

Georgi Konstantinov

ANARCHISM in the 21st century

“A society is ripe for death when it has created and developed in itself all theoretical and practical elements necessary to destroy it.”

M. Bakunin

“Free Thought“

Anarchism in the 21st century
by Georgi Konstantinov

www.anarchy.bg

Published by “Free Thought“ editorial board
Sofia, 2019

Contents

In Place of Introduction.....	7
What is anarchist communism.....	9
Social revolution.....	13
Can a stateless society exist?.....	13
Voluntary union of communes.....	14
Practical experience.....	14
Social equality.....	15
Historical examples.....	16
Revolution today	
The Epoch We Live In.....	17
From Robotronic to Social Revolution.....	17
An Ubiquitous Revolution.....	19
The inevitable destruction.....	20
Unemployed and “disposable“.....	22
The End of Capitalism.....	24
The Death of an Empire.....	26
Anarchy or Empire.....	28
CHALLENGES FOR ANARCHISTS.....	30
Anarchy tomorrow	
Everyone participates in decision making.....	32
Structure and functioning of a free society.....	32
The commune.....	33
Federation.....	35
Councils.....	36
Internal security.....	37
Revolutionary laws and tribunals.....	38
A Revolutionary Army.....	39
Historical experience:	
Ukraine.....	41
Spain.....	43

The Communist Economy

Goals, planning, production, distribution and provision	46
Phases of development	46
Communist Enterprises	47
Associations of producers and consumers	47
The revolution can only be global	49
A 4-hour workday	50
The workday today.....	51
Work compensation and distribution	53
Creating and maintaining the infrastructure.....	54
Planning	55
Distribution of mandatory labor	55
Science as a weapon of progress, abundance and ecology	56
Scientific-technical progress	57

Change is inevitable

59

Anarchy in the information age

61

Free dissemination of information	63
Technological progress	64
3D-printers in every household	64
The future is approaching at the speed of light	65
Robotization of production and services	67
Economic planning and the distribution of goods	68

An enlightened society

71

Possible objections.....

73

ANNEX #1: NETWORK SELF-GOVERNMENT

75

In place of a prologue

PRESTO II

Brothers
Comrades
Indigent
Citizens
Peasants
- you, young
and old,
who are in the hundreds,
like cattle
born,
shot -
No point in sitting around:
rise
- forward -
let's go!

Through smoke
black, sooty, drenched in mud -
no command, no order -
as when a crater
vehemently
erupts.
Brothers!

The end is nigh,
the last day:
100 years before us
Camille Desmoulins
blazed away
convincingly
and pointed
to the great horrific Bastille.
The end is nigh.
Each one of us
in a final effort
must leap
on foot!

Geo Milev, 1922

In Place of Introduction

This brochure is neither perfect, nor immutable. It does not constitute a program. It is a dedication to the centennial of the Federation of Anarchist Communists in Bulgaria (FACB).

The aim of the editorial board of „Free Thought“ is two-fold:

- First, to structure and systematize earlier theoretical knowledge, theses, ideas and suggestions **in view of contemporary realities.**
- Second, to answer, in simple and comprehensible wording, the questions that most frequently arise among those who try to get familiar with anarchism but encounter a lack of contemporary theoretical materials.

The editorial board welcomes any objective criticism, additions and motivated reductions of the ideas laid out in this brochure.

What is anarchist communism

Anarchism is a revolutionary theory for the destruction of any power¹, state power in the first place, but also of capitalist power and the exploitation of humans by humans, as well as the borders between people. It proposes replacing them with the voluntary union and cooperation of equals based on freedom, social equality and the brotherly union of peoples. This goal is to be realized by **Social revolution**, undertaken by the oppressed classes².

It has both a destructive and a creative aspect. The two are inseparable: „*The passion to destroy*“ states Bakunin, „*is a creative passion*“. The successful realization of social revolution will result in the disintegration of all forms of power and exploitation. Following the liquidation of old society, new social structures and relations will be based on mutual aid, solidarity, voluntary consent and the responsibility of everyone involved. This arrangement will be warranted by personal interest in the existence of such a social system.

In place of vertical social organization, anarchists propose restructuring society along horizontal networks on the principles of self-government and direct democracy.

Anarchism is liberation: liberation of the mind from the power of

1 Authority/power is the ability to make decisions and to oblige others to follow them. For the purposes of this text, by authority/power [these words appear in the English translation where in Bulgarian the word „власт“ is used, which connotes all of these depending on the precise context] we mean the ability of a small group of individuals to impose their will on others by terror, fraud or manipulation. For instance, the authority of state institutions is enforced by the threat of police violence.

2 A class is a relatively stable group of people of similar economic and social characteristics and interests. Historically, different classes have formed – peasants, feudal aristocracy, working class, capitalist class, etc. In societies we are familiar with, oppression is usually class-determined, whereby the „upper“ classes (such as the capitalists or the nomenclature) oppress the „lower“ classes (peasants, workers, precariat, etc.).

religion and dominant ideology, liberation of humanity from the power of commodities, liberation from the authority, oppression, chains, orders and prohibitions of government, liberation from the power of money and exploitation by capital.

Anarchism means social order based on free and voluntary labor in exchange for the satisfaction of the personal and collective needs of every man and woman in society. It means freedom of association of free (and, if necessary, armed) people to discuss common and personal problems, make decisions and implement them – without bosses, intermediaries or representatives.

Anarchists strive for a rationally and logically organized society, much different from the capitalist jungle or Marxist-Leninist dictatorships. We want to build a free society without classes, states, nations or borders that aims for:

- **Emancipation** of individuals, their liberation as autonomous creatures, free to make choices, conscientious, creative and responsible;
 - **Social, economic and political equality** of all persons (regardless of age, gender, skin color, etc.), which will put an end to social classes and the division between masters and servants;
 - **Freedom of creativity**, which will protect personal development from the leveling observed in past and current dictatorships or present-day societies of mass consumerist idiocy;
 - **Justice**, stemming from equality; ³
 - **Free and guaranteed education and cultivation**, enabling the fullest possible development of persons as opposed to the kind of social adaptation we currently; ⁴
 - **Social organization based on the free federation of producers and consumers.** Direct, communal and federalist democracy ⁵ - not representative parliamentary democracy, without

3 The last four principles cannot be reconciled with inequality between individuals or the existence of repressive institutions, be they judicial, police or military;

4 This is why equal access to the means of personal development is necessary, i.e. to secure the material and informational resources necessary for education in all spheres of science, technology and the arts.

5 Federalism as a principle entails the voluntary association of people to

delegation; self-government by coordination of elected delegates with imperative mandates, recallable at any time by those who have elected them;

- **An economy oriented toward the satisfaction of needs**, not toward profit. Production is determined by personal and collective needs, and not by the consumption and interests of the rich;
- **Collective and personal management of the means of production and distribution**, making labor exploitation impossible. Getting rid of property⁶ and hired labor;
- **Even distribution of shared rights and responsibilities**, getting rid of the division between physical and mental work, between janitors and „young energetic managers“;
- **Protecting the environment**, not as an end in and of itself but as means to the wholesome development of humanity and an improved quality of life;
- **Free association** of individuals and communities according to their similarities, affinities, interests and choice;
- **Freedom of expression**, the absolute right of every person to express their opinion - orally, in writing or in another way through media;
- **Freedom of movement** of people, getting rid of borders by introducing a new global citizenship that includes the possibility to settle and live in any commune, granting migrant people the right to participate in decisions about social, economic and cultural life.

Despite the word's possibly misleading etymology⁷, anarchism aims for the even distribution of power among all with no excep-

resolve matters related to their shared needs, while preserving freedom of action on other matters on which there is no shared opinion with the right to form separate federations (unions).

6 Property is a social relation between those who have and does don't, backed by the armed force of the state and the laws. Proudhon calls it theft. As a form of indisputable power over an object or a human being, it is an unnatural phenomenon in human society, causing paradoxes like the starvation of millions of people at the same time that millions of tons of food are thrown away. It is different from the right of personal use of an object that society grants to its members and that can be terminated should need be.

7„Anarchy“ comes from Greek (αναρχία) and it literally means the ab-

tion. In this sense, „anarchy“, „direct democracy“ and „self-government“ are synonyms.

Communism is an economic social system in which individuals have equal rights and responsibilities (including work) to the entire community. It presupposes common ownership of the means of production. Communism is inseparable from anarchy⁸, i.e. they are mutually dependent.

Finally, we can formulate the shortest and possibly the clearest definition of anarcho-communism:

Anarcho-communism is a society in which power and property are distributed evenly among all members.

Thus, for such a society to take shape, power and property must be destroyed because **no individual or group can rule over the rest, nor exploit them.**

sence of authorities, hierarchies, domination or the power vested in social inequalities. [The Bulgarian word for anarchy, “bezvlastie”, or the absence of “vlast” as used in the original of this brochure suggests such a broader definition of anti- authoritarianism.]

8 The attempt to introduce communism from above lead to a dictatorship of state capital and the reverse transition to private capitalism. Thus, we lost a century and „gained“ the crushed idealism of several generations.

Social revolution

Anarchists want to transform present-day society by way of **social revolution**. This is a transformation of capitalism and its corresponding state structure into anarcho-communism.

Unfortunately, revolution cannot be completed without „anti-constitutional“ revolutionary violence⁹. Whether it takes the form of a bloody civil war or ends with the voluntary capitulation of social parasites depends entirely on the ruling class – on its willingness to put an end to its own domination and plunder and live like the liberated lower classes. In this revolution, hierarchical states, including the most „democratic“ ones, must die. The chaotic development of the world market must be replaced by a rational planning strategy for economic and technological revolution, accounting for the needs of all of humanity. Such a strategy would be based on new research in the natural sciences and technological achievement, predicting the dangers ahead and using the available capacities to remove them.

Can a stateless society exist?

The state and property are neither eternal, nor „naturally human“ categories. They are class institutions that emerged after the Neolithic economic revolution and the political counter-revolution that followed and lead to the creation of the state. Prior to that moment, over the course of thousands of years there were no individual, group or state property, slave labor, exploitation, money and trade, nor extra-economic or economic coercion and the police rule of a politically organized band over the disorganized masses. All of these emerged only with the spread of animal herding

⁹ Contrary to popular belief, „revolutionary violence“ is not an end in itself for disgruntled masses but a reaction against the attempts of the „upper classes“ to preserve their power, property and privilege. It is at the same time the demiurge of new society.

and agriculture in place of hunting and gathering of food ready in nature. What followed were a new division of labor, the plunder of productive „surplus“ by organized bands¹⁰ and slavery, commercial expeditions, trade in human beings, stolen resources and products, wars between armed bands of parasites and idlers over the spoils, all the way to the contemporary „constitutional authority“ of state institutions and corporations founded on historically well-familiar modifications of property, state and socio-economic and political relations and classes in society.

Voluntary union of communes (*“obshtini”*)

We can introduce one more definition of an anarcho-communist society: **Anarcho-communism is a social system in which the state has been removed and replaced by the commune (*“obshtinata”*) at the local level, while at the provincial, national, regional, continental and global levels it has been replaced by the voluntary and free union (federation) of communes.**

Similarly, property has been removed, while labor has been emancipated¹¹, classes have been destroyed and replaced by communistic social and economic relations, characterized by mutual aid, solidarity, social planning of production, distribution and development, according to the declared needs of federated communes. Joining or leaving communes are voluntary acts.

Practical experience

Most people who encounter these definitions for the first time will have many questions about different spheres of life and the ways

10 Perhaps the first states were ordinary bands of outlaws, whose „business“ had grown enough to make a well-organized and regular tax-collecting enterprise out of it. Frequently, instead of tax collectors, the bandits became owners. The notion that power can be just and beneficial was imposed on people much later through control over religions and the means of mass dissemination of information, which made people dumb.

11 As we will later explain, under communism, socially necessary labor is distributed among all members of society and is reduced to the possible minimum. Work is not subjected to an employer's whim but to actual personal and social needs.

a horizontal society of the future can be organized and how it will function. Some common questions in these, often heated, discussions are: „Has such a society ever existed?“ „What do anarchists have to offer on this or that concrete issue?“ „And what do they suggest being done when a given unexpected thing happens?“ . What these interlocutors need to hear first is a clear explanation of the **basic ideas, principles, structures, economic, organizational and social relations in an anarchist-communist society.**

Social equality

The concepts **anarchy, communism¹² and internationalism** used to define society are a modern version of the tripartite „**Freedom, equality, brotherhood!**“ of the epoch of the Great French revolution. They have gained clarity and precision over time and will be developed further in the course of this exposition.

