



a critique of  
State Socialism  
by michael  
bakunin

*why authoritarian communism leaves us cold*

Originally produced by anarchists in Belfast in 1981, this comic juxtaposes Bakunin's critique of statist revolutionary movements with the events that subsequently confirmed it.

Just as Bakunin's concerns about power-hungry socialists and communists proved prescient, this comic retains its value today, when new politicians and parties are attempting to co-opt popular movements. We should never forget the hard-learned lessons of the Russian Revolution and the Spanish Civil War: those who would wield state power, whether in the name of the people or any other abstraction, can only be obstacles to liberation, if not actual foes of it.

Readers who lack context for 20th century history may find some passages herein perplexing; if nothing else, this comic provides points of departure to learn about many of the most fascinating and pivotal events of that era. There are plenty of more credible sources out there, should you wish to learn more about any of them!

# a critique of state socialism

by michael  
bakunin



# Bakunin

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M.A. BAKUNIN was born on May 30, 1814, in Pryamukhino (Russia). Becoming interested in philosophy at the age of 21, he became a Hegelian and left to study in Germany, which was then the home of philosophical speculation. He progressed from Hegelism to an interest in the pan-Slavic movement, as one of anti-colonialism, against Russian autocracy and German imperialism. Through Weitling, pioneer of libertarian Communism, he became acquainted with revolutionary ideas; he moved towards Socialism but with the reservation that there was an absence of freedom in the then current socialistic programmes and ideas. Becoming acquainted with Anarchism through the French school, in particular P.J. Proudhon, he became its most famous exponent of the day. His theoretical development was stopped short by the fact of his participation in the democratic revolution of 1848. He fought on the barricades with Wagner (who is said to have cast his Siegfried in Bakunin's mould); and was arrested, and sent back to Russia.

In 1848 he entered the Peter-and-Paul fortress as a prisoner; later (during the Crimean War) he was sent to Schlüsselburg, in solitary confinement. Subsequently he was sent to Siberia, from which he escaped in 1861. Arriving in London, he threw himself into the activity of the International Working-Men's Association, the organisation arising out of the London Working-Men's Association. He became within the International the protagonist, indeed the personification, of all the anti-Statist elements, particularly strong in parts of France, the Jura, in Switzerland, in Italy, and he pioneered the movement in Spain. The German party, led by Marx, bitterly opposed the growth of "Bakuninism" and Anarchism. Marx stooped to violent personal attacks upon Bakunin's integrity, which finally succeeded in breaking up the International and driving Bakunin out of public life.

Bakunin died in 1876, in Switzerland. He had already become a legend amongst those who supported libertarian socialism. His character was admired by many even among the supporters of State socialism. He had no personal animosity against Marx, except in reaction to the slanders given out by Marx and his henchmen ("Russian spy" etc.) In the essay taken here from Bakunin's writings, Bakunin illustrates what is wrong with State Socialism.

You don't have to be a marxist to recognise that anarchists are a bit short on historical common sense; we tend to trot out the same old pat solutions irrespective of changing times and circumstances—I can recall a comrade sniffing at the suggestion of studying the possible organisation of an anarchist society, for no better reason than that Kropotkin had already done it all. However, some things stay valid, even a century on, and Bakunin's argument against state socialism, as set out in this little essay, is still rightly basic to anarchist thinking.

• This essay was previously published by Coptic Press in 1968, and it seemed a good idea to republish it in a fairly easy sort of cartoon format. (Oddly, no-one could think of a snappier title..) Sorry if it's not easy enough, but almost anything seems better than the patronising 'Lenin-for-Idiots' style of some marxist cartoon books. Like it says, if you don't know what 'hypostasis' means (and I didn't)—look it up!

Bakunin's basic argument is pretty simple, but he does tend to ramble on a bit, so I've cut away quite a lot of the original, especially his pro-slav, anti-German arguments, which no doubt made sense at the time, but are only of historical interest today. The cartoons maybe concentrate too much on the Soviet Union, and not enough on 'socialism' outside Europe, but so many well-intentioned militants still subscribe to some part of soviet mythology that it's still necessary, unfortunately, to put the record straight. The illustrations aren't meant to be comprehensive anyway—there isn't room. If you want any more examples of the accuracy of Bakunin's analysis, get hold of some good history books, or just take a look arund the world...

.What's left of Bakunin is typeset throughout; anything written is my addition. Anything with quotation marks is a direct quote (Yes, Lenin *did* say that!)—at least, according to the sources I used. Anything without is a paraphrase or just pure invention, though still, I trust, truthful.

R.W.



IRELAND, 1798.  
A WEXFORD CATECHISM:  
"I BELIEVE IN A REVOLUTION FOUNDED  
ON THE RIGHTS OF MAN, IN THE NATURAL  
AND IMPRESCRIPTABLE RIGHT OF ALL  
IRISH CITIZENS TO ALL THE LAND..."

"THEY ALSO FOUND THE BODIES OF TWO  
BEAUTIFUL WOMEN, FANTASTICALLY  
DRESSED IN GREEN SILK, WHO HAD  
CARRIED THE REBEL STANDARDS.  
THEY HAD BEEN KNOWN AS THE GODDESS  
OF LIBERTY AND THE GODDESS OF  
REASON, AND WERE APPARENTLY THE  
TOWN PROSTITUTES."

The French Revolution proclaimed the right and duty of every human individual to be a *man*



and so arrived at its ultimate conclusion in—

# Origins of socialism



the theories of Babeuf. Babeuf was one of the last energetic and pure-hearted citizens whom the Revolution created and then killed off in large numbers. Seeing that the Revolution was failing for lack of radical change, he conceived, faithful to the statist spirit of the Revolution, a political and social system according to which the Republic, viewed as the expression of the collective will of the citizens, would confiscate individual property and administer it in the interests of all, allotting education, the means of existence and pleasures to all in equal shares, and compelling all, without exception, to do physical or mental labour, in their capacity.





but his ideal of a state socialism did not die with him.



Taken up by Buonarrotti, and fostered by the secret societies which he founded in Belgium and France, these ideas of communism blossomed. Between 1830 and 1848 they were interpreted as the revolutionary socialism of Cabet and Louis Blanc.

Another socialist current, coming from the same source, and tending in the same direction, was founded by Saint-Simon and Fourier.



The merits of Saint-Simonism and Fourierism, often called Utopian and socialism, lie mainly in the profound scientific criticism they made of Christianity and the way in which they shook it in the cause of the rehabilitation of matter and of human passions. They wanted to replace Christianity with a new religion, based on the mystic cult of the flesh, with a new hierarchy of priests, people who would exploit the majority by virtue of their privilege of genius and talent. The Fourierists conceived their 'phalansteries' as being governed and administered through universal suffrage. There, they believed, each would find the kind of work and kind of place most natural to his passions. They were mistaken in thinking, firstly, that through the power of peaceful persuasion they would be able to touch the hearts of the rich, who would then come to lay down the surplus of their riches at the doors of their phalansteries.

They made a second mistake in imagining that it would be possible to construct theoretically, 'a priori', a social paradise in which all humanity could settle down forever.



Afternoon Snack in the Phalanstery.

"If the cherrytree series is united in large numbers in its great orchard, a mile from the phalanstery, it should, in the four o'clock to six o'clock evening session, see coming to meet it and its neighbours:

- 1) A cohort from the neighbouring phalanx of both sexes come to help the cherry gardeners:
- 2) A group of lady florists of the district, coming to cultivate a hundred-foot line of mallows and dahlias forming a perspective for the neighbouring road, and a square border for a vegetable field adjoining the orchard:
- 3) A group of the vegetable gardener series, come to cultivate the vegetables of this field:

- 4) A group of the thousand-flower series, coming for the cultivation of a sect altar, set between the vegetable field and the cherry orchard:
- 5) A group of strawberry maidens, coming at the end of the session, after cultivating a clearing planted with strawberries in the adjoining forest:

At a quarter to six, swing-carts from the phalanstery will bring the afternoon snack to all these groups: it will be served in the castle of the cherry-gardeners, from quarter to until quarter past six, then the groups will disperse after forming bonds of friendship and arranging industrial or other reunions for the days to follow...

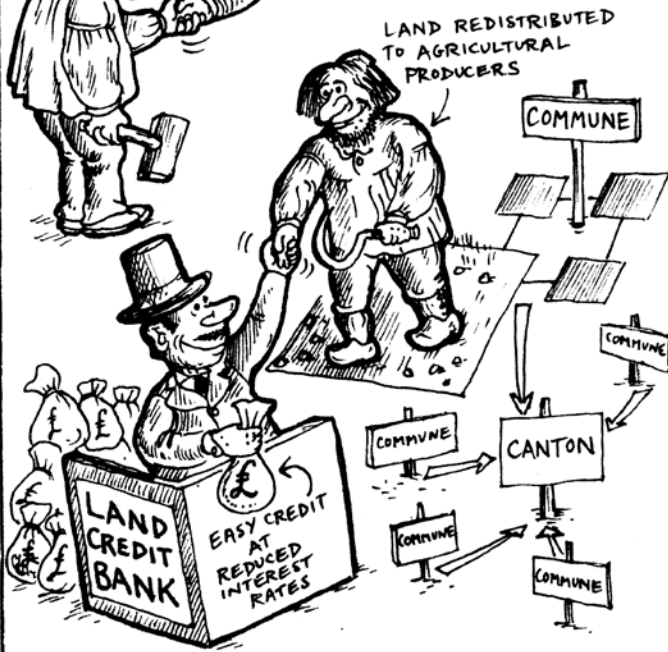
In general, regimentation was the passion common to all the socialists prior to 1848. Cabet, Louis Blanc, the Utopians—all were possessed by the passion to indoctrinate and to organise the future. All were authoritarians to some degree. The one exception was Proudhon.



The son of a peasant, and by instinct a hundred times more revolutionary than all the doctrinaire and bourgeois socialists, Proudhon developed a critical viewpoint, as ruthless as it was profound and penetrating, in order to destroy all their systems. Opposing liberty to authority, he proclaimed himself an Anarchist as distinct from the state socialists, and in the face of their deism or pantheism he also had the courage to declare himself an atheist.

# PROPERTY IS FREE DISTRIBUTION

(UNDER ANARCHY)



"THE CONTRACT RESOLVES ALL PROBLEMS: THE PRODUCER DEALS WITH THE CONSUMER, THE WORKER WITH HIS COMPANY, THE PEASANT WITH HIS COMMUNE, THE COMMUNE WITH THE CANTON...."

"UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, IN MY VIEW, IS NOTHING BUT A LOTTERY...."

"I AM READY TO BARGAIN, BUT I WANT NO LAWS. I RECOGNISE NONE OF THEM..."

"IF THE PEOPLE BECOME THE LEGISLATORS, WHAT NEED FOR REPRESENTATIVES? IF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES GOVERN, WHAT NEED FOR MINISTERS?"

"I WANT ORDER, BUT I WANT IT AS THE RESULT OF MY FREE CHOICE, A CONDITION FOR MY LABOUR, A LAW OF MY REASON..."



PROUDHON'S MODEL OF A FREE-MARKET, MUTUALIST ECONOMY, WITH THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE COLLECTIVE, AS THE BASIC SOCIAL UNIT. (BUT COULD SUCH AN ECONOMY SAFEGUARD ITSELF AGAINST DEGENERATION INTO RENEWED CAPITALISM?)

Proudhon's socialism was based upon individual and collective freedom, upon the spontaneous action of free associations, obeying no other laws but such general laws of the social economy as had already been discovered or might be discovered in the future. Such a socialism, functioning outside any governmental regulation or State protection, and subordinating politics to the economic, intellectual and moral interests of society, was bound in the course of time to arrive at federalism.

Such was the state of social science before 1848. New socialist ideas penetrated the working class, and when the revolution broke out in France in that year, socialism emerged as a powerful force.



But it was not socialism in general that went under in June 1848, only state socialism, the authoritarian, regimented socialism which believed that the State could satisfy all the needs and aspirations of the working class, and that once armed with unlimited power it would be able to inaugurate a whole new social order. Socialism did not die; on the contrary, it was the State that went bankrupt. Deciding that it was unable to pay off the debt it owed to socialism, the State attempted to kill it off instead, in order to remove the debt.

"YOU SPEAK WELL: THE PEOPLE HAS WELL CHOSEN ITS INTERPRETER, BUT TO SPEAK WELL IS NOT SUFFICIENT: WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE LANGUAGE OF REASON, WHICH GOD HAS BESTOWED UPON MEN FOR MUTUAL EXPLANATION, THAT WE MIGHT HELP, NOT DESTROY, EACH OTHER, ETC., ETC., ETC...."

1848: LAMARTINE, MINISTER OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE NEW FRENCH REPUBLIC, QUELLS THE SOCIALIST INSURRECTIONARIES BY TALKING DOWN THE YOUNG WORKER APPOINTED THEIR SPOKESMAN:

THIS COULD TURN NASTY... HOWEVER, THESE CLODS ARE EASILY IMPRESSED BY BIG WORDS...  
 BESIDES, THEY CANNOT CONCEIVE OF SEIZING POWER, BUT SIMPLY DEMAND THAT WE, THE GOVERNMENT, SHOULD EXECUTE THEIR SOCIALIST POLICIES FOR THEM....

