

A CRITIQUE OF

WE HAVE BEEN
INVITED BY YOUR
LEGITIMATE GOVERN-
MENT TO HELP RESTORE
ORDER AND COMBAT SPIES,
FOREIGN MERCENARIES
AND COUNTER-REVOL-
UTIONARY BANDITS...
WE ARE YOUR
FRIENDS...

DO NOT

RESISTANCE
IS
USELESS!

STATE SOCIALISM

COMRADES!
THANK YOU FOR YOUR
EFFORTS IN THE HEROIC STRUGGLE

VINCENT COLANINNO

COMRADES!
 THANK YOU FOR YOUR
 EFFORTS IN THE HEROIC STRUGGLE
 OF THE POPULAR FRONT. OUR
 VICTORY IS SECURE, AND WE ARE
 NOW ABLE TO ASSUME OUR
 RESPONSIBILITIES ON YOUR
 BEHALF, AS THE RECOG-
 -NISED VOICE OF
 THE WORKING-
 -CLASS
 MOVEMENT.

DO NOT
INCONVENIENCE
YOURSELVES ANY
LONGER, BUT HAND
IN YOUR WEAPONS
INSTEAD...

....OR YOU
WILL BE
SHOT!

SIDNEY ST.

FOOD
CO-OP

BREAD
VI
SURPLUS

DAP'S
BUS
PASSES

ARMED
PATROLS
ROTA

For Sale
FRIDGE

WHAT A BORING TITLE...

BY MICHAEL BAKUNIN & RICHARD WARREN

Sport

CUP FINAL SENSATION

GRIMTHORPE Evening Argus

May 1st 1984

THATCHER IN EXILE

CO-ND

Bakunin



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.

a critique of State Socialism

by michael
bakunin



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 around 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.



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*

... A MAN, YES - BUT WE STILL NEED A GOD TO PULL TOGETHER CONFLICTING SOCIAL FORCES AND LEND OUR REVOLUTION DIVINE APPROVAL...

THE COMMUNE HAS CELEBRATED AN IDOLATROUS FESTIVAL OF LIBERTY AND REASON (LIBERTY BEING PERSONIFIED BY A RATHER WELL-BUILT DANCER FROM THE OPÉRA) - THIS SORT OF THING JUST WON'T DO - I MUST ORGANIZE A FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING!

IN A CENTURY AND A HALF'S TIME, I SHALL SOLVE THIS CONTRADICTION AND SURPASS THE CREATION OF ROBESPIERRE - THE SUPREME BEING SHALL BE A MAN - ME!!

"IF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD AND THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL WERE MERE DREAMS, THEY WOULD STILL BE THE FINEST CREATIONS OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT"

FATHER OF THE UNIVERSE SUPREME WISDOM...

a man?

HAVING COMPLETED HIS ORATION, CITIZEN ROBESPIERRE WILL NOW SET FIRE TO THE EFFIGY OF ATHEISM, FROM THE ASHES OF WHICH WILL ARISE THE INCORRUPTIBLE AND INCOMBUSTIBLE IMAGE OF WISDOM, THE SUPREME BEING.....

AHEM..... UNFORTUNATELY IT SEEMS THAT THE SUPREME BEING IS SLIGHTLY ER, SINGED.....

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 Buonarotti, 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.



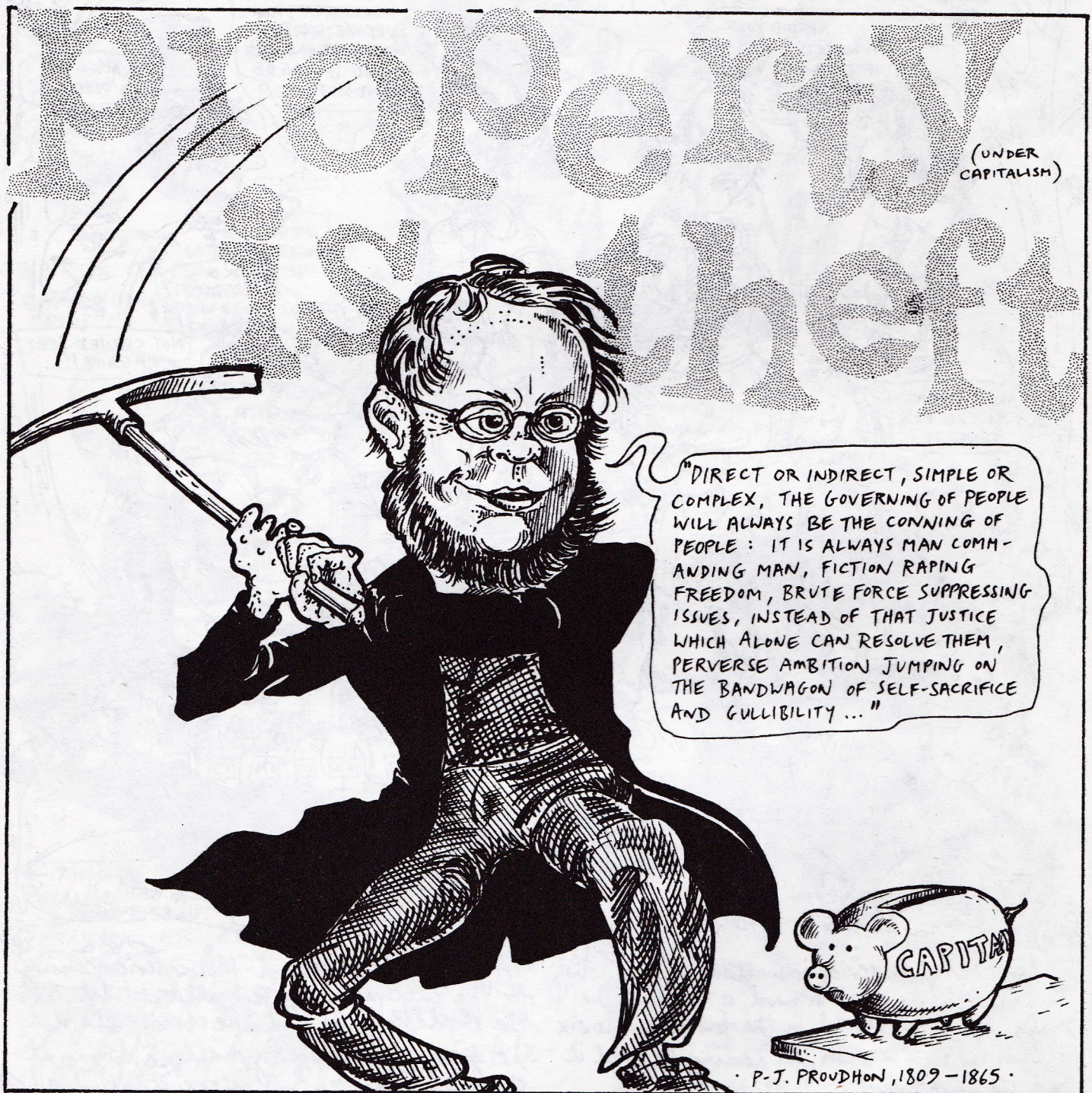
Afternoon Snack in the Phalantery

"If the cherrytree series is united in large numbers in its great orchard, a mile from the phalantery, 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 phalantery 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...

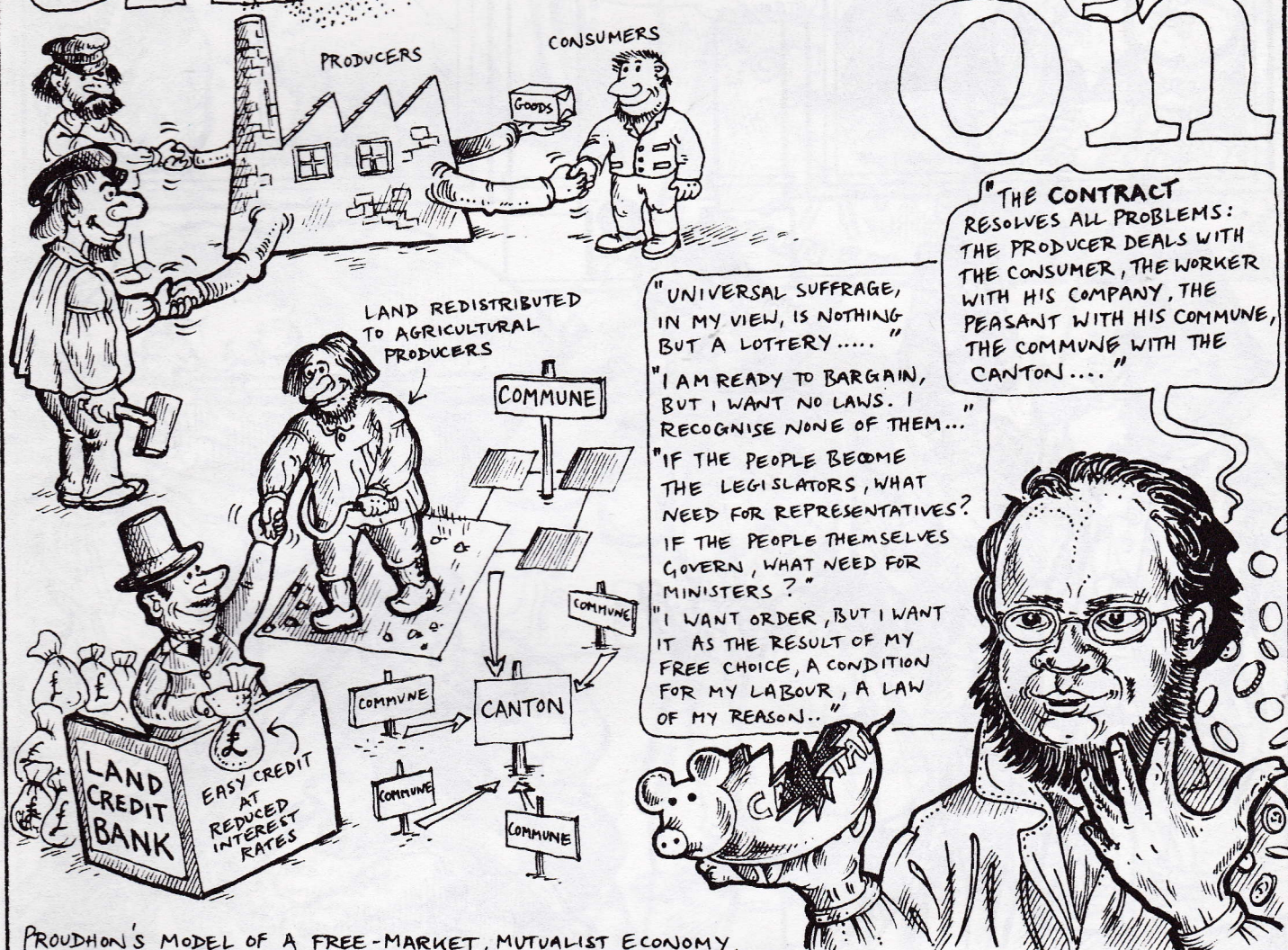
In general, regimentation was the passion common to all the socialists prior to 1848. Cabet, Louis Blanc, the Utopians—all were possessed by the passion to indoctrinate and to organise the future. All were authoritarians to some degree. The one exception was Proudhon.



