Capital.

One huge problem is that capitalism, unlike previous class societies, has produced the means to exterminate everything human being on the planet. The real question now is: can we survive as a species in the shadow of the continued rule of Capital?

There only two roads open to humanity, one leads through social revolution to socialism, and the other is continuous world war and ever-expanding ecological devastation, maybe even human extinction. The way to extinction is clear; we do not have to do anything, as its threat is a growing part of our everyday lives. The way forward towards socialism is not so clear, but it's due to the weight of dead ideologies of capital which have made it that way. Capitalist ideology has perverted everything

is touched, so that socialism in its hands becomes mere government control over the economy or taxation. This is false. Socialism is a complete break with the past, and the present. Socialism is a way of life, and only through a socialist revolution that hope manifests.

Our goal of a Socialist society can only come into existence by the abolition of the capitalist class society in which we live, and through the construction of a classless society. The building of socialism is a series of abolitions, and constructions. These abolitions and constructions are:

The abolition of the capitalist state and the rise to power of the councils.

During the revolution, the capitalist state as an instrument of class rule is abolished. As the forces of the Revolution dissolve the power of the state politically and militarily; it dismantles the institutions of state oppression that fall into its hands. It abolishes the police forces, the prisons and the court systems, and all other means of state repression. In place of state terrorism, councils of all types would spring up to bring direct democracy, and socialism into every aspect of human life. All councils would operate according to the principles of socialist democracy. All delegates to the councils would be subject to immediate recall, for any reason and at any time by those who delegated them. Work in the councils is not considered a labor in and of itself; all delegates must also engage in other productive and creative labor.

The abolition of private property through the socialization of land, workplaces, and natural resources.

All private property will become social property belonging to all. Socialization is not the same as nationalization. When the capitalist nation-state is abolished (and it must be) then nationalization is

impossible. Socialization means workers' control over the economy by those who participate in its operation. Thus a particular workplace would not be owned by anyone; rather the workers who work there would operate it. Decisions on the use of social property would be made democratically in the various councils that are directly involved.

The abolition of the nuclear family through the rebuilding of true community, extended families, and communes.

Socialism will reconstitute real human community, which was destroyed by the dominion of the capitalist mode of production and distribution over society. The atomization of humanity into isolated individuals will give way to unity through the commune. Society will reorganize along communal lines, both rural and urban. Freedom to form, as well as, withdraw from a commune is a fundamental right

The abolition of sexism, racism, ageism, transphobia, and homophobia by education, and socialist community pressure.

No one is to suffer discrimination upon the basis of these old prejudices. Religions that promote hatred will have to change or face gradual extinction. A society of free peoples will have no need for religions of hatred. Such religions of hate would not be forcibly suppressed; they would die on their own in a society of free peoples.

The abolition of wage labor, and of the money form through the distribution of social product upon the basis of radical needs.

All members of the communes would distribute all work equally, and all would in return take from the commons those items that they need.

The abolition of consumer society through production to meet radical needs.

All products produced will be to meet the real human needs for food, shelter, clothing, creativity, etc., and not for the needs of profit. Such an economy is a planned economy, planned through a federation of councils.

The abolition of the nation-state through a world federation of regional councils.

Socialism is by its very nature a world system, just as capitalism was a world system. If, only one capitalist nation state remains the threat of war remains. Our revolution must be a world revolution, sweeping the world clean of all the injustices of the past and the present.

The abolition of all standing armies through a general arming of the people.

Capitalist class society can only maintain its power through monopolizing arms and using them against the lower classes. Thus, the revolution will see a general arming of the people during the general insurrection, breaking free of the capitalist monopoly on arms, and using them to destroy capitalist class rule & its capitalist state.

Misconceptions concerning socialism:

There are many misconceptions concerning socialism and some of these are:

That socialism means nationalization.

This is false, because the aim of socialism is the destruction of the capitalist state and the act of nationalization only strengthens the state. Socialism is workers control over the economy, and this could not occur under a state-controlled economy. Nationalization is the basis for state capitalism once considered the highest form of capitalism. Worker self-management through the councils is the only way to real socialism. Self-management under capitalism however is nothing more than self-exploitation.

That socialism means a dictatorship

This is false, because socialism is the unleashing of pure democracy, the democracy that all the capitalists and their ideologues fear. Our democracy is the stage for the presenting of ideas and actions and never for the conquest of power by some group or individual. Our democracy is the democracy of the councils with delegates chosen by lot, with the right of immediate recall, and limits to the time one can spend serving on any council.