If we are to state our ideal in two words only, it is **social equality**. Here we outline briefly the key role of social equality in a future society without classes, hierarchies or ranking, without „lower“ or „upper“ classes, castes or strata, without pyramidal or vertical structuration:

By social equality we mean the **equality of people in social life, the economy, labor and the distribution of goods¹³, access to healthcare, education, culture and all types of data, having rid society of all and any privilege**, state, bank, company, trade or similar „secrets“ and so forth. In making decisions, each person exercises their own vote having equal weight with everyone else’s within a community.

Social equality is **sufficient precondition for personal freedom and brotherhood between people and peoples**. Once social equality has been achieved, no one will be able to exercise power

12 We will quickly note that state-capitalist society created by parties that called themselves „communist“ has nothing to do with the communist ideal.

13 With the word „goods“ we denote products, services and all other things that any person or collective needs and which are made by workers or robots.

over the rest, nor exploit them. That's because social equality erases the borders of inequality that divide humanity.

Historical examples

For thousands of years in prehistory, enormous unions of people (such as the Iroquois of North America) knew no state, property, commerce or other attributes of class society. In modern days, different experiments have been done in the practical application of anarchist theory at different times and in different locations, depending on the social-economic and political realities of the epoch.

The list of modern examples includes revolutionary struggles¹⁴ such as the Paris Commune (1871), the Makhnovshchina in Ukraine (1918 – 1921), the Spanish Revolution (1936 – 1939), the Hungarian revolution with its workplace and territorial councils (1956), and Chiapas and Rojava in the beginning of the 21st century. It must be noted that all these revolutionary undertakings were smashed by means of military-police force, the institutions of violence of the dominating exploiter classes with their „cold monsters“ called states.

14 We list only examples where the revolutionary desires of significant and compact masses of people were conscious, openly declared and well-known today. It is likely possible to make a much longer list of movements for social revolution in world history that are much harder to analyze.

Revolution today

While past experience should be studied, it is far more important to **analyze and update the application of anarchist principles in current times**. It is difficult to construct and explain comprehensively the structure and function of a society that does not yet exist. A reality of ever-changing complexity can present multiple surprising factors and conditions. What society will be like in the final instance depends on the people directly involved in the revolution, who will create and develop that new society of the future.

Nonetheless, we can build a certain model or models of future anarchist society based on existing data and historical experience, considering the particularities of the times. We can also discuss all the key issues concerning its structure and functioning and suggest one or more possible solutions.

The Epoch We Live In

First, we need to outline the characteristics of the current epoch of development because it is during this epoch that the destructive and creative forces of the Social Revolution will unfold in depth and breadth. In depth, they can bring about the creation of an anarchist-communist society, while in breadth they can spread these relations across the entire planet.

Two processes characterize current society characterized by the exercise of political, economic and spiritual power by the exploiters over the „lower classes“, whom the masters pejoratively call „disposable“: the Robotronic revolution and Globalization.

From Robotronic to Social Revolution

Definitions

The robotronic (from robots and electronics) **revolution** entails a radical change in the economy due to the mass entry of new tech-

nologies replacing human labor by computers and robots, spreading rapidly in all spheres of human activity. (It is abbreviated as **RR** throughout the text).

Globalization (G) in this text stands for contemporary ultra-imperialism (and not the unification of humanity in a global federation). Globalization in this sense is a consequence of the RR because capital in rich countries seeks to preserve profit at any cost within a global market that is shrinking due to the RR.

Profit can be „saved“ by the plunder of:

- *Foreign* developing and developed countries, or
- *Domestic* „lower“ classes.

This firmly sets the course of action for the master classes:

- Classical wars for domination over regions or the entire world;
- Class wars in all their variety.

An Ubiquitous Revolution

We live in times of global crisis in all spheres of planetary society – social , political, economic and so on, and moral decay of the kind that accompanied the death of past empires – able to destroy solidarity among the sufferers. At the same time, society is ripe with objective preconditions for global social change. New scientific technical discoveries are made daily. They become part of our lives at an unprecedented pace, causing uncontrollable change.

The first industrial revolution liquidated the structures and relations of feudal society, altering class-composition, mentality, ideas and desires. Today's robotronic revolution undermines the social, economic and political relations and forms of market society.

The RR creates a new world with new social and international relations. At the same time, it lays the sturdiest material basis and necessary condition for the Social revolution. On the other hand, the Social revolution itself can remove the barriers that stand in the way of the RR beyond the horizon of machines replacing humans. Neither dictatorships, nor class interests, nor social or national barriers, religious or ideological biases or everyday „wisdom“ can resist the advance of the RR.

It would be backward not to notice the revolutionary nature and role of this process for the future of humankind as a whole and of anarchism in particular. We would be doomed to repeat boring banalities of the past if we give up or fail to analyze the phenomena, tendencies and changes related to this process and its effects on the **program, organization and tactics, methods and means of revolutionary struggle**. Those who fail to recognize the revolutionary potential of the RR should not find fault with the youth of today, disappointed with the utopian ideas, „contributions“, ideological lessons and recipes of self-proclaimed „teachers and benefactors“ or semi-educated charlatans.

The robotronic revolution releases an avalanche of scientific discoveries – new theories and branches of science such as nuclear physics, synthetic chemistry, electronics, informatics, cybernetics, bionics, genetics and their practical and technical applications. It

started in the postwar decades of the Second World War with the discovery of new sources of energy, the synthesis of new materials and the creation of new technologies. Two inventions stand out – computers and robots. Their combination has led to the automation of productive processes (industrial and agricultural), of services and even of some scientific and artistic activity.

All this has brought about a previously unknown mode of production that will eventually **exclude human labor power**, while at the same time revolutionizing all spheres of social life. The **doubled volume of scientific-technical information in the course of 3 to 10 years** in different branches of science, the economy and military production illustrates the unprecedented pace of this revolutionary process.

Newer generations of computers and robots are constantly introduced in industry, agriculture, services (including medicine and education) and laboratories. Hence, diverse types of labor processes – physical, engineering, intellectual - are being automated. The automation of isolated sectors **no longer seems possible**. Once automation has begun in one enterprise, it quickly spreads through the entire industry because in capitalist society a refusal to automate entails the loss of competitive advantage, of agony and definite bankruptcy. **The same holds true for competition between industries** within a national market economy, or between „national“ capitals on the world market.

Competition sucks all enterprises, all capitalists and, in the final instance, all states into the whirlpool of automation. Borders between states and political-economic blocs with „different“ systems open before the RR. States and corporations that try to wall themselves against the RR will be the first to die. But when all have opened, they will die together.

The inevitable destruction

Automation, happening before our very eyes, is only the beginning of a long process. The laboratories of big companies and universities invest in creating self-learning automatons capable of memorizing and analyzing their own „experience.“ Together with machine recognition of images, colors, sounds and other signals from the environment, they open the way to a generation of ma-

chines with „artificial intelligence.“ The foresight that the „father“ of cybernetics, Robert Wiener, had about the closed cycle of automation seems ever more realistic. Back in the mid-20th century he predicted that human beings would be gradually removed from all spheres of production, services, statistics and repetitive, boring, mundane and intellectually dumbing physical and mental operations.

Automation and its concurrent processes reveal unlimited possibilities for progress, placing the „First World“ (and then the rest of humanity) before the need of a new organization of society and economy.

While the foundations of today's world are being undermined, the powerful of the day have formed an illusory sense of global domination. Against the unlimited possibilities that the RR opens to mankind, the ruling classes try to arrest social development and establish a super-Orwellian nightmare. Up to now, this „ideal“ of the world's masters has been contained by competition and the uneven development of global capitalism. Over six thousand years of political history, these two factors have created new centers of power and appetite, new zones of economic and military vacuum, new victories and defeats in all regions of the globe, washing away the desires and ambitions for world conquest of masters, exploiters or representatives of god on earth.

The birth of a new society demands that the present one be buried¹⁵, so that the power of masters can perish. Well aware of this fact, world masters have been trying to raise all sorts of barriers to the RR to contain automation within the boundaries of their comfort zone, beyond which today's structures and relations lose all meaning. The masters of today try to control the revolutionary process and the social movements produced by uneven development that undermine the status quo. Yet, any attempt to establish a world dictatorship or a modern planetary Empire will fail miserably. It will be impossible to „regulate the game“ by decrees or replace competition by a global corporate cartel. It will be impossible to preserve the hierarchy of social strata, personal and group

15 Anyone who tries to do something legally prohibited or to obtain permission for something that actually harms the oligarchy will become quickly aware of this fact.

privileges – from the world capital to the last province in all five continents. It will be impossible to eternalize inequality and impose slavery even when it will be possible to build without slaves enough pyramids and palaces for all who want them.

Even today, the reality of competition between the political, financial and military-industrial complexes of the USA, Europe, Japan and Russia, coupled with the emergence of new competitors such as China, India and Brazil smashes illusions about ultra-imperialism. The unstable equilibrium of power among these centers and their greedy strife for domination and profits make it impossible to control the RR.

The level of development of the RR is a measure of the military power of the military-industrial dinosaurs caught up in mortal combat.

Unemployed and “disposable“

The drive to compete accelerates unemployment rates. Sticking within capitalism, we are headed to a world of 40 – 70 % unemployment in overdeveloped countries.¹⁶ The overall percentage of unemployment is already high, well beyond European youth.

The prospect of having such a vast majority of the active population pushed out of controlled economic, technical, scientific and cultural processes evokes horror among the masters that they can hardly contain. Yet, they keep seeking competition and rentability, while their programs and plans, subjected to the profit motif, produce millions of unemployed and „disposable people“ every year.

Is there a solution to the dilemma for the diverse owners of capital, wishing to preserve their own position and wealth at any cost in a world of power and property?

Short of the „final solution“ applied in Nazi Germany and Stalin’s

16 Different prognoses indicate different pace. Yet, there is no doubt that development will continue. It is hard to surmise which limit will cause a social explosion, granted this phenomenon unfolds not in isolation but alongside a series of counteracting factors, forces and processes that slow it down, or favorable processes, factors or forces that speed it up.

GULAG, or the wild ideas of nuclear war entertained by desperate „paper tigers“, the powerful of today face grim prospects of massive unemployment with millions of „disposable“ workers they themselves have created. They will continue to create more unemployed „lumpen“¹⁷ or open more toxic employment in bureaucracy, the police, the army and other similarly useless positions in public and private institutions, professions and fields.

Over time, these two distinct categories of „lumpen“ will only increase their relative share in the active population. Under state capitalism, declassée „disposables“ lined up the constantly growing petit bureaucracy. Among other „good“ uses, state agencies made good incubators for dead souls. In every „office“ – often a room the size of a prison cell, a few „servants“ would sit around the semblance of desks, busily filling bottomless casks of bureaucratism and spitting spite on those „brethren“ whom the paper current had dragged onto their „desks“.

Parasites have existed well beyond „actually existing socialism“. In private capitalism, pseudo-employment covers **the partly unemployed, the parasitic professions, and the entire bottom echelon of major cities**. While the number of „disposables“ grow, liberal believers in „freedom“ stick to a single solution - servitude and slavery. Looking at statistical data on the US economy, the majority of new jobs there are for **servants, footmen, waiters, cooks, guards, personal chauffeurs, porters, etc.** The observation that the increase in such types of jobs is accompanied by a devaluation of the labor involved seems striking to statisticians. The onset of the RR has been accompanied by a growth in the number of servants for the affluent¹⁸, the only „prospects“ today's liberal masters of the „free world“ can offer the „disposable“ and declassed youth in the robotronic era! This is a revival of slavery and serfdom in new forms. Ultimately, these appear to be the contours of Reagan's „conservative revolution“.

The ruling classes use many similar measures and „reforms“ to try

17 People without profession, economic assets or consciousness of a common class interest.

18 People are increasingly occupied with absurd activities. In Japan, for instance, there were ads for dog walkers.

and create „new“ social tissue as the basis for their domination and avoid the inevitable chain reaction of social explosions. Thus, robotronic development makes **it evident to all that the current social system is useless** as social, economic, and political relations based on inequality, exploitation and domination become meaningless. Yet, the masters of this world want to preserve the status quo at any cost.

The End of Capitalism

The erosion and collapse of the „social order“ are a **matter of time**. Patching it with „reforms“ won't save it. No one, gods included, can stop the development of humanity! No „strategic defense“ has been discovered against the robotronic bombs that line up today's social, statist and economic structures and bases.¹⁹

Capitalism is only an entree for the robotronic revolution; the revolution cannot be completed within capitalism. The robotronic revolution would need to remove all barriers – social, political, economic, cultural, and ethical, erected against human creativity and initiative in all corners of the world to maintain the current social order.