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)

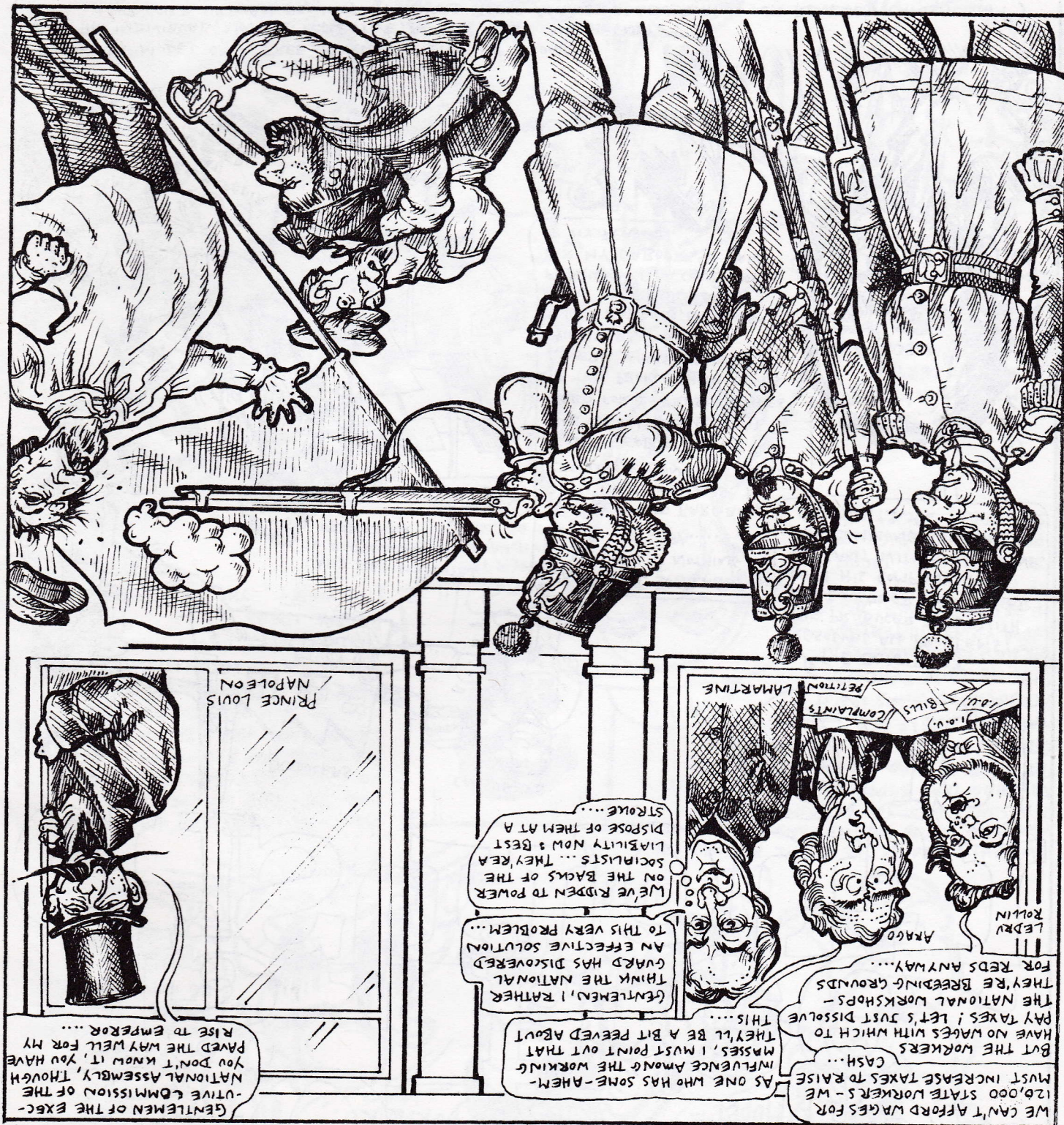


PROUDHON'S MODEL OF A FREE-MARKET, MUTUALIST ECONOMY, WITH THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE COLLECTIVE, AS THE BASIC SOCIAL UNIT.

(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.

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.



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

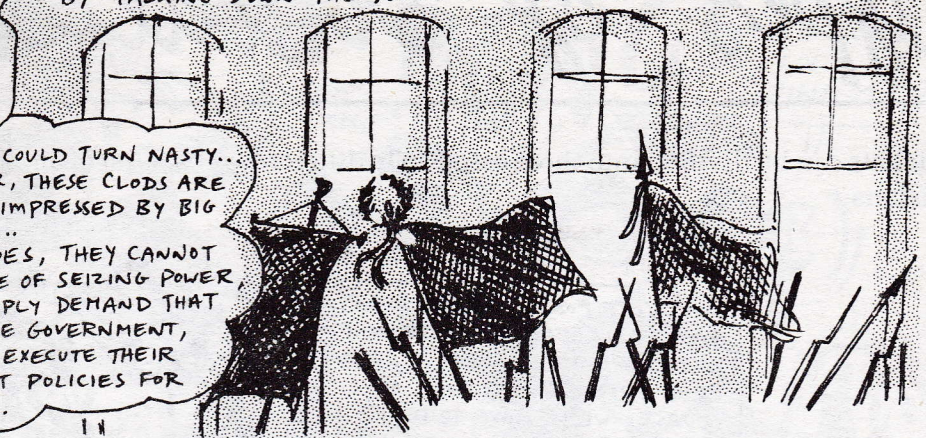
"YOU SPEAK WELL: THE PEOPLE HAS WELL CHOSEN ITS INTERPRETER, BUT TO SPEAK WELL IS NOT SUFFICIENT: WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND THE LANGUAGE OF REASON, WHICH GOD HAS BESTOWED UPON MEN FOR MUTUAL EXPLANATION, THAT WE MIGHT HELP, NOT DESTROY, EACH OTHER, ETC., ETC., ETC., ETC...."

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

THIS COULD TURN NASTY... HOWEVER, THESE CLOUDS 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...."

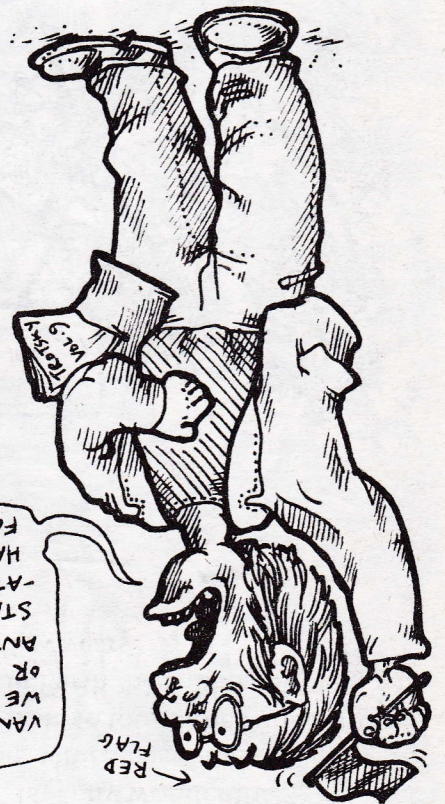
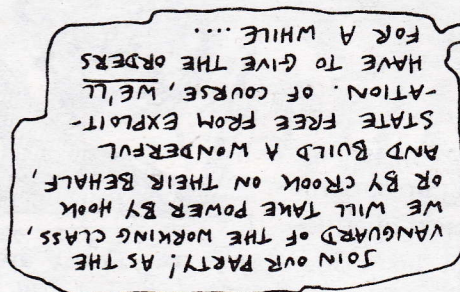
The workers fought in June for the emancipation of the people, but they were united by instinct rather than by ideas. This was the main cause of their defeat. But is that any reason to doubt the future power of socialism? Christianity, which aimed to found the Kingdom of Justice in Heaven, took several 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