That socialism means equality in poverty

This is false, because poverty is a symptom of class society and socialism is a classless society. We can only speak of poverty, when one compares the wealth of one class with that of another. If a social product is distributed upon the basis of radical needs, then the needs of life are being satisfied. And if one's needs are being met, then one cannot in any way be in poverty. Poverty exists because one class takes, through its control over the means of production, the wealth generated by the working classes. Socialist equality is not an absolute quality, rather it is the equality of needs satisfied. We recognize that needs differ from individual to individual.

That socialism means radical atheism

This is false, as one can be religious and still be a socialist (as more and more people are realizing every day). The tradition of radical atheism amongst revolutionaries is an unfortunate holdover from the capitalist ideological struggle against feudalism. Since the feudal system based itself upon the divine order and was supported by the church. The ascending capitalist class had to undermine the power of the church to undermine the power of the feudal aristocracy. As it is all too often, modern revolutionaries in the search for models (instead of making your own) choose the capitalist model for revolution. So, the social revolution is seen as the French Revolution of 1789–94 with only a minor change in the cast. These would-be revolutionaries' error, as this revolution will be different, as our goals are different from any revolution of the past. Capitalism does not rule by divine right except in the imaginations of fundamentalists who wants to return to the dark ages, it rules through the force of its ideology, and appeals to "human nature." Radical atheism is of no use in dispelling capitalist ideology, in fact, as the New Atheists show it supports capitalism. Our task is to combat capitalist ideology and not the religious heritage of the people.

Paths that will not lead to socialism

There's only one road to socialism, and that road is the road of revolution. Not just an ordinary revolution for this revolution will not just replaced the old ruling class with another. It is to abolish the very notion of a ruling class. Thus, this revolution will be a democratic revolution made by equals, for the establishment of the power the councils.

However, they are those who claim to be socialist who advocate different paths. These paths through test of time

and practice have always led to the continuation of class rule. And even worse, some have resulted in the formation of a new type of class rule: state capitalism.

These are the false paths to socialism

The path of elections is a dead end, because it means that you must fight the capitalist politicians on the terrain of their own choosing, and there they will defeat you (as they control the press, electronic media, as well as having the cash to buy any election). In the USA it is impossible for any third party successfully challenge the two main capitalist parties nationally or even statewide. And then there's the likelihood by some chance they would succeed in winning a national election, it would only result in a military coup. The tactics of which the US military has been practicing abroad for decades. Facing up to the realities of US military power is a major prerequisite to undertaking the path toward social revolution. Socialism will overcome capitalism only by using methods anti-capitalist to its core. Elections in the capitalist system are not anti-capitalist, and thereby useless in the class struggle. However, voting on taxes, propositions and direct laws can be useful in making our lives a little better.

The path of “professional” unionism is a dead end, because unions are now fully integrated within the capitalist social order. So would be revolutionaries advocate trying to take over the unions to make it revolutionary. This is impossible as the union is the capitalist state's method of labor control. Unions cannot be revolutionary as revolution is totally beyond its current function, and purpose. Workers will have to organize outside of unions strike committees and councils.

The path of armed struggle now is a dead end, because it is an elitist concept, and it is utterly foolhardy at the

present time. It is elitist because the armed group substitute itself for the oppressed class. This is dangerous as this group, if it becomes successful by some accident of history, would install itself as a new ruling class over the masses who were only passive spectators. Revolution is not guerrilla war. Rather it is the seizure of power by a class when the old ruling class is too paralyzed to resist. Civil War can occur, but usually months after the initial seizure of power from bases outside of the region. That is why the socialist revolution must be a worldwide revolution, to prevent civil war from destroying it. So, the task now is not an armed struggle, it is in accelerating the revolutionary paralysis of capitalist society.

The path of third worldism is a dead end, because it is a totally failed theory which has consistently failed the test of practice over the past 75+ years. It is a theory that the anti-capitalist revolution breaks out first on the weakest link of world imperialism, the former colonial world. Through the successful struggles of these nations for national liberation and capitalist system is weakened, thereby causing revolution to break out in the imperialist homelands. This is simply never happened as the struggle for national liberation never were anti-capitalist. The results of the struggles were merely a change in the faces of the exploiting class of these nations. After decades of such revolutions not one of them has ever even come close to socialism (tho a few have improved the lives of their people). And they never will until the revolution breaks out in the strongest link i.e. the USA, Europe, China or Russia. So cheerleading for national liberation struggles will not, in any way, bring about the revolution at home where it would count the most.