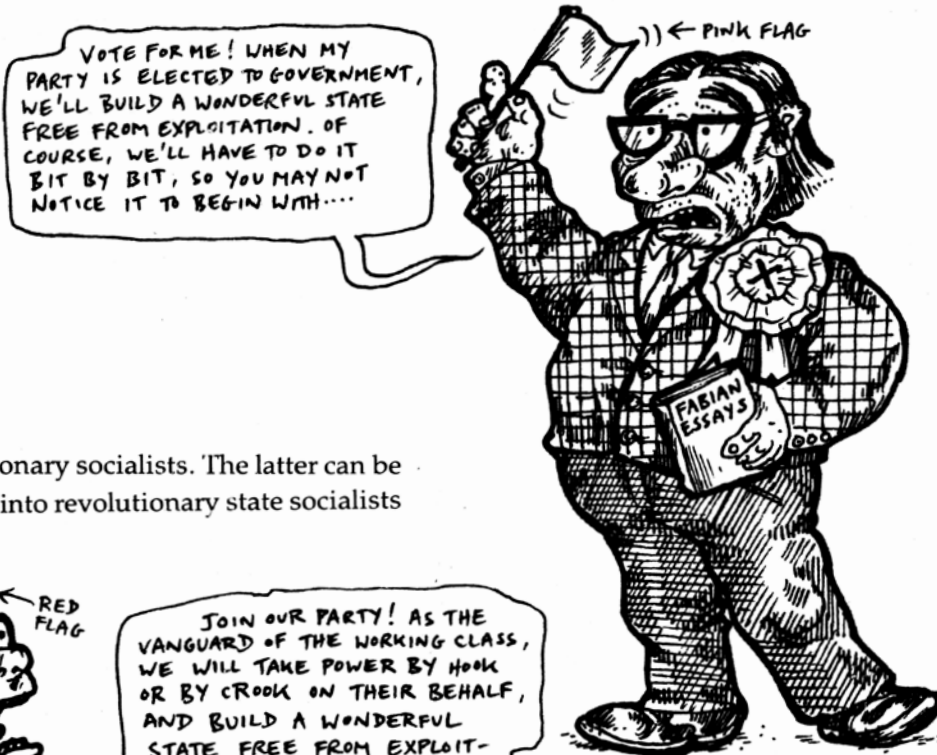
"I WISH THAT THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE OBEYED INSTANTLY, OR, IF NOT, NO MORE WORDS, BUT BULLETS! I AM A SIMPLE MAN, WHO CANNOT DEFEND HIMSELF WITH IDEAS - BUT I KNOW HOW TO DEMAND, AND I DEMAND WHAT THE PEOPLE HAS CHARGED ME TO SAY HERE -  
 THE EXTERMINATION OF PROPERTY, AND OF CAPITALISTS, EXPROPRIATION THE IMMEDIATE INSTALLATION OF THE DESTITUTE IN THE COMMUNITY OF GOODS, THE PROSCRIPTION OF BANKERS, THE RICH, MANUFACTURERS, THE BOURGEOIS OF EVERY CONDITION, THE LEVELLING OF EVERY SUPREMACY OF BIRTH, INHERITANCE AND LABOUR, AND THE IMMEDIATE ACCEPTANCE OF THE RED FLAG...."

The workers fought in June for the emancipation of the people, but they were united by instinct rather than by ideas. This was the main cause of their defeat. But is that any reason to doubt the future power of socialism? Christianity, which aimed to found the Kingdom of Justice in Heaven, took several centuries to conquer Europe. Is it any wonder that socialism, which has set itself a more difficult task, to found the Kingdom of Justice on Earth, has not triumphed in just a few years?



# Types of Socialist

Socialists can be divided into three essentially different types. First of all, there are peaceful or bourgeois socialists,



and revolutionary socialists. The latter can be sub-divided into revolutionary state socialists

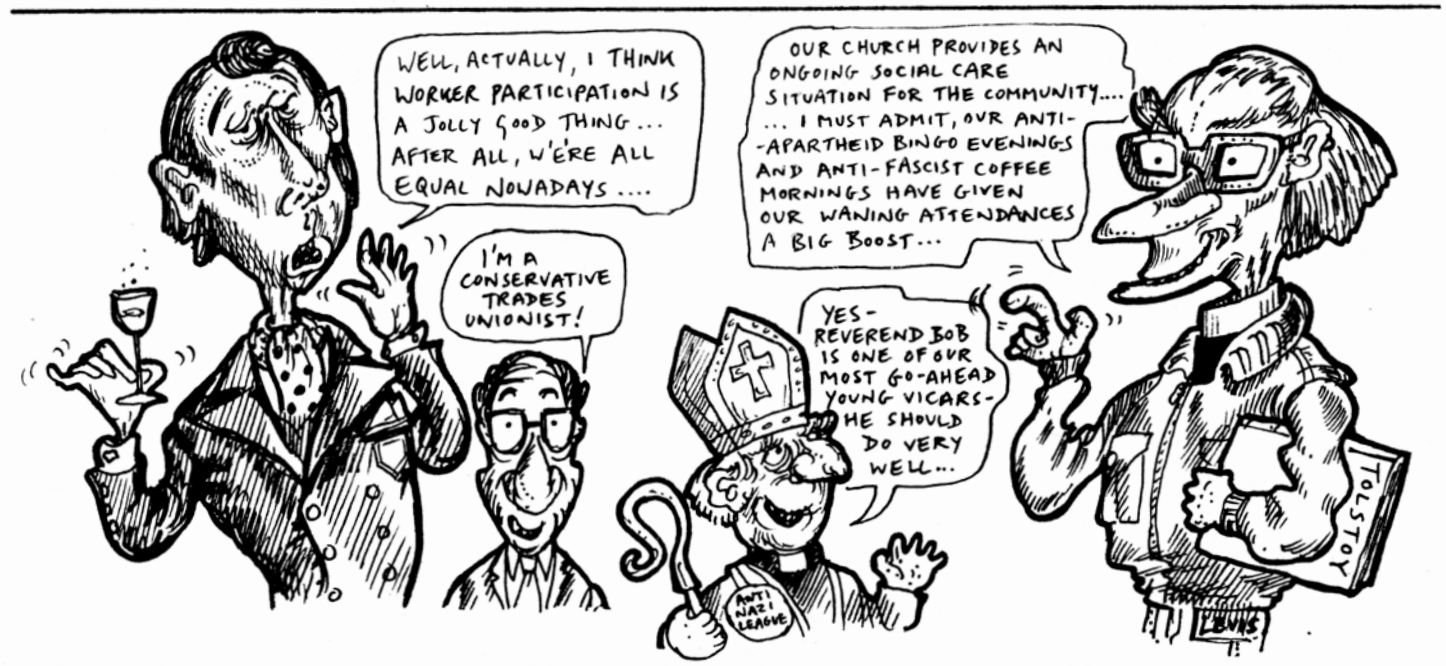


and revolutionary anarchist-socialists, the enemies of every State and every State principle.



The category of peaceful or bourgeois socialists belongs essentially to the party of reaction. It comprises men of various political persuasions, who are flirting with socialism only with a view to strengthening their own cause.

There are conservatives who are socialists...there are priests who are socialists...



...and there are liberals who are socialists.

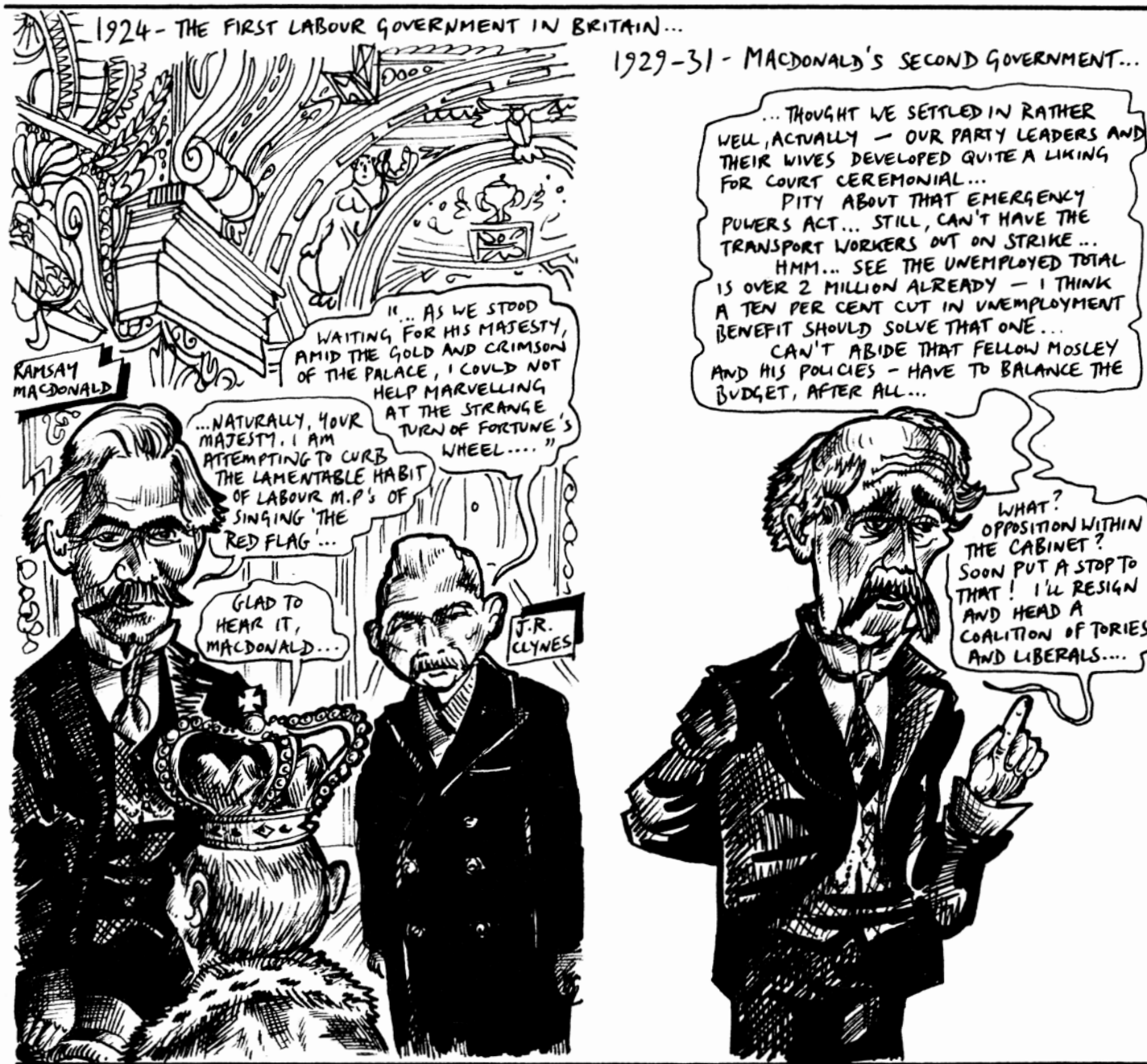


Each of them recognises a formidable rising force in socialism, and tries to channel it in his direction, hoping with its help to restore his own sinking and decrepit party. Among these many exploiters of socialism are some well-meaning people who really want to see an improvement in the lot of the proletariat, but who lack the intelligence or the will to see the social problem clearly. They may be sincere, but this sincerity is most harmful, as it disguises the insincerity of the malicious exploiters of socialism.



Bourgeois socialists of all varieties have one thing in common, which determines their reactionary tendencies and dooms even the most sincere among them to merge sooner or later with the party of deliberate and conscious reaction:

Since, by definition, there is a gulf between the bourgeois and the proletarian worlds, one being the exploited and the other the exploiters, it follows that a man born and raised in a bourgeois environment, who sincerely wishes to become a friend and brother of the workers, must renounce all the conditions of his past existence, turn his back on the bourgeois world, declare relentless war upon it, and plunge unreservedly into the world of the workers.



If his passion for justice is insufficient to inspire such resolution, he need not deceive himself, and should not deceive the workers; he will never become their friend. His ideas and dreams of justice may inspire him to join with the exploited in moments of calm contemplation when nothing much is happening in the world of the exploiters, but as soon as there comes a moment of crisis when those two opposing worlds meet in a great social struggle, all his former bonds will pull him back into his former world.

# revolutionary dictators



Idealists of all sorts, metaphysicians, those who uphold the priority of science over life, the doctrinaire revolutionaries—all of them champion, with different arguments but with equal zeal, the idea of State and State power, seeing in it, logically enough from their point of view, the only possible salvation of society. Logically, since they start from the assumption, which we think mistaken, that thought is prior to life, and abstract theory prior to social practice, and that therefore sociology must be the starting point for social upheaval and reconstruction.

MARK'S THEORY IS DERIVED FROM PHILOSOPHY; IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT DIALECTICAL METHOD IS PURELY SUBJECTIVE - JUST A MODE OF THOUGHT!

HOWEVER, IF I CAN TACK ON SOME STUFF ABOUT DIALECTICS IN NATURE, OUR THEORY WILL SEEM SCIENTIFIC, OBJECTIVE, AND INFALLIBLE!