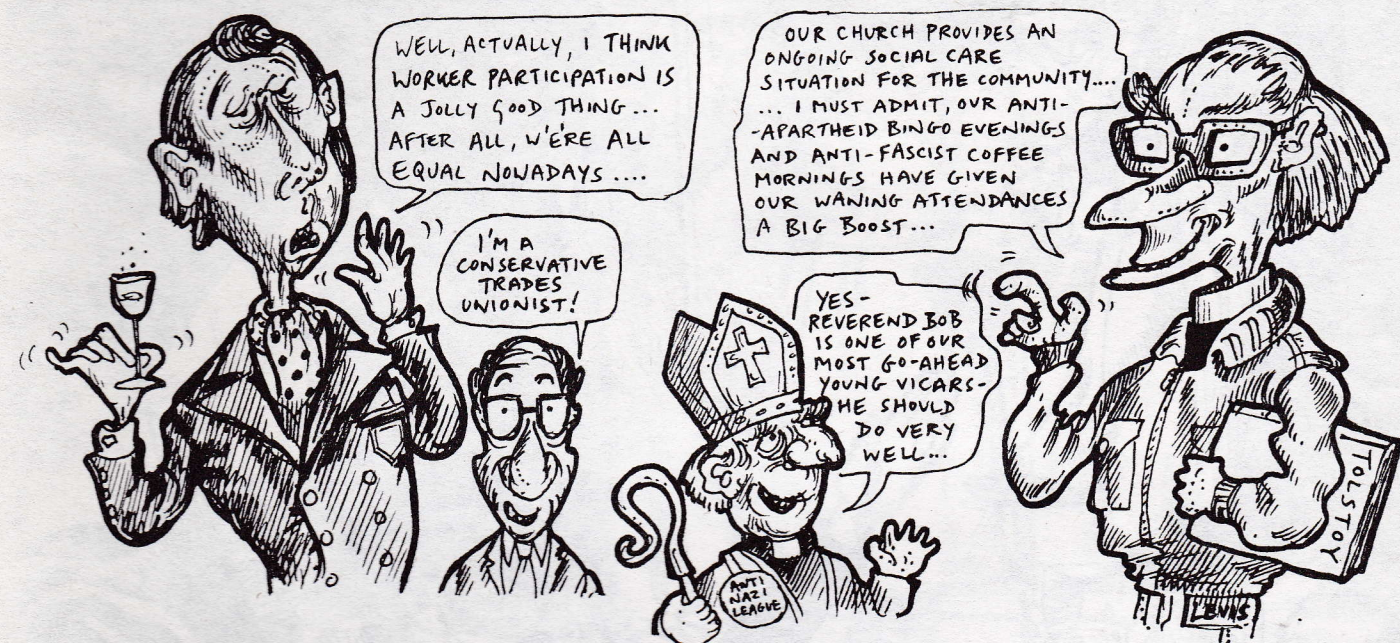


and revolutionary anarchist-socialists, the enemies of every State and every State principle.



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.



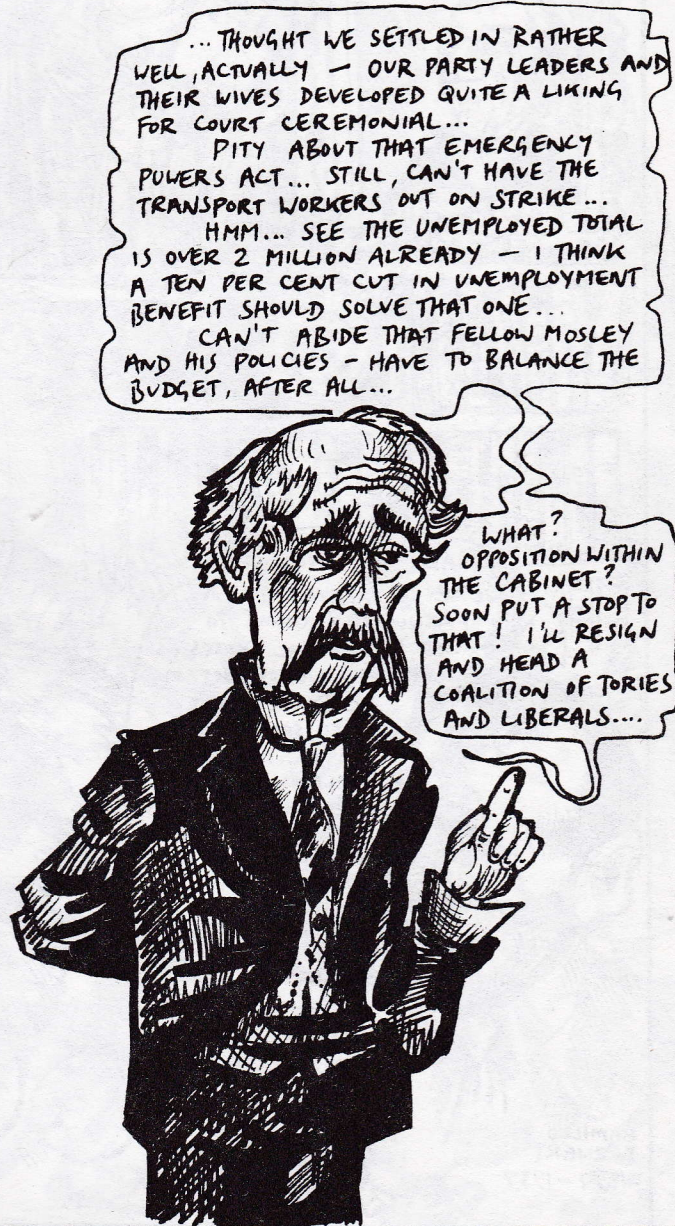
Bourgeois socialists of all varieties have one thing in common, which determines their reactionary tendencies and dooms even the most sincere among them to merge sooner or later with the party of deliberate and conscious reaction:

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.

1924 - THE FIRST LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN...

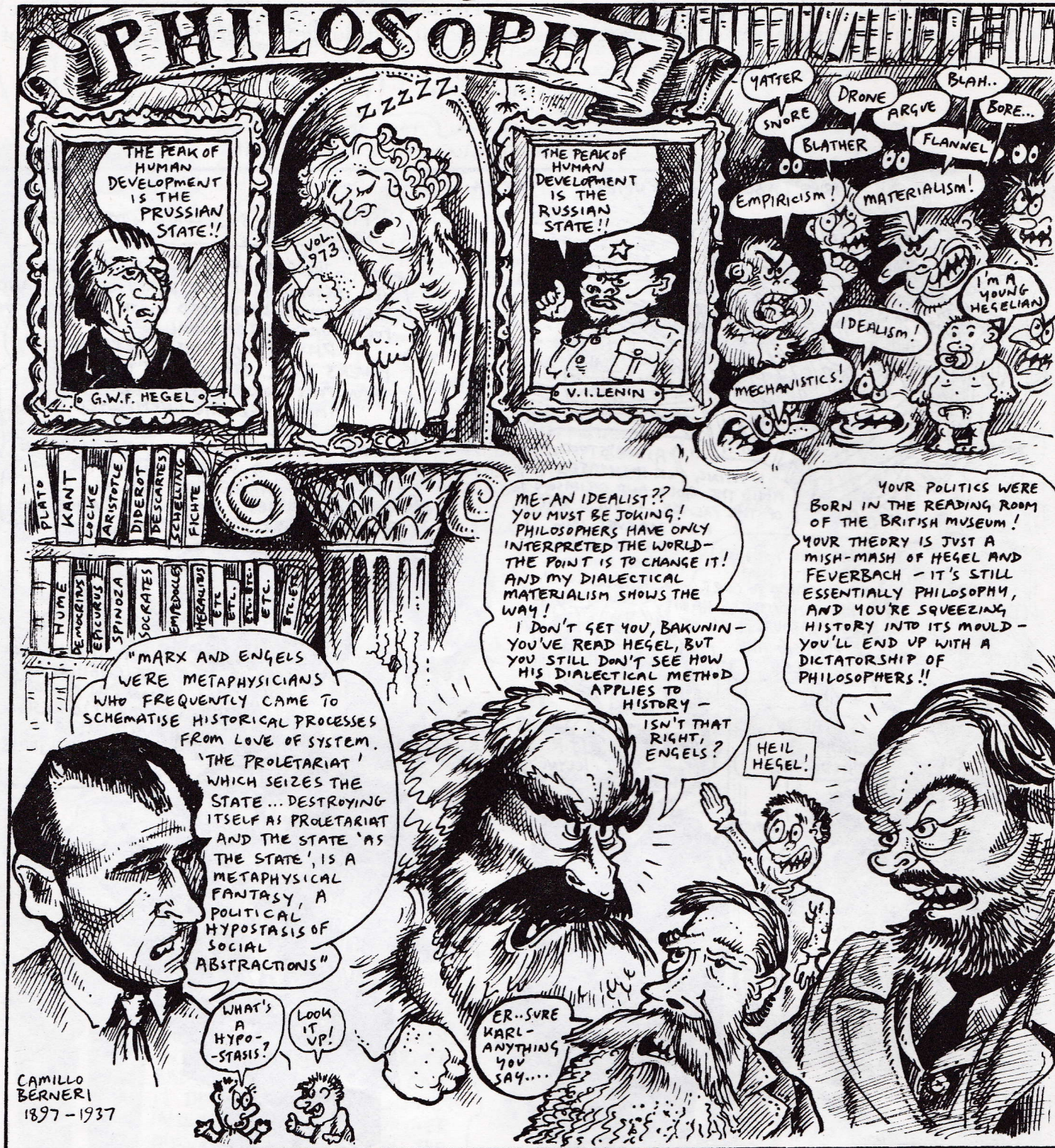


1929-31 - MACDONALD'S SECOND GOVERNMENT...



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.