The path of pacifism is a dead end, because the revolutionary class cannot give up the right to use violence especially when the ruling class shows no qualms ever about using it against the working class and

oppressed sectors. When faced against a state that can wipe off the face of the earth all life, and has used these weapons before, it would be utterly stupid to renounce the use of violence. We see revolutionary violence as a form of self-defense against a social system in its death throes.

The Tasks at hand

During the many years of struggle between the oppressed and their oppressors, there arises individuals who have more than just an instinctive understanding of the events unfolding and of the directions those events might lead. And in the process, they form revolutionary groups to aid in the generalization of the social revolution and to struggle against the ideological enemies of the revolution.

The revolutionary group is not a political party. By this I mean, the revolutionary group is not one of those organizations, which have certain ideological interests to advance at the expense of other similar organizations. The movement is not the goal; the movement is only a means towards the goal. The social revolution is a revolution made by human agents; it is a movement of passionate human beings who want to create a new world, because they wish to live in it. This new world they envision is ever changing as the situation may deem necessary and must never be restricted by the weight of present views.

The revolutionary group is not a group made up of professional leaders. This revolution, if it is to be called a social revolution at all, is to be a self-organized revolution, organized by the oppressed themselves. It has no need for professional leaderships nor does it ever lust after them. For the interests of the leaders are often not the interests of the people they lead. To paraphrase Eugene Debs, if one leader can lead you into the new world, they could

have just as well as brought you into slavery. The oppressed must liberate themselves through a democratic struggle against all oppression. Thus, the revolutionary group is not a leadership group, nor does it aspire to become one.

The revolutionary group is not a mass organization, though it can exist within other progressive mass organizations. It does not exist to recruit as many members as possible, rather it exists to provide the necessary reflection upon the struggles of the oppressed and to aid in the generalization of the struggle. So then the revolutionary group needs only those individual who are able to participate in its work as equals and not as professional leaders.

The revolutionary group is not a part of any armed struggle before the social revolution and outside of civil war. Armed struggle is elitist by its very nature and is in direct opposition to the interests of the oppressed engaged in democratic struggle. It assumes that a small group can on its own achieve liberation on the behalf of the oppressed masses (who are then reduced to play the role of passive spectators). Also, the question can legitimately be raised about the real motives of the armed group and whether or not the armed group is in the service of the State (or is in itself a secret branch of the State's secret services as has been alleged to have happen in Italy in the late 70's). So, the revolutionary group is not an armed group, nor does it ever support them. This does not mean that they are against the use of violence against the capitalist order, far from it. What they are against is any violence not arising out of real class struggle and against violence being used by groups substituting themselves for the oppressed democratic organizations of self-defense.

The revolutionary group does not issue a call for revolt to a certain class, to a certain oppressed group, at a certain

time or to a certain land. For no one can ever really call a revolution into being, except to utter failure. Revolutions are spontaneous events arising naturally out of conflicts spawned by oppression and cannot be artificially called into existence. While revolutionary groups never issue a call for immediate revolt, they always advocate the necessity of a democratic revolution against capitalism to abolish the oppression generated by capitalist class society.

The revolutionary group is a group of oppression conscious individuals who theorize, analyze, and distribute information concerning the various struggles of the oppressed. The revolutionary group is to act a communication center in the exchange of information between the various actions of the oppressed and other revolutionary groups. They would provide information useful to the oppressed in their day-to-day struggle and not just to other revolutionaries. Most of all, the revolutionary group is a temporary project as it dissolves itself as a group when and wherever the councils have risen to power. Thus, they serve the growth of the democratic revolutionary process, but never control's it. As ever the liberation of the oppressed must be done by the oppressed themselves!

Now the major task of the groups of revolutionaries is to win the battle for consciousness. This means we must bring about the conditions that would enable the oppressed groups to become conscious of their oppression as unnecessary and has an end. Fundamentally, this is a task of education aimed at the individual so that they can begin to see the world as it is; to dispel the illusions of capitalist ideologies from the mind of the colonized. Revolutionaries are those members of the oppressed that have awoken to the realities of oppression and therefore see it as their duty to awaken others.