I'LL SCOUR THE NATURAL SCIENCES FOR A FEW INSTANCES OF DIALECTICS IN ACTION - I DARE SAY NATURE IS BIG ENOUGH AND VARIED ENOUGH TO PROVIDE ONE OR TWO....

AND SO - "NATURAL SCIENTISTS MAY ADOPT WHATEVER ATTITUDE THEY PLEASE, THEY ARE STILL UNDER THE DOMINATION OF PHILOSOPHY. THE ONLY QUESTION IS WHETHER THEY WANT TO BE DOMINATED BY A BAD PHILOSOPHY.... OR BY OURS!"

AND - "DIALECTICS, SO-CALLED OBJECTIVE DIALECTICS, PREVAILS THROUGHOUT NATURE, AND SO-CALLED SUBJECTIVE DIALECTICS, DIALECTICAL THOUGHT, IS ONLY THE REFLECTION OF THE MOTION THROUGH OPPOSITES WHICH ASSERTS ITSELF EVERYWHERE IN NATURE..."

SEE? WE'RE NOT REALLY METAPHYSICIANS, WE'RE SCIENTISTS! WE MUST BE RIGHT!

"THE TEACHING OF MARX IS ALL-POWERFUL BECAUSE IT IS TRUE... IT IS COMPLETE AND HARMONIOUS, PROVIDING MEN WITH A CONSISTENT VIEW OF THE UNIVERSE..."

ALL I SAY IS ALL THERE IS!



I'M A SECRET POLICEMAN. CALL ME A THUG AND A TORTURER IF YOU LIKE, BUT I'M JUST SERVING THE UNIVERSAL LAWS THAT GOVERN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATURE, HUMAN SOCIETY AND THOUGHT.... O.K.?



WHAT'S ALL THIS? RUSSIAN DOLLS? PHYSICS - BEWARE OF METAPHYSICS!

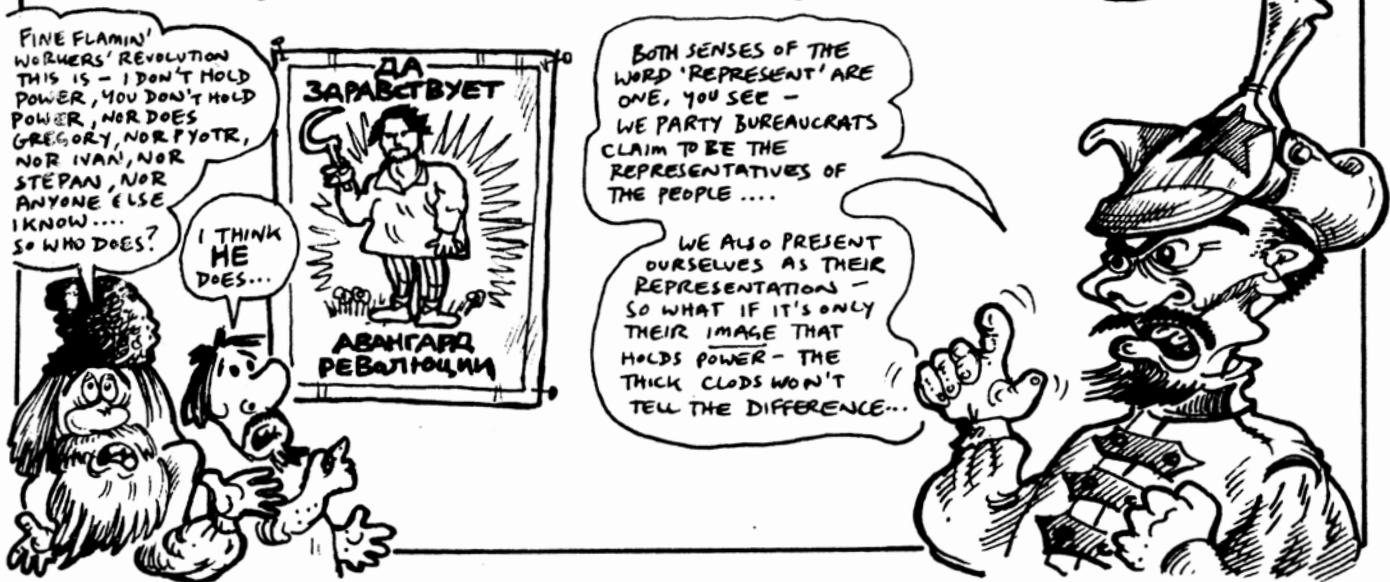


Since science and theory are at present, at least, the property of just a few people, they conclude that those few should direct social life, and not only encourage but actually rule all popular movements...



and that on the day after the revolution the new social organisations should be set up not by the free integration of workers' associations, villages, communes and regions, from below upwards, in line with the needs and instincts of the people, but solely by the dictatorial power of the learned minority, allegedly expressing the general will of the people.

A VILLAGE, SOMEWHERE IN RUSSIA,  
SOMETIME DURING THE CIVIL WAR...



The representation of the people is a fiction. The fact is that the masses are ruled by a small handful of privileged individuals elected (or for that matter not even elected) by crowds herded together on election day, ignorant of whom they elect, and why. Upon this fictitious and abstract expression of the imagined general will of the people, of which the real living people have not the slightest conception, the theory of the State and that of revolutionary dictatorship are based.





BEFORE THE REVOLUTION...

### POLICIES OF 1917 -

"ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS!!"  
"THE ENTIRE POWER IN THE STATE, FROM TOP TO BOTTOM, FROM THE REMOTEST VILLAGE TO EVERY SINGLE WARD IN THE CITY OF PETROGRAD, MUST BELONG TO THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS, SOLDIERS, PEASANTS, AND FARM LABOURERS' DEPUTIES"

"A STATE WHICH IN SOME RESPECTS, AS ENGELS SAID, CEASES TO BE A STATE..."

"A STATE WHICH REPLACES AN ARMY, SET APART FROM THE PEOPLE, WITH AN ARMED PEOPLE"

"WE UPHOLD THE RIGHT TO RECALL ANY OFFICIAL AT ANY TIME AND WE ARE FOR PROLETARIAN STANDARDS OF REMUNERATING OFFICIALS"

"FREEDOM OF THE PRESS MEANS THAT THE OPINIONS OF ALL CITIZENS ARE GIVEN WIDE PUBLICITY. THIS WOULD BE FREEDOM FOR ALL AND NOT FOR RICH PEOPLE ONLY..."

COMRADE LENIN! YOUR POLICIES SEEM TO DEVELOP BY CONTRADICTION THEMSELVES - IS THIS WHAT IS CALLED DIALECTICS?

WELL, ACTUALLY, COMRADE, NO! IT'S JUST OPPORTUNISM IN THE PURSUIT OF PARTY POLITICAL POWER! ANYWAY, I'M FOLLOWING IN MARX'S FOOTSTEPS - LOOK HOW HE DID AN ABOUT-TURN ON THE PARIS COMMUNE....

BESIDES, LOOK WHAT IT'S DONE FOR OUR MEMBERSHIP - COMRADE SVERDLOV WILL GIVE YOU THE FIGURES...

RIGHT! FROM 24,000 TO 240,000 IN 6 MONTHS!

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, AND WE HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LAG BEHIND...



### BUT LATER...

"WE, THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY CONQUERED RUSSIA... AND NOW WE HAVE TO GOVERN RUSSIA..."

"WE NEED A FIRM GOVERNMENT, VIOLENCE AND COMPUSSION..."

"ALL THE ILLUSIONS ABOUT WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVES SHOULD BE LIVED DOWN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE"

"SHUN THE METHODS OF THE DISORDERLY GUERRILLAS, THE SELF-WILL OF INDIVIDUAL DETACHMENTS WHO REFUSE TO OBEY THE DICTATES OF THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES..."

"THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION WISH TO SUBJECT TO THEIR GUIDANCE THE COUNCILS OF NATIONAL ECONOMY, THE CENTRAL ORGANS AND PRINCIPAL COMMITTEES... CAN HE BE EXPECTED COMRADES, TO TAKE ALL THIS SERIOUSLY?"

"SOON ALL THESE PAPERS WILL BE CLOSED... THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT WILL WIPE OUT THE SHAMEFUL PURVEYING OF BOURGEOIS OPIUM..."

"AN OPEN PROOF OF ONE'S MENSHEVISM SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT GROUND FOR SHOOTING"

"WHAT IS DEMANDED ON OUR PART IS FREQUENT SHIFTS IN OUR LINE OF BEHAVIOUR..."

"WE WROTE PROGRAMMES AND MADE CONTINUAL PROMISES. AT THAT TIME IT WAS A REAL NECESSITY. WE WENT THROUGH A PERIOD WHEN DECREES WERE FOR US A FORM OF PROPAGANDA... THE RESULT WAS THE ENORMOUS GAIN OF CONFIDENCE THAT WE NOW ENJOY WITH THE MASSES. THIS WAS A NECESSARY STAGE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION. WITHOUT THIS APPROACH WE WOULD HAVE LOST THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, AND WE HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LAG BEHIND..."

"WE SHALL AFFIRM OUR ALLEGIANCE TO CENTRALISM AND STRONG GOVERNMENT..."

"OUR PARTY AIMS TO OBTAIN POLITICAL POWER FOR ITSELF"

"THOSE THAT DO NOT SUPPORT WHOHEARTEDLY THE FORCES OF ORDER AND DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE ARMY ARE TRAITORS, AND MUST BE RUTHLESSLY DESTROYED..."

KAMENEV HAS DECREED THE ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY INTRODUCED BY KERENSKY - THIS IS OUTRAGEOUS!

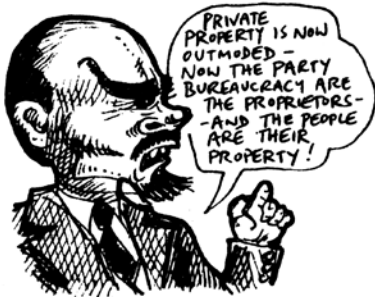
"THE PHILISTINES HOWL: 'THE BOLSHEVICS HAVE INTRODUCED SHOOTINGS. OUR ANSWER SHOULD BE: 'YES, WE DID!'"

AND SO -

KROPTKIN  
BANKOVIN



The doctrinaire socialists who aim to overthrow the existing authorities and regimes, in order to build a dictatorship of their own upon the ruins, never were and never will be enemies of the State, but on the contrary always were and always will be its zealous champions. It is clear why. They are only enemies of the powers-that-be because they cannot take their places. They are enemies of the existing political institutions only because these institutions stand in the way of their own dictatorship, but they are at the same time the most ardent friends of State power. Without such power, the Revolution, by freeing the working masses, would obviously not allow this minority of would-be revolutionaries any opportunity to put the people into a new harness and shower upon them the blessings of their new governmental measures.



PRIVATE PROPERTY IS NOW OUTMODED - NOW THE PARTY BUREAUCRACY ARE THE PROPRIETORS - AND THE PEOPLE ARE THEIR PROPERTY!

"INDIVIDUAL APPROPRIATION OF SURPLUS VALUE IS SUCCEEDED BY A COLLECTIVE APPROPRIATION BY THE STATE ... THE BUREAUCRACY DEDUCTS AN UNWARRANTED PORTION FROM THE WORK OF THE SUBJECT CLASSES ... WHICH CORRESPONDS MORE OR LESS TO THE OLD CAPITALIST PROFIT." (BORIS SOUVARIN)

"... THE CONTINUAL CREATION OF NEW OFFICES, OF NEW BUREAUCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, FOR WHICH OFFICIALS ARE NAMED AND REMUNERATED BEFORE THESE NEW INSTITUTIONS BEGIN TO OPERATE..." ('PRAVDA', FEB. 1919)



"AN EMPLOYEE OF THE COMMISSARIAT OF LIPETZK, IN ORDER TO BUY NINE BOXES OF NAILS AT THE PRICE OF 417 ROUBLES, HAD TO FILL IN 20 FORMS, OBTAIN TEN ORDERS AND THIRTEEN SIGNATURES, AND HAD TO WAIT TWO DAYS TO GET THEM, AS THE BUREAUCRATS WHO SHOULD HAVE SIGNED THEM COULD NOT BE FOUND." ('IZVESTIA', NOV. 1918)



"EACH OF US SEES EACH DAY INNUMERABLE CASES OF VIOLENCE, ABUSE OF POWER, CORRUPTION, LAZINESS, ETC. ALL OF US KNOW THAT INTO OUR SOVIET INSTITUTIONS CRETINS AND INCOMPETENTS HAVE ENTERED EN MASSE..." ('PRAVDA', FEB. 1919)

THE VALUE OF OUR WAGES IS GETTING SMALLER! OUR CONTROL OF PRODUCTION HAS BEEN WHITTLED AWAY! THE WORKFORCE IS SMALLER - HALF OF THEM HAVE BEEN ARRESTED!

THE FAMINE IS BAD - THE POPULATION OF OUR VILLAGE IS SMALLER! THE AMOUNT OF GRAIN YOU LEAVE US IS SMALLER...

THE ONLY THING THAT GETS BIGGER IS THE BUREAUCRACY!