Tomorrow's society needs free creators and people of initiative, of brave ideas and projects. It needs human freedom, unlimited by power, capitalist interests or pseudo-scientific dogmas perpetrated to preserve inequality. There can be no freedom – neither individual, nor social, without doing away with the minority rule of thousands over billions. No free humans can be born out of an amorphous nameless mass without crushing the will for domination and parasitic existence of the master classes, without destroying property, profiteering and monopoly – private or state – over pieces of land, economic sectors or peoples!

Indeed, free and harmonious personal development requires public cultivation of intolerance to greed, egocentrism, or the strife for power, opulence, luxury, privilege, fame, vanity and so on. The „right“ to use a fellow human as a servant, informer, prostitute,

19 It is impossible to discover such defense because the laws of social development, as far as we know them, appear as unrelenting as the laws of the material world.

secretary and so on, must be taken away. The stratification of humanity and the uneven development of its parts must be overcome. We must transcend caste, tribal and racial prejudice even if they persist as an atavism long after the military, police, economic, social, cultural and moral bases for power have been burned to ashes!

Hence, the completion of the robotronic revolution – which alone can truly liberate humanity, would require the undertaking of social revolution. Moreover, the very development of the robotronic revolution creates conditions for social revolution!

Even today, despite various forms of counteraction by different forces, the structures of the future are emerging. People come up with new ideas, conscience and relations. Despite fear of police brutality and military repression, despite the power of money and ignorance, despite the numbing effects of mass-media, ideologies and religions, a **revolutionary awakening will ensue**²⁰. Despite retrograde institutional burden and secret or open **cooperation of the powerful worldwide, the tendencies and contours of a future world we call anarchist-communist** will take shape!

Over the coming decades of rapid automation in all spheres (production, services, statistics, distribution, planning, etc.), revolutionary crisis will deepen, opening up new perspectives for humanity. The union of computers and robots lays at the base of this process. It creates the infrastructure of a new world, where humans will be liberated from heavy unpleasant but mandatory labor, enforced upon us in diverse forms: slavery, indentured servitude, or hired labor. Avoiding it themselves, the parasitic classes built the apparatus of violence – the state, which serves to maintain exploitation, the social class structure and hierarchy, centralism, command and submission.

For the first time in human history, automation creates **abun-**

20 Brzezinski thought it had started but it probably went by unrecognized. The social revolution of the 21st century can appear in previously unknown forms. For example, if information is the „currency“ of the new century, as mass media often insist, while „intellectual property“ is the vessel that contains it, then information „piracy“ by torrent les is a contemporary form of revolt against the system. The same goes for hackers - „violators of information security“.

dance, free time, technical and communicative capacities for everyone to access information, to participate in preliminary discussions at all levels of social organization, direct participation in the governance of public matters on all questions and topics, while forced labor is destroyed. **Self-government becomes possible** beyond the limits of patriarchal and isolated village communes, of Medieval „free cities“ or the bloody revolutionary attempts to replace the power structures with anarchy known since the Paris Commune. It is now possible to imagine self-government **on a planetary scale**.

On the other hand, we have witnessed how the process we named Robotronic revolution for brevity, undoes both the class structures of industrial society and the remnants of previous civilizations (artisans, peasants, etc.) Peasants are the first to go, having become an insignificant percentage of the population in highly developed countries. Next to go are hired workers in industries, services, labs and even some scientific research and the arts. **But - without hired labor, there is no capital!**

Shrinking employment in economic spheres where surplus value is created and profit is realized brings along the death of capital, which grows on the exploitation of hired labor.

Once automation becomes ubiquitous, private ownership of plants, factories, mines, economic enterprises, etc., and their production would become meaningless because it will not be possible to sell the products (even less so at a profit) to the ex-proletarians, peasants, artisans, „free“ lancers, etc., now deprived of jobs, remuneration or property. From that moment on, the „laws“ of commodity economy and market will be invalidated.

In such a society, the preservation of classes, inequality and power will have to be based exclusively on the extra-economic force of the state, as was the case with slavery and feudalism. This would help intensify the centuries-old antagonism of slaves against masters (and their states).

The Death of an Empire

We already saw the RR aid the collapse of one such command society. In the so-called „soviet“ society, under conditions of state-cap-

italism, a slow version of the RR eroded social, economic and political structures by deeply altering classes and professional strata in the Russian empire and its periphery. Fear of falling behind in the competition with other empires forced the nomenclature to seek salvation in fatal reforms.

The scientific-technical revolution imposed changes in the organization and planning of the production process, in forms of property, in the distribution and consumption of products and information, in the use of resources for personal and social needs, in the ways decisions were made and realized, **in other words – changes in the entire organization of society!** These revolutionary changes, however, came in sharp contradiction with the dictatorship of the state-capitalist class in all spheres of life, bureaucratic command, central planning and management, the suppression of human creativity and initiative on a mass scale, the privileged status of the essentially parasitic, ignorant and tyrannical party administrative bureaucracy, unable to adequately approach social, economic and cultural problems in its day. Dictatorial methods suited earlier „civilizations“ of whipping and plunder but in an era of computers and robots, in a world of science, knowledge, information exchange, freedom of personal and collective endeavor and creativity, these methods deepened the crisis.

By creating the material and technological preconditions for the realization of social revolution, the robotronic revolution opened the door to visions of a new society with new ways of regulating relations between persons, groups or populations of humans in different regions and countries – from the center to the peripheries of the empire. Thus, it made the police methods and systemic principles of operation even more anachronistic and detestable.

Furthermore, the RR destabilized the international position of Moscow's domination. State-capitalist dinosaurs, prone to paralysis due to dictatorial rule, could not easily adapt to the rising scientific-technical revolution. Hence, the USSR fell behind in the development of its economic and military potential. One consequence was the breakdown of its imperialist expansion, the outlet of its internal crisis. A related consequence was that Moscow was pushed back and forced to shrink its imperial presence by the advancement of its competitor, multinational private capital.

All this presented „Third Rome“ with the following dilemma: either accept the status of a secondary „provincial“ power with all consequences thereof or try to „reform“ in new and unfamiliar directions by opening the door to the RR. The nomenclature capitalist class proved incapable to resolve the dilemma — **its class interests and domination demanded that opening the door to the RR be accompanied by closing it to the social revolution the empire had grown pregnant with.** The result is familiar. The nomenclature sensed a **revolution so dangerous** that it would have made October look like storm in a teacup, in the words of Yakovlev, one of the fathers of „perestroika“. Thus, Moscow chose to capitulate in the Cold War and, together with the victors, overcome the greatest revolutionary crisis in the second half of the 20th century. In result, its mutant elites preserved their privileges and dominant social status in the ashes of empire.

The end of the „soviet“ empire created new markets and cheap labor and provided a breath of fresh air to the system of corporate capitalism then panting under the blows of the RR. In actuality, it temporarily postponed the systemic collapse of capitalism. Yet, while private-corporate capitalism is more flexible than its state-monopolist counterpart used to be, it, too, is doomed²¹. As long as it stays capitalist, the same laws govern its social relations, making it impossible to extract profit when there is no one to purchase production.

Anarchy or Empire

Given the intensification of these tendencies, what can be done to preserve the agonizing social relations of inequality and privilege and the power institutions that guard them? What can rulers and parasites do? How about the rest of us, now that for the first time in human history we have the opportunity to emancipate our-

21 We did not make the discovery. For some years it has been possible to read this between the lines in statements made by different rich men on their forums. For example, it has become common on the World Economic Forum in Davos to speak of unconditional basic income and other non-market mechanisms to feed the hope of decent living. Such palliatives cannot create profit for capital.

selves from hired labor, power from above and exploitation in all its forms? What can we humans do to lay the foundations of the colonization and humanization of the cosmos in the coming millennia?

Very fast, the dominating and the dominated are approaching a crossroad, where two roads split. One leads to a modern version of the Roman empire on a global scale, where party members have replaced patricians, robots have replaced slaves and lumpen and decadence, Byzantine intrigues, bloody power struggles and systemic mass stupidity prevail. The other road can take us to a global self-governing federation of all human groups, populated areas and peoples on all continents.

So - Rome or Anarchy? This is the actual dilemma of the new 21st century!

The processes of social decomposition create domestic and international social „tensions“ but conservative, liberal, national or social democratic ideologies mask the actual power relations. They lead to new conflicts and revolutionary crises, incomparable to anything capitalism has previously seen.

In this sense, **the robotronic revolution, with the consequences and opportunities it brings about, is a catalyst for the explosion of a social revolution.**

CHALLENGES FOR ANARCHISTS ²²

The RR poses specific challenges to our propaganda, too. Changes will affect everything – from the theory of social revolution to ways of organizing, means and methods of struggle against the state. Many slogans inherited from the 19th century have become obsolete as tools for mass mobilization. Soon major calls such as „Land to the peasants!“ and „Factories to the workers!“ will become perfectly anachronistic and meaningless because these classes, while not disappearing, will continue to shrink as a relative portion of the active population, until they do disappear in perspective. Land and factories cannot be transferred to phantoms. Neither would it be fair to transfer an enormous automated automotive plant or the remotely controlled grain fields of an entire republic to the few dozen specialists who supervise the machines in both cases.

It is obvious that radical changes will affect our slogans, programmatic positions and propaganda as a whole. Gradually, the call for „bread and work“ (first, in overly-developed countries) will be replaced by **demands for similar complex conditions and possibilities for the free and harmonious development of all human personalities, for the free association of their creative efforts, for the development of solidarity and mutual aid *in view of the great future ahead of humanity...unless stupidity, apathy and fear subvert it.***

22 Or rather, for organized people, consciously mobilized to execute a program that aims for an anarchist-communist social revolution.

Anarchy tomorrow

Everyone participates in decision making

A society where decisions are made by all interested individuals on a voluntary basis presupposes a certain structure and functioning, different from previously existing societies.

There will be no professional bosses. Whoever wished to resolve a certain problem and is able to do so on their own, without harming the interests of others, will simply take on the task and resolve it, without requesting permission from any special institutes.

When a problem calls for the participation of more individuals, all immediately interested parties can join in resolving it, working out a solution in discussion, while decisions are made with consensus, i.e. the agreement of all participants. Discussion continues until a decision is reached and tasks are distributed for its application. Working groups are formed in society, or within a territorial unit or an enterprise. The task of a specific group is to solve a specific problem or a set of problems. Once the task is completed, groups automatically dissolve. This is how things were done in times of revolution it is how things should be done in the future revolution. In fact, these relations take place today, too. The difference with communities of the future is not so much in the structures but in the principles upon which teams are built and function.

Structure and functioning of a free society

Depending on the character and nature of tasks, communities can form on different principles: territory, profession, shared interests, etc.

The commune

The territorial unit of anarchist society is the commune. An unlimited number of working groups of inhabitants can function within a commune.

The main organ of the commune is the General Assembly of all its members, who elect a Communal Council to handle everyday issues under the control of the General Assembly and according to principles and rules produced by the assembly.

Anarchist practice and historical experience have outlined the following principles of communal life:

- No division into superiors and inferiors, oppressors and oppressed. The statist, hierarchical and vertical organization of social power is replaced by horizontal, federalist and voluntary organization of communes of equals. Their General Assemblies make direct decisions on local problems, while common problems – provincial, regional, continental or planetary – are decided upon bottom up at conferences and congresses of a corresponding scale. This is done by delegates with imperative mandates, who provide direct feedback to the armed workers and citizens who have elected them. Under communal control, decisions are made by consensus or according to rules and procedures worked out by the assemblies. Tasks are distributed and executed by those who decided on them.
- Mandatory decisions (those that make life in the commune possible) are made by consensus (unanimity). Examples of mandatory decisions are those pertaining to shared rules of communal living, such as that in the early phase of revolution each member in good health should be required to work²³.
- Secondary decisions are made by simple majority and are not mandatory for the minority. Those who disagree are not

23 This does not mean we will work more but that every person in good health will be required to perform an amount of work according to their abilities and the needs of society, as is the case for everyone else. The distribution of tasks and control over their performance will be done by the collective, according to the established plan, not by the owner as is the case in capitalism.

required to participate but should not intervene with the implementation of the decisions. They have the right to separate and form a commune (union) of their own or to remain outside communal existence altogether, taking the risks of their exit.

