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DEATH TO DEMOCRACY

A SUBVERSIVE ATTACK ON CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY
AND THE RULE OF LAW



Max



The real meaning of the collapse of state socialism is being buried under a big pile of smug, self satisfied, pro democracy, pro capitalist propaganda churned out by politicians and the media.

Workers are being told that despite a few minor hiccups, world capitalism reigns supreme and socialism is finished. We are being told that there is no alternative other than to grin and bear it and put up with all the poverty, attacks and austerity that are the reality of capitalism and democracy in both the west and east. We are being told that DEMOCRACY is the finest achievement, that it has all we could ever want and no other perspective is possible in the future. Capitalist democracy will rule everywhere forever!

The immediate reaction on the left is to criticise this democracy as a "bourgeois" democracy, biased and under the control of the rich. This suggests that democracy on its own is neutral and is not to blame and what we need instead is a "workers' democracy". But is modern democracy only at fault because it is currently controlled by capitalism or is democracy itself in fact an inherently capitalistic political system that inevitably promotes the rule of the rich?

MISERABLE CITIZENS!!

Democracy simply means the "rule of the people" and this at first sight, appears to be harmless and innocent enough. But the term "people" in the political context does not just mean anyone and everyone, as in human beings in general. The term "people" is a loaded political term which has a specific meaning, in the political context the "people" means the..... "CITIZENS!" The CITIZENS are the middle classes, and workers with middle class pretensions/illusions, living in bourgeois society. The role of the citizens is to compete as separated "individuals" in the market place, respecting private property, upholding the laws and serving the interests of money, profit and commodities. Democracy: the rule of the people as citizens therefore represents the rule of money, the rule of profit and the rule of commodities... modern citizenship is a specifically **capitalist** condition. Today "democracy" is the political expression of the capitalist market economy: DEMOCRACY IS THE POLITICAL WING OF CAPITALISM!!

With democracy people make decisions as isolated individuals rather than in communion. Because liberal democracy is based on the false assumption that human society always consists of lonely atomised individuals with separate competing interests in the first place, it always helps to reproduce such a capitalistic arrangement in society as a result. Democracy enforces individual struggle and competition instead of class struggle and solidarity, the "People" is the opposite of the Proletariat. "Individualism" is not the same as authentic individuality in real human community, where interests harmonise and complement each other (the freedom of one person to drive a bus

increases the Freedom of others to travel etc). To the contrary, "individualism" is the bourgeois political concept of society where the interests of individuals are placed in conflict in a war of all against all that can only be resolved by the social contract - the liberal state, democracy and the rule of law!

LIBERAL GARBAGE

"Democratic political liberty", what are we to understand by that? Perhaps that we are free from the state and its laws? No: on the contrary, the proletarian's subjugation under the capitalist state and its laws. Political liberty means that the Polis, the state, is free; freedom of ideology that ideologies are free; freedom of trade that trade is free not therefore that we are free from the state, free from religion, free from ideology, free from trade or that we are rid of them. Their liberty is our slavery. And what are we to understand by "free elections"? These are just mystifying safety valves under which the oppressed classes enjoy the privilege of deciding once every several years which representatives of the propertied classes shall represent and suppress the dispossessed while sitting in parliament. Elections and voting systems also give rise to the tyranny of majority dictatorship and the bullying of minorities when the majority are swayed by reaction. Hitler and Mussolini were both democratically elected into power, they were both "democrats"! A "free press"? But whose press is this free press? It's the ruling class which owns most of the means of dissemination of information and opinion. From the beginning they have used lies to make the exploited accept their fate. But what distinguishes the times in which we live, is the extreme degree of state totalitarianism set up to control how people think. It does not just broadcast one, official "truth", but fifty competing "truths", so that everyone can make their choice as in a supermarket, and which in reality are nothing but fifty variations of the same lie. "Freedom of assembly"?.... again it is the ruling class which owns and jealously guards all the magnificent places in which the proletariat might assemble - until we can all lounge around in castles, palaces and stately homes rather than high rises or even cardboard boxes then the equal right of assembly is a pious and hollow abstraction. And of course the system soon suspends even its own notion of "free assembly" when workers threaten to get out of hand.