"THERE ARE HERE AND THERE, CAREERISTS, SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE, WHO HAVE FASTENED ONTO US... BECAUSE WE ARE IN POWER...  
... WE NEED A TERRORISTIC PURGE...  
"WE SHALL BE FIGHTING THE EVILS OF BUREAUCRACY FOR MANY YEARS TO COME..."

SOVIET RUSSIA: THE LAND OF TEN MILLION BUREAUCRATS...



"WE'D BETTER SHOOT A COUPLE - IT'LL CREATE THE RIGHT IMPRESSION WITH THE PEOPLE... NATURALLY, WE CAN'T PURGE THE ENTIRE BUREAUCRACY, OR OUR ADMINISTRATION WILL COLLAPSE ENTIRELY.. AS A CENTRALIST, I MUST SAY THAT A BAD BUREAUCRACY IS BETTER THAN NO BUREAUCRACY AT ALL...."



"THE HISTORICAL ABSURDITY OF AUTOCRATIC BUREAUCRACY IN A CLASSLESS SOCIETY CANNOT BE SUSTAINED AND WILL NOT BE SUSTAINED INDEFINITELY" (TROTSKY, 1935)

"WHEN TROTSKY WROTE THIS, HE WAS SAYING AN ABSURD THING ABOUT THE HISTORICAL ABSURDITY! IN HISTORY THERE IS NO ABSURDITY. AN AUTOCRATIC BUREAUCRACY IS A CLASS, THEREFORE IT IS NOT ABSURD THAT IT SHOULD EXIST IN A SOCIETY WHERE CLASSES REMAIN, - THE BUREAUCRATIC CLASS AND THE PROLETARIAN CLASS. IF THE USSR WAS A 'CLASSLESS' SOCIETY, IT WOULD ALSO BE A SOCIETY WITHOUT A BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY, WHICH IS THE NATURAL FRUIT OF THE PERMANENT EXISTENCE OF THE STATE"

AS A MARXIST, WHO SUPPOSEDLY BELIEVES CHARACTER TO BE THE PRODUCT OF SOCIAL FORCES, I TOO OUGHT TO MAINTAIN THAT THERE IS NO ABSURDITY IN HISTORY... IF THIS WERE SO, IT WOULD FOLLOW THAT THE BUREAUCRATIC CLASS AND ITS EVILS ARE THE DIRECT PRODUCT OF BOLSHEVIK IDEOLOGY. I CAN HARDLY ADMIT THAT TO MYSELF, LET ALONE TO THE MASSES... INSTEAD, I HAVE TO TALK OF 'GOOD' BUREAUCRATS AND 'BAD' ONES, OF 'ABUSES' OF AN OTHERWISE 'HONEST' SYSTEM. BUT HOW TO ACCOUNT FOR SUCH 'ABUSES'? I'M FORCED TO PROMOTE THE VERY UN-MARXIST LINE THAT THEY ARE PERPETRATED BY WICKED PEOPLE, WHO MUST BE PUNISHED. IN SHORT, I CAN ONLY THINK LIKE A COP..."

(CAMILLO BERNERI)

THE LOGIC OF REPRESSION....

THE REVOLUTION IS THREATENED BY THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL WHITE REACTION - ONE AFTER ANOTHER OF TSARISTS AND FOREIGN INTERVENTIONISTS IS ATTEMPTING TO RE-ESTABLISH THE OLD ORDER! NO REVOLUTIONARY OF ANY PERSUASION CAN DENY THAT THIS IS WAR TO THE DEATH! SO FAR, SO GOOD...

NOW, SINCE THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IS THE MOST POWERFUL SINGLE FACTION IN THE WAR AGAINST THE WHITES, VICTORY MUST DEPEND ON THE SUCCESSFUL LEADERSHIP OF THE WAR EFFORT BY THE PARTY... THEREFORE, ANY REVOLUTIONARY WHO DEFILES THIS LEADERSHIP WEAKENS THE WAR EFFORT AND AIDS THE WHITES! TO PUT IT SIMPLY, IF YOU DISAGREE WITH US, YOU ARE, OBJECTIVELY, A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY!



**THE GREAT LENINO!**  
WORLD-FAMOUS POLITICAL REVISIONIST!!  
APPEARING TONITE!!

COMRADE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN!  
YOU SEE BEFORE YOU A SIMPLE REVOLUTIONARY - MAYBE AN ANARCHIST, AN S-R, A MENSHEVIK, A DISILLUSIONED BOLSHEVIK, OR JUST A GRUMPY PEASANT - HE HAS NOTHING IN HIS POCKETS, AND NO STRINGS ATTACHED...

NOW - JUST ONE TAP WITH MY TRUNCHEON - AHEM - MAGIC DIALECTICAL WAND, AND THE MAGIC WORDS "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" - AND...  
OW!  
... HE IS INSTANTLY TRANSFORMED INTO A PETTY-BOURGEOIS WHITE-GUARDIST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY BANDIT!!

BOING!

SO I'M SCARED OF WHITES UNDER THE BED... O.K., BUT YOU CAN'T PUT IT ALL DOWN TO MY PERSONAL NIGHTMARE...

"THOSE WHO UPHOLD THE EQUALITY OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS ARE PARTISANS OF THE WHITE GENERALS... EVEN IF THEY ARE NOT ALTOGETHER AWARE OF IT..."  
"THE MENSHEVIKS AND SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONISTS ARE THE ACCOMPLICES OF THE WHITE GUARDISTS, SOME BY DESIGN AND THROUGH SPITE, OTHERS BECAUSE OF A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING..."  
"THOSE THAT DO NOT BACK UP THE RED ARMY WHOLEHEARTEDLY... ARE PARTISANS OF KOLCHAK, AND ARE TO BE RUTHLESSLY DESTROYED..."  
"IF YOU DON'T REFRAIN FROM OPENLY ENUNCIATING SUCH VIEWS, YOU WILL BE PUT AGAINST THE WALL... WE SHALL HAVE TO TREAT YOU AS THE WORST AND MOST HARMFUL WHITE-GUARDIST ELEMENTS..."

YOU'VE GOT TO ADMIT - I'M CONSISTENT! IN EVERY CONFRONTATION OR DISAGREEMENT I HAVE IDENTIFIED THE SOLUTION IMPLIED BY EARLIER DECISIONS... I'M RIGHT EVERY TIME, IN MY OWN TERMS - THE MAINTENANCE OF MINORITY POWER REQUIRES THAT, EVERY TIME THERE IS A DISPUTE WITHIN THE MINORITY, ONE FACTION MUST BE SUPPRESSED, IF NECESSARY, BY FORCE. THE MINORITY KEEPS GETTING SMALLER... IT'S NO GOOD BLEATING FOR A LITTLE LESS TERROR, IT'S ALL OR NOTHING!!

The State inevitably means domination...

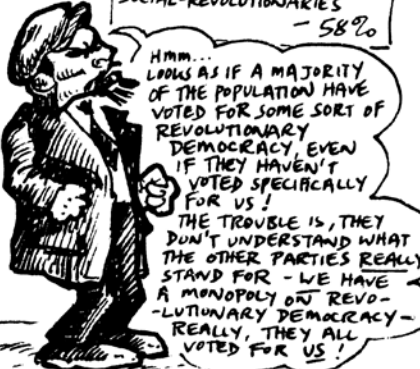


**CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS DEC. 1917**

BOURGEOIS PARTIES	- 13%
BOLSHEVIKS	- 25%
MENSHEVIKS	- 4%
SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARIES	- 58%



**5TH. CONGRESS OF SOVIETS JULY 1918**

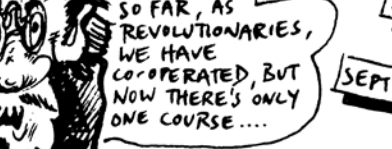


**MAY 1918** CONVENTION OF SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARIES RAIDED AND DELEGATES ARRESTED...



**ARMED REBELLION!**

**JUNE 1918** MENSHEVIKS AND SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARIES EXPELLED FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF SOVIETS... MANY LEADING "LEFT" S-R'S ARRESTED... PARTY UNOFFICIALLY PROSCRIBED...



**AUGUST 1918** DELEGATES TO CONFERENCE OF S-R'S IN ASTRAKHAN ALL ARRESTED AND SHOT...

**SEPT 1918** ETC... **OCT 1918** ETC... ETC...



ADMIRAL KOLCHAK, WHITE 'SUPREME COMMANDER', 1918..

...which shows that the idea of a 'People's State' is a ridiculous contradiction, a fiction, a falsehood—though doubtless an unconscious falsehood—and a most dangerous pitfall for the proletariat, however popular it might be made in form, the State will always be an institution of domination and exploitation, and therefore a permanent cause of slavery and misery. Consequently the only way to emancipate the people economically and politically, to provide them with well-being and freedom...

... AND NEXT, WE DISPOSE OF THE GREATEST HERESY OF ALL - THE HERESY OF HERESIES - THE VERITABLE ARCH-HERESY - THAT BLASPHEMY FOR WHICH THERE IS NO FORGIVENESS -

# MENSHEVISM!



good bolsheviks recoiling at the very word

SOME PAST HISTORY -

## SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY, JULY 1903.....

### THE BIG SPLIT.....

THE MINORITY ("MENSHEVIKS")

WE MUST HAVE A BROAD, FLEXIBLE PARTY, INCORPORATING FREE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS...

MARTOV

THE DEMAND FOR OBEDIENCE TO ALL DECISIONS OF THE PARTY IS FORMAL-ISTIC AND BUREAUCRATIC...

EVERY STRIKER IS AUTOMATICALLY A MEMBER...

AMATEURISM! TO BE A PARTY MEMBER, ONE MUST WORK FOR A PARTY ORGANIZATION AND ACCEPT PARTY DISCIPLINE.....

"IT IS NOT THE TASK OF THE PARTY TO LOWER ITS LEVEL TO THAT OF EVERY STRIKER..."

"ALL WORSHIP OF THE SPONTANEITY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, ALL BELITTLING OF THE ROLE OF THE PARTY, MEANS STRENGTHENING THE INFLUENCE OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY..."

SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY ARISES NOT FROM THE SPONTANEOUS MOVEMENT, BUT FROM SCIENCE...

THE LENINIST MAJORITY ("BOLSHEVIKS")

THE MENSHEVIKS WILL COME TO NOTHING...

WE SHOULD NOT IMPOSE AN IDEOLOGY ON THE WORKING CLASSES - THEY WILL DEVELOP IT SPONTANEOUSLY...

THE 'ECONOMIST' FACTION

THE SPLIT IS NOT RESOLVED, BUT THE TWO TENDENCIES DEVELOP INDEPENDENTLY... IN 1912, THE BOLSHEVIKS CONSTITUTE AN INDEPENDENT PARTY... UNTIL, BY 1921.....

"WE WILL KEEP THE MENSHEVIKS IN PRISON..."

"WHEN WE TALK OF USING MACHINE-GUNS, WE HAVE IN MIND PEOPLE WHO CALL THEMSELVES MENSHEVIKS..."

"AN AVOWAL OF MENSHEVIK VIEWS SHOULD BE PUNISHED BY OUR REVOLUTIONARY COURTS WITH SHOOTING, OTHERWISE THE LATTER ARE NOT COURTS, BUT GOD KNOWS WHAT..."

NO MORE VOTES - BULLETS THIS TIME!



DIDN'T I SAY THEY WOULD COME TO NOTHING? WE MADE SURE OF THAT...



THE TERROR WITHIN THE ARMY....

1920 - THE RETREAT OF THE RED ARMY AT THE POLISH FRONT RESULTS IN WHOLESALE EXECUTIONS - ORDERS ARE GIVEN TO DETAIN THOSE WHO RETREAT AND SHOOT ONE IN TEN....



"DESERTERS WHO DO NOT CARRY OUT MILITARY ORDERS WILL BE SHOT!"

"ANY SOLDIER WHO UNWARRANTEDLY ABANDONS HIS POST WILL BE SHOT!"

ANYONE WHO THROWS AWAY HIS RIFLE OR EVEN SELLS PART OF HIS EQUIPMENT WILL BE SHOT!"

**FIRE!**

THE BOLSHEVIKS EXPEND MORE BULLETS ON THEIR OWN MEN AND ON THE IRREGULARS THAN THEY DO ON THE ENEMY!



**EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS 1919**

COMRADE ULR COMMISSAR TROTSKY IS SHOOTING PROMINENT PARTY MEMBERS SERVING AT THE FRONT SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE INCURRED HIS DISPLEASURE!

THE 'MILITARY OPPOSITION' WITHIN THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY - DELEGATES FROM THE ARMY COMPLAIN-



THE ARMY IS FILLED WITH TSARIST OFFICERS, WHO ARE BETRAYING THE REVOLUTION!

THE IRREGULAR DETACHMENTS AND INDEPENDENT UNITS, WHO HAVE DONE ALL THE FIGHTING, ARE BEING WIPED OUT!