- A General Assembly of all inhabitants of the commune elect delegates to the Communal Council. The following rules apply to them:

- They hold **imperative mandates**, i.e. they cannot deviate from the decisions of the people who have elected them (at the General Assembly or the assembly of neighborhoods or regions if it is more populous).

- They can be **recalled** at any moment by those who have appointed them.

- During the time delegates are detached from their work duties, they receive **equal** amounts of goods (products and services) to the rest of the commune's inhabitants.

- Delegates are elected on rotation to avoid their bureaucratization.

- They are **under the control of the organized and armed people**, who have the right to demand responsibility and deprive them of the possibility to gain power in executing the functions granted to them.²⁴

An assembly of the Council delegates, in agreement with the General Assembly, appoints departments to handle different communal affairs (production, services, provision and distribution, internal order, tribunal, healthcare, education, statistics and others as needed). The departments appoint one or several representatives to a Coordinating committee, which coordinates the work of the departments. The responsible persons within the Departments and the Coordinating committee attract specialists for their ongoing activities. They also report to the General assembly to ensure their activities are fully transparent and controlled by the base. The decisions made by the General Assembly are executed by corresponding working groups.

Decisions to accept or reject an individual to/from the commune

24 Everyone will have the right and possibility to get armed if necessary and form an association with the inhabitants of the residential building, the neighborhood, and so on. This is the only way to prevent the monopoly over armament, violence and government, currently executed by state powers.

or the collectives are made by a General Assembly of all inhabitants of full age. The same process is followed for all internal issues concerning life in a commune. Joining the commune, each new participant declares they agree to the rules accepted by the members and receives the right to participate in all subsequent decisions.

Federation

On a more global scale, these communities join/unite horizontally in a **federation of communes**. The federation deals with problems that require the interaction of several or all of its communes. In resolving problems at the level of federation, delegates to congresses or conferences follow the same principles valid at the communal level. On specific problems of federal significance, larger working groups/collectives/associations are created to cooperate on it.

Because discussion processes typically involve a very large number of people, while decisions are made by a universal vote, contemporary electronic means of information dissemination can help include all inhabitants of a commune, a regional, national or continental federation or even a global confederation.

An important note:

“Technologies that can coordinate the thought process of groups of people already exist. For example, during the fast-paced dynamics of military action, several people need to make quick decisions with no time for consultation. For such occasions, there are special neuro-interfaces – complex systems that allow several individuals to become a collective mind, making decisions in an online regime.” In other words, we are on the path to creating a collective mind that Voltaire imagined would be smarter than a genius.

See Addendum #1: NETWORK SELF-GOVERNMENT!

If the nature and scale of the problems or the large number of participants in discussions and decision making make direct consultation and voting impossible, these processes are delegated to conferences and congresses. Here again, delegates hold imperative mandates, i.e. during discussions and decision-making they

are obliged to adhere to a line of conduct and pursue only those aims decided upon by the general councils of the communes. Delegates are entitled to no other privileges. A commune can send more than one delegate in case that up to the start of a federal congress or conference its General Assembly has not achieved a unanimous position on a topic of the agenda. In this case, the number of delegates is determined by the number of solutions suggested.

At any moment a delegate can be recalled, their mandate terminated immediately. When decision-making procedures on an issue are over, the congress or conference organized to regulate them automatically disperses and delegated mandates cease to be active.

Bearing in mind the contemporary level of IT development, delegates will no longer need to gather at a specific physical site as they can communicate online. Furthermore, communes that have sent delegates will be able to monitor and control them online and, in case of violations on the part of delegates, the commune would be able to revoke their imperative mandates on the spot.

(Further down we are going to discuss the role and prospects of the RR in building a functioning anarchist society.)

To the extent that society functions on the basis of a voluntary contract between individuals in the absence of force, **consensus**, as mentioned, **is the prime method of decision-making** and conflict resolution. In cases when consensus cannot be reached, decisions are voted on and those who disagree with the decision of the majority have the right not to conform and, at the same time, the obligation not to obstruct. The minority can also withdraw and form a new commune.

Councils

Federal, regional and confederal councils are organs appointed by the congresses. They comprise of departments that connect and coordinate various functions according to the same anarchist principles – bottom-up, without power privileges, accountable to the corresponding communities and associations, exactly like the relation between the General Assembly of the commune and the

communal council.

Internal security

Two important departments of the communal and federative councils are those that handle the maintenance of internal order and safeguard the Social revolution.

We believe crime is the result of the existence of a criminal political and socio-economic system and thus we suppose that **in an anarcho-communist society organized and domestic crime will sharply decrease** (as long as the state has been removed and needs have been met).

In the currently existing capitalist system, the police is a means to protect the rich and powerful and to instill fear and obedience in the people²⁵. The right to judge belongs to state servants, while laws, as Botev stated, „were written for slaves“ in the interest of the „upper“ classes. In an anarchist society, the people themselves, armed and organized in voluntary communal militia will protect themselves from crime. They will decide who deserves to be punished and stood before a revolutionary tribunal. Tribunal members will be elected on a case by case basis as executors of the decisions of the General Assembly or the committee of delegates acting upon the imperative mandates of neighborhood assemblies. Militia volunteers take active participation in the activities for a set time period on a rotational principle to ensure that the people in charge of security do not get accustomed to a sense of power due to their professional position nor feel invincible if acting randomly out of step with their mandated responsibility. Their responsibilities include street patrol, control of compliance with traffic rules, exceptional resolutions of conflicts, physical defense of people against criminal offenses, etc.

Here, too, professionals whose number is determined by the needs of the communal assembly can perform specific functions, such as

25 We should not be fooled by instances when policemen returned to some old lady her stolen hens. This is a mere side effect to their activity of „preserving the order“ - as serves the interests of the rich. Police protects property because it belongs to the rich and powerful, and not in the name of abstract ideals.

tasks related to technical security, the solution of costly tasks that demand knowledge or experience. Examples of such professionals today are the criminalists or specialists in the identification and arrest of members of well-organized criminal groups. These professionals can be placed under public control like all other experts.

Revolutionary laws and tribunals

Within a revolutionary tribunal²⁶, the functions of a prosecutor can be taken up by crime victims or, if deceased, by their relatives and friends. Defense can be taken up by the accused themselves, while militia volunteers observe and guard the trial. The role of a court of justice belongs to the people or to members of the tribunal delegated by the people themselves, who institute justice according to the will of the armed population, revolutionary morals and consciousness.

Contrary to bourgeois ideology that calls for „legal norms“, the only „norm“ we recognize is the will of the revolutionary people who have taken charge of their own lives. The majority sanctifies neither injustice, nor cruelty, and it alone determines the punishment.

The goal of punishment is to requite the victim or their relatives for the harm done by the offender. Punishment gets harsher for subsequent offenses. In these matters, again, **anarchists oppose taking away human freedom, capital punishment or prisons.** Our main goal is not to avenge but to treat the causes of the problem that pushed a person to commit a crime. Pathological cases need to be healed and not punished. The purpose of conviction is to enhance awareness of one's own wrongdoing, to rehabilitate the offender and integrate them in communal life, unless the commune has decided to exclude them. In the end, the last word in this process belongs to the people.

26 As it gets clarified further below, the tribunal is an undesirable but inevitable element in any revolution, as far as the enraged people insists on paying vengeance for its suffering. We remind, once more, that criminals, too, are victims to a criminal system.

A Revolutionary Army

While the organization and maintenance of internal order is local and autonomous, the defense of the revolution is federal and international, yet subjected to the same principles of anarchy.

Federal military departments are temporary, to be dissolved with the planetary victory of the social revolution. In wartime, headquarters staffed by specialists lead combat actions and coordinating activities.

In line with the anarchist idea, the task to defend the revolution belongs to the armed people, also called revolutionary militia. Its purpose is self-defense against any (internal or external) enemies, the militia replaces the professional army and police. In all previous societies, professional armed forces have been nothing but an instrument of violence operating in the internal and external interests of the ruling and exploitative classes. It has served to oppress and dominate the people.

Anyone wishing to acquire a personal weapon for self-defense should be able to do so after passing psychological and other exams. The rationale for ubiquitous collective arming is simple. In wartime, militia fighters can be recruited and trained on a voluntary or a mandatory basis, depending on the decisions of the majority of the inhabitants of the federation or confederation. In peace time, military training in anarchist-communist society is only voluntary in nature. All interested individuals need to organize themselves in military units, pass certain training courses and maneuvers in order to gain the right to store a military weapon and ammunition in their homes, taking on the responsibility to maintain their arms in good working order. They will be further required to participate regularly in maneuvers testing physical and mental preparedness, refreshing their combat habits, checking the condition of their entrusted arms and acquiring additional skills. Training will be conducted during brief intensive programs in specialized centers by residence. **Military units will be formed according to combatants' professions:** cybernetics, robotics, informatics and programming, civil aviation, civil navigation, motorized professions, etc.

The revolutionary militia is not an armchair dream. Similar mod-

els were realized in various locations at different times, such as the Makhnovist insurrectionary army, the workers militias in the beginning of the civil war in Spain and the current army of Switzerland. The training period there is one month, with the level of preparation often surpassing that of conscript armies that spend six months to a year in military barracks.

Modern warfare requires the commanders of different combat units of the militia (sections, troops, regiments, brigades and so on, armored transport units, the fleet and aviation, artillery calculation specialists, snipers, and so on) be highly qualified.

People who want to devote themselves to such activities will need extra time for to acquire the necessary qualifications. As long as military threat exists, a certain number of professionals/specialists will have to be recruited as the advanced skills necessary to command larger entities, aircraft pilots, naval specialists, operators of complex military machinery such as radar stations, missile stations, combat trainers, etc. cannot be gained in a short timeframe.

Militia members elect their councils at all levels of organization to control the military specialists-technicians-professionals located at the headquarters of combat units.

In order to block possible aspirations for power on behalf of these specialists and to avoid the Bonapartist threat they could pose to the people, specialists will be held under the control of elected military councils, will depend on non-professional militia for material provision, and, in the case of a military coup, they will be confronted by the armed, organized and trained people.

Permanent professional staff should be reduced to a minimum, their activity limited to maintaining the militia ready for combat. Professionals can develop an effective system of mobilization operations, able to perform even when weapons of mass destruction are used or in case of technogenic problems. Proprietary nuclear²⁷ and other weapons will be controlled by an elected council of specialists who act in strict accord with professional instructions

27 Of course, all such weapons of mass destruction and their production must be destroyed/banned as soon as a stronger enemy no longer poses a threat.

ratified by a general vote. The vertical structure of wartime militia command is elected, subjected to anarchist principles.

In zones of maneuver or combat actions, combatants obey the directives of elected command staff but in peacetime, the commanders are responsible to the General Assembly of militia units and can be withdrawn or elected at any one moment.

In case of war, the international solidarity of the „lower“ classes at the back of the opponent will be critical.

Historical experience

Two historical examples follow, presenting data on anarchist military structures that took part in civil wars and on the principles of their composition and function.

Ukraine

In the fall of 1919, Makhno's insurrectionary army had four corps with the following composition:

1st Donetsk corps with 15,500 bayonets, 3,650 swords, 16 cannons and 144 machine guns;

2nd Azov corps – 21,000 bayonets, 385 swords, 16 cannons and 176 machine guns;

3rd Ekaterinoslav corps – 29,000 bayonets, 5,100 swords, 34 cannons and 266 machine guns;

4th Crimea corps – 17,500 bayonets, 7,500 swords, 18 cannons 154 machine guns.

The reserve corps at the headquarters featured: a machine gun regiment (700 guns), a cavalry brigade (3000 swords), a transport unit, labor regiments, commandant batteries and squadrons of 20,000 troops in total.

The entire insurrectionary army possessed 103,000 bayonets, 20,000 swords, 1,435 machine guns, 84 cannons. The formations consisted of infantry and cavalry regiments. New regiments were modeled on them. The army was headed by an electable and recallable revolutionary military council.

The infantry was the basic type of troops. Mostly positioned on

carts equipped with machine guns (tachanki) and pulled by 3-4 horses, it proved capable and irreplaceable, especially in attacks on the enemy's rear guard. It traveled day and night for 70-100 km together with the cavalry, the infirmary and supply units.

A third type of troops was the artillery. The former artillery captain Morozov guided the creation of batteries and semi-batteries of four or two rapid-fire 76mm or 152 mm cannons.