Contrary to socialist tradition, the struggle against capitalism is not just a struggle of the working class. For as capitalism diversified its modes of oppression, the numbers of oppressed groups who feel alienated and aware of their alienation grows. Leading to a point of direct resistance across the entire spectrum of oppressed groups. Each group having different and conflicting interests, yet still being able to unite in the realization that in order to end their own special oppression: the abolition of the capitalist state and economic order is required. Thus, each group undertakes the path towards its own liberation, in union with others, to bring about the liberation of all.

As the conditions and contradictions of everyday life provokes resistance amongst the growing numbers of the oppressed, the reality of the social revolution comes into being. This is a moment from individual to mass resistance; from riot to insurrection; from the collapse of local authority to the smashing of the state; and the rise of the councils.

This is the general outline of our struggle:

From individual anger to the wildcat strike: the wildcat is a strike, which is done outside of Union control. It is a direct response to the collaboration of the capitalists and the union bureaucracy. Thus, free to act, the wildcatters are not restrained in the choice of their tactics. It is behind these strikes and no other, that the spirit of revolution resides.

From union control to self-direction through the strike committees: no more will the worker's struggle be controlled by outsiders or professionals of any stripe. During the wildcat strike the workers form strike committees outside of official Union control to direct the strike. These committees are worker's councils in embryo. The workers would elect a committee of strikers, all

subject to recall, to coordinate the strike actions, to obtain support, and most importantly: to spread the strike. All actions undertaken by the committee would first be ratified in the general assembly of all striking workers.

From picketing to the occupation strikes: this is the best form of the strike as it leaves the means of production safely in the hands of the workers. The workers cannot then be easily replaced, and to remove them would create a battle with the risk of sabotage. Yet the strike could fail if the strike does not spread.

From local strikes to the mass strike: the mass strike is where other workers show their support for the wildcat strikers. Workers across their regions occupy workplaces and seize state property. This leads to a confrontation with the state and the rise to power of the workers' councils.

From confrontation to the destruction of the state: the worker's councils are formed out of strike committees as well as other community organizations. A mass strike turns into an insurrection; the councils begin to assume economic and political control over the liberated regions. The councils distribute arms it has seized and coordinates the destruction of state power.

Is this the end of history? No, rather it is the beginning of the building of a new life for all. The answer to the historical question: Socialism or Dystopia?

Manifesto of "An Autonomous Work Group" 1985
Revised as a personal manifesto 2020 by original author

Revolutionary Socialism as I see it

1

The current rise of Revolutionary Socialism is a direct result of the defeated French Revolution of May-June 1968. The May events showed how the social revolution could occur, but at the same time how it will fail, if revolutionaries stay addicted to the traditional ideas of revolution. For the events of May showed clearly to that generation, the utter bankruptcy of the Leftist parties of opposition. As France stood upon the brink of history, the forces of capital pulled out of its bag of tricks: the spectacle of opposition. Clouding themselves with revolutionary slogans, the agents of capital rushed in, and took control over the movement, which was became the death of the revolution. Thus, the state capitalist parties of the Left directly aided the survival of capitalism in France, and in delaying the advent of world social revolution. As a result, serious revolutionaries began to question the role of the party, and of the state; they became critical of all hierarchies, both in their own groups, and in society as a whole. And as they searched for a way out of the impasse of Leftism, they turned to the past workers' struggles for both support, and as a base area from which to build a new movement. During this process, they discovered that they were not the first generation to be fooled by the spectacle of opposition.

2

Revolutionary Socialism is based upon the historical sources of libertarian revolutionary theory, combined with the lessons that have been learned from both the successes, and of the failures of past revolutionary situations. From such a base, we can then develop a

practical revolutionary theory that can be realized by practice.

3

My philosophy is that of a dialectical evolutionism. Thought arises in connection with the material conditions in time; material conditions arise in connection with thought over time. The realization of thought demands action; the realization of action demands thought.

4

Socialists are not vulgar determinists, either in history or in economics. Though we can be assured that other societies will eventually replace late capitalistic societies, capitalism's replacement does not necessarily have to be the society that we desire. For even Marx and Engel, often accused of being economic determinists, recognized this when they posed the question: Socialism or Barbarianism? Now it is up to us to decide our own fates, to choose between socialism and barbarianism.

5

The kind of society that we want to help in the creation of, is by conception a classless one in which there are neither rulers, nor ruled. No government, no police, no prisons, no armies, or any forces of oppression. Alienation and wage-labor would no longer exist. Industrial and urban centralization would be reversed, to form a decentralized world. The distinction between city and the countryside would no longer exist. The population and the means of production would be rationally & naturally dispersed across the whole planet. The whole of the society would be based upon the principle: to each according to their needs.