CRETINIZATION OF THE MASSES

The rulers of the world are currently engaged in a global democracy campaign. In the east this has taken the form of glasnost and perestroika, the end of communist party rule and the introduction of multi party elections. In the west the democracy campaign takes the form of active citizenship, equal rights, wider share and property ownership, elections and media manipulated public debate. The overall aim of these campaigns is to promote the move to a more integrated, more competitive global capitalist market with workers being encouraged to take part in the "democratic debate", to **participate** in the restructuring, in self managed exploitation and in self imposed austerity measures.

In Poland, the democracy movement has led to the farce of the religious nationalist "workers' independent trade union" Solidarnosc seizing state power, telling strikers to go back to work and announcing massive cutbacks, privatisations, lay-offs, price rises.....

Previous economic austerity measures have led to periodic uprisings in Poland over the last two decades against the stalinists. But this round of harsh measures (brought to you courtesy of IMF productions, directed by Lech Walesa, script by John Paul II, special effects by general Jaruzelski...) were hardly opposed. This shows how powerful democracy is as a device for whacking the population on the head with and turning them into cretinized cabbages, ready to

accept anything in the name of "freedom" or "saving the nation" and the lie of "future wealth and prosperity for all". Throwing an election at a time of crisis is a well established means of diverting workers' struggles from material and revolutionary demands into supporting liberal political aims instead, such as supporting one bunch of capitalist leaders instead of another. Disillusionment and anger with the solidarnosc government is however beginning to grow as many wake up to what capitalist democracy really means.

In the Soviet Union, rather than bringing genuine prosperity the "perestroika" has brought a huge increase in misery and poverty for millions. Religious and nationalist pogroms are on the increase as people look for easy solutions and scapegoats for deteriorating conditions. But at the same time labour militancy is growing, especially in basic industries like coalmining. In the Soviet Union the economic reforms are accompanied by democratic political changes that are **supposedly** a counter balance to the sacrifices that workers must consent to. In reality they are nothing else but another part of the same process of deterioration of living conditions and the submission of Soviet workers to the rule of the democratized state. The perestroika is **supposedly** the political balance to economic reforms: in reality it is the very condition of the reforms: to identify "inefficiency", to impose "rationalisation" and involve Soviet society in preparing price rises, unemployment etc. Multiparty democracy and free unions are being offered in exchange for lay-offs but in reality the parties and unions will allow for and help plan these lay-offs by the control they try to exert. The apparent polarization in the Soviet leadership between "hardliners" like Ligachev and assorted varieties of "reformers" like Gorbachev and Yeltsin serves to divert struggles away from material demands into a bourgeois comedy show of fake opposition and spurious debate. This is what is happening in the big "clash" between Liggy and Gorby concerning the strikes that have been taking place and concerning the nationalist



movements and pogroms, or more precisely **how** to defeat the former by means of the latter, and **how** to prepare the proletariat in the USSR for more repression... through polarizing the proletariat around support for one or other bourgeois faction. By "choosing" one side, workers become the passive spectators of not only a masquerade of struggle between different bourgeois factions that are complementary, but above all the austerity policy of which only the **way** of implementing this policy is debated and not the actual policy itself.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall and the democracy campaign in east Germany, which temporarily increased material freedoms, has now paved the way for a united nationalistic capitalist Germany. The vain careerist upwardly mobile intelligentsia, who have done well for themselves in the democracy movements of countries like Czechoslovakia, have found themselves marginalised in east Germany. New Forum, who had their sights on leading east Germany, were simply bulldozed aside by the big west German political machines backed by west German business. Instead of the promised prosperity for all, economic unification in Germany brings a big attack on living and working conditions for workers in both east and west. In east Germany economic union has led to one of the biggest closure and redundancy waves in the history of capitalism now the west German currency has taken over the east German economy. And in west Germany workers will face higher taxes and competition from low wages in the east.