Makhno's units were more efficient in combat than the Red Army's formations **because of their even class composition (landless farm workers - 35%, workers - 17 %, poor and middle peasantry - 40 % and other categories - 8 %) and their ideological homogeneity - anarchist-communist volunteers (52,5 %), SR (socialist-revolutionary) leftists - 10,5 %, Bolsheviks - 2 % and unaffiliated - 33 % between 19 and 45 years of age.** All had the freedom to express their views in speeches or in the press. The chief commanders were comrades of Makhno's from the Black Guards, while the rest were electable and recallable.

Food was supplied by the local population and arms were expropriated from the other side. The insurrectionaries availed themselves to plenty of ammunitions: 37,750,000 million shells, 496,000 projectiles. There were 250 shells per rifle, 2,500 shells per light machine gun, 5,000 shells per heavy gun, and 124 projectiles per cannon.

There was a training and „specialization“ unit for the commandment, a counterintelligence department, a revolutionary tribunal, a cultural-ideological department, a supply department, a finance department, and so on.

Part of the cash (from bank expropriations and contributions imposed on affluent cities and villages) was donated to orphanages, poor people and the families of fallen insurgents.

Each insurrectionary received 150 g protein, 110 g fat and 510 g carbohydrates daily.

During military excursions, an efficient tactical skill was developed that consisted in unexpected moves of large troops at the enemy's rear, causing panic. The attacking cavalry unit would go forward,

concentrated in the center and looser in the flank. The main force composed of cavalry and infantry troops with guns mounted on „tachanki“ followed 200-400 meters behind, guarded by the rear-guard who aided the carts that were lagging behind.

In the final period, Makhno's military art embraced the principles of guerrilla warfare maneuvers with unexpected, torrential attacks in the enemies back.

(Based on data from Viktor Belash, Chief of Staff at the RIAU)

The RIAU had crushed Denikin's, Hetman Skoropatsky's and Wrangel's armies, when the Bolsheviks order the Red Army to destroy Makhno. His troops were crushed. At the end of the summer of 1921 he emigrated to Romania with a few comrades. On this occasion, Lenin wrote a telegram to Trotsky's deputy, Ephraim Markovich Sklyansky: „With a million and a half strong army, surpassing Makhno's tenfold, you allowed him to escape. This is tantamount to defeat.“

Four years later, sent on a mission to the USA by Stalin, Sklyansky „mysteriously“ drowned in Long Lake in New York. Another 15 years later Stalin's agent assassinated Leon Trotsky in Mexico with an ice ax.

Spain

At the very onset of the civil war in Spain FAI and CNT established a Confederate militia – an armed force of the Catalan revolutionaries in the period 1936-1939.

It numbered approximately 100,000 volunteer soldiers. The basic militia unit was a troop of 30. Several troops formed a centuria²⁸, and several centuriae formed a battalion. Several battalions formed a brigade, which was the largest formation of the voluntary military organization of Spanish anarchists and it numbered approximately 2,000 to 10,000 persons. A brigade had headquarters, a military committee, and a technical-intendant council responsible for logistics. All brigades were united and coordinated in a central committee of the Republican antifascist militia. CNT's anarchist brigades in the militia numbered approximately 50,000

28 From Latin, centum — a hundred. [A company of 100 combatants.]

fighters; 50,000 more fighters came from the UGT – another large union, influenced by the Spanish socialist party; 10,000 came from the communist party and 5,000 from POUM. They were joined by another 12,000 soldiers from the Republican storm guards who took a stance against the Francists.

The anarchists were poorly armed with only the weapons they found on the black market, in republican store houses or what they could take over from the Francists. Yet, the main reason for their defeat was class collaboration with Stalinist and bourgeois republicans. It meant Spanish anarchists engaged in dialogue with republicans and sent delegates of their own to the government in an attempt to acquire arms from the Republic. The attempt failed, as could have been expected. Moreover, anarchists were further denied their part of the new arms received from the USSR in exchange for Spanish gold. To implement this discriminatory measure, the government sent the tank brigade under the command of the Stalinist General Enrique Lister.

Centralization of the militia, imposed by the central government, put an end to the semi-anarchist experience. Anarchists who refused to comply with government directives, the „Friends of Durruti“ group, drew their lessons and conclusions from the ill-founded practice of „antifa-collaborationism“, elaborated in the Manifesto, „To a new revolution,“ published in 1938.

It is worth noting that in addition to the several thousand republican soldiers who left the army to join anarchist militia, 200 officers joined, supporting anarchism and the Spanish revolution. It was they who helped structure the battalions and brigades in 1936, distributing arms and organizing military boot camps.

In addition to the headquarters, each brigade had other military services, autonomous groups and guerilla squads. The autonomous groups consisted of internationalist centuriae. For example, Durruti's brigade, one of the most famous, included the centuria „Sebastien Faure“, comprised of French and Italian fighters, the centuria „Sacco and Vanzetti“ made up of Americans, and „Erich Mühsam“ of Germans. Guerilla groups included the most experienced and bravest fighters. The best-known groups are „Children of the Night“, „Metallics“, „Explosives“ and „Black Flag“. They used scouting, sabotage, rear raids and other tactics.

The volunteer militia was among the most successful combat formations of the Republic. In the face of horrific shortages of arms and ammunition, it held the Aragon frontline to the war's end and came to Madrid's aid in the city's darkest hours. In his work devoted to this epic war, their enemy, Colonel de la Beraza, described the anarchist combat units as follows: „From a military perspective – it's chaos, but chaos that works.“

Military discipline in the confederate militia and the execution of orders issued by the commanders could not be discussed during combat. However, there was full equality between soldiers and commanders in the anarchist armed forces. Commanders were elected, had no rank, there were no salutes or other demonstration and indoctrination of military hierarchy. Different ideological currents preserved their freedom as was the case in the Makhnovist rebel army in Ukraine. FAI-CNT's armed forces were the brightest example of conscious and voluntary military discipline.

The Communist Economy

Goals, planning, production, distribution and provision

The communist economy (CE) is a system of production and distribution of goods to secure social equality. Once the required level of economic and technological development is achieved, work will become voluntary, free and „free of charge“, while needs will be met unconditionally. In such an economy all objects and services will be produced without hired labor. They will be distributed according to needs, without commodity exchange (with money, clearing, etc.), i.e. without preserving the domestic and international markets of labor and commodities, which is a basic element of capitalism.

In a communist economy, products and services are available to all by means of an automated network of provision and distribution²⁹.

For its growth, the CE relies on the use of all resources. Its efficiency is improved by means of scientific-technical development including technologies for the management of human and material resources.

Because the end goal of social revolution is to build a communist economy and social relations based on the principles of anarchy, the most precise name for the society created by social revolution is **anarcho-communism** or **free** (libertarian) **communism**.

Phases of development

29 Such a network, today and tomorrow, will be a part of the Internet of things.

30 As far as it is possible to speak of „property“ in the currently familiar sense of the word in a society of equals where everyone has equal access to everything.

It is self-evident that in the anarchist-communist economy, hired and forced labor have been eliminated, while provision and distribution take place according to the communist principle: according to individual and collective needs. A CE is possible only when natural resources, enterprises and their production have become the collective property³⁰ of all inhabitants of the planet and their communities, work being free, voluntary and unpaid. In exchange for their work, everyone receives according to their needs or, before the application of this communist principle of distribution has become socially possible, everyone receives an equal share.

Before a CE can function, it would be necessary to secure all the resources necessary to produce the goods and services for a planned abundance that **corresponds to the personal and shared needs of all people, not of the „chosen“ minority only.**

Communist Enterprises

Enterprises are public property, i.e. each belongs to all members of the community. Broadly speaking, everything belongs to everyone. An enterprise is managed by an elected **production council**, according to a plan worked out by the federation (community). The council coordinates the productive activity of the branches and teams of the enterprise. It is elected by the workers collective and operates under their control.

Wherever the production process requires operative decision making such as quick task allocation or instruction, specialists and technical leaders are appointed to the corresponding positions within the production council and the communal council. The decision to appoint experts to such positions or revoke them from position is made by the whole collective of workers, under whose control the experts operate.

Associations of producers and consumers

The purpose of a communist economy (within an anarchist society) is to ensure the full access of all working people to all goods located within federal administration. Such access is actualized by the interaction and decisions of two associations, active on the ter-

ritory of the federation: an association of producers and an association of consumers. **Every working person is simultaneously a member of both.**

The association of producers includes the collectives at all enterprises that produce goods or services within the federation's territory (including the services of provision and distribution). The association for provision-and-distribution, working over the Internet, is the link between the associations of producers and of consumers and is under their control.

The association of consumers consists of all the inhabitants of the federation. Its task is to assess needs and develop the production plan to be coordinated with the enterprises in the association of producers.

The two associations (of producers and consumers) are unions at the federal scale and could be broken down into smaller territorial, professional or other type associations for the ease of their day-to-day functioning. Their precise structure and statutes are set by the inhabitants themselves through discussions at the level of the federation (at a congress or a conference).

We can assume (yet the final version would be up to the federation to decide on) that the optimal structure will take the following shape:

- The association of consumers consists of **communal associations** founded as territorial entities. Starting at the level of a residential building, an order is written up to meet the needs of local inhabitants. Then all the building orders are combined at the neighborhood level, then at the commune level, regional level, etc. until a list is aggregated at the federal level.
- The association of producers is divided into **associations by branches of production**. The federal list of orders received from consumers for the branch is distributed among enterprises according to their capacity and their production plan. The plan, developed on the basis of the needs declared by consumers, is reviewed and corrected into its final form according to productive capacity. In addition, a plan is developed to overcome production shortages. Relation between enterprises is taken into consid-

eration, since the products of one enterprise may be the resource of another.

- The plan may consider **import/export relations with other countries, not impacted by the social revolution**. Monetary revenue from product export to capitalist countries is allocated to a currency fund for the needs of import from the same countries, for tourism, for online payments for services, for obtaining paid digital content (when it cannot be created within the federation) and so on. The accumulated currency fund is expended as collective property similar to natural resources (air, water, solar energy).

- Today's banks will be replaced by statistical organizations to take care of the accounting for production, consumption and planning.

The revolution can only be global

The social revolution is international, but it is unlikely to triumph simultaneously across the entire surface of the planet. At the same time, historical experience suggests it cannot succeed „in a single country“³¹. Either the revolution will unfold in breadth over at least a continent, in order to be able to stand ground against the „holy union“ of the authorities and the capitalists, or it will be crushed by that union. There is no third option. Neither can we expect that globalization (and global crisis and war) can destroy all states at once in a global revolution, nor can we wait in vain for revolution to happen on its own.

Hence, we take a look here at the first stage of revolution, when anarchist society will coexist with states and capitalists that have survived the revolutionary situation. Along with conflicts, the federations can enter relations of exchange of goods with these entities, especially in the beginning. Over time, as the anarchist economy develops and new branches and enterprises are created to meet the needs of the inhabitants of the constituent federations, external commodity relations will shrink until they disappear.

31 Lenin created the „proletarian“ dictatorship, while Stalin used this nationalist thesis to secure his own authority. Together, they buried the revolution, terminated midway.

It is quite likely that states refuse to work with a confederation and impose embargoes. In such situations, inhabitants of the confederation will look for smuggling routes to supplement their independent economic activity. Scarcity and difficulties may accompany the process, which the population will have to be prepared to confront.

A 4-hour workday

Active participation in communal and federal self-management requires more free time than what we have at our disposal today. Even in affluent societies, people spend 8 or more hours doing work that kills the desire and willingness to participate in discussions and decisions on various societal issues. Mandatory labor is also a barrier to people's natural need for personal time for their favorite activities, for socializing. It is, therefore, necessary to cut down on work.

The development of the forces of production is helpful in this respect, even in capitalism, making it possible to cut working hours by half. In the very early phase of anarchist society the **mandatory workday will be significantly reduced** to free up time for other matters not directly related to work. It is not up to us to decide how this goes **but 4 hours seems the most suitable length of the workday.**

In the beginning, the struggle over the workday (at first the goal was a 12-hour day in a 6-day week) was to secure basic survival and recovery for the next day of work. Thanks to the sacrifices made by our predecessors, that time reduction was won. Today in France, the workweek is 35 hours, while in Norway the it is only 32 hours. People are not made to „live“ on the job, as an extension of the means of production. Work should serve life, not the other way around. Humans have one life and the right to live it fully, as they see fit.

The spiritual evolution of humanity has become so complex that the need for more free time is complemented by the need for meaningful existence, for creativity, for pleasurable activities, for wholesome spiritual life. Unfortunately, pleasurable work is an unattainable dream for the vast majority of people today. We spend

our lives shuffling through paperwork at offices, standing by machines at the factories, behind the cashier desks or rotting away in our cars on the way to and back from work, and we dream of not doing things we do not enjoy. If work is necessary to provide individuals and society needed goods, worktime should be minimal. Undoubtedly, the minimal necessary time for work in service of society will be far shorter than current norms.