6

Socialists maintain that the future society must be organized upon the basis of workers' and consumers' councils. The workers' councils, being the most advanced expression of workplace democracy to have arisen from the proletarian class struggle so far, is the first level of the new society. They are the way forward and away from the administration of persons to the administration of things (and not the administration of people as if they were things). Within the workers' councils the workers themselves, at the point of production, decide the direction of future consumption through participation and interaction with neighborhood and regional councils.

7

Without a revolution in the relationship of the producer vis-a-vis the control over the means of production, any political revolution would be for naught. The aim of the social revolution is for the producers to gain control over the means of production, thus gaining control over their lives. Workers control is what we want, not party or state control.

8

The only solution to the present crisis is world revolution. This requires that the revolution is to begin in the advanced industrialized areas, and to then spread into the less advanced areas. For only with the technology of the industrialized areas, can socialism be built throughout the whole world.

9

The struggle against capitalism and its state is not just the activity of one special group. As capitalism has diversified its mode of oppression, the groups of individuals who feel oppressed increases. Leading to the point of direct resistance amongst the entire oppressed population. Each group being that which contains various, and often conflicting interests, yet still being able to unite in the realization that in order to end their special oppression: the destruction of the state, and capitalism would be necessary. Thus each group would then undertake the path to their own liberation, bringing about the liberation of all.

10

Within the historical revolutionary movement, there has been a tendency to forget about what we are trying to build, and to concentrate mainly upon the building up of the movement. This tendency can be traced back to the influence of a dogmatic Marxism which denounces as utopian any attempts to envision the future society. Yet can their insistence that we must wait until after the revolution, to even theorize on the future society, be anything other than utopian? The future society must be built, and to build one must have a plan. In order to create the future society must outline in theory its basic outlines. Of course, all such theorizing of the future is not absolute, and will change as time goes on. Also, there cannot be just one conception of what we want or that which is best, for only in practice can we discover that which is right. And thru practice we may discover that not one conception, but many are workable and compatible. So, all conceptions must be given a chance. For the period of the social revolution will be a time of great social experimentation. Throughout these times two principles must be observed, these being the right of self-determination by individuals, and that no one can exploit the labor of others. The members of the future society

must be allowed the right to choose their own paths; they are not to be forced into this or that new scheme. For we see that the freedom to experiment, is the freedom to be used to gain control over the totality of our existence.

11

The development of revolutionary consciousness, which is the awareness of the oppressed for the need of the social revolution, does not just appear out of nowhere. For revolutionary consciousness develops from the seeds of primitive revolutionary feelings, as expressed in the slave & peasant uprisings of the past, which then have evolved into the present level of consciousness. The idea of freedom is an innate part of the human condition. The development of revolutionary consciousness proceeds from a lower level (random uprisings) to a higher level (planned action derived from a theoretical standpoint). This development is not a gradual even affair, like all other events proceeds in leaps, and bounds. So, the revolutionary classes do not all develop its consciousness at the same pace. For some sections become more advanced than others, and these sections then form revolutionary organizations. These organizations make it their duty, to raise the level of consciousness of the less advanced sections. It is the function of the revolutionary organizations to raise the level of consciousness of the masses to it's level, and then to propel it far beyond. To develop a theory based upon the objective realities of the present society, and then to transform its theory into reality thru action. To educate the less advanced sections in self-activity, which would lead to the creation of the workers' councils.

12

Amongst those who say they advocate for socialism today, are those who insist that the nationalization of

industry, land, and services, is the essential foundation of socialism. As the globe is covered with nations that have nationalized all or a part of their economies, without creating any real socialism, one would have expected then to have learned something from this by now. It can be suggested that they really do not want to acknowledge the fact, that nationalization creates State-capitalism for purely personal motives. They personally aspire to be the new leaders of a State-capitalist revolution; they aspire to become the new state bourgeoisie. The act of nationalization means that the state will control all that which is being nationalized. As nationalization means the expansion of the state, instead of the withering away of the state, it conflicts with one of the main principles of Marxism. This being that an expanding state is the very anti-thesis to a state that should be withering away. Since the state, and not the producers would control the means of production, the working classes would still be alienated, and would still be seen as commodities. State appointed managers would use the same methods, that the present capitalists use in the extraction of greater amounts of surplus-value from the labor of the working class. Nationalization is the basis for State-capitalism, a different form of capitalism. Workers' control thru their councils is the means towards real socialism.