MARX'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 -

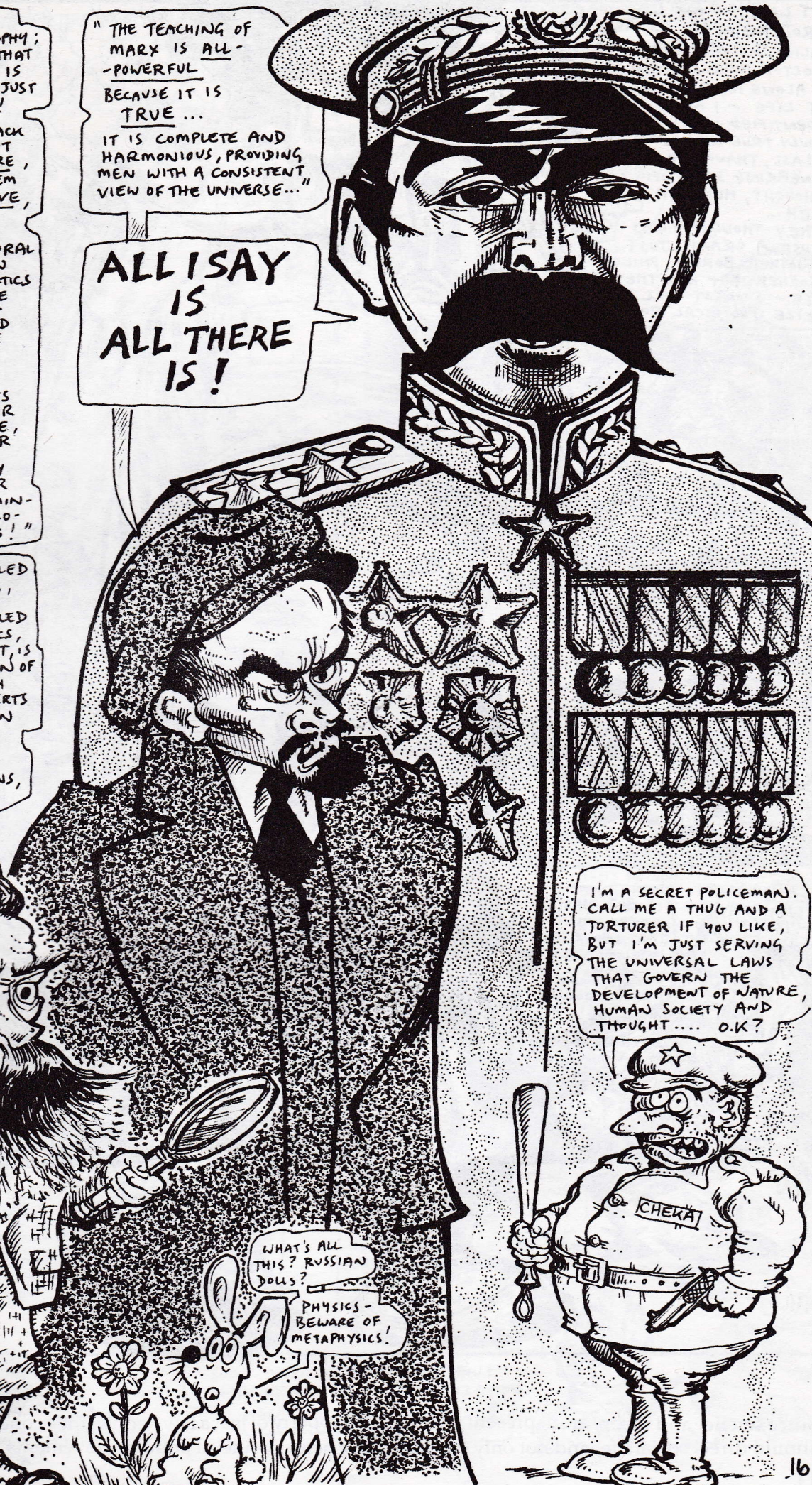
"DIALECTICS, SO-CALLED OBJECTIVE DIALECTICS, PREVAILS THROUGHOUT NATURE, AND SO-CALLED SUBJECTIVE DIALECTICS, DIALECTICAL THOUGHT, IS ONLY THE REFLECTION OF THE MOTION THROUGH OPPOSITES WHICH ASSERTS ITSELF EVERYWHERE IN NATURE..."

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.?



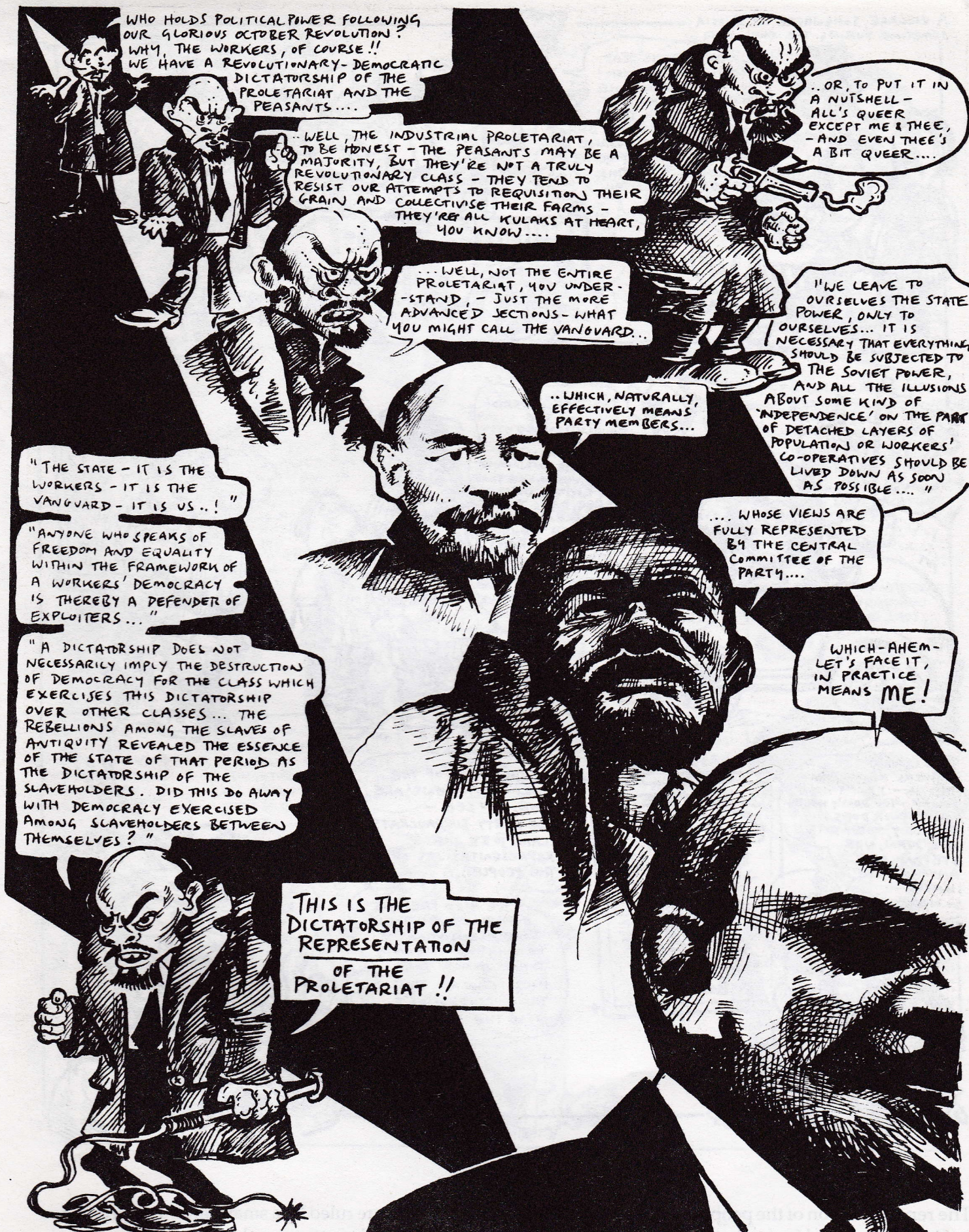
WHAT'S ALL THIS? RUSSIAN DOLLS?

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...



WHO HOLDS POLITICAL POWER FOLLOWING OUR GLORIOUS OCTOBER REVOLUTION? WHY, THE WORKERS, OF COURSE!! WE HAVE A REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEASANTS....

...WELL, THE INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT, TO BE HONEST - THE PEASANTS MAY BE A MAJORITY, BUT THEY'RE NOT A TRULY REVOLUTIONARY CLASS - THEY TEND TO RESIST OUR ATTEMPTS TO REQUISITION THEIR GRAIN AND COLLECTIVISE THEIR FARMS - THEY'RE ALL KULAKS AT HEART, YOU KNOW....

...WELL, NOT THE ENTIRE PROLETARIAT, YOU UNDER-
-STAND, - JUST THE MORE
ADVANCED SECTIONS - WHAT
YOU MIGHT CALL THE VANGUARD...

...WHICH, NATURALLY,
EFFECTIVELY MEANS
PARTY MEMBERS...

...OR, TO PUT IT IN
A NUTSHELL -
ALL'S QUEER
EXCEPT ME & THEE,
- AND EVEN THEE'S
A BIT QUEER....

"WE LEAVE TO
OURSELVES THE STATE
POWER, ONLY TO
OURSELVES... IT IS
NECESSARY THAT EVERYTHING
SHOULD BE SUBJECTED TO
THE SOVIET POWER,
AND ALL THE ILLUSIONS
ABOUT SOME KIND OF
'INDEPENDENCE' ON THE PART
OF DETACHED LAYERS OF
POPULATION OR WORKERS'
CO-OPERATIVES SHOULD BE
LIVED DOWN AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE...."

"THE STATE - IT IS THE
WORKERS - IT IS THE
VANGUARD - IT IS US..!"

"ANYONE WHO SPEAKS OF
FREEDOM AND EQUALITY
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF
A WORKERS' DEMOCRACY
IS THEREBY A DEFENDER OF
EXPLOITERS..."