The lengthy struggle over the workday started in England. Its persistence, the many strikes and the rise of the Luddites brought about a victory for English workers in 1833 when a factory law was passed, reducing labor time for children under 13 years of age to 8 hours a day, while minors between 13 and 18 years could work up to 12 hours. On April 10, 1844, scared by mass workers manifestations in London, the government called the army. Bourgeois volunteers were also mobilized, while the garrison was headed by Field Marshal Wellington, who had defeated Napoleon. The same year saw women's workday reduced to 12 hours. The 1847 law introduced a 12-hour workday for male workers and 10 hours a day for women and minors. Struggling for the 8-hour workday in 1886, the anarchist martyrs were hanged in Chicago. 4 million workers were involved in the US strike movement in 1919 – a struggle for a 5-day workweek. The first factory laws in tsarist Russia date from the end of the 19th century. Following the mass strikes of the St. Petersburg proletariat (from the Aleksandrovsky, Nevsky and Putilovsky plants), a law was passed in 1897 limiting the workday to 11 hours.

The workday today

The length of the workday in capitalism does not depend on the minimum number of hours necessary to provide individuals and society with the necessary products³² but on the willingness of workers to fight for its reduction. Capitalists, and their fellow exploiters from the „socialist“ countries would, if only they could, force people to sleep in factories, allowing them a few hours of sleep. This is the reality in some plants in the DPRK. It was the reality at the sewing shop at Sofia Central Prison in November 1953 when a work „day“ lasted for 36 intermittent hours until it caused

32 Accounting for the level of technical development, this minimum keeps diminishing.

a strike, followed by the horrific punishment of its organizers. Granted the level of scientific-technical progress in the 20th and 21st centuries and the existence of supercomputers and robots, **today's 8-hour workday can be reduced to a half or a third of that if only workers would fight with the perseverance and sacrifice of their predecessors.**

How do capitalists see the shortening of the workday? They say a 4-hour workday in a 4-day workweek is impossible because it would more than double the **wage fund (WF)** as they would need to hire twice as many or more workers and introduce two work shifts in place of one. In the end, that would make them uncompetitive and, ultimately, bankrupt! Rarely is the **WF** higher than 30% of the owner's pure profit. Thus, cutting profit by 30%, the capitalist would be able to pay their doubled staff salaries as well as all necessary social benefits, special clothing, harm reduction expenses and compensations, which won't really hurt the billionaires, multimillionaires and the rest of today's parasites. It suffices to remind that the three super-rich people today own more than the living expenses of the poor half of humanity. CEOs receive salaries in the millions, while the capitalists of today swim in such luxury that the pharaohs, sultans and absolute monarchs of the past could not even dream of. The leaders of the capitalist world own millions of dollars in art collections, spend millions on sports clubs, real estate, Faberge eggs, yachts, airplanes and so on.

The science lackeys of these masters claim that the 4-hour workday would destroy competitive advantage! If the Nobel prize laureates in economics had any moral conscience in the face of these numbers (of social inequality), they'd be ashamed of their own babble about competitiveness.

We do not wish to waste our lives on nauseating jobs. We detest the alarm clock. **Our freedom begins with our free time.** Eliminating unnecessary work because it is parasitic or because it can be automated, it would be possible to gradually reduce the length of the workday to the point that so few hours will be needed that

work will become voluntary and free.

Work compensation and distribution

As we discussed, labor in anarchist-communist society will aim to meet individual and social needs and will be „unpaid“. A communist economy presupposes money has been done away with as it is a means to concentrate power in the few. We want to destroy the very possibility of accumulation of significant resources in the hands of a few individuals – one reason for social inequality. Another goal that can be realized after the social revolution is to erase the difference between people working in education, science and technology, in healthcare, in culture and the arts, etc., and those in the diverse sectors of production, in different communes and countries. We are aware that there will initially be a period in which the economy will not be able to meet the needs of each person. To neutralize all factors and sources of social inequality, we delineate various *principles* and *approaches* **to the problem of workers compensation (through their remuneration) for the work they have done.**

The Principle of the Commune, according to which equal remuneration is due to all working people, with corrections made for family size and other good reasons.

A mixed system of procurement and distribution of products and services:

- *according to need* for products and services in economic areas where production capabilities and resources allow for the communist principle to be introduced;
- *equal distribution* of scarce products and services, prioritizing children and the sick.

As the social economy advances and broadens in accordance with planned social and individual needs, these principles will be fully supplanted by the communist principle: **from each according to their ability, to each according to their need.**

This phase is not final – anarchist-communist society develops. With the advance of the Robotronic Revolution, the number of jobs will keep decreasing until that moment when **work can be voluntary and free.** Then, every man and every woman will work

as long as they please, when they please, what they please and where they please.

Another problem is to even out work productivity in different enterprises and branches, in different sectors of the national and international economies to equally meet the needs of all people. Solving it would require that more resources, labor and specialists from the more developed industries and countries are transferred to enterprises, branches, countries and regions that lag behind in their technologic development.

Solutions to these problems will be made by national and international congresses and conferences (working according to the synonymous principles of anarchy, direct democracy and self-government), where the corresponding plans between countries, branches and work collectives will be prepared and distributed.

If, for selfish reasons, particular super-developed enterprises, communes and federations wish to separate, it will be just to negotiate with them a plan for the redistribution of a part of their economic potentialities, created in the capitalist period in a certain country with the efforts and resources of all of society/humanity.

Creating and maintaining the infrastructure

Depending on the scale and significance of a task, such as constructing a building, for example, the decision to build it is made at the level of the area, city (community, commune), region or federation³³. After a decision to build has been reached, an order is formed and sent to the construction enterprise/branch within the territorial or federal entity.

Construction projects are prioritized at the corresponding level – area, commune, region or federation.

The decision to renovate a site or replace obsolete equipment is made by the economic council at the site. The order for renovation or replacement is directed at the corresponding construction

³³ For the sake of simplicity, we do not look here at the case of Confederate tasks. They, too, are to be handled according to the principles of anarchism.

organization.

Planning

The communist economy demands the horizontal planning of production and distribution. Capitalist countries use market mechanisms and vertical (state or corporatist) planning³⁴, conducted by bureaucrats according to their class interests. We want a plan in accordance with the needs of every man and woman. It is worked out from the bottom up. People, being familiar with statistical research data on needs and production capabilities, decide for themselves what they need and within what timeframe it can be expected. They also determine the distribution of scarce products as well as the planning of priority projects for new production capacities in view of the overall need for scarce products and services for everyone.

Thus, based on the declared needs of the members of the communes and the federations, decisions can be made to create, close down, or restructure enterprises or any other economic entities and branches. Export and import relations with capitalist countries are regulated the same way, as is the dedicated currency fund for trade relations with these countries.

Distribution of mandatory labor

As mentioned, in the early stage of anarchist-communism, even though mandatory human labor will be reduced, it will not yet be voluntary. Every member of society who is in good health will be required to work alongside everyone else. Several principles will guide the distribution of work:

- Some types of work cannot be measured quantitatively, such as work on long-term projects, in creative or scientific professions. Before work becomes fully voluntary, these professionals will have to report and explain the goals and conduct of their work processes, as well as their need for resources and time to complete the

34 It is worth noting that in capitalist systems the role of market mechanisms weakens the greater the scale. In fact, the market functions within a framework set by corporate and state plans to ensure „rentability“, i.e. profiteering.

projects. This will guarantee, by means of planning, the support of the community and the necessary resources.

- For as long as there are burdensome, harmful, dangerous or unpleasant jobs, they should be done by people who are physically and mentally able to perform them by drawing lots or taking turns within a territorial entity or a collective, until these problems are resolved by robotization.

The robotization and automation of work processes result in a decrease of human labor input and an increase in productivity. In anarcho-communist society, these processes make it possible to cut the workday way below 4 hours and shorten the workweek, too. Along with that, the number of jobs in all economic sectors will decrease. Many of today's professions will disappear, while new jobs will emerge that require less labor. In capitalist society, the process translates into less work positions, layoffs and unemployment. In anarchist society, however, it means opening up new lines of production with the now available hands and minds, freeing up time and providing better work conditions for creative work in the sciences and the arts, clearing new perspectives for meeting all human needs in material abundance.

So, after a transition to anarcho-communism, robotization and automation no longer contradict universal employment. Finally, the development of the RR will bring about shorter of **mandatory work time**, while the **value** of products³⁵ **will be approximate zero**.

Science as a weapon of progress, abundance and ecology

A key principle of anarchist-communist society will be the application of scientific methods in solving social problems, such as planning, the organization of production, provision, etc. Further, we need to stop creating artificial „needs“, typical of the „high“ classes in capitalist society or the hypertrophy of natural needs. We need to replace this behavior with a **regime of natural resource conservation**, with recycling, energy-saving technologies, alternative

³⁵ We mean value as a measure of labor input, and not „market value“ as the concept is typically used today.

energy sources and so on and so forth.

We live in symbiosis with the planetary ecosystem. Life on the planet is entwined in causal relations with our actions. A communist economy entails the organization of public and international institutions and relations in a planetary eco-system. One of the most important tasks of this system will be the preservation of nature.

Along with cardinal political and socioeconomic changes, it is necessary to work out a **global environmental project for society in the 21st century. It should provide the material conditions for a safe technological breakthrough in the interrelation of humans with the environment**, to minimize environmental harm by means of rational use of natural resources, making recycling inseparable from economic activity. Scrap recycling will help restore the biosphere, while providing „raw materials“ for 3D printers. Moreover, „green technologies“ should be developed with ubiquity in mind, so that hi-tech production is not socially destructive and does not create areas of low and dirty technology, which would destroy the effects of progress.

Environmental hazards gained public awareness in recent decades. Yet, all states, from the USA to China, have demonstrated poor will in confronting them. Because **new environmental relations require, we get rid of today's social boundaries**: property, the division between manual and mental labor, financial and economic „dependencies“, a desire for super profits at the expense of limiting access to the results of the RR. They also require we get rid of the police and legal mechanisms that maintain today's social, political and economic relations, clearly harmful to nature.

Scientific-technical progress

Scientific-technical progress will proceed at a speed directly proportional to the amount of allocated resources and the number of scientists and engineers engaged in science and technology.

The subsequent stage of social revolution will see a gradual transfer of some decision-making processes from humans to machines

36 We mean the area of informatics, not personal intelligence typical of humans.

equipped with algorithms for artificial intelligence³⁶, while goals are determined bottom-up, starting from the commune, through the regions to the planetary scale. As the RR unfolds, the economic sphere will need the voluntary and free labor of many specialists in diverse areas of science, working according to their interests and will, in order to enter into the secrets of the microcosm, of man, society and the macrocosm, in order to solve the practical problems of individuals and their collectives. Over time, objective scientific-technical development will leave the management of monotonous processes in the socio-economic life of society to artificial intelligence, **liberating the human minds and hands for creative endeavor.**

Change is inevitable

Nature is the basis of human existence, but it does not predetermine our history³⁷ and it does not eliminate the need for our own revolutionary, rational, even and humane intervention in our affairs.

In order for us to deserve the name Homo Sapiens that anthropologists gave our biological species, human reason, feelings and will must flourish as the primary goal of our existence.

The shock and commotion we witness in capitalist society testify to the instability and doom of the current political, economic and socio-cultural structures and norms of everyday life. They foreshadow the inevitable crash of the obsolete social-political and economic institutions and are symptoms of the upcoming revolutionary crisis. Coming out of that crisis will require radical social transformations, most prominently, **replacing the state and property with libertarian communism**. Removing the state and property is necessary for freedom and equality in rights and responsibilities secured by means of equal social and individual access to all the goods and services produced.

Enough with „social reforms“, „corrected development“, mending and cosmetic change that preserve inequality! It is time for radical change in social and international relations and structures, the result of an active anarcho-communist revolutionary worldview taking hold, a worldview that motivates **radical changes that can result only from the purposefully organized activity of the revolutionary masses**.

37 What plays out in history are social, not natural, regularities. There isn't and there probably can't be a „psycho-history“. The evolution of human society is not deterministic and the laws that govern its development are probabilities, predetermined by multiple factors. No change toward higher and more rational social organization can occur if everyone waits for someone else to do it, not taking a risk.