13

There does not exist anywhere upon this planet socialism on a national scale (tho there are places that come close like Rojava and Chiapas). This includes both the USSR and the PRC (both before and after the death of Mao), which were socialist in name only. For they are state-capitalist nations that surround themselves with revolutionary sounding slogans, forming the spectacle of opposition. Within these nations a new class of bourgeoisie rose to power thru a bourgeois-style revolution. Taking

over the productive powers of their nations, they as a class, use their positions of power for personal profit. Within these countries all aspects of old-style capitalism remain in effect: the wages-system, the money form, surplus-value extraction, consumerism, taxation, etc. Their state by having centralized power maintains itself by centralized terror. All of which has nothing at all to do with our socialism.

14

a. The triumph of the social revolution means the elimination of the capitalist modes of production, distribution, and consumption.

b. Capitalism can only be eliminated when both the wages-system, and the money form has been abolished.

c. The existence of the wages-system and a money-based economy, means that the economy is still a capitalistic one.

d. The state, being an instrument of class rule, is controlled by the class who controls the means of production. Whatever class or section of a class that has obtained state power, while maintaining capitalistic economic relations, becomes co-opted by the economy, and then goes on to become the new state capitalists.

e. If the economy is a capitalistic one, and if the state controls the economy, then the situation is called state capitalism.

f. If the masses soon after the start of the social revolution do not move swiftly to abolish the wages-system, and the money form, then the situation will degenerate into state-capitalism.

15

Socialists have no interest in the reform of capitalism, for

we want to abolish it. We have no interest in making capitalism more rational, or more ethical. Reformism is in practice, an appeal for state intervention to rectify a defect in the system. By appealing to the state, these reformists show their impotence. We must always remember that anything that the state grants today, can just as easily be taken back tomorrow. As Socialists, we maintain that only direct action applied by the oppressed at the source of the problem, can create any real permanent change.

16

Regarding technology it can be either liberating or oppressive. The main determining factor being who is in charge. Under capitalism, in all its variations, it is oppressive, while after the social revolution it only becomes potentially liberating. There are technologies that would be oppressive, and downright dangerous, no matter who was in control, and as such has no place in the future world. We will not worship technology for the sake of "progress," for it can lead you into the grave as well as out of it. At the same time, we are not anarcho-primitivists, and hereby reject such an option.

17

Socialists support the movement for total nuclear disarmament; however, we do not agree with the tactics being used, nor with the domination of the Left bourgeois parties over the movement. The state, being the criminal who has armed itself to the teeth in nuclear weapons, is being called upon by these reformists to voluntarily disarm itself. This can only be a dead-end, for nuclear weapons are in the interest of the state to possess, and to maintain as the supreme weapon of mass terror. You do not negotiate with these terrorists; you disarm them with as much force as is necessary. To achieve nuclear

disarmament, the workers themselves must arm, and then use their arms to forcibly disarm the state.

18

Socialists recognize that trade unions, under capitalism, have lost all practical value, as far as, the revolution is concerned. Unions are directly apart of the capitalist ideological apparatus within both liberal and state capitalisms. They are controlled by highly paid bureaucrats who are concerned only with the struggle to maintain their own jobs, and in maintaining the status quo. Unionism has become one of the major sources of reactionary ideology amongst the working classes. The bourgeois parties of the Left are addicted to the theory, that appears to be in opposition to the rightist bourgeois attitude towards unions, of ousting the old bureaucrats, and taking over the unions. This theory has infected the whole revolutionary movement and is entirely bourgeois in origin. These so-called oppositionists tell us that by taking over the unions, we can turn them from being supporters of capitalism into schools of socialism. This is utter nonsense as the unions are an essential part of modern capitalism, for the unions themselves are a legitimate avenue of opposition that the system uses to derail the real movement of opposition. Unions by their very structure cannot be anti-capitalist for they are founded upon the principle of "a fair days pay, for a fair day's work." The unions sell their membership as commodities for the highest price the market will bear, and in return, the buyer receives a work force that will not demand the end to it's own alienation. The struggle against capital is a struggle against all of it's manifestations and mystifications, so therefore unions must also be combated. In order for the social revolution to occur at all, new forms of workers' organizations must be formed. These organizations should not be organized on a trade, nor on an industrial level. They should be

organized regionally comprising all workers both employed and unemployed. These organizations would take the form of workers' councils.