"A DICTATORSHIP DOES NOT
NECESSARILY IMPLY THE DESTRUCTION
OF DEMOCRACY FOR THE CLASS WHICH
EXERCISES THIS DICTATORSHIP
OVER OTHER CLASSES... THE
REBELLIONS AMONG THE SLAVES OF
ANTIQUITY REVEALED THE ESSENCE
OF THE STATE OF THAT PERIOD AS
THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE
SLAVEHOLDERS. DID THIS DO AWAY
WITH DEMOCRACY EXERCISED
AMONG SLAVEHOLDERS BETWEEN
THEMSELVES?"

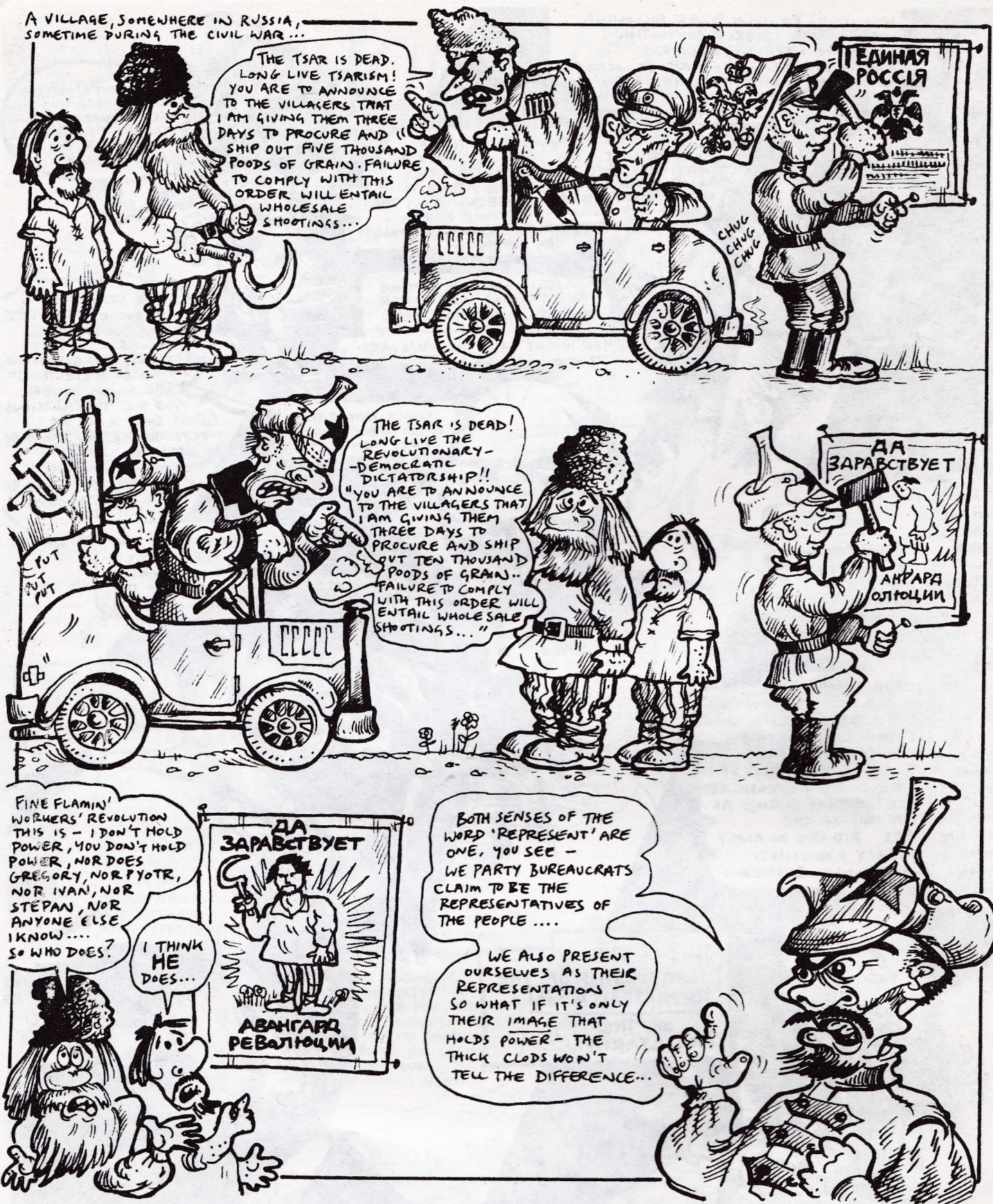
.... WHOSE VIEWS ARE
FULLY REPRESENTED
BY THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE
PARTY....

WHICH-AHEM-
LET'S FACE IT,
IN PRACTICE
MEANS ME!

THIS IS THE
DICTATORSHIP OF THE
REPRESENTATION
OF THE
PROLETARIAT !!

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.



HELLO! WE'RE THE BOLSHEVIKS! THIS IS WHAT WE PROPOSE...

READ IT, MATE! DON'T THINK A LOT OF IT... ALL DICTATORSHIP AND CENTRALISM...

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..."

"ONLY THOSE ORGANS CAN BE RECOGNISED WHICH ARE CREATED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES IN A GIVEN LOCALITY"

What's this? Worker's councils & federalism?

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

"ABOLITION OF THE POLICE, THE ARMY AND THE BUREAUCRACY"

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

LENIN'S ROUND THE TWIST! HE'S TALKING LIKE AN ANARCHIST!

DON'T WORRY! WAIT & SEE!

"A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS BASED IN ITS ENTIRETY UPON THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE CANNOT FEAR ANY DEMONSTRATIONS..."

"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..."

"AGITATION CANNOT BE FORBIDDEN, NOR CAN ONLY ONE KIND OF AGITATION BE IMPOSED UPON THE PEOPLE"

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

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

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

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

"THE KERENSKY GOVERNMENT HAS INTRODUCED THE DEATH PENALTY IN THE ARMY. WE WILL ABOLISH CAPITAL PUNISHMENT..."

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

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 HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LAG BEHIND..."

"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 HAVE BEEN FORCED TO LAG BEHIND..."



HMM... THIS WON'T GET US THE SUPPORT WE'LL NEED TO SEIZE AND MAINTAIN POWER...

HMM... IDEA...

AND SO -

KROPOTKIN BANUKIN

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..."

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

"OUR PARTY AIMS TO OBTAIN POLITICAL POWER FOR ITSELF"

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



"CAN WE BE EXPECTED, COMRADES, TO TAKE ALL THIS SERIOUSLY?"

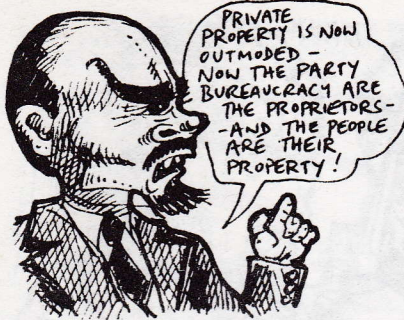


"WHAT IS DEMAND ON OUR PART IS FREQUENT SHIFTS IN OUR LINE OF BEHAVIOUR..."





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 LIPETSK, 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)

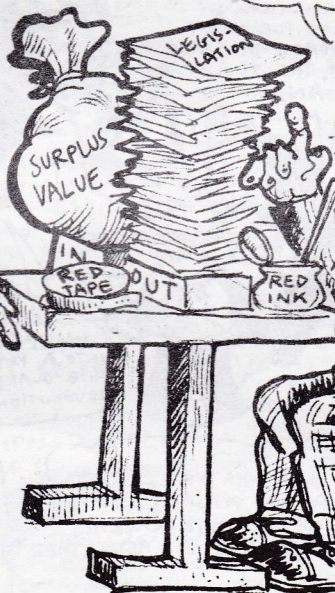
THE VALUE OF OUR WAGES IS GETTING SMALLER! OUR CONTROL OF PRODUCTION HAS BEEN WHITTLED AWAY! THE WORKFORCE IS SMALLER - HALF OF THEM HAVE BEEN ARRESTED!

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 BOLSHIEVISM 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...

THE LOGIC OF REPRESSION....

THE REVOLUTION IS THREATENED BY THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL WHITE REACTION - ONE ARMY 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 DEFIES 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 ILLUSIONIST!!
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....

... HE IS INSTANTLY TRANSFORMED INTO A PETTY-BOURGEOIS WHITE-GUARDIST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY BANDIT!!

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!!

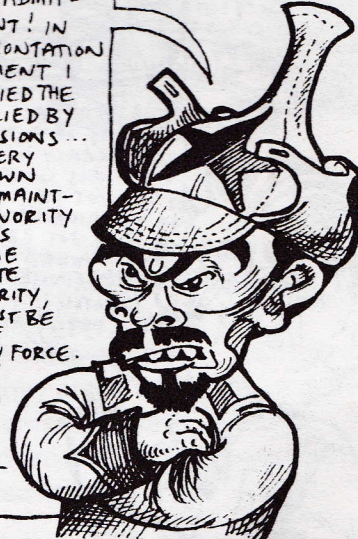
WHITE COSSACKS

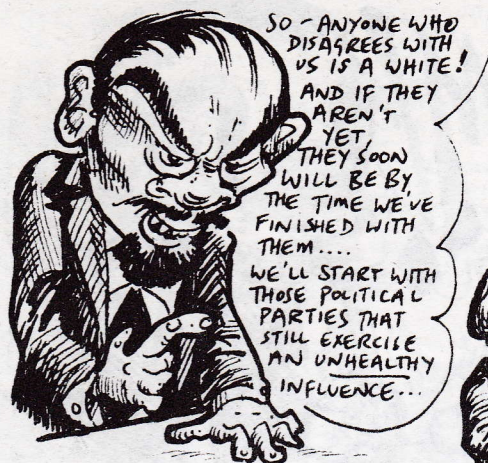
CZECH LEGIONS

FINNISH WHITES

ETC. ETC.

