

managed organization of workers in solidarity with each other on a mass scale would mean a revolutionary crisis for the bosses' system.

For the development of a workers' movement that is "self-managed" by the rank-and-file, we advocate direct democracy, with basic decisions made in assemblies, not imposed by leaders. People who are elected to coordinate struggles or negotiate with the bosses of the government should not be paid officials and they should be subject to immediate recall and mandatory rotation from office after a short term.

To encourage the development of a workers' movement based on direct action, solidarity and direct democracy, we favor the formation of action committees in workplaces as well as networks of anti-authoritarian workers in industries or companies.

Workers' Self-defense

We have no interest in echoing the hypocrisy of the employing class when they denounce the "terrorism" of small armed groups or guerilla armies. From Poland to El Salvador, the State's "forces of order" are the main instrument for striking terror into the hearts of the people. Yet, we do not agree with a strategy for social change based on armed actions by political minorities. Such a strategy substitutes the armed force of a political "vanguard" for working class solidarity and invites entrapment by provocateurs.

The bosses will not give up their power and wealth voluntarily. A period when the working class is beginning to pose a fundamental challenge to boss rule is likely to see violent clashes. Although we would want violence to be minimized, we recognize the use of armed force as legitimate in defending the movement for social change.

Since the workers' movement to re-organize society on the basis of self-management cannot succeed without the break-up of the State and its armed machine, it is important to spread class-consciousness within the ranks of the armed forces and to link their concerns with those of workers in civilian life.

But the defense of the revolution must be the responsibility of a workers militia, organized and controlled by the workers' mass organizations, not an army or guerrilla force controlled by a minority, such as a political party. If working people are to have control over industry and society, they must also have direct, democratic control over the defense of their revolution.

Towards a Self-managed Society

Workers in every nation repeatedly pose their own desires and demands in opposition to the programs of private capital, corporate and state bureaucrats and political party hacks. Workers create, sometimes with great clarity of vision, movements and new forms of organization which pose demands that no State can fulfill, inherent in which is a desire for freedom and a vision of what a new society could be.

We favor the development of a workers movement based on direct democracy, not just because it will be more effective in the present-day fight against the employing class, but also because it foreshadows — and lays the basis for — a

society of freedom and equality, without authoritarianism or exploitation.

Self-emancipation means that the working class, through its own united action, must seize and manage the entire system of production, communication and distribution. Tenants must take over the management of the buildings where they live. Dangerous technology must be re-designed or dismantled. The time that people must spend in work can be greatly reduced by eliminating the unnecessary work created by the current system, and sharing the necessary work among all those who can contribute.

The most basic organ of decision-making in a self-managed society should be the face-to-face democracy of assemblies of people in workplaces and neighborhoods. But self-management cannot be isolated in small, local units. The economy as a whole must be managed by the entire working class.

To do this it is necessary to create some means for bringing together workers from the different industries and localities in order to decide what to produce, what sort of technological development to have, and how to organize the defense of the revolution. This can be organized through conferences of delegates, elected by the rank-and-file and subject to immediate recall and rotation from office. The delegates would present, discuss and act on the ideas and goals developed and approved by the local worker assemblies. This would provide the people with a means of establishing priorities for production that are not determined by bureaucratic decree or the capitalist market but by collective, democratic decision-making.

We do not want to fight a revolution only to find that we have placed in power a bureaucratic elite that pursues its own interests. Any administration elected to carry out the will of the workers should be subject to mandatory rotation from office after a brief term, immediate recall, and no special privileges in comparison with the average worker. They should operate under specific mandates from the various democratic decision-making bodies in society, and not attempt to impose their own policy.

The interdependence of production on a global scale means that a workers revolution must be an international movement. A movement for social change will be subject to the dictates of the world capitalist market and the power of the bosses' military forces insofar as it is not a movement to change the world-wide organization of society.

Economic reorganization on the basis of self-management can be realized on an international scale through the same kind of decision-making bodies as would exist on a regional or national basis. The alternative to a world of warring nation-states is a world human community of self-managed regions united on the basis of common interests and mutual respect. □



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