1924 - NON-BOLSHEVIK FIGHTERS OF THE IRREGULAR ARMY OF THE FAR EAST - MAXIMALISTS, 'LEFT' S-R'S, ANARCHISTS AND NON-PARTISAN REVOLUTIONARIES - WHO HAVE DEFEATED BOTH WHITES AND JAPANESE INTERVENTIONISTS, ARE ARRESTED AND SHOT, IN THE INTERESTS OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE HIGH COMMAND...



"EITHER WE CREATE A STRICTLY DISCIPLINED ARMY, OR WE PERISH!"

WE MUST ELIMINATE THE SURVIVALS OF THE GUERRILLA SPIRIT, USE THE MILITARY EXPERTISE OF THE OFFICERS OF THE OLD ARMY, AND CREATE A REGULAR RED ARMY FOUNDED ON IRON DISCIPLINE... WHEN WE RUN OUT OF PARTY VOLUNTEERS, WE SIMPLY INTRODUCE CONSCRIPTION!

CONGRESS REJECTS THE PROPOSALS OF THE 'MILITARY OPPOSITIONS'!

"WHEN AN ARMY IS FORCED TO RETREAT, MACHINE GUNS ARE PLACED IN THE REAR. IF THE RETREAT TURNS INTO A STAMPEDE, THE ORDER IS GIVEN TO FIRE, - AND RIGHTLY SO!"

INDEPENDENT MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS SOON TURNS INTO INDEPENDENT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION - AND WE CAN'T HAVE THAT!

DJUGASHVILI ("STALIN")



THIS MAKHNO SEEMS A COURAGEOUS PARTISAN & A REAL REVOLUTIONARY: I MUST HAVE A CHAT WITH HIM & TELL HIM ABOUT DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM. LET'S MAKE A PACT WITH HIM AGAINST DENIKIN...

GOOD IDEA... WE COULD EVEN RECOGNIZE AN AUTONOMOUS REGION FOR THE PEASANT COLLECTIVES...

THE PEASANTS THINK MORE OF MAKHNO THAN OF US - OFF TO THE UKRAINE, LEV, AND SORT THINGS OUT!!

THE MAKHNOVISTS ARE KULAKS AND BANDITS! THEY'RE IN LEAGUE WITH DENIKIN! (WE'LL RAID HIS H.Q. AND TO ASSASSINATE HIM!)

DENIKIN'S BEATING US AGAIN - BETTER RESUME THE ALLIANCE WITH MAKHNO...

MMM... YES... BESIDES, THE AGENTS WERE CAUGHT...



MARCH 1919

MAY 1919

SUMMER 1919



DURING THE CIVIL WAR, THE UKRAINE IS SUBJECTED TO FOURTEEN "GOVERNMENTS" IN FOUR YEARS. PEASANT ARMIES, LED BY THE ANARCHIST NESTOR MAKHNO, FIGHT OFF, IN TURN:

...is to abolish the State, to abolish all States...





.... BOURGEOIS NATIONALISTS, ... THE AUSTRIO-GERMANS & THEIR PUPPETS, ... WHITE GENERALS, ... POGROMISTS, ... AND, FROM TIME TO TIME, BOLSHEVIKS ...

LIBERTARIAN RURAL COMMUNES ARE ESTABLISHED, THOUGH THE MOVEMENT DOES NOT ADAPT ITSELF TO THE CITIES. BETRAYED BY THE REDS, MAKHNO IS FORCED INTO EXILE, HIS COMMANDERS MURDERED AND HIS ARMIES DISPERSED...

...and once and for all to do away with what until now has been called 'politics'.

"THE ANARCHISTS ARE STRONG IN IDEAS ABOUT THE FUTURE — IN THE PRESENT, THEY DON'T HAVE THEIR FEET ON THE GROUND. THEIR ATTITUDE IS DEPLORABLE, AND BECAUSE THEIR FANATICISM IS DEVOID OF CONTENT, THEY ARE WITHOUT REAL LINKS WITH THIS FUTURE WHICH THEY DREAM ABOUT..."

MOSCOW, JUNE 1918: MAKHNO VISITS SVERDLOV AND LENIN...

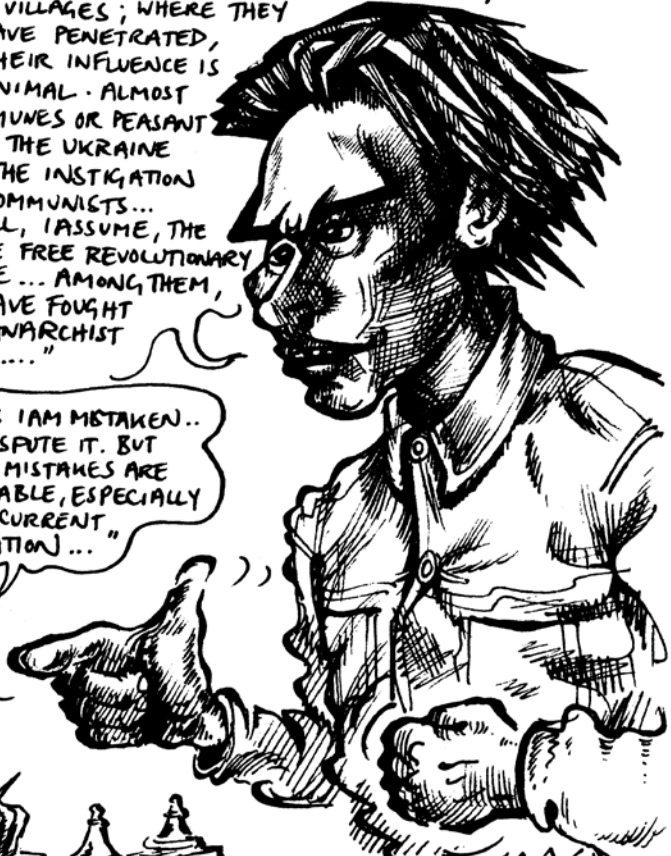
"... YOUR ASSERTION IS FUNDAMENTALLY MISTAKEN. THE ANARCHIST-COMMUNISTS IN THE UKRAINE HAVE ALREADY GIVEN MANY PROOFS THAT THEY ARE FIRMLY PLANTED IN THE PRESENT. YOUR BOLSHEVIKS HAVE SCARCELY ANY PRESENCE IN OUR VILLAGES; WHERE THEY

"YOU CAN'T DISPUTE THAT. VLADIMIR ILYICH'S COMMENTS ARE JUST..."

HAVE PENETRATED, THEIR INFLUENCE IS MINIMAL. ALMOST

ALL THE COMMUNES OR PEASANT ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UKRAINE WERE FORMED AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE ANARCHIST-COMMUNISTS... YOU KNOW PERFECTLY WELL, I ASSUME, THE FIGHTING CAPACITY OF THE FREE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF THE UKRAINE... AMONG THEM, AT LEAST ONE HALF HAVE FOUGHT UNDER THE ANARCHIST BANNER...."

"PERHAPS I AM MISTAKEN.. I DON'T DISPUTE IT. BUT ANYWAY MISTAKES ARE UNAVOIDABLE, ESPECIALLY IN OUR CURRENT SITUATION..."



1920: EMMA GOLDMAN AND ALEXANDER BERKMAN VISIT LENIN TO PLEAD THE CASE OF ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIAN PRISONS...

"ANARCHISTS? NONSENSE! WE DO HAVE BANDITS IN PRISON, AND MAKHNOVITES, BUT NO IDEOLOGICAL ANARCHISTS..."

MAKHNO:  
"AND NOTICING I HAD BECOME A LITTLE HOT UNDER THE COLLAR, HE DID HIS BEST TO PACIFY ME IN A PATERNAL WAY, DIVERTING THE INTERVIEW VERY ADRITLY ONTO ANOTHER SUBJECT. BUT MY BAD CHARACTER, IF I MAY CALL IT THAT, WOULD NOT ALLOW ME TO INTEREST MYSELF IN FURTHER DISCUSSION, IN SPITE OF ALL THE RESPECT LENIN INSPIRED IN ME. I FELT INSULTED. ALTHOUGH I KNEW THAT IN FRONT OF ME WAS A MAN WITH WHOM THERE WERE MANY OTHER TOPICS TO TAKE UP AND

FROM WHOM THERE WAS MUCH TO LEARN, MY STATE OF MIND WAS ALTERED. MY ANSWERS WERE NO LONGER AS DETAILED. SOMETHING IN ME SNAPPED AND I EXPERIENCED A FEELING OF REVULSION."





which, as we know, does not stand in very great favour with the Marxists, and, finding itself on a lower cultural level, would probably be ruled by the proletariat of city and factory.

THE IMPERIALIST TERROR: THE 'LIBERATION' OF TRANSCAUCASIA -



HERE IN THE CAUCASUS, WE'VE ALWAYS BEEN WHAT YOU MIGHT CALL 'SUBJECT PEOPLES' - WE'VE BEEN INVADED BY VIKINGS, SEMITES, MONGOLS, TROJANS, THE GREEKS, UNDER ALEXANDER, THE ROMANS UNDER POMPEY, THE BYZANTINES, THE PERSIANS, THE HUNS, THE ARABS, THE CRUSADERS AND, LAST BUT NOT LEAST....

... THE RUSSIANS! UNDER THE TSARS, OUR PEOPLES HAVE BEEN EXPLOITED, RUSSIFIED, AND INCITED TO MUTUAL EXTERMINATION! ... THE NOBELS AND ROTHSCHILDS HAVE BEEN INVITED IN TO PLUNDER OUR OIL AND MINERALS...

... UNTIL THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION GAVE US THE CHANCE TO ESTABLISH INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENTS - THE NATIONALIST MUSATAVISTS IN AZERBAIDJAN,

THE DASHNAK NATIONALISTS IN ARMENIA...

AND THE MENSHIEVKS IN GEORGIA!

THE BOLSHIEVKS HAVE INVADED!! - BUT WAR HASN'T BEEN DECLARED - WHAT CAN WE DO??

THIS IS PREPOSTEROUS! WE'RE AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST REPUBLIC! WHY SHOULD THEY DO THIS TO US?

QUICK - SEND A TELEGRAM TO LENIN AND TROTSKY - "PLEASE DO NOT INVADE"

THERE'S NO REPLY!!

WELL THAT WAS A CINCH - WE'VE PUT THE USUAL WHEELS IN MOTION - ROUND UP THE POLITICOES AND TRADES UNIONISTS - STAMP ON THE WORKERS A BIT...

FINE, FINE... IF ANYONE COMPLAINS, I DIDN'T AUTHORISE IT, O.K.? WE'LL BLAME IT ON STALIN...

NOTHING CHANGES MUCH IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD...

not in afghanistan, eh?

GEORGIA, 1920

MIDNIGHT IN THE LENIN MAUSOLEUM...  
THE BELL CHIMES IN RED SQUARE...

THE LOGIC OF REPRESSION - CONTINUED...  
THE CULT OF THE LIVING DEAD...



"I WAS FASCINATED BY THE INSUPERABLE FORCE OF LENIN'S LOGIC, WHICH, ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT DRY, STEADILY TOOK POSSESSION OF THE AUDIENCE, GRADUALLY ELECTRIFYING IT AND THEN CAPTURING IT COMPLETELY. I REMEMBER MANY OF THE DELEGATES REMARKING THAT THE LOGIC OF LENIN'S SPEECHES RESEMBLED ALL-POWERFUL TENTACLES WHICH GRIPPED LIKE PINCERS, AND FROM WHICH THERE WAS NO ESCAPE - ONE EITHER HAD TO SURRENDER TO HIM OR FACE UTTER FAILURE..."

"WE COMMUNISTS ARE PEOPLE OF A SPECIAL MOULD. WE ARE THOSE WHO FORM THE ARMY OF COMRADE LENIN. THERE IS NOTHING HIGHER THAN THE HONOUR OF BELONGING TO THIS ARMY. THERE IS NOTHING HIGHER THAN THE TITLE OF MEMBER OF THE PARTY WHOSE FOUNDER AND LEADER IS COMRADE LENIN!"



"YOU ARE SO FAMILIAR WITH THE TERM 'LENINISM' THAT YOU MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO REALISE HOW STRANGE IT SOUNDED WHEN FIRST I PROMOTED IT - AFTER ALL, WE MARXISTS ARE SUPPOSED TO WORSHIP IMPERSONAL FORCES, NOT INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITIES... BUT WHAT WAS LENIN AS A MAN? NO MORE THAN THE EMBODIMENT OF HIS OWN IDEOLOGY, WHICH I INHERIT... THE CULT OF LENIN AND THE CULT OF STALIN ARE ONE CULT - IF HE HAD LIVED, HE WOULD HAVE DONE PRECISELY WHAT I AM DOING...."

"TO BE A DISCIPLE OF STALIN AND A VEHICLE OF STALIN'S POLICY IS AN HONOUR FOR EVERY PROLETARIAN!"

"STALIN - THE GENIUS OF THE NEW WORLD - THE WISEST MAN OF THE EPOCH...." ('PRAVDA' NOV. 1936)

"I'M NOT IN THIS FOR PERSONAL WEALTH, YOU KNOW... NOR FOR PERSONAL AGGRANDIZEMENT, NOR EVEN FOR THE RELISH OF PERSONAL POWER... I SINCERELY BELIEVE I'M DOING MY BEST FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION..."