DEMOCRACY WILL STEAL YOUR FURNITURE

Here in the UK we see democracy being shoved down our throats in the form of a citizenship campaign and a privatized share owning/home owning democracy. "Meanwhile the fake official opposition moans about civil rights, fairer democracy and welfare. Wider share ownership is a cleverly disguised method of reintroducing piece rates where workers feel they have to accept sacrifices for the sake of "their" company and can only be rewarded with a small share of the profits or a petty bonus in exchange for "increased productivity". The home owning democracy is now a nightmare for millions, having to spend their time endlessly paying off spiralling mortgages. The icing on the democracy cake is the jolly Poll tax! designed, so we are told, to make local government more democratic and accountable. The Poll tax places a greatly increased burden on the poor to pay for services they are forced to depend on when they can least afford to pay for them. This is a tax imposed by the democratic Conservative government, and ruthlessly enforced and collected by democratic Labour councils who threaten to arrest wages, seize furniture and even imprison those who don't pay!

THE GLOBAL DEMOCRACY SWINDLE!

The worldwide bourgeoisie has set up a gigantic ideological construction in the global democracy campaign. DEMOCRACY everywhere! The foundations of this are the economical needs: the need the system has for a proletariat that is divided and submitted, the need to be competitive. But it is not enough that proles should just be cheap, submitted etc for capital to be competitive. It is much more important that proles should want to work should want to participate in the national effort, should want to be citizens in the democratic state. The bourgeoisie has to transform apolitical individualism into active support for the state. It has to encourage workers to participate in the democratic media debate, concern themselves actively with the questions and problems of running the capitalist economy from the system's point of view, and offer their ideas and opinions for the use of the system. The workers' rejection of the unions and political parties has to be bypassed with another link between workers and the state. The bourgeoisie is coopting and recuperating reforms and campaigns that, since 1968, were only promoted and called for by more peripheral factions (leftists, disarmers, ecologists, greens....). The utilisation by the central structures of the state of reforms proposed for nearly twenty years by

more "radical" elements is designed to destroy workers' struggles. The bourgeoisie itself admits that the aim of these campaigns is to obtain the democratic participation of the whole population as **citizens** instead of proletarians, so as to develop productivity. A campaign against pollution for instance can be coopted by the state and turned into a campaign against free expression... removing graffiti and flyposting etc; or a campaign to help capitalist commerce move faster - by removing litter and obstructions from highways so traffic can move quicker, thus increasing traffic pollution!! or a campaign against free spaces - enclosing and controlling unused open spaces, especially places where proles might gather, in the name of "conservation", or a campaign against the poor - gentrifying whole areas, restricting access and driving out the poor. The state aims to mobilise the "citizens" to enforce these attacks by encouraging them to "participate in democracy" and "have their say", join state sponsored community groups, campaigns, community watch schemes and the like.

Discontent with the existing parliamentary democracy can itself be coopted and turned into support for yet another "new improved formula" democracy. The more radical of the system's political parties call for such things as proportional representation, direct democracy or devolution. Sometimes they put forward demands for welfare democracy, workers' democracy and civil/equal rights. It is a serious mistake to demand more democracy or direct democracy instead of parliamentary democracy or to argue for "workers' democracy" instead of bourgeois democracy. So many times the class struggle has been recuperated by such diversions. A more efficient democracy means a more efficient capitalist market and therefore more austerity and alienation. Civil rights and equal rights do not bring an end to the system of inequality but instead give everyone the "opportunity" to compete in the market and play a role in the unequal system. In the name of democratic equal rights and "positive discrimination" the poor and oppressed are broken up into sectional groups and forced to fight each other over diminishing resources.

THE WORKERS' DEMOCRACY SWINDLE

It is a mistake to conceive of democracy as an element of socialism. Socialists (even communists and anarchists!) often talk in terms of "workers' democracy" or "total democracy", as if the struggle for socialism consists of winning more and more democratic rights within the framework of capitalism. In reality, capitalist democracy is a stage in the taking of power by capital, and today it has resulted in the increasing isolation and loneliness of individuals burying them under a pile of commodities. Born as the illusory solution to the problem of the separation of human activity and society, democracy will never be able to resolve the problem of the most separated, atomised and lonely society in the whole of history. Democracy leads to increasing totalitarianism; the fight for a "more democratic" system will end in the strengthening of the system.