19

Self-management under capitalism is nothing more than a new tactic of capitalism, to trick the working class into exploiting themselves. As in the areas of the economy that the stockholders had abandoned as unprofitable, they have attempted to sell the workers their means of self-oppression (at a profit, of course!). Self-management cannot, under capitalism, be anything other than self-exploitation. Instead of self-management over a small section of the economy, we want workers' control over all production, which can only be accomplished thru a social revolution and the rise of the councils.

20

Under capitalism all elections are nothing more than mystifications. They merely give the illusion of change by the ritual of voting. Voting never changes anything fundamental and tricks the oppressed into giving their consent to the system when they lose. Voting is a fraud and a waste our time.

21

Religion is purely a private affair upon the level of the individual. The matter of belief is up to the individual. We oppose all attempts to restrict religious freedom.

22

All so-called "national liberation movements" are nothing more than a mystification of the deadly struggle between the imperialistic superpowers. Supporting any side in such a struggle, is in fact, supporting one imperialist power against the other. It is the supreme manifestation of the spectacle of opposition within the present potential revolutionary movement, and as such must be exposed as such whenever possible. The spectacle of opposition is the ability of the spectacle to choose it's own "anti-thesis". As the national liberation movements are in opposition to the present national ruling classes, they are influenced by the type of ruling classes that they are in opposition too. It is the ruling classes in power through it's policies and offences, that determines the reactions, and the defenses of it's twin. The opposition is always the lesser twin, until the time comes when the old ruling classes become inert. Then their twin arises to assume the power that it had been groomed for all along. The terror of the government troops on it's people, gives the opposition the right to use terror. In doing so, the rebel forces learn the art of controlling populations for the time, when the now national liberation army would be called upon to maintain "revolutionary order," after victory. Terror gives rise to terror, which synthesises into just more terror--the Age of permanent terror,

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As capitalism degenerates, it creates the forces of its destruction, and therefore must resort to even more tricks to maintain its power. Within the bourgeois democracies the spectacle of opposition often assumes the form of antifascism and the united front. Small bands of fascists are paraded around in order to draw away the oppressed anger. Support is given to the bourgeois state. Thus antifascism is a bourgeois strategy to derail potential revolutionary situations.

26

We reject the use of terrorism, tho we are not pacifists. The modern capitalist state is the source of all terror from it's more visible manifestations (the police, secret services, armies, prisons, etc.,) to it's invisible ones (state supported terrorist groupings). Terrorism is the essential state function used in the defense of degenerated capitalism. The terrorist in the present period is an agent of the state, and the foremost champion of capitalism.

a. The work group is the organizational structure of revolutionaries during the present period of degenerated capitalism. The work group is not a party organization, nor a public one; rather it is a group of conscious individuals having a common theoretical perspective combined with the ability to work together. It is an underground organization by design, for the trend of degenerated capitalism is towards state capitalism with its complete political dictatorship. The work group must be able to survive the transition intact.

b. The work groups are autonomous from outside organizations and from each other. They will only unite with other work groups in the pursuit of a common project. They will not form paper federations or alliances with any bourgeois grouping, no matter how radical they become in words. At all times they must be aware against the tendency towards the formation of internal domination, and of the formation of cliques.

c. The work group is not an organization of professional leaders. We see ourselves, not as the leaders of the social revolution or as the core of a future vanguard party, but rather as individuals who want to participate actively in the social revolution as participants. At the present time

this activity consists of establishing the theoretical justifications for revolution, combating the various bourgeois ideologies that have infected the revolutionary movement, analyzing the past revolutionary situations, and then learning from their mistakes.

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We, as Socialists, recognize the importance of the military side of revolution. We call upon all revolutionaries to learn basic military tactics, and the use of weaponry. To many of us have never even shot a rifle, this state of affairs must end! We cannot wait until after the revolution has started, to learn the art of war, or to build the basis for our defense. We must form libertarian militias wherever we are, just as the ultra-right has been doing for years. These groups are not to be seen as the catalysis for the starting of the revolution, but as the nucleus of a system of self-defense.

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Revolutionaries do not make the revolution; the breakdown of capitalist society will do that. Neither do we speed up the timetable of the revolution for revolutions only occur when the masses find it impossible to continue to exist in the old order. Conditions force the masses into a revolutionary situation, and this is where we enter in. Our tasks are to clarify the situation, and to point out the way forward out of the impasse of degenerating capitalism.