"WHO KNOWS WHAT I LIKE BEST FOR BREAK-FAST? MY TASTE IN FOOTWEAR? THE NAMES OF MY WIFE AND CHILDREN? LIKE LENIN, I HAVE NO FRIENDS OUTSIDE POLITICS - I LIVE IN MY IDEA - IN ME, AND IN ME ONLY, THE BUREAUCRATIC ATOMS FIND THE COMMON ESSENCE OF THEIR RIGHT - IN MY PERSON RESIDES THE ONLY PRACTICAL TRUTH OF FALSEHOOD IN POWER"



(DOLORES IBARRURI - "LA PASIONARIA")





AS A MODERATE SOCIALIST, I SEE COLLABORATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS AS THE BEST ROUTE TO STABLE GOVERNMENT - AFTER ALL, THEY HATE THE ANARCHISTS AND THE P.O.U.M. AS MUCH AS WE DO... I THINK WE SHOULD GET TOGETHER ON CERTAIN, -ER, - MEASURES...

AS A TYPICAL SMALL BUSINESSMAN, EMPLOYING ONLY HALF A DOZEN PEOPLE, I'M WORRIED STIFF ABOUT THE LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION... ARE THEY GOING TO TAKE OVER MY BUSINESS? THE ONLY FORCE DEFENDING SMALL PROPERTY IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY - I THINK I'LL JOIN....

IN THE FIRST 8 MONTHS OF THE WAR, OUR PARTY HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED IN SIZE TO 1/4 MILLION MEMBERS - 40% OF THEM ARE FROM THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE....

SPAIN, 1937: GOVERNMENT FORCES, UNDER THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ATTACK PEASANT COLLECTIVES IN THE LEVANTE & ARAGON...

INDALECIO PRIETO (WAR MINISTER)

JUST A MINUTE, MY FRIEND! YOU CAN'T LEAP STRAIGHT INTO SOCIALISM! WE HAVE TO ELIMINATE FEUDALISM FIRST! THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION MUST PRECEDE SOCIALISM - YOU'RE DEFYING THE LAWS OF HISTORY!

LEAVE 'EM ALONE! WINNING THE WAR WILL BE NEITHER POSSIBLE NOR WORTHWHILE WITHOUT THE REVOLUTION IN THE REAR-GUARD!

BUT WE'RE QUITE HAPPY, THANKS - WE DON'T WANT TO GO BACK TO HOW WE WERE...

THEN WE'LL HAVE TO FORCE YOU TO! WE'RE THE POLICE-MEN OF HISTORY!!

WITHOUT THE DEFENCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC THERE'LL BE NO REVOLUTION - THIS IS A NEW KIND OF REVOLUTION, THAT OPENS UP PERSPECTIVES OF A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION LATER.. WE SEEK NEW, PLURALISTIC PATHS TO SOCIALISM...

THE ONLY REAL DILEMMA IS - EITHER VICTORY OVER FRANCO THROUGH A REVOLUTIONARY WAR - OR DEFEAT!!

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE C.N.T. HAS ALWAYS BEEN, RIGHTLY, ANTI-POLITICAL.. WE DIDN'T SEIZE POLITICAL POWER, BUT NEITHER DID WE DESTROY IT!! WE JUST IGNORED IT, AND NOW IT HAS COME BACK TO DESTROY US!!

THE INTERVENTION OF THE MILITIAS PROVIDES ONLY A TEMPORARY REPRIEVE....

'The proletariat elevated to a ruling class': what exactly does this mean? Will the proletariat as a whole be at the head of the government? Will the whole people govern, and will there be no-one to be governed?

"A SALUTE IS THE MILITARY WAY OF SAYING 'HELLO'...  
 A SALUTE IS THE QUICKEST, EASIEST WAY FOR A SOLDIER  
 TO SAY TO AN OFFICER: "WHAT ARE YOUR ORDERS? I  
 AM READY TO CARRY THEM OUT..."  
 A SALUTE IS NOT UNDEMOCRATIC ...  
 A SALUTE IS A SIGN THAT A COMRADE  
 WHO HAS BEEN AN EGOCENTRIC  
 INDIVIDUALIST IN PRIVATE LIFE  
 HAS ADJUSTED HIMSELF TO  
 THE COLLECTIVE WAY OF  
 GETTING THINGS DONE..."

" IN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY  
 THE COMMISSAR TEACHES  
 THE RECRUIT THAT  
 VICTORY DEPENDS ON CAREY-  
 -ING OUT UNQUESTIONINGLY  
 AND UNWAVERINGLY  
 WHATEVER ORDER THE  
 MILITARY COMMAND MAY  
 ISSUE..."



ANDRE MARTY,  
 COMMISSAR TO  
 THE INTERNATIONAL  
 BRIGADES

" I USED MY NEW AUTHORITY  
 TO DENOUNCE AND EVEN JAIL  
 MEN WHO DARED TO DISPUTE  
 MY WORD, CONVINCED THAT  
 THIS WAS NECESSARY  
 FOR MILITARY DISCIPLINE"  
 JOHN GATES, COMMISSAR,  
 15TH. INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE...

" IF ANYONE LOSES AN INCH  
 OF GROUND, HE MUST RETAKE  
 IT AT THE HEAD OF HIS MEN  
 OR BE EXECUTED..."  
 GENERAL ENRIQUE LISTER...

1938: THE REPUBLICAN ARMY EXPERIENCES THE TIGHTENING GRIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY...

If there is no government, there can be no State, but if the State exists there will be people who are governed, and so there will be slaves.



"MAO SEEKS TO CHANGE THE SOCIAL PERSONALITY ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS OF A SINGLE DICTATORIAL PARTY STATE... ANYTHING THAT SUPPRESSES THE SELF FORMS THE CORE OF MAO-TSE-TUNG'S STANDARD OF ETHICAL VALUES. THIS MODE OF ETHICS MANIFESTS ITSELF IN A 'SELFLESS PERSONALITY': THIS IS NOT THE SUBLIME STATE REACHED THROUGH RELIGIOUSNESS, BUT A CRUEL SUPPRESSION OF DESIRES BROUGHT ABOUT BY FORCE"  
 (SAU CHOI, "THE SOCIAL PERSONALITY IN CHINESE COMMUNIST SOCIETY")



"THE 'CULT OF THE IDOL' HAS MADE MAO TSE-TUNG THE FOCUS OF ALL PASSIONS, AND THE DESIRES & HOPES OF THE PEOPLE ARE SUBLIMATED INTO THE WORSHIP OF MAO.. THE MODEL THAT MAO TSE-TUNG USES TO REFORM HUMAN THOUGHTS IS CONTRARY TO THE HUMANISM OF SOCIALISM. IT IS A MIXTURE OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHTS AND FEUDAL IDEAS."  
 (YU SHUET, "THE DUSK OF RATIONALITY")



This dilemma is solved very simply in Marxist theory. By a people's government they mean the rule of the masses by a small privileged minority. But, they say, this minority will consist of workers. Yes, indeed—of ex-workers, who once they become rulers or representatives of the people, cease to be workers and begin to look down on the toiling masses. From that moment, they represent not the people but only themselves and their own claims to govern.



"WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN THE DAILY READING, WHICH RESEMBLED THE INCANTATION OF SPELLS, THE 'DISCUSSION-APPLICATION' WHICH BECAME MORE AND MORE HYPOCRITICAL, THE GROTESQUE 'LOYALTY DANCE', AND THE EXCRUCIATINGLY MULTITUDINOUS RITUALS OF SHOWING LOYALTY - MORNING PRAYERS, EVENING PENITENCES, RALLIES, FALLING-IN, REPORTING FOR AND QUITTING WORK, WRITING LETTERS, MAKING PHONE CALLS, EVEN TAKING MEALS - WHICH WERE INVARIABLY PAINTED WITH VIOLENT RELIGIOUS COLOURS AND SHROUDED IN RELIGIOUS ATMOSPHERE. IN SHORT, LOYALTY OCCUPIED ONE HUNDRED PERCENT OF THE TIME AND ONE HUNDRED PERCENT OF THE SPACE..."

(LI CHENG-T'EN, "CONCERNING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY", WALL POSTER)

"CARRY OUT CHAIRMAN MAO'S INSTRUCTIONS WHETHER YOU UNDERSTAND THEM OR NOT..." (LIN BIAO)

1966:  
... THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION!!

IT'S THE LOGICAL SOLUTION, THE DIALECTICAL SYNTHESIS - PERSONAL BUREAUCRATIC POWER ESTABLISHED UNDER THE GUISE OF A FICTITIOUS POPULAR MOVEMENT - AND IF THE FICTION GETS TOO REAL, THE MILITARY CAN CALM THINGS DOWN....

"WHY DID CHAIRMAN MAO, WHO STRONGLY ADVOCATED THE 'COMMUNE', SUDDENLY OPPOSE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE 'SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S COMMUNE'? THIS IS SOMETHING THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE FIND HARD TO UNDERSTAND... WHY CANNOT COMMUNES BE ESTABLISHED IMMEDIATELY?" ("WHETHER CHINA?", SHENG-WU-LIEN RED GUARDS OF HUNAN PROVINCE)

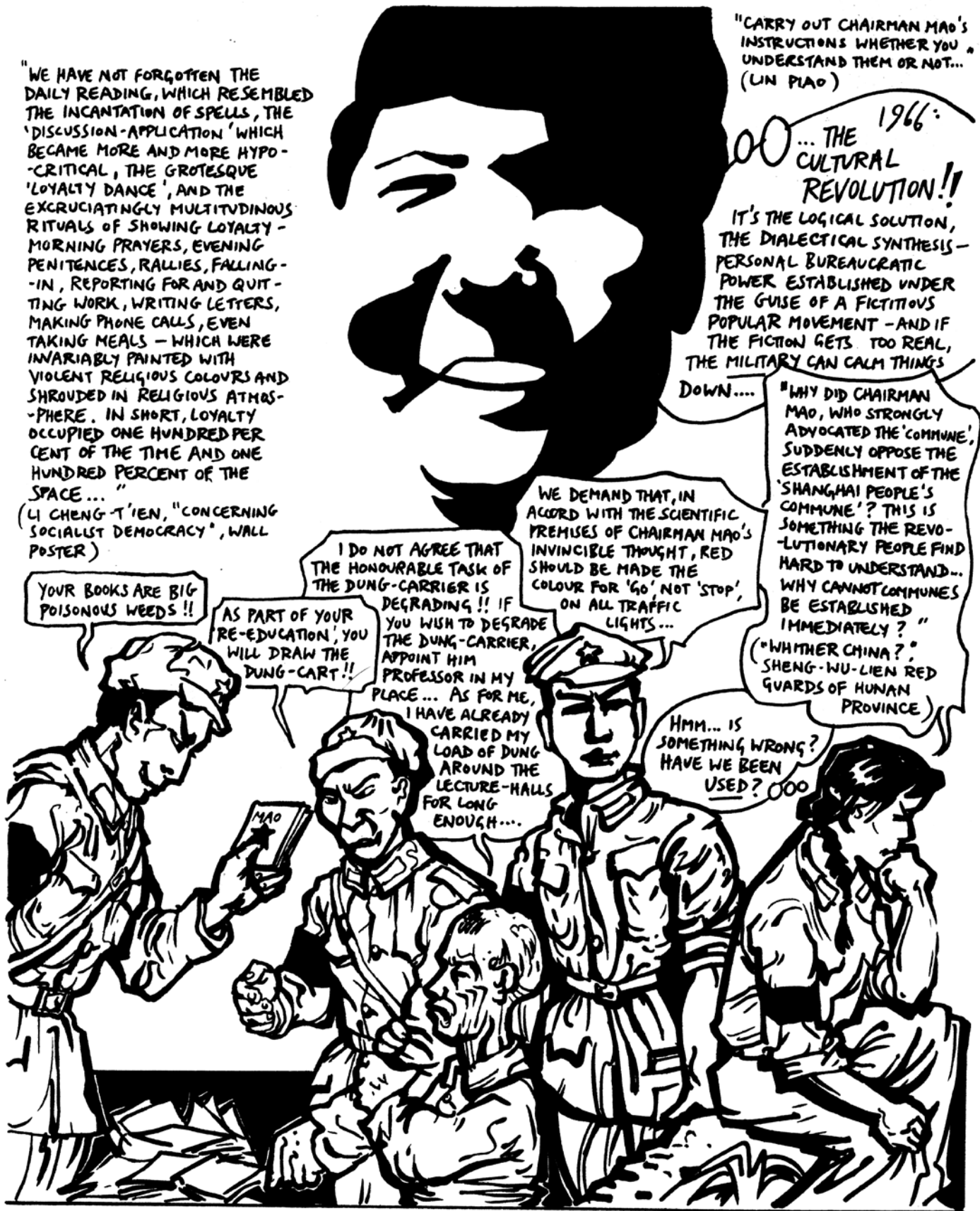
WE DEMAND THAT, IN ACCORD WITH THE SCIENTIFIC PREMISES OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S INVINCIBLE THOUGHT, RED SHOULD BE MADE THE COLOUR FOR 'GO' NOT 'STOP', ON ALL TRAFFIC LIGHTS...