A struggle for democracy is not a short cut allowing proletarians to make a revolution without realizing it. It is wrong to think that democracy automatically introduces conditions more favourable than dictatorship to revolutionary activity, since the former turns immediately to dictatorial means when menaced by revolution; especially when the "workers' parties" are in power. And when it comes to revolutionary activity, "workers' democracy" or self management are not necessarily any more revolutionary than "planning" by a minority or a vanguard. What matters is not so much the abstract form of organisation adopted in the struggle (such as community resistance groups, strike committees, workers' councils, assemblies etc...) but the particular material aims that such organisation is created for and fights for in practice (free homes, communal distribution of goods, ending Poll tax and wage slavery and so on). The communist material programme is what matters, the revolution is not simply a matter of "what the majority wants" at any given moment, arbitrary majority rule for its own sake. If revolution was just a

matter of what the majority of workers wanted right now, then a "revolutionary workers' democracy" in this part of the world would give us more page three of the sun! more royal walkabouts! more discrimination against minorities! more police! and more Kylie Minogue and Jason Donavon!!!

In 1969 in east London, "workers' democracy" meant dockers going on strike in support of Enoch Powell. In 1974 in northern Ireland "workers' democracy" meant a Loyalist workers' strike in support of the Protestant ascendancy over Catholic workers. In 1984 in Nottingham "workers' democracy" meant scabbing during the miners strike and the formation of the union of "democratic" (ha ha!) mineworkers. If the majority of workers are given a token share in capitalism, are smothered with consumerism and are conditioned into supporting the system, then workers' democracy leads straight back to capitalist democracy. This indeed is the capitalist dream for the next century, a capitalist system which has solved its contradictions or at least covered them up with decentralised production in small self managed enterprises, wider share ownership and no bureaucracy: a system where bourgeois democracy is workers' democracy and vice versa!

"THE NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY"

But democracy is not having everything its own way. In those countries where capitalist democracy has only recently triumphed over bureaucratic or authoritarian regimes, disillusionment and discontent have already started setting in after the initial wave of euphoria. Workers and the oppressed can see that democracy is failing to solve their problems, the promises of endless freedom and consumerist prosperity for all were so much rubbish and daily life is not much better than it was before; in some cases it is even worse! In those countries that have long been under the democratic comedy show, the consumerism and prosperity that has been used since the war by the ruling class to buy social peace, is no longer working. Consumerism is running out of ideas, all it can do is regurgitate old commodities and commodities just don't satisfy anymore. Alienation is growing. On top of this, the class struggle has resurfaced with a vengeance, there are growing economic problems and for millions "prosperity" has given way to blatant austerity. Democracy is becoming a victim of its own success, as democracy extends its rule everywhere, then increasingly democracy itself is brought into question when problems and struggles rise up. When, for example, Mrs Thatcher described Poll tax rioting as "the negation of democracy", she is quite correct. The purist form of democracy is its total political monopoly, the state free of all its enemies, with all parties, including the opposition, fully integrated into the same system and all pushing the same basic policies of austerity. It does not matter much whether Labour blames the Poll tax on the Tory government or if the government blames the Poll tax on Labour councils, either way they both function as arms of the same system, they both in practice enforce the same



"democratic" austerity against us, they both enforce the same "democratic rule of law".