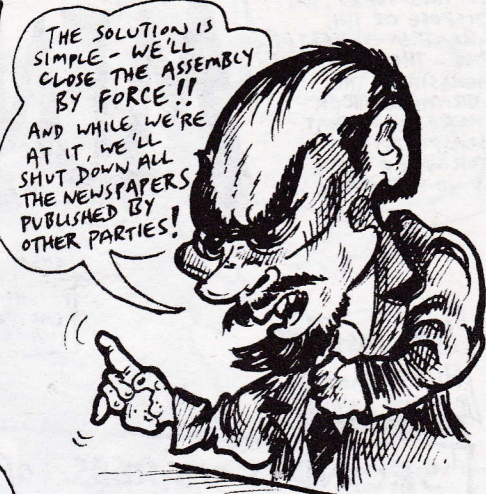
BOING!



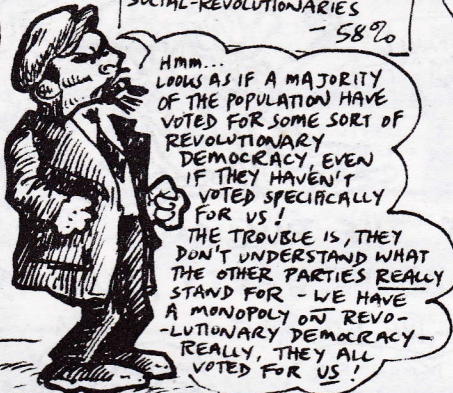


CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS DEC. 1917

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



5TH. CONGRESS OF SOVIETS JULY 1918



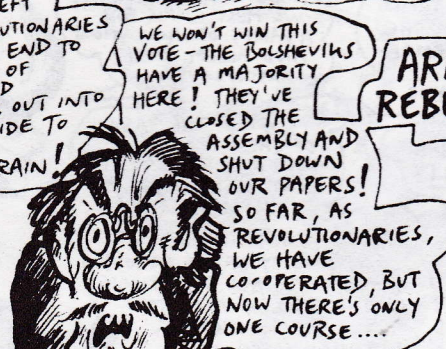
MAY 1918 CONVENTION OF SOCIAL-REVOLUTIONARIES RAIDED AND DELEGATES ARRESTED...

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...

ARMED REBELLION!



SEE? I TOLD YOU THEY WERE WHITES...



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!



SOME PAST
HISTORY -

good
bolshheviks
recoiling at
the very
word

ERK!!

EEK!

GULP

SWOON

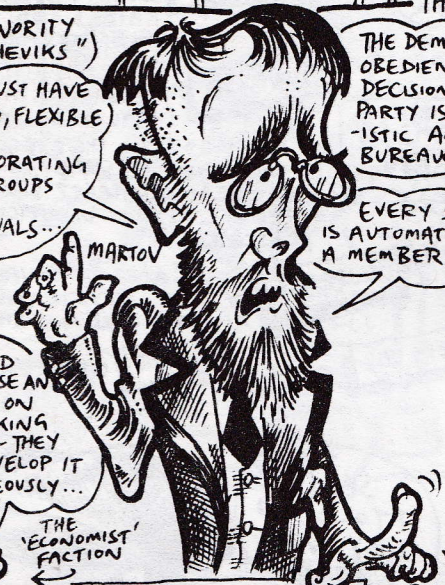


SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY, JULY 1903.....

THE BIG SPLIT....

THE MINORITY
("MENSHEVICS")

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....

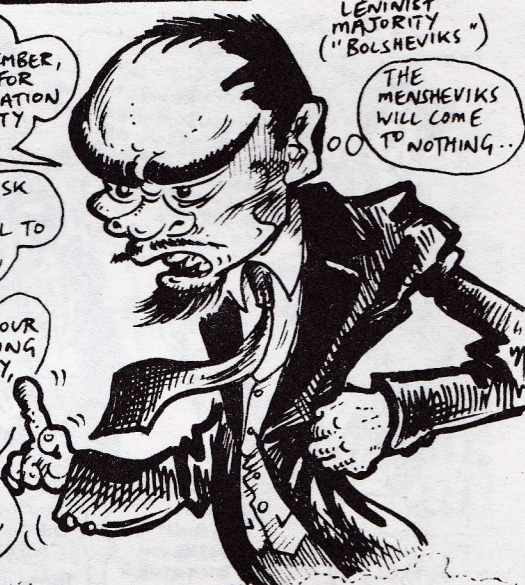
"IT IS NOT THE TASK
OF THE PARTY TO
LOWER ITS LEVEL TO
THAT OF EVERY
STRIKER..."

"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
("BOLSHEVICS")

THE
MENSHEVICS
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 BOLSHEVICS CONSTITUTE
AN INDEPENDENT PARTY...
UNTIL, BY 1921....."

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

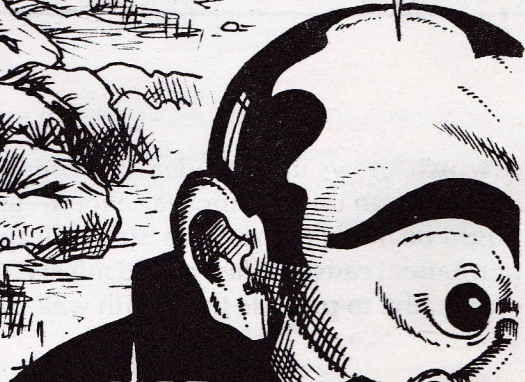
"WHEN WE TALK OF
USING MACHINE-GUNS,
WE HAVE IN MIND
PEOPLE WHO CALL THEM-
SELVES MENSHEVICS..."

"AN AVOVAL OF
MENSHEVIST 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 WHOLESALÉ 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 BOLSHIEVS EXPEND MORE BULLETS ON THEIR OWN MEN AND ON THE IRREGULARS THAN THEY DO ON THE ENEMY!



EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS 1919

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

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!

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



1924 - NON-BOLSHIEV 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!

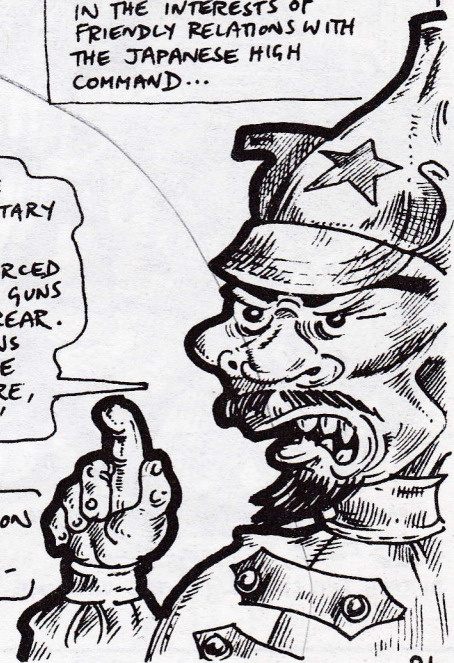
CONGRESS REJECTS THE PROPOSALS OF THE 'MILITARY OPPOSITION'!

"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 ORGANIZATION 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...

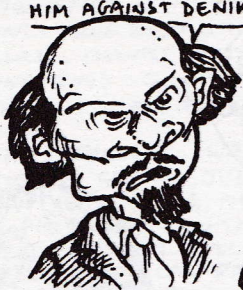
GOOD IDEA... WE COULD EVEN RECOGNIZE AN AUTONOMOUS REGION FOR THE PEASANT COLLECTIVES...

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 SEND AGENTS 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...

MAKHNO HAS BEATEN DENIKIN - WE'LL ORDER HIS TROOPS TO THE POLISH FRONT, AND TAKE OVER WHILE HE'S AWAY..

BUT HE REFUSES TO GO!!

WE DIDN'T BEAT MAKHNO, DID WE? WRANGEL'S INVADDED THE CRIMEA - BETTER FORM ANOTHER ALLIANCE...

O.K. WE'LL PROMISE TO RELEASE OUR ANARCHIST PRISONERS, AND PROMISE HIM FREEDOM OF PROPAGANDA.

WRANGEL'S BEATEN! WE DON'T NEED MAKHNO ANY MORE! TEAR UP THE ALLIANCE!

RAID MAKHNO'S H.Q.!! SEIZE HIS STAFF!! SHOOT THEM!! GET MAKHNO!!!

THEN IT'S WAR!!

IT'S ONLY A PIECE OF PAPER...

DEC. 1919

OCT. 1920

NOV. 1920



PETLIURA

HETMAN SKOROPADSKY

DENIKIN

WRANGEL

HETMAN GRIGOR'EV

BUDYONNY

.... BOURGEOIS NATIONALISTS, ... THE AUSTRO-GERMANS & THEIR PUPPETS,

.... WHITE GENERALS,

... POGROMISTS,

... AND, FROM TIME TO TIME, BOLSHIEVKS ...

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 BOLSHIEVICS 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...."