I DO NOT AGREE THAT THE HONOURABLE TASK OF THE DUNG-CARRIER IS DEGRADING!! IF YOU WISH TO DEGRADE THE DUNG-CARRIER, APPOINT HIM PROFESSOR IN MY PLACE... AS FOR ME, I HAVE ALREADY CARRIED MY LOAD OF DUNG AROUND THE LECTURE-HALLS FOR LONG ENOUGH....

AS PART OF YOUR RE-EDUCATION, YOU WILL DRAW THE DUNG-CART!!

YOUR BOOKS ARE BIG POISONOUS WEEDS!!

HMM... IS SOMETHING WRONG? HAVE WE BEEN USED? OOO



These representatives will be convinced socialists, and learned socialists at that. The terms 'learned socialist' and 'scientific socialism', found constantly in the writings and speeches of the marxists, indicate that this would-be People's State will be nothing else but the despotic rule over the working masses by a new select aristocracy of genuine or sham scientists. Since the people lack education, they will be freed from the cares of government, and completely regimented into one common herd of governed people. Emancipation indeed:



The Marxists recognise this contradiction. Having realised that government by scientists will be, despite its democratic appearance, a veritable dictatorship, and the most offensive and despicable type of government in the world, they console themselves with the idea that this dictatorship will be only temporary and short-lived.



"WE HAD TO SEIZE REVOLUTIONARY POWER. AND, AS THE ONLY WAY TO DO THAT WAS BY TAKING THE STATE AND ESTABLISHING A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, WE SEIZED STATE POWER. BUT THIS PROVISIONAL NATURE HAS ALREADY LASTED FIFTEEN YEARS. NOW WE MUST THINK OF THE DEFINITIVE FORM THE SOCIALIST STATE OF CUBA WILL TAKE..."  
AND SO, IN 1974...

PEOPLE'S POWER!!

WE PROUDLY ANNOUNCE THE NEW MAN!! WE SHALL REMAKE MAN IN THE IMAGE OF CHE...

- QUALITIES OF THE "NEW (SOCIALIST) MAN": \*
- 1. SACRIFICE
  - 2. RESPONSIBILITY
  - 3. INTERNATIONALISM
  - 4. CRITICISM
  - 5. SELF-CRITICISM
  - 6. AUSTERITY

THE MULTITUDE OF LOCAL "COMMITTEES FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION" COULD HAVE POSED A REAL THREAT OF POPULAR POWER... BUT THEY'RE LARGELY DEFUNCT, THANK HEAVENS.. I'LL GIVE THEM SOME LEGITIMACY AND MAKE THEM "MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLIES" WITH TOKEN POWERS...

WE'LL HAVE ALL THE PARAPHERNALIA OF WORKERS' COUNCILS, BUT WE'LL IMPOSE THEM FROM ABOVE! THEY WON'T ALLOW YOU TO CONTROL US, BUT THEY WILL "PERMIT A MORE DIRECT LINE BETWEEN MANAGEMENT & THE BASE".. AND "EASE THE TAKING OF DECISIONS" - IN OTHER WORDS, HELP US KEEP TABS ON YOU!!

ACTUALLY, I'M SICK OF THE SIGHT OF SUGAR-CANE...  
BUT STILL... "WE WILL BE WHATEVER THE REVOLUTION NEEDS..."



- \* TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH:
- 1. SUBMISSION TO GOVERNMENT
  - 2. DITTO
  - 3. LIKING FOR SOVIET IMPERIALISM
  - 4. CRITICISM OF EVERYTHING NOT CONFORMING TO THESE QUALITIES.
  - 5. DITTO
  - 6. DITTO



NOW DON'T EXPECT TOO MUCH! THE FIVE MAIN STRATEGIC FUNCTIONS WILL STILL REMAIN WITH THE CENTRE...

WE DON'T WANT THESE ASSEMBLIES TO BECOME CONSUMER COMPLAINT SESSIONS, OR, WORSE STILL, TO FOSTER POLITICAL FACTIONS OR SEPARATIST FEELINGS...

"PEOPLE'S POWER DOES NOT MEAN THAT EVERY LOCALITY CAN SET ITS OWN PRICES, DECIDE ITS OWN SCHOOL CURRICULUM - QUITE THE CONTRARY!!"

"YOU WANT ECONOMIC POWER? O.K - YOU CAN SUPPLY US WITH STATISTICS!!"

"DON'T FORGET - WE ARE ONE INDIVISIBLE REPUBLIC - ORGANISED, NOT APARTHEID..."



They say that the only concern of this government will be to educate and uplift the people, economically and politically, to such an extent that government will no longer be necessary, and that the State, once it has lost its political character, that is, its character of domination, will transform itself into a completely free organisation of economic interests and communes.

THE GREAT TRIALS AND PURGES - THE TERROR DISAPPEARS  
UP ITS OWN ARSE....



98 MEMBERS  
& CANDIDATE  
MEMBERS OF  
CENTRAL CTEE  
3 RED ARMY  
MARSHALS  
13 ARMY  
COMMANDERS  
57 CORPS  
COMMANDERS  
11 VICE-  
COMMISSIONERS  
FOR WAR  
75 MEMBERS  
OF SUPREME  
MILITARY  
COUNCIL  
TENS OF  
THOUSANDS  
ETC  
ETC  
ETC  
ETC

ALLIANCE

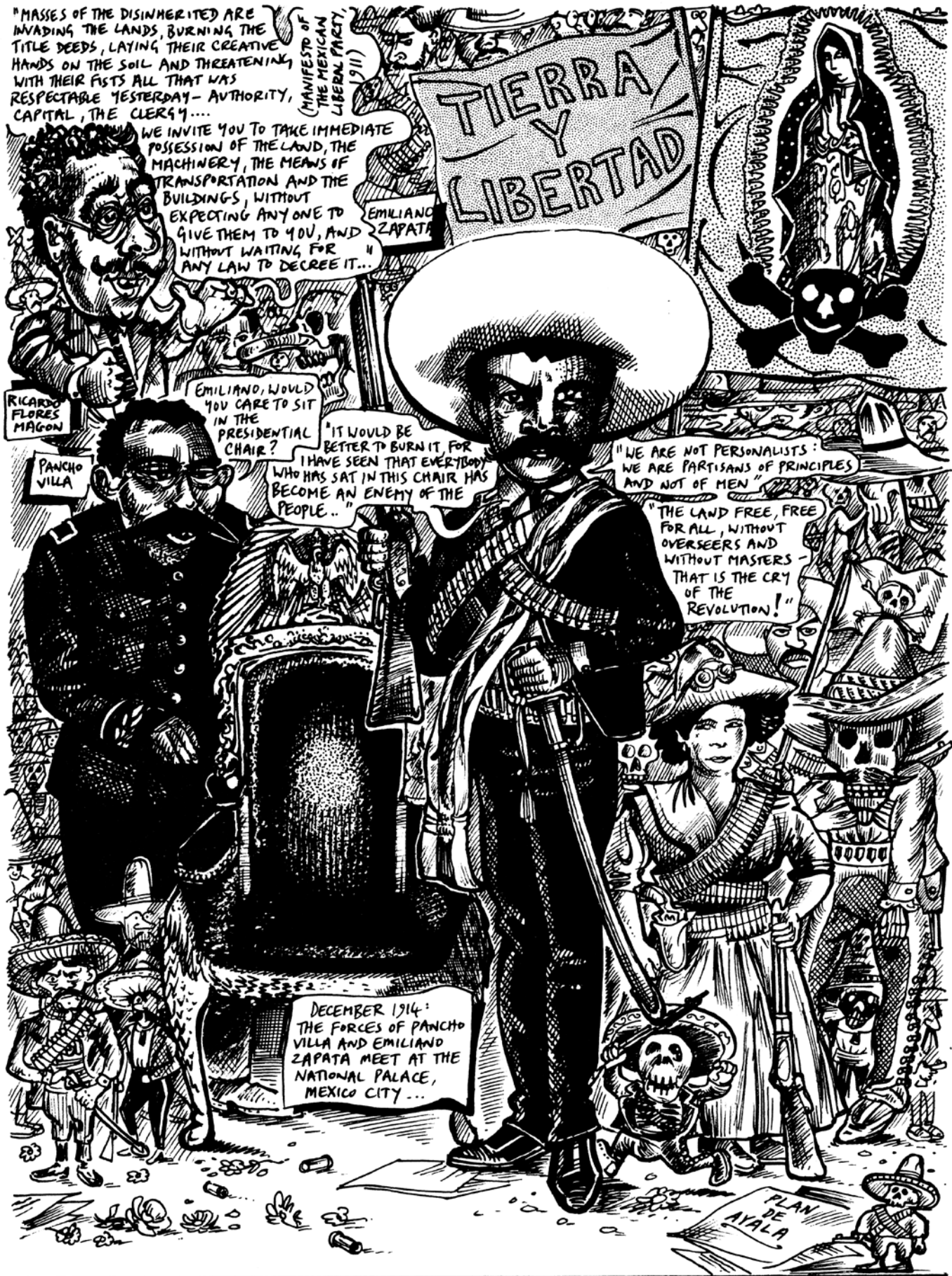
FOUL PLAY  
& SABOTAGE  
WRETCHED AND  
PUTRID FACTION  
BLOWING UP  
PITS  
WRECKING  
COLLECTIVE  
FARMS  
JUDAS  
TROTSKY  
DESPICABLE  
TOOLS AND  
AGENTS OF THE  
GERMAN AND  
JAPANESE  
FASCISTS  
TROTSKYITE  
DOUBLE-DEALERS  
WHITEGUARD  
GANG OF  
ASSASSINS  
AND SPIES  
ANTI-SOVIET  
GROUP OF  
ZINOVIEVITES

I COULDN'T CARE  
LESS - I HATE BOTH  
THE EXECUTED AND  
THE EXECUTIONERS  
HURRAH! DOWN  
WITH THE TROTSKY-  
BUKHARIN GANG  
OF FASCIST  
HIRELINGS!!  
THE WEBBS,  
BACK FROM  
THE U.S.S.R.

HOW CAN YOU  
CONFESS TO THESE  
ABSURD  
CHARGES?  
PUZZLED  
WESTERN  
OBSERVER  
"WE DO NOT THINK THAT  
THE PARTY IS GOVERNED BY  
THE WILL OF A SINGLE PERSON,  
OR THAT STALIN IS THE SORT OF PERSON  
TO CLAIM OR DESIRE SUCH  
A POSITION"  
... DO WE,  
BEATRICE?  
BUKHARIN  
YOU DON'T  
UNDERSTAND - THE  
PARTY IS ALWAYS  
RIGHT, EVEN IF IT  
DECIDES TO  
LIVIDATE  
ITSELF...  
BESIDES, WE'VE  
EXTRACTED  
SIMILAR  
CONFESSIONS  
FROM OTHERS  
IN THE PAST - WE  
CAN HARDLY GIVE  
LESS OURSELVES -  
OTHERWISE WE MIGHT  
UNCOVER THE  
ORIGINAL LIE...  
- TO MAINTAIN  
ITSELF IN POWER, OUR  
IDEOLOGY MUST BECOME  
TOTAL FALSEHOOD - IT  
CAN'T BE HELPED, THAT'S  
THE LOGIC OF THE  
SITUATION - ALL REAL  
MOTIVES HAVE LONG  
SINCE BEEN LOST...  
NO, SIDNEY...



They say that this State yoke, the dictatorship, is a transitional means necessary for the emancipation of the people; anarchy or freedom is the goal, and the State or dictatorship the means. Thus to free the working masses it is first necessary to enslave them. They maintain that only a dictatorship (their dictatorship, naturally) can create the will of the people, but our answer is this:



"MASSES OF THE DISINHERITED ARE INVADING THE LANDS, BURNING THE TITLE DEEDS, LAYING THEIR CREATIVE HANDS ON THE SOIL AND THREATENING, WITH THEIR FISTS ALL THAT WAS RESPECTABLE YESTERDAY— AUTHORITY, CAPITAL, THE CLERGY...."

MANIFESTO OF THE MEXICAN LIBERAL PARTY (1911)

WE INVITE YOU TO TAKE IMMEDIATE POSSESSION OF THE LAND, THE MACHINERY, THE MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION AND THE BUILDINGS, WITHOUT EXPECTING ANY ONE TO GIVE THEM TO YOU, AND WITHOUT WAITING FOR ANY LAW TO DECREE IT...

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD



RICARDO FLORES MAGON

PANCHO VILLA

EMILIANO, WOULD YOU CARE TO SIT IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR?

"IT WOULD BE BETTER TO BURN IT, FOR I HAVE SEEN THAT EVERYBODY WHO HAS SAT IN THIS CHAIR HAS BECOME AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE..."

"WE ARE NOT PERSONALISTS: WE ARE PARTISANS OF PRINCIPLES AND NOT OF MEN"

"THE LAND FREE, FREE FOR ALL, WITHOUT OVERSEERS AND WITHOUT MASTERS— THAT IS THE CRY OF THE REVOLUTION!"

DECEMBER 1914: THE FORCES OF PANCHO VILLA AND EMILIANO ZAPATA MEET AT THE NATIONAL PALACE, MEXICO CITY...