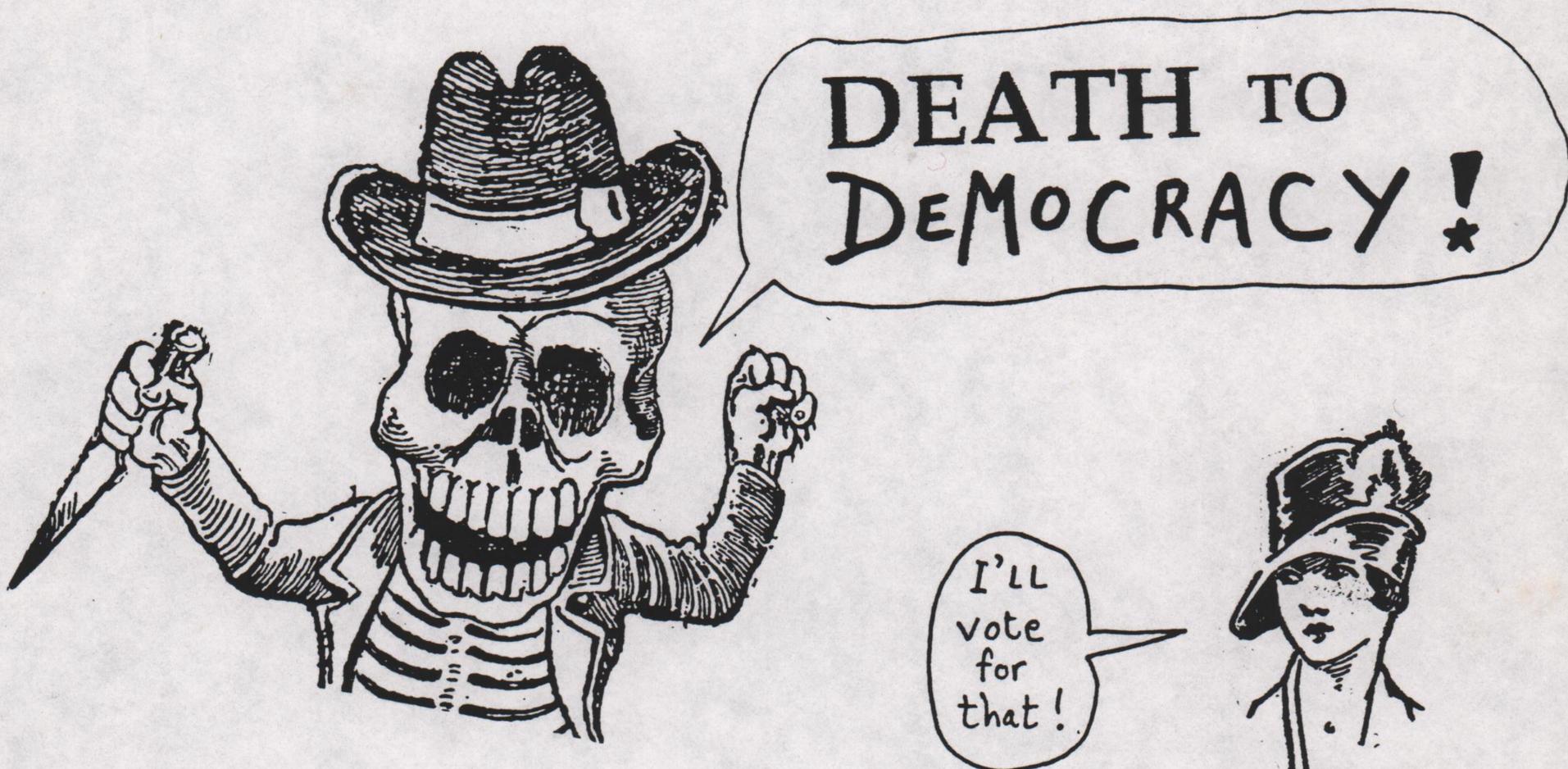
Today, whenever serious struggles break out, whatever their initial cause or grievance, they soon become struggles against the whole system. Resistance to paying Poll tax soon becomes resistance to the authorities in general... resistance to police... resistance to employers... resistance to the bailiffs... resistance to paying for anything at all!... resistance to the whole democratic rule of law! If democracy everywhere is the instrument of austerity then any material confrontation workers have with austerity is immediately a confrontation with democracy. From now on any outbreak of class struggle is immediately the negation of democracy.

Precisely at the moment of its global victory capitalist democracy is utterly bankrupt. After thousands of years of human civilisation, art and culture, all that capitalist democracy finally has to offer us is Kylie Minogue, Jason Donavon and so much consumerist shit. Politics is on its last legs, the opposition is farcical, government is merely a puppet of capitalism which exerts its real control by consumerism, fashion, culture, TV, share ownership and traditional moral values. The working class from Mexico to Russia, from Bracknell to Berlin is being suffocated with shoddy, boring, useless commodities, reform and DEMOCRACY.

We live in a capitalist world based on the exploitation of our labour and ruled by money in the name of DEMOCRACY. We are for the destruction of this system and its replacement by a classless world human community where alienation and democracy have been abolished forever. Our struggle is in complete antagonism to all forms of mediation and institutionalisation (parties, unions, leaders, parliaments...). Only autonomous action by the proletariat can demolish world capitalism. Down with capitalism!... For the proletarian revolution.... DEATH TO DEMOCRACY!!!

Max '90

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