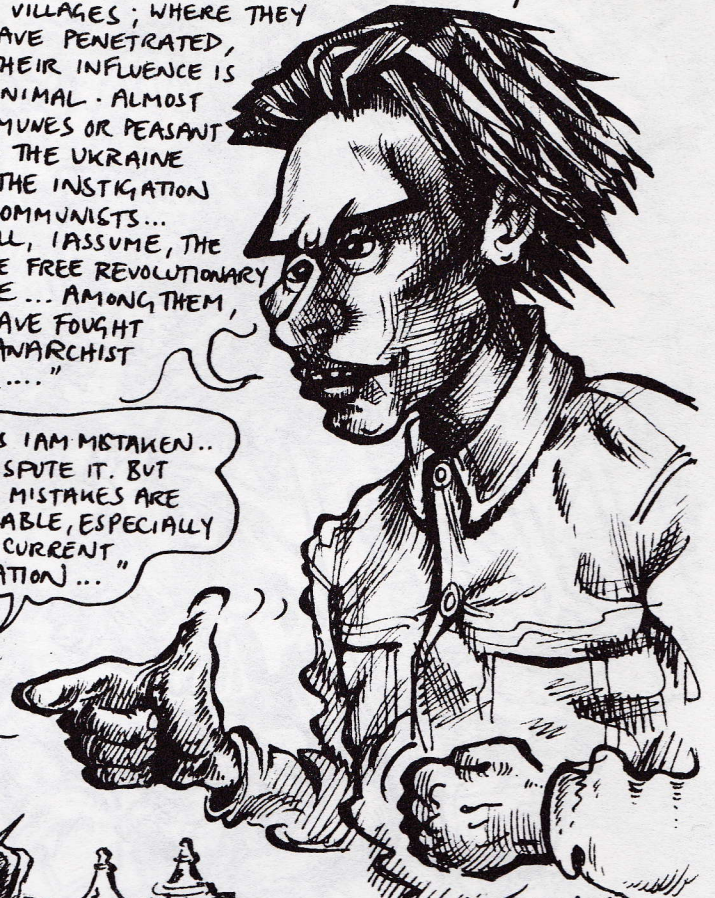
"PERHAPS I AM MISTAKEN... I DON'T DISPUTE IT. BUT ANYWAY MISTAKES ARE UNAVOIDABLE, ESPECIALLY IN OUR CURRENT SITUATION..."

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 ADROITLY 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."





1921: THE REVOLUTIONARY SAILORS OF THE KRONSTADT SOVIET DEMAND AN END TO GRAIN REQUISITIONS AND REFORM OF WAR COMMUNISM. THIS 'WHITE REBELLION' IS SUPPRESSED BY RED TROOPS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF TROTSKY....

The next question is: if the proletariat is to be the ruling class, over whom will it rule? The answer is that there will remain another proletariat, subjected to this new state domination. It might be, for example, the peasant 'rabble'

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 -



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")



'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 CARRY-
ING OUT UNQUESTIONINGLY
AND UNWAVERINGLY
WHATEVER ORDER THE
MILITARY COMMAND MAY
ISSUE..."



ANDRÉ 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.

CHINA, 1949:



"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 SHVET, "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?" ("WHITHER 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!!

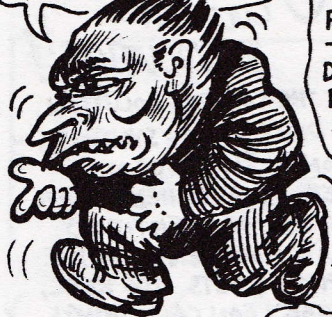
HMM... IS SOMETHING WRONG? HAVE WE BEEN USED? OOO



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:

CUBA, 1959:
THE DICTATOR BATISTA
ABDICATES...

"I GIVE UP! THE ENTIRE
POPULATION IS IN REVOLT!
I BEQUEATH POWER TO
GENERAL CANTILLO...."



... WHO HANDED IT TO
COLONEL BARQUIN, WHO
HANDED IT, FOR SOME
REASON, TO ME, I'M
GLAD TO SAY. I'M
JUST A TRADITIONAL
'CAUDILLO' REALLY,
WITH A FEW RADICAL
IDEAS ... AFTER ALL,
PLENTY OF RIGHT-
WING AMERICAN
DICTATORS HAVE
BEEN KEEN ON
SOCIAL
REFORMS...
RIGHT, CHE?



SURE, FIDEL! I'VE ALWAYS GOT ON
WELL WITH THE PERONISTS...
BUT WE'RE NOT THE ONLY
REVOLUTIONARIES AROUND...

1959:
26TH. JULY MOVEMENT,
P.S.P. (COMMUNIST),
REVOLUTIONARY
DIRECTORY,

... I THINK WE COULD
START BY 'PURIFYING'
THE MOVEMENT OF
LIBERAL AND
ANARCHIST
ELEMENTS...

→ 1961: COMBINED
(AFTER BITTER
RESISTANCE)
AS THE "INTEGRATED
REVOLUTIONARY ORG-
ANISATIONS"



1962:
BECOMES
THE "SINGLE
PARTY OF
THE
SOCIALIST
"REVOLUTION"

1962: THE
"CUBAN MISSILE
CRISIS":

I SEE YOU'RE
UNDER PRESSURE
FROM U.S. IMP-
ERIALISM...
HOW ABOUT SOME
DEFENCE ON LOAN
FROM SOVIET
IMPERIALISM?
NO STRINGS
ATTACHED...

CASTRO

HEY, MAN!
FANTASTIC!
JUST
WHAT
I'VE
ALWAYS
WANTED



WANNA
BUY SOME SUGAR
WHILE YOU'RE HERE?
ANYTHING I CAN DO
IN RETURN?

1965: ←
BECOMES THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF CUBA....

"I AM A
MARXIST-
LENINIST..."

KRUSCHEV



← ANGOLA,
MOZAMBIQUE,
GUINEA BISSAU,
ETHIOPIA, ETC. ETC.

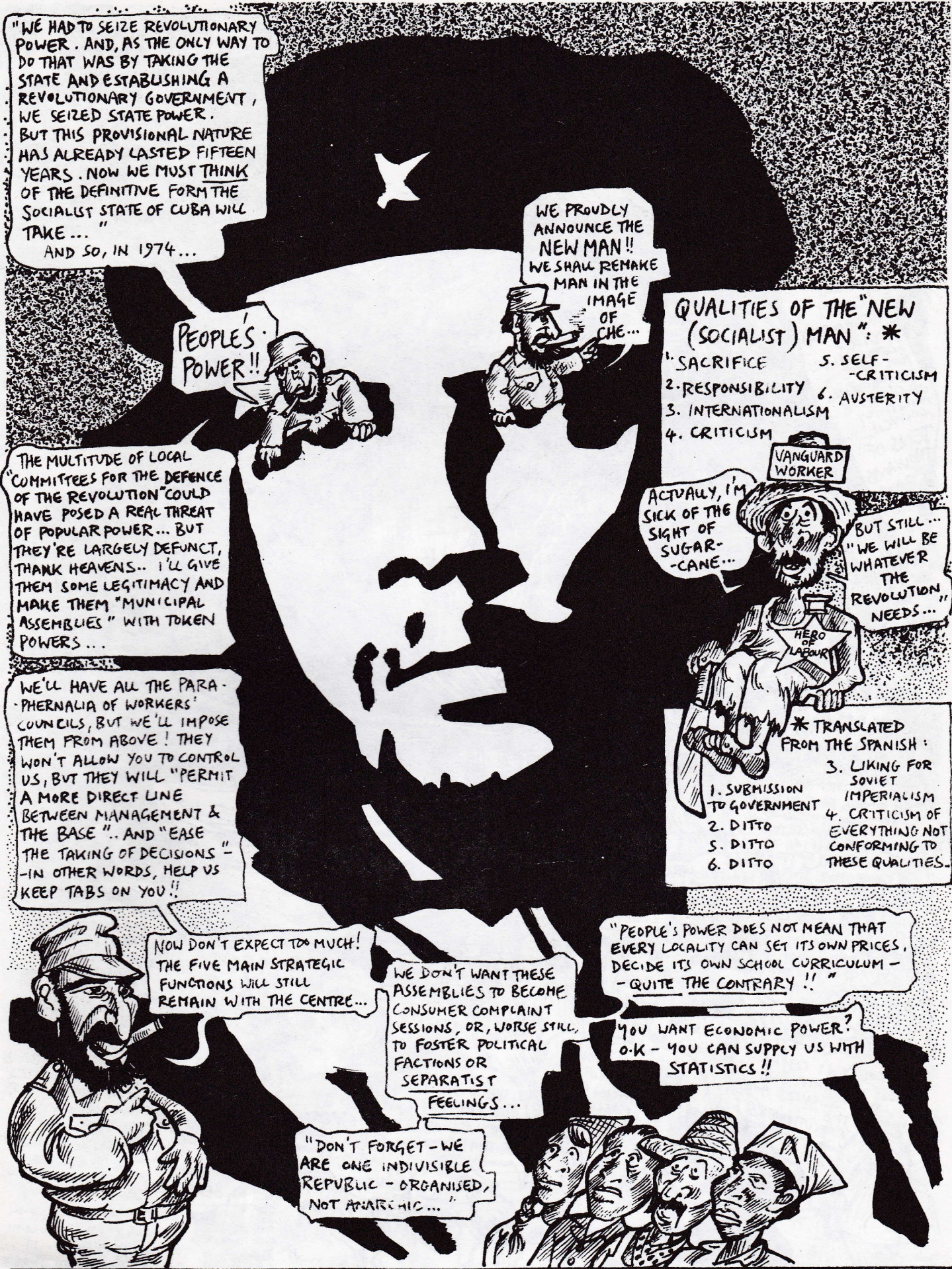
SEE HOW WE'VE
COME ON?
NOWADAYS, WE EXPORT
NOT ONLY SUGAR, BUT
SOVIET IMP - OOPS!
- I MEAN SOLIDARITY -
AS WELL....



THE MASS OF CUBAN
SOCIETY HAS BEEN DENIED
POLITICAL POWER AND ACCESS
TO EDUCATION FOR SO LONG
THAT IT CANNOT REALISTICALLY
TAKE ON ANY SIGNIFICANT
POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES,
EXCEPT THROUGH ITS
LEADERSHIP....
FIDEL'S RELATION WITH THE
MASSES IS ONE OF
"DIALECTICAL UNITY..."