Humanity has reached the limit of absolutely necessary and inevitable social reconstruction. Reaching people's minds, a new worldview will affect all current institutions and relations. What were once preconditions and possibilities will now become a necessity – an indispensable condition for the unproblematic existence of humanity. Many psychological characteristics such as hunger for power, greed, foolishness, etc. will no longer fit the new conditions of life and will have to be overcome. In addition to revolutionary violence, the corresponding cultivation of a new morality will aid in the process.

In addition, the very history of humanity in the times of globalization demands an international brotherly planetary union of all peoples on Earth. This union will plan - by consensus between communes, regions and federations, the strategic and harmonious socio-economic development of humanity in the 21st century to guarantee a high living standard and maximum freedom for every man and woman under their joint control and collective self-government.

In result of global robotization and digitalization, all spheres of social life will change in the coming decade, 2020-2030. Social progress will be assessed by how well society can meet the needs of each of its members and by the extent of human freedom for creative self-realization in different activities, the sciences and the arts. It won't be hard to trace the inter-relatedness of scientific-technical and social progress. The latter is the result of the collective and individual initiatives and plans and the active participation of individuals and collectives in the economic, social and cultural life of society. Creative self-realization, diverse positive activity and collective decision-making and implementation develop humans and help transform them from political animals³⁸ into free social individuals.

Free time devoted to one's own personal growth and to socializing

38 Aristotle described man as ζῷον πολιτικόν (zoon politikon) – „an animal that lives in the polis“ (Translator's note: „a social animal“). In his view, „an individual who is unsocial naturally and not accidentally is either beneath our notice or more than human.“ In other words, such an individual is either a beast or a god. Obviously, Aristotle was unable to imagine the free human!

with others liberates and perfects the human being. The greater the freedom for self-realization of each person, the greater the growth potential (of all individuals) in society.

Anarchy in the information age

In this part we look at questions of personal liberation in the light of the forthcoming development of the Robotronic Revolution.

We shall recall that the three notions: *anarchy*, *self-government* and *direct democracy* are identical and mutually interchangeable. Further, **a social-revolutionary ideology for the 21st century must be grounded in the contemporary reality.** Basic factors in that reality are *the robotronic revolution* and *globalization*. Globalization posits the revolutionary crisis and the exit from that crisis as questions to all of humanity.

IT and communication on private and social matters have experienced unprecedented growth. The RR creates excellent conditions to build and develop anarchy (direct democracy) inclusively. Today it is much easier to build the anatomy and physiology of anarchist structures. Bringing issues up for discussion, voting and decision making can be organized directly over the Internet. This makes the parasitic and selfish nature of parliamentary representation obvious.

The Internet makes it possible to organize a transparent system of open vote at all levels, eliminating the possibility of fraud. All interested and willing individuals can discuss issues internal or external to the community. Preliminary discussions and voting can be organized locally. Experts can be called to present their competent opinion on certain matters openly before a General Assembly or on the federation's media channels. Discussions and a general vote could follow on topics presented by the experts or suggested bottom-up by the communes. Projects can be proposed and discussed at General Assemblies and decisions can be made on different problems.

Contemporary technology makes it possible to establish links for direct democracy, doing away with legislative, executive and jurid-

ical powers and transferring their functions directly to the General Assembly or the **communal or federal organs of anarchy, placed under strict social control.**

This way, everyone's vote will have equal *power* in making decisions. In direct democracy, problems are solved not by the hierarchical institutions of the state but by anarchist society, where the key organs are not the parliament and the government but **local communal self-government with its General Assembly and federal self-government with its congresses and conferences.** In the 21st century, parliaments and governments are no longer needed. As long as we have the Internet and devices with constant online connectivity, the physical gathering of all people can be reduced to a minimum – for the most important questions only³⁹. With the growth of IT and social communication networks, anarchy, the organizational infrastructure of communist society, becomes ever more feasible.

Direct democracy will need to go beyond destroying the institutions of the state and replacing them with the respective communal and federal infrastructure using the Internet. It would require that **society - mass organizations of equal people - be organized in struggle against the state.** It would also require that **anarchist self-consciousness expands.** The new communal and federal organs should be created „bottom up“ in society itself and not „top down“ by the state. The functional success of such a democracy would require that a range of other conditions be met: the free dissemination of information, the availability of plenty free time to tend to social problems; high levels of popular compe-

39 There is a range of possibilities to optimize direct democracy and different approaches to them. An instance is the task of determining which decisions should be considered with priority at a General Assembly. One possible solution would be to collect statements of interest from people until a certain minimum is reached. We could go further and develop a model for accumulating interests similar to the familiar neural networks. However, to be able to determine the exact parameters for a given decision of that specific society and to be able to seek optimal solutions can only happen when that society is free to develop and perfect experimentally the institutions of direct democracy. The same goes for all other institutional optimization tasks – they can be solved only after self-government has been established.

tence on matters of immediate importance⁴⁰ in discussions; ubiquitous Internet access. (Today, this is possible for only 38% of the global population.)

Free dissemination of information

By the „free dissemination of information“ we mean the removal of all sorts of „secrets“ and „classifications“ on data of social significance and their unobstructed dissemination on the Net. „Classical“ media under centralized control should be replaced with ubiquitous participation in the process of mass information. „Copyright“ should be destroyed. Everyone should have access to all knowledge constituting the world fund of humanity in the spheres of science, art, history, social life and so on.

None of this is possible today. In totalitarian societies, the means of mass information (MMI) are state-controlled, while in democratic societies they are controlled by their owners in the capitalist class. Information is presented in ways that serve those who control or own the MMI. The rise of the Internet has changed the situation, decentralizing the process of dissemination. Relations in the sphere of information have become somewhat „communitic“ earlier than in production or services. Yet, under current social conditions, states aim to censor the Internet, while MMI owners try to manipulate it. Private property and copyright obstruct the free dissemination of the growing amount of mass-consumed information. „Antipiracy“ legislation bans the use of torrents to download files from the Internet (books, films, music, etc.). It attacks the small islands of information communism. Media corporations brainwash people with wish-wash and „fake news“⁴¹. Our recipe against the spread of misinformation is the removal of financial

40 Without being an expert in the field, everyone should have the possibility to become acquainted with the issue they are to vote on and feel confident that they are making an informed decision.

41 Contrary to claims made by the MMI, „fake news“ that contain misleading or false information are not produced by marginal media and amateur journalists alone. Rather, a series analysis of mainstream news would expose it as no less „fake“. Those interested in the topic can read Noam Chomsky's Media Control.

motives, also enabling the free comparison of different sources.

Technological progress

Existing technologies can help reduce human labor to a minimum while increasing productive efficiency to ensure material abundance at minimal human effort. This could free up an enormous amount of time for everyone, which could be used, among other things, for participation in public processes. Such a course of development is impossible within the capitalist system because machines that are privately or state-owned bring dividends only to their owners. For this and a number of other reasons the spread of anarchy should be linked to the economic system of communism. Further below we will show, through examples of existing technologies, how this system functions and how capitalism obstructs the full blossoming of the potential inherent in new technologies.

3D-printers in every household

The development of the full potential of 3D printers alone would suffice to destroy today's market system based in monetary transactions. The 3D printer can justly be called „communist technology“ as it allows for all human needs to be met. 3D in the sphere of production is what the Internet is in the sphere of information and communication, or the Internet of things for provision and distribution.

As a few examples will show, 3D printers hold unlimited promise even today. They will get perfected in the future to enter every household in developed countries, becoming an ordinary household object the way computers are these days.

Similar to the Internet, 3D technology cannot develop fully in capitalist society because governments try to control it and fight the free dissemination of information. Copyright laws go after the dissemination of „unlicensed“ 3D programs, blueprints and print outs, calling them „pirated“. Such bans aim to preserve monetary market relations. These measures obstruct the free growth and spread of 3D printing.

In a communist economy, the development of programs for 3D

printing would involve both amateur enthusiasts and professionals, while everyone will enjoy the benefits of this production. The ubiquitous distribution of 3D printers and the free circulation of information will transform all of society – each household will be equipped with computers as well as 3D printers, making it possible for anyone to create any product by freely downloading all sorts of programs/blueprints for 3D production.

It is worth mentioning that within the foreseeable future, 3D printers could completely transform the socio-economic system. Today, they produce anything from food and weapons to bridges, homes and new 3D printers. Many are quite affordable to people with „average“ income, while their production keeps getting better. Even before the revolution, 3D printing will destroy whole sectors of the classical economy, creating new preconditions for a communist economy.

The future is approaching at the speed of light

In China, it took 3D printers 3 hours to „print out“ a two-story villa equipped with electrical installation, plumbing, a bathroom, a toilet and furniture. With no construction waste and zero environmental damage – using industrial waste materials. The villa features solid thermal insulation – it is cold inside in summer and hot in winter. It is waterproof, fireproof and anti-seismic. It costs less than „classically“ built houses. China plans a mass „print-out“ of such houses in the future.

In Tokyo, workers at the international airport have been replaced by robots. Five robots will sweep and mop the floors, another three will serve as porters, while the rest of the workers will be equipped with exoskeletons to be able to lift heavy loads without health damages or exceptional effort.

Such news is becoming increasingly common. Robots, exoskeletons, androids, thought-controlled robotic prostheses – these are not the props of a sci-fi film but the approaching reality. There already is a rich gamut of robots: combat robots, service robots, heavy labor robots, self-teaching robots able to conduct independent research and invent medicines. Science has reached a similar level in other spheres, too – flying drones, hoverbikes, invisibility

cloaks, brain chips to control neural activity. Multiple other fantastic technologies are being invented or perfected.

To grasp the extent to which these technologies have altered our lives, it suffices to compare those that are now unthinkable to live without with their state not long ago. A couple of decades ago, portable computers were rare and too primitive compared to today's laptops, present in almost every household. Not a single enterprise or institute can operate without them. The size of their memory is so large it makes the most fantastic predictions of the 1980s and 1990s sound laughable. The Internet provides access to 99% of the cultural artifacts of the world: painting, literature, music, film and so on. It secures operational access to a vast number of data sources. It also is a main means of communication, about to eliminate postal services, telecommunications and more. It provides previously unthinkable opportunities in information dissemination, voting, referenda, and so on. Had anyone said, 20 or 30 years ago, that today everyone would carry a miniature computer with hundreds of functions such a telephone, a gramophone, a dictation machine and a computer that can go on the Internet and gain access to 99% of world information, to connect and communicate with people in any point on the globe, they'd called him a mad dreamer.

Today, it is hard to imagine life without a computer, a mobile phone or the Internet. Their development over the last 20 years can give us an approximate idea of what changes can occur in another 20 years, of the fantastic transformations in current and new technologies that can happen: robots, 3D printers, robotic prostheses, drones and androids, exoskeletons, hoverbikes (like flying carpets), invisibility cloaks. The world will be almost unrecognizable in just 10 years' time. All this will cause incredible changes in everyone's lives. The main question is: How will new technologies alter society? What will come to replace the current political, economic and social system?

Robotization of production and services

It is impossible to build the economy on 3D printers alone. Someone needs to prepare the raw materials. There will, perhaps, remain other spheres of services and production. Mass production will not fully disappear. However, in these areas robotization is under way – robots replace not only human physical labor but to a significant extent, human mental labor as well, in both the spheres of production and services. The current state of capitalist society foreshadows an explosion of unprecedented magnitude. Billions of unemployed will turn out useless for the labor market. Capitalism will enter an irresolvable conundrum – **new technologies enable the production of enormous quantities of goods that cannot be sold – the purchasing power of the billions of unemployed will approach zero**⁴². Politicians have been discussing a guaranteed minimum income for every unemployed person and other similar social programs and reforms. However, when the number of unemployed soars into the billions, capitalism will become meaningless even to the owners of capital. Their robots will produce goods but to ensure the purchase of their products, money will have to be handed out to the buyers. **When you pay the buyers to buy, not a penny can be profited.**

The alternative, within the capitalist system, would be to exterminate the greater part of the world's population that is to become „useless“ to the so-called „elites“. It could be done gradually via population control programs, bad food and other means, or brutally, by means of a genocide in the model of Stalin or Hitler⁴³. This, too, would be a temporary „solution“ **because the concentration of capital in ever fewer hands will keep producing new „redundant“ humans until humankind perishes.**

42 It is hard to predict the exact moment when this crisis will become evident because it depends on many factors. Besides, the authorities fear this moment and do what they can to postpone it. However, the unwritten laws of human social development cannot be counteracted with laws imposed by police, armies and courts.