PLAN DE AYALA

No dictatorship can have any aim but that of self-perpetuation, or can create anything but slavery in the people who tolerate it.

"THESE GENTLEMEN THE SOCIALISTS - WHO HAVE FORGOTTEN THE MEANING OF SOCIALISM IF THEY HAVE EVER KNOWN IT - WILL HAVE TO ANSWER TO THE WORKING CLASS....

.... THEY ARE FOOLING THEMSELVES, BECAUSE ONE DAY WE, THE "TROUBLE-MAKERS", WHO GET UP EVERY MORNING TO GO TO WORK, AND ENTER THE FACTORY LIKE SLAVES, WILL ENTER THEM LIKE MASTERS, BECAUSE THE SOLE OWNER OF ALL THE SOCIAL RICHES IS THE WORKING CLASS."

"IN EVERY VILLAGE WHICH WE HAVE CONQUERED THE INHABITANTS ORGANIZE THEIR LIVES LIKE A COMMUNITY OF FREE MEN. FOR US THERE IS NO OTHER STRATEGY. THE SMALLEST VILLAGE HAS A GREAT VALUE FOR US BECAUSE WORKERS ARE LIVING IN IT WHO HAVE THE RIGHT TO CARRY OUT THE IDEA FOR WHICH THEY HAVE FOUGHT ALL THEIR LIVES. THIS IS THE BEST PART OF OUR FIGHT."

"NO, NO, THERE IS NO PRIEST. THE PRIEST IS IN THE FIELDS AND IS WORKING ON THE LAND WITH THE OTHER PEASANTS. WILL HIM? WHY? HE ISN'T DANGEROUS. HE IS EVEN TALKING ABOUT MARRYING A GIRL FROM THE VILLAGE. HE IS HAPPY IN HIS NEW SITUATION. THE CHURCH? OH YES, THE CHURCH. THEY HAVE BURNED ALL THE SAINTS. GOD HAS BEEN CAST OUT... IN THE CHURCH THEY HAVE SET UP THE FOOD COOPERATIVE, AND AS THERE IS TOTAL COLLECTIVISATION, EVERYONE USES THE CO-OP....

... THE COMMITTEE REPRESENTS THE WHOLE VILLAGE, SO IT'S NECESSARY TO HAVE EVERYONE'S OPINION. POLITICAL PARTIES WHAT FOR? IT IS NOT THROUGH PARTY POLITICS THAT WHEAT GROWS...

... THE OLD BOSSES ARE NOT PLEASED - YOU CAN SEE IT IN THEIR FACES. SOME HAVE ENTERED THE COLLECTIVE, OTHERS HAVE KEPT THEIR LAND, BUT THEY MUST CULTIVATE IT ALONE, BECAUSE THERE IS NO MORE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN. AND IF THEY CAN'T CULTIVATE THEIR LAND? THEN THE COLLECTIVE TAKES OVER THE UNCULTIVATED LANDS BECAUSE IT WOULD BE A CRIME AGAINST THE COMMUNITY TO LEAVE IT FALLOW"

"WE HAVE ALWAYS LIVED IN SLUMS AND HOLES IN THE WALL. WE WILL KNOW HOW TO ACCOMODATE OURSELVES FOR A TIME. FOR YOU MUST NOT FORGET THAT WE CAN ALSO BUILD THESE PALACES AND CITIES, HERE IN SPAIN AND IN AMERICA AND EVERYWHERE. WE, THE WORKERS. WE CAN BUILD OTHERS TO TAKE THEIR PLACE. AND BETTER ONES. WE ARE NOT IN THE LEAST AFRAID OF RUINS. WE ARE GOING TO INHERIT THE EARTH. THERE IS NOT THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT ABOUT THAT. THE BOURGEOISIE MIGHT BLAST AND RUIN ITS OWN WORLD BEFORE IT LEAVES THE STAGE OF HISTORY. WE CARRY A NEW WORLD, HERE, IN OUR HEARTS. THAT WORLD IS GROWING IN THIS MINUTE...."



REPUBLICAN SPAIN  
1936:  
COLLECTIVES ORGANISE  
SUPPORTED BY THE  
MILITIAS...

Freedom can be created only by freedom, that is, by a universal popular rebellion..

" CONSTITUTION OF WORKERS' COUNCILS IN ALL THE FACTORIES, TO ESTABLISH WORKERS' MANAGEMENT AND A RADICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF CENTRAL PLANNING AND DIRECTION OF THE ECONOMY BY THE STATE "

(FIRST ECONOMIC DEMAND OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FREE TRADE UNIONS)

THE BUDAPEST REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL DEMANDS THAT RUSSIAN SOLDIERS WHO REFUSE TO SHOOT INSURGENTS BE GRANTED ASYLUM IN HUNGARY...

THE MISKOLC REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL HAS DISSOLVED ALL ORGANISATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE BORSOD REGION...

THE MAGYAROVAR MUNICIPAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DEMANDS "THE SUPPRESSION OF ALL CLASS DISTINCTIONS" ...

" THE GOVERNMENT KNOWS THAT THE REBELS ARE QUITE SINCERE ... " (RADIO BUDAPEST)



" THE WORKERS' COUNCILS EMERGED FROM THE REVOLUTION AS THE ONLY ORGANISATIONS COMMANDING THE SUPPORT OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.. "

(U.N. SPECIAL COMMITTEE REPORT ON HUNGARY)



HUNGARY  
1956

...and the free organisation of the working masses from below upwards.



IN THE 'PEOPLES' REPUBLICS' OF THE EASTERN BLOC, THE MOST INVISIBLE SOCIAL FORCE, UNDER 'NORMAL' CONDITIONS, IS - YOU GUESSED IT - THE PEOPLE .... EXCEPT...



THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM WILL OF COURSE BE THE IDEAL MODEL FOR THESE 'DEMOCRACIES' - THEY'D BETTER NEED INVESTMENT IN HEAVY INDUSTRY, BECAUSE THEY'RE GOING TO GET IT! TOO BAD ABOUT LOCAL NEEDS...

TOO BAD ABOUT ALL THE LATENT CONFLICT ALL THIS IS BOUND TO CREATE - THE POLICE CAN KEEP THE LID ON THAT...

POLAND 1956



IN POZNAN -

RUSSIANS OUT!!

SO MUCH FOR THE WORKERS COUNCILS! WE'VE BEEN REDUCED TO SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE STATE TRADE UNION...

HMM... LET'S TRY A POLISH BUREAUCRACY INSTEAD OF A RUSSIAN ONE - MAKE A FEW EPHEMERAL CONCESSIONS AND THEN WITHDRAW THEM...



GOMULKA

FIVE YEAR PLAN 1970

PRICE RISES 1970...

THIS IS THE LAST STRAW!! THE GOVERNMENT MAKES A SHOW OF REFORM BUT DOESN'T DELIVER THE GOODS!!

OUR FIRST MEETING WAS TO PROTEST ABOUT SOME TRIVIALITY OR OTHER.. BUT AS SOON AS WE REQUIRED EACH OTHER TO SPEAK THE TRUTH, IT BECAME A CRITICISM OF THE WHOLE REGIME ... IN A SYSTEM FOUNDED ON A PERMANENT LIE, SUCH A REQUIREMENT IS SIMPLY REVOLUTIONARY IN ITSELF - PROTEST AT THE SMALLEST DETAIL, AND YOU PROTEST AT THE TOTAL INHUMANITY OF THE WHOLE..

"GESTAPO!!"

WELL? WE INSTALLED THE REGIME - WE HAVE A RIGHT TO KEEP IT THERE...

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA 1968



"I AM A UNION MAN, NOT A SOCIALIST. A MAN WITHOUT RELIGION IS A DANGEROUS MAN, AND WITHOUT RELIGION I WOULD BE A DANGEROUS MAN..."

LECH WALESA

600,000 RUSSIAN SOLDIERS INVADE CZECHOSLOVAKIA.....



"THE GOVERNMENT MUST RULE AND IT MUST BE STRONG... LET'S GIVE THEM A CHANCE..."

1980 THE POLISH WORKERS' MOVEMENT REVIVES - WITH DIFFERENT STRENGTHS - AND DIFFERENT WEAKNESSES...

G D A N S K , G D Y N I A , S Z C Z E C I N , 1970 - THE POPULACE DESTROY PARTY SHOPS, AND FIGHT OFF POLICE AND SPECIAL MILITIA...

PROPERTY, BURN AND LOOT STRIKES FOLLOW....

"FREE" TRADES? WELL, NOT EXACTLY.... OF COURSE WE'VE THROWN OUR WEIGHT BEHIND THE NEW MOVEMENT - AFTER ALL, WE'VE NOTHING TO GAIN FROM A POPULAR REVOLUTION - OUR INTERESTS LIE IN LONG-TERM STABILITY - WE EXERT A MODERATING INFLUENCE...

AFTER STALINISM, THE BUREAUCRACY CAN NEVER BE STABLE AGAIN - YOU CAN'T GO BACK, AND YOU CAN'T MAKE PIECEMEAL REFORMS WITHOUT OPENING UP THE SLOW BUT STEADY PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION!!

SO... SORRY CHUM, BUT IT WAS INEVITABLE!!



ARGH! THE IRONY OF IT ALL (NINCE)

# THE SPECTACLE

WE DOCTORS KNOW BETTER THAN PATIENTS - ESPECIALLY WOMEN PATIENTS...

GOD IS ALIVE!! Isn't it wonderful...?

blah academic standards blah discipline blah vocational skills blah examinations blah achievement blah...

IF I SAY YOU'RE MAD - YOU'RE MAD! AND I CAN GET CERTIFICATES TO PROVE IT...

I'm a publisher - I pay large sums of money for these gems of thought

I'm a modern artist!

SHOW TO DUFF UP MENTAL PATIENTS

I'm a specialist

THEIR SPECIALISTS ARE IN RUINS... THEY ADMIT IT FREELY, BUT IN THEIR MODESTY THEY ASPIRE TO BUILD NEW SPECIALISMS FROM THESE RUINS. NOW THEY SUGGEST TO US DEMOCRATICALLY THAT, AS THEY PUT IT, WE SHOULD SEARCH TOGETHER FOR A NEW MEDICINE, A NEW ECONOMICS, A NEW JOURNALISM, ETC., - THAT IS, UNDER THEIR DIRECTION AS SPECIALISTS IN IGNORANCE...

-GULP- GASP- MY BLOOD PRESSURE...

JESUS BLOODY CHRIST!!

COLLAPSE!!

SPLIT!!

CRASH!!

DROP!!

OH NO! THE CAPITALIST SPECTACLE HAS ENTERED A PERIOD OF PERMANENT CRISIS!!

I feel insecure...

Speechless

never mind - we specialists have a knack of surviving!

## THE SPECTACLE OF THE DEATH OF THE SPECTACLE...

OF COURSE, I'VE ALWAYS SAID THAT WE - I MEAN, AHM, THAT THE MEDICAL PROFESSION - SUBJECTED THE PATIENT TO NUMEROUS ABUSES...

GOD IS DEAD!! Isn't it wonderful...?

even a dead god can still use priests...

blah creativity blah de-scheduling blah child-centred blah relevance blah community blah...

THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS MADNESS! AS THE FIRST PUNK PSYCHIATRIST, I'VE WRITTEN BOOKS TO PROVE IT...

wonderful! a whole string of new titles...

I'm a neo-dadaist!

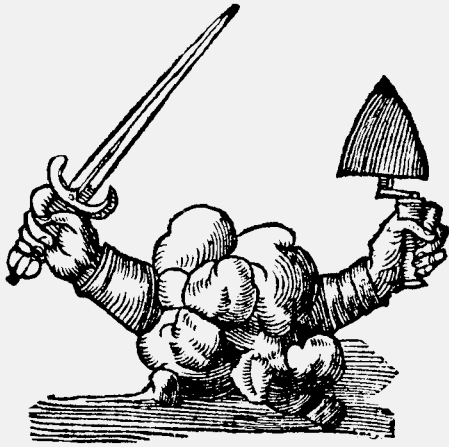
I'm a neo-neo-dadaist...

I'm a neo-neo-neo etc. etc.

medical practice is dead, religion is dead, art is dead, school is dead, psychiatry is dead...

but we specialists are still very much alive!!

SEARCH TOGETHER FOR A NEW MEDICINE, A NEW ECONOMICS, A NEW JOURNALISM, ETC., - THAT IS, UNDER THEIR DIRECTION AS SPECIALISTS IN IGNORANCE...



Another piece of anti-state art digitally remastered with state-of-the-art technology. Wholly financed by the CrimethInc. Dream Team, who solicited volunteers through Take-A-Wish Foundation, International.

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*Supplementary text authored in the early morning, and set in the Capsa family. Illustrations of Bakunin's work originally penned by Richard Warren.*



*Never a lot of women in these history books, are there!*



*Don't worry, honey, we'll get ours.*

*Freedom without socialism  
is privilege and injustice;  
socialism without freedom is  
slavery and brutality*

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

Anarchists have long argued that all statist approaches to social change are doomed to authoritarian results. This booklet illustrates how Bakunin's critique of state socialism, composed a century and a half ago, was borne out by the events of the twentieth century.