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...

PEOPLES' 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...

VANGUARD WORKER

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 ANARCHIC..."



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...





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...

EMILIANO ZAPATA

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."

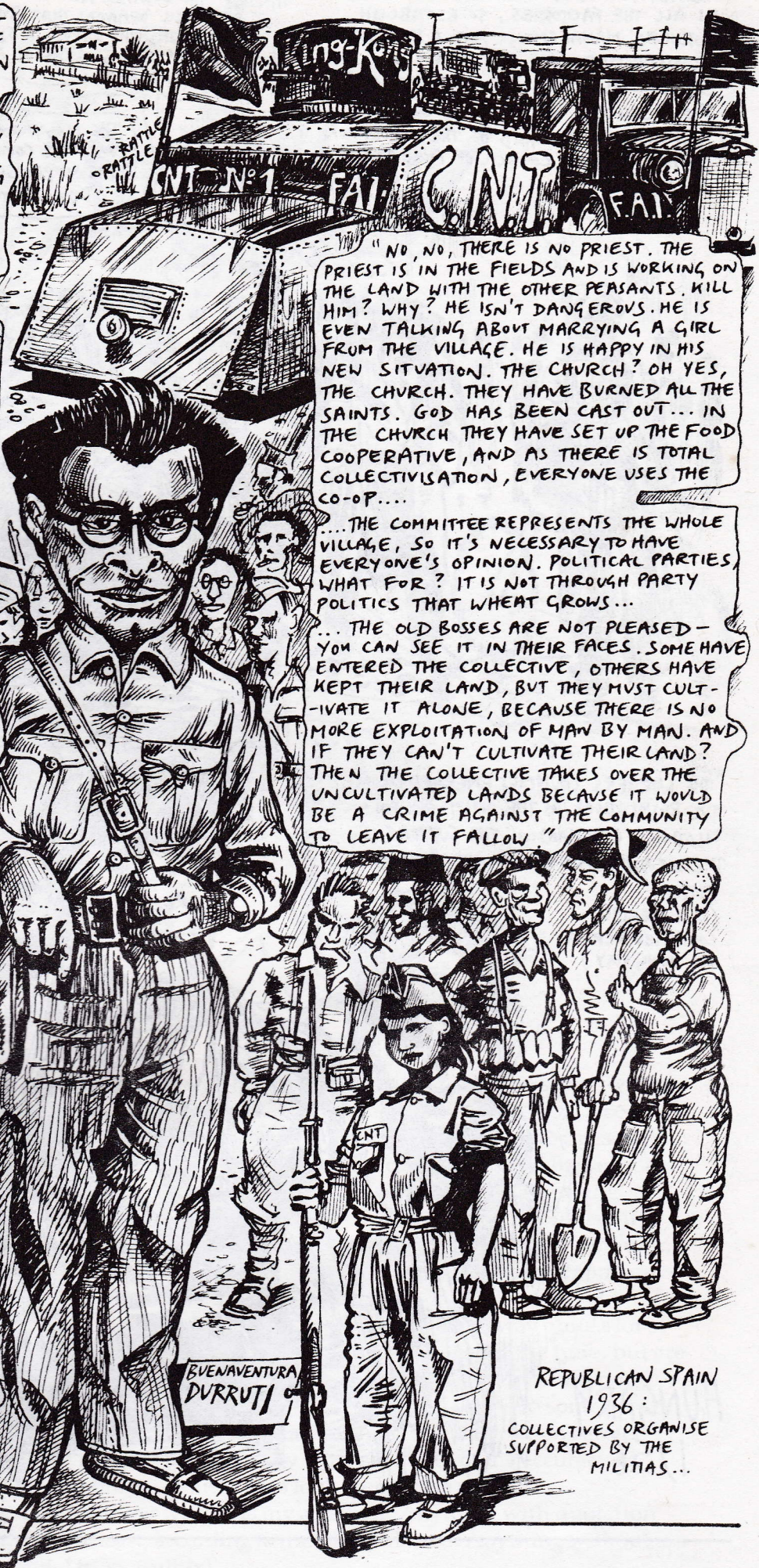
"IN EVERY VILLAGE WHICH WE HAVE CONQUERED THE INHABITANTS ORGANIZE THEIR LIVES LIKE A COMMUNITY OF FREE MEN. FOR US THERE IS NO OTHER STRATEGY. THE SMALLEST VILLAGE HAS A GREAT VALUE FOR US BECAUSE WORKERS ARE LIVING IN IT WHO HAVE THE RIGHT TO CARRY OUT THE IDEA FOR WHICH THEY HAVE FOUGHT ALL THEIR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

"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..."

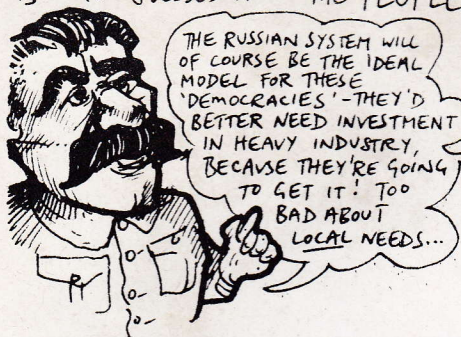
(U.N. SPECIAL COMMITTEE REPORT ON HUNGARY)

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...



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

POLAND 1956



RUSSIAN

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...

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

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

GDANSK, GDYNIA, SZCZECIN, 1970 - THE POPULACE DESTROY PARTY - PROPERTY, BURN AND LOOT SHOPS, AND FIGHT OFF POLICE AND SPECIAL MILITIA... STRIKES FOLLOW...

"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

"FREE" TRADES? WELL, NOT EXACTLY... UNIONS 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!!

600,000 RUSSIAN SOLDIERS INVADE CZECHOSLOVAKIA...

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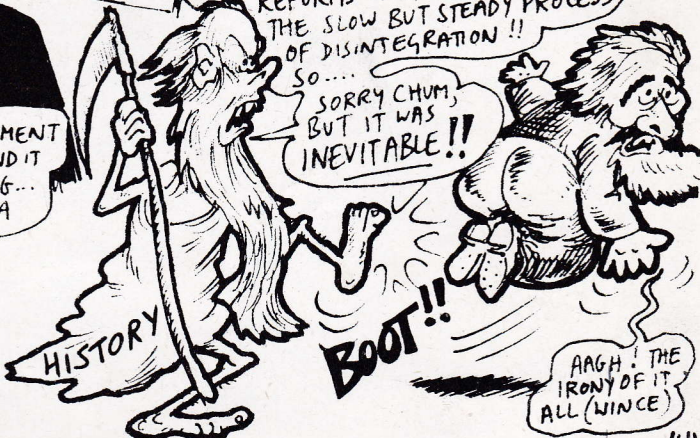
PRINTED BY BELFAST ANARCHISTS

SOLIDARNOSC

"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...



Cienfuegos

Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL

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....

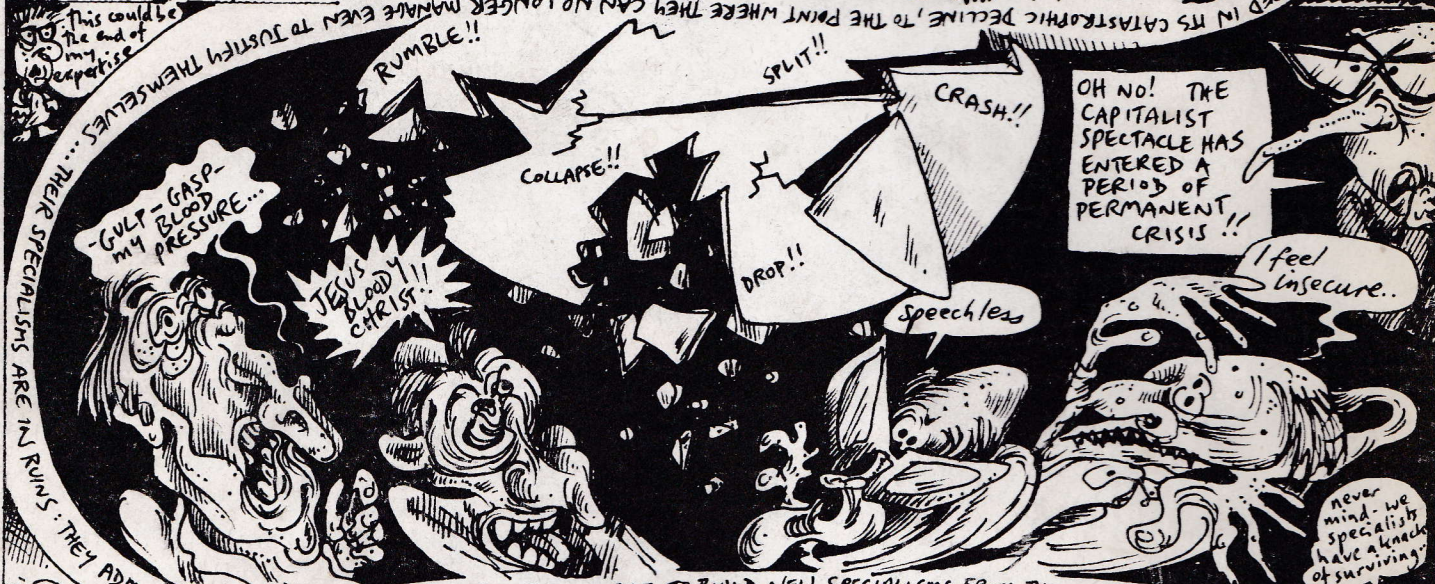
IF I SAY YOU'RE MAD - YOU'RE MAD! AND I CAN GET CERTIFICATES TO PROVE IT...

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



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-schooling 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...

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

...but we specialists are still very much alive!!