43 The difference between the two models is primarily ideological. More precisely, Nazism is the lower phase in the development of Bolshevism: the first is an incomplete transition (because of the outcome of the Second World War) from private to state capitalism „in a single country“.

There is a single alternative to this fatal tendency – to establish a communist economy with developed anarchy of information. It will make the goods produced available to all of humanity, not to the dwindling number of the largest corporations that threaten to become one single global capitalist, a „Leviathan“. The automated economy should not be left in the hands of private capital or the state apparatus⁴⁴. **They must be destroyed**, while production and distribution need to come under public control. The world economy can secure abundance and meet everyone’s basic human needs even today. What it takes is to „simply“ overcome the current socio-economic and political system that has resulted in absolute inequality between different regions, countries and social classes. Once that has been achieved, the automation and robotization of production and services will create the abundance of goods necessary for all of humanity to live according to their needs. Moreover, all physical and a significant part of mental labor will be done by robots with their fantastic productivity. The whole question comes down to **who will be in charge⁴⁵ of these goods** – corporations⁴⁶ and states or all of humanity?

Economic planning and the distribution of goods

With almost limitless productive capabilities and advanced calculative technologies, economic planning will not present a complex problem. In an epoch of developed information technologies, political and economic centralization would be unnecessary. Planning at the national or planetary scale can be organized according to the **principles of decentralization and direct democracy**. It could be done bottom-up, fully transparent, with consideration for everyone’s individual needs. In the epoch of 3D printing, of unprecedented productive capacities and limitless abundance of goods,

44 There is a tendency of transnational corporations to transform into a global empire, so the distinction will soon be merely formal. Yet, a barrier to this tendency is the uneven (running ahead or lagging behind) development of countries, regions and continents.

45 It does not matter if control takes the form of „property“, „distribution“ or „leveling“. What matters is who can exercise control – an „elected“ minority or the whole society of equal individuals.

46 Let’s recall that the state is the apparatus of all bureaucratic and military-police institutions of authority and power.

given a rational and just organization of society, the market economy will be fully replaced. Under conditions of abundance and no scarcity, when everyone can be provided for with everything they need for their life in the necessary quantity, the monetary system will also be replaced. We are not speaking of a return to exchange or barter or any such mechanisms. Society, organized on the principles of anarchy, will control the distribution of robotized production. Aided by calculating technologies, advanced communications, calculative systems and specialists, society will be able to work out fully transparent economic plans with publicly accessible data for the purposes of monitoring and control. Automatically produced goods and services will be distributed according to „needs“. The ubiquity of 3D printers will further simplify the scenario, making the mass production of enormous quantities of goods highly redundant since anyone could print them out at home.

Such a system of production and distribution may seem fantastic but the technologies in question already exist, being constantly improved and implemented in everyday life. In such a society of material abundance, **public ethics and the attitude to material goods will drastically change**⁴⁷. This will greatly ease the construction of anarchist-communist society with its corresponding ethics and social relations. Perfectly different social conditions will produce perfectly different stereotypes for behavior, values and relations to material goods in contrast to the current society built on the irrational principles of power and greed, of property and material and social inequality, with the familiar high level of poverty, misery and want.

47 In our view, the environment, human society included, is much stronger a factor in personal behavior than the individual genetic makeup. On the other hand, several religious doctrines and fascist mystics come to mind who divide people into „chosen“ or „high class“ and manure.

An enlightened society

If most labor processes are done by machines and material abundance provides for every member of society, what will people do? Can such life lose all meaning? Will this be an empty and useless opulent existence, consuming the goods produced by machines?

We mentioned earlier that the normal functioning of information-based direct democracy will require, among other things, a high level of popular competence on a whole range of issues. In addition, most productive processes will require the narrow expertise of highly qualified specialists. Doesn't such a system pose the risk of becoming a technocratic government of experts – scientists and engineers? We would say, „No“ **because becoming authorities and government servants would disqualify the scientists⁴⁸!** Moreover, if an enormous part of the work is done by robots (a process that has been going on for decades), an opportunity opens up for constant creative, physical and intellectual betterment of every human. It will be possible to create an educational system of the highest quality⁴⁹, to devote time and resources for every student unthinkable today, to create equal possibilities for each child to become a specialist in a sphere of science or technology. **That means no specialist will be irreplaceable.** There will be hundreds of millions of scientists and engineers, many of today's professions will become unnecessary, many other spheres will be automated and robotized.

Scientific progress and technological development will unfold at an incredible pace. **The bravest dreams of the most fantastic technologies will become reality. These, along with the high level of education, the free circulation of information, advanced social communication, lots of free time and the absence of social inequality will bring about the full realization of anarchist communism.**

48 This is easy to see by looking at how few persons in position of power can be considered functioning scientists.

49 Its goals will be quite different from today's.

Possible objections

It could be objected that different people have different learning abilities, that people are naturally evil and greedy and will strive to possess ever greater quantities of goods, that everything written above is purely utopian. However, the technologies in question already exist or are in the process of being created, while human „nature“ highly depends on the conditions of human existence. Humans who have grown up in a high-tech environment, in a society of advanced anarchism and a communist economy will have a distinct worldview, ethics, character and temperament. All this is the object of „social psychology“, a science yet to be developed.

The main skepticism about the possibilities for such a society to exist is that inequalities are also inherited. Some people are more intelligent and more capable than others, some are born with physical and intellectual deviations. Hence, it would be naive to claim that everyone en masse will become scientists and engineers. Indeed, apart from upbringing and the social environment (which will undoubtedly benefit the all-around development of all) **genes, too, the carriers of heredity, play an important role.** It must be duly noted, however, that an absolute minority of people cannot be taught at all. The vast majority of humans are well capable of learning. What's more, the inevitable advance of genetic engineering will likely enable the improvement of the physical and intellectual abilities of all of humanity, the treatment of hereditary disease and prevention of various mental and physical deviations. **Such technological development could make every human healthy, mentally and physically, in the foreseeable future.**

The rational use of already existing technology and building society on libertarian, just and rational grounds can radically transform our planet. What 20th-century fantasy authors described that sounded utopian then will, in the very near future – in a decade or two – become a very real alternative prospect. Technological development will enable the complete transformation of both individual human beings and human society, and perhaps, life beyond this planet. **The humanization of outer space** could become a very real task for future generations, absolutely possible for a united humanity. Herbert Well's utopian novel, Men Like

Gods, is no longer an unattainable fantasy. **Utopia is becoming unprecedentedly real and close.**

On the other hand, existing technologies can enable the development of a monstrous anti-utopia, becoming absolute evil in service of states and corporations. It remains to be seen how human will develop with the advance of science and technology.

Will it be able to self-organize into a functioning anarcho-communist society, destroying the power of states and corporations in order to use all goods for the needs of all of humanity?

OR

Will science and technology be used in the interest of the so-called „elites“?

The solution to this dilemma will depend entirely on the choice that the „lower“ classes, joined by the creative workers of the „middle“ class, will make.

The choice is before us: shall we relax like a frog in a hot pot and get boiled, or rise to complete the **Social revolution?**

**PEOPLE, THINK
AND CHOOSE WISELY!**

ANNEX #1: NETWORK SELF-GOVERNMENT

“Technologies have already been invented to coordinate the thought processes of groups of people. For instance, in the dynamic conditions of military action, a number of people need to make quick decisions with no time to convene. For that purpose, special neuro-interfaces have been developed – complex systems that allow several people to become a virtual hivemind, making decisions online.”

1. The Problem

In theories of anarchy (direct democracy or self-government), methods of direct self-government on a large scale are frequently discussed. Things seem clear at the scale of the collective, the region, the enterprise: direct democracy can be realized through General Assemblies. However, the greater the number of participants and the territorial distance between them, the less efficient the General Assembly becomes. Here arises the idea of a system of councils, delegation and imperative mandates. Each collective in a council sends a delegate, whose power is delineated by the collective. The will of the collective is presented as an imperative mandate that the delegate cannot deviate from the slightest bit. The collective stays in regular touch with the delegate and it can revoke or replace them at any point. This form of organization is a tricky balance between direct democracy and representative pseudo-democracy. If control over the delegate weakens and they are left to decide by themselves, we get a parliamentary situation where power is alienated from the people. At a smaller scale, direct control over the delegates can be quite efficient. Within a factory plant or a regional council, delegation is a very appropriate mechanism of direct democracy. However, at a larger scale such as a branch of production, a country, a geographical region or the whole world, it gets more complicated. If the delegate has been sent by a few hundred thousand of people, it will be physically impossible to control them. If regional councils involve tens of thousands of delegates,

their councils will experience the same problems we encounter in very large general meetings.

If delegates are to elect second-tier delegates from among themselves, the situation can hardly be called direct democracy anymore, even less so if delegates need to exercise control over delegates appointed by delegates. It means the mechanisms of direct democracy described above will fail. The task, then, is to find such mechanisms that can enable an efficient system of direct self-government at large enough a scale. Our programmatic texts often speak of associations in regional or world federations, but they do not specify how such associations will function. Yet, one of the most important theoretical tasks is to describe the mechanism of self-organization and self-government at the scale of the branch, country, geographic region or planet so that it can be efficient enough with a very large number of participants (millions or billions of people).

2. On the usefulness of analogy.

Some clue to the solution of this problem can be found in the study of mechanisms for self-organization in complex biological systems in natural conditions. The closest example is the human brain. It consists of tens of millions of neural cells (neurons), whose collective interaction compounds our consciousness, thoughts, feelings and reactions. Each cell is connected with the other cells through multiple links called synapses. They transmit, by means of electro-chemical reactions, signals of excitement or inhibition. Different connectors possess different intensity. A cell compounds the incoming signals according to the intensity of the connections and, depending on their sum magnitude, transfers its own signal along outgoing connectors. This is the basic mechanism of the brain.

The question is, how such basic interactions produce the complexity of our inner „universe“. At the same time, the complexity of the outer universe can also be broken down to the interactions between simple particles and fields. It is true that consciousness is still a puzzling phenomenon but understanding the basic mechanisms of neural interaction makes it possible to apply this knowledge in areas well beyond neurobiology to obtain exceptionally interesting results.

Artificial neural networks are the case in point. Processors have been invented that work like neurons. They receive signals from multiple entry points, multiply the signal from each entry by a corresponding coefficient and sum up the results. Then, as with neurons, depending on the sum magnitude, an output signal is generated, or not. When such processors (artificial neurons) unite in a network, it acquires very interesting properties and can perform quite complex calculations. These networks have been applied in summation, classification, image recognition and forecasting. Neural networks can break down a problem into its component parts, to parallel calculations, aggregate and classify the results. Some networks have self-learning and associative memory capabilities. Many types of neural networks have been developed over the last few decades. Some imitate the structure of the brain; others have no natural analogy – they are modeled for concrete tasks. Researchers had not expected that using only the basic principles of the structure of neural connections could lead to the discovery of multiple analogies between the workings of networks and thought processes. Today, artificial neural networks give hope for the creation of artificial intelligence.

A social neural network

Let's try to imagine a similar mechanism of social self-government by looking at a network of multiple inter-connected collectives. Internally, they can be governed by the general councils. Let's assume one of the collectives proposes a project, whose realization requires joint effort and the complex coordination of millions of people. The group that has discussed the project at its General Assembly forwards it to others. The other collectives can get interested in the project or remain unmoved, can approve the project or reject it, or come up with additional commentary or criticism. Next, they can send the project and their additions to the groups they are already in contact with. If the project is of no public interest, discussions will die out early on, engaging only a few collectives. If, however, the project gains support, it will quickly encompass the entire interested auditorium. The process will unfold like an avalanche, quickly mobilizing millions of people. They will have different experience, different habits and skills, expertise in different areas of knowledge. Various collectives will be able to make corrections according to the information available to them. On any specific project, a collective will receive information from

the others like a neuron receives signals from other neurons. The internal discussion of a question within a collective is analogous to aggregation, while the decision made is like the signal produced by the neurons as its output to be transmitted to other collectives. In the process of parallel discussion, the idea will either get worked out into something well-thought out and feasible, or it will be rejected by society. Once information has been disseminated, tasks and responsibilities will be distributed among thousands of collectives to actualize the idea. Thus, each collective will become a social neuron in the collective mind of the public. All of society will be engulfed in the creative process of self-construction. This decentralized mechanism of public decision-making will make direct democracy functional at any large scale and become an instrument for mass self-government, without centralized government or representatives.

Anarchism in the 21st century
by
Georgi Konstantinov

www.anarchy.bg

Published by “Free Thought“ editorial board
Sofia, 2019