The Bolshevik state capitalist Revolution in Russia

1

“The abolition of private property is therefore by no means identical with communism and Communism has seen other socialist theories, such as those of Fourier and Proudhon, rising up in opposition to it, not fortuitously but necessarily, because it is only a particular, one-sided realization of the principle of socialism.” Karl Marx, letter to Ruge September 1843

With the victory of middle-class revolutionaries during the French Revolution of 1789, the worldwide ascendancy of the capitalist mode of production was assured. Even the military defeat of the Bourgeois Revolutions of 1848 did not stop the spread of capitalism and industrialism. For soon afterwards the aristocracy was forced to enter an alliance with the rising capitalist class against the rising power of the working class. Once in Parliament, the capitalist class used its state power to suppress the working class and to maintain its power over all classes. As a result, across Europe the aristocracy was rapidly reduced to figurehead status, except for Russia.

In Russia, the capitalist class was too weak and its working class too small to impose much of a threat to the old social order. As a result, the aristocracy maintained a firm grasp on political power. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, the bourgeois revolution was the revolution to expect in Russia. For Capital to expand, it needed to overthrow the stranglehold of the aristocracy. It needed to create a situation of bourgeois liberty in order to allow the unrestricted expansion of the capitalist mode of production. The capitalists as a class instinctively knew this, but it could not do this alone. It needed to ally itself with the working class as all prior bourgeois revolutions had done. As the capitalist class is always much too small to take on the aristocracy by itself, they needed food

soldiers to attack the aristocracy. They have always needed a more numerous class to provide its cannon fodder. And of course, after the revolution the capitalists would suppress their former allies and take all state power themselves.

Yet in Russia as the capitalist class was not able to make its revolution directly. Insurrection removed Tsarism, but was unable to gain real power outside of the big cities. The system faltered giving rise to a new form of capitalism and a new form of capitalist. This would take on the appearance of a workers' party; it would cast an illusion that it was a workers' revolution. And it succeeded so well in its illusion and the new capitalist class introduced a new form of social organization: state-capitalism.

2

The outbreak of the First World War saw the Russian aristocracy rushing into Eastern Europe to grab what it could. However, its ambition was greater than its industrial-military base, and the Russian armies were repeatedly defeated. These defeats alienated the aristocracy from the support of the Army and of the militarized capitalists (who as always saw the war to reap great profits). This combined with the growing and ever militant by the day working class (in alliance with an ever-restless peasantry) was enough to force the abdication of the Tsar in February 1917. Then with the Tsar out of the way, the capitalists tried its hand at ruling directly with the support of the Army. But it faced the same situation of defeat, and workers unrest. And they were no better able to overcome these problems, than the defeated Tsar and his minions.

The rule of capital demand internal stability and the capitalist Provisional Government was unable to provide this needed stability. In this situation the Bolshevik Party masked itself with revolutionary rhetoric and armed with the state-capitalist program of Social Democracy, seized

state power in a coup. And almost immediately set about to undo the gains that the working class had made so far against the old regime.

Using the terminology of socialism, these state-capitalist revolutionaries soon showed their true colors by introducing Taylorism, speeding up production, banning strikes, subverting workers councils, and introducing military discipline into factories. All the while proclaiming themselves to be the “workers party” implementing “socialist” measures.

One should judge a party by their actions and not their words. Seen in this light, the entire history of the Bolsheviks in power is a history of anti-communist activity. They allowed nations to succeed dooming their working classes to the White Terror. They made a peace with Germany when they should have extended the revolution when it was still possible. They nationalized industry, transport and finance instead of socializing them. So, the entire history of the Bolsheviks in power is a history of counter-revolution.

The Bolshevik party was a national party of International Social-Democracy and shared the same goals as the other member parties. Whereas the other Social-Democratic parties sought to achieve their goals thru parliament, the Bolsheviks sought to gain theirs thru a violent revolution. All parties linked socialism with the nationalization of the economy controlled by the Party (their party). The only real differences between the Bolsheviks and the Social-Democrats were in the means of coming to power and holding onto that power. Both were against the workers themselves taking control over the economy thru their workers councils. Both saw the introduction of state-capitalism as the immediate goal, but only the Bolsheviks achieved it. The German Social-Democrats failed and left

it to the Nazi's to finish the job of state control over the economy.

The Bolshevik state-capitalist revolution in Russia is in no way a model for the social revolution. No matter what some socialists/communist may advocate, the Leninist model can only result in state-capitalism. When the next revolution breaks out it must be completely different from any previous revolution.