### **1NC – T Nebel Governments**

#### **Interp – the Aff may not specify a “just” government.**

#### **Governments is a generic bare plural.**

**Nebel 20** [Jake Nebel is an assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California and executive director of Victory Briefs. He writes a lot of this stuff lol – duh.] “Indefinite Singular Generics in Debate” Victory Briefs, 19 August 2020. no url AG

I agree that if “a democracy” in the resolution just meant “one or more democracy,” then a country-specific affirmative could be topical. But, as I will explain in this topic analysis, that isn’t what “a democracy” means in the resolution. To see why, we first need to back up a bit and review (or learn) the idea of generic generalizations.

The most common way of expressing a generic in English is through a *bare plural*. **A bare plural is a plural noun phrase, like “dogs” and “cats,” that lacks an overt determiner**. (A determiner is **a word that tells us which or how many**: determiners include quantifier words like “all,” “some,” and “most,” demonstratives like “this” and “those,” posses- sives like “mine” and “its,” and so on.) LD resolutions often contain bare plurals, and **that is the most common clue to their genericity**.

We have already seen some examples of generics that are not bare plurals: “A whale is a mammal,” “A beaver builds dams,” and “The woolly mammoth is extinct.” The first two examples use indefinite singulars—singular nouns preceded by the indefinite article “a”—and the third is a definite singular since it is preceded by the definite article “the.” Generics can also be expressed with bare singulars (“Syrup is viscous”) and even verbs (as we’ll see later on). The resolution’s “a democracy” is an indefinite singular, and so it very well might be—and, as we’ll soon see, is—generic.

But it is also important to keep in mind that, just as not all generics are bare plurals, not all bare plurals are generic. “Dogs are barking” is true as long as some dogs are barking. Bare plurals can be used in particular ways to express existential statements. The key question for any given debate resolution that contains a bare plural is whether that occurrence of the bare plural is generic or existential.

The same is true of indefinite singulars. As debaters will be quick to point out, some uses of the indefinite singular really do mean “some” or “one or more”: “A cat is on the mat” is clearly not a generic generalization about cats; it’s true as long as some cat is on the mat. The question is whether the indefinite singular “a democracy” is existential or generic in the resolution.

Now, my own view is that, if we understand the difference between existential and generic statements, and if we approach the question impartially, without any invest- ment in one side of the debate, we can almost always just tell which reading is correct just by thinking about it. **It is clear that “In a democracy, voting ought to be compul- sory” doesn’t mean “There is one or more democracy in which voting ought to be com- pulsory.”** I don’t think a fancy argument should be required to show this any more than a fancy argument should be required to show that “A duck doesn’t lay eggs” is a generic—a false one because ducks do lay eggs, even though some ducks (namely males) don’t. And if a debater contests this by insisting that “a democracy” is existen- tial, the judge should be willing to resolve competing claims by, well, judging—that is, by using her judgment. Contesting a claim by insisting on its negation or demanding justification doesn’t put any obligation on the judge to be neutral about it. (Otherwise the negative could make every debate irresolvable by just insisting on the negation of every statement in the affirmative speeches.) Even if the insistence is backed by some sort of argument, we can reasonably reject an argument if we know its conclusion to be false, even if we are not in a position to know exactly where the argument goes wrong. Particularly in matters of logic and language, speakers have more direct knowledge of particular cases (e.g., that some specific inference is invalid or some specific sentence is infelicitious) than of the underlying explanations.

But that is just my view, and not every judge agrees with me, so it will be helpful to consider some arguments for the conclusion that we already know to be true: that, even if the United States is a democracy and ought to have compulsory voting, that doesn’t suffice to show that, in a democracy, voting ought to be compulsory—in other words, that “a democracy” in the resolution is generic, not existential.

Second, **existential uses of the indefinite, such as “A cat is on the mat,” are upward- entailing.3 This means that if you replace the noun with a more general one, such as “An animal is on the mat,” the sentence will still be true. So let’s do that with “a democracy.” Does the resolution entail “In a society, voting ought to be compulsory”? Intuitively no**t, because you could think that voting ought to be compulsory in democracies but not in other sorts of societies. This suggests that “**a democracy” in the resolution is not existential**.

#### **Violation – they spec Egypt**

#### **Upward Entailment test fails – democracy was the subject of SeptOct that year the same way governments are the subject of NovDec because “A just government ought to recognize the rights of workers– therefore, only [] ought to recognize the rights of all workers” is illogical.**

#### **1] Limits – there’s so many just governments they could specify, coupled with various types of workers. Kills neg burdens – it’s impossible for me to research every possible just government AND different permutations of those governments.**

#### **2] TVA – read your aff as an advantage to a whole rez aff. We aren’t stopping them from reading new frameworks, mechanisms, or advantages. PICs don’t solve – it’s ridiculous to say that neg potential abuse justifies the aff making it impossible for me to win from the start .**

#### **D] Voter:**

#### **Fairness and education are voters – debate’s a game that needs rules to evaluate it and education gives us portable skills for life like research and thinking.**

#### **Precision o/w – anything else justifies the aff arbitrarily jettisoning words in the resolution at their whim which decks negative ground and preparation because the aff is no longer bounded by the resolution.**

#### **Drop the debater – a) they have a 7-6 rebuttal advantage and the 2ar to make args I can’t respond to, b) it deters future abuse and sets a positive norm.**

#### **Use competing interps – a) reasonability invites arbitrary judge intervention since we don’t know your bs meter, b) collapses to competing interps – we justify 2 brightlines under an offense defense paradigm just like 2 interps.**

#### **No RVIs – a) illogical – you shouldn’t win for being fair – it’s a litmus test for engaging in substance, b) norming – I can’t concede the counterinterp if I realize I’m wrong which forces me to argue for bad norms, c) chilling effect – forces you to split your 2AR so you can’t collapse and misconstrue the 2NR, d) topic ed – prevents 1AR blipstorm scripts and allows us to get back to substance after resolving theory**

#### **Evaluate T before 1AR theory – a) norms – we only have a couple months to set T norms but can set 1AR theory norms anytime, b) magnitude – T affects a larger portion of the debate since the aff advocacy determines every speech after it**

#### **No impact turns to T—T is a procedural that determines case’s validity and every argument says the aff is bad**

## **2**

#### **Interpretation: the affirmative must defend that only just governments ought to recognize the right to strike**

#### **Just governments respect liberties**

**Dorn 12** James A. Dorn, Cato Journal, "The Scope of Government in a Free Society", Fall 2012, https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/cato-journal/2012/12/v32n3-10.pdf

If laws are just, liberty and property are secure. The most certain test of justice is negative—that is, justice occurs when injustice (the violation of natural rights to life, liberty, and property) is prevented. The emphasis here is on what Hayek (1967) called “just rules of conduct,” not on the fairness of outcomes. No one has stated the negative concept of justice better than the 19th century French classical liberal Frederic Bastiat ([1850] 1964: 65): When law and force confine a man within the bounds of justice, they do not impose anything on him but a mere negation. They impose on him only the obligation to refrain from injuring others. They do not infringe on his personality, or his liberty or his property. They merely safeguard the personality, the liberty, and the property of others. They stand on the defensive; they defend the equal rights of all. They fulfill a mission whose harmlessness is evident, whose utility is palpable, and whose legitimacy is uncontested. In short, the purpose of a just government is not to do good with other people’s money, but to prevent injustice by protecting property and securing liberty.

#### **Violation—Egypt is not just and is racist**

**African migrants fleeing war face horrible racism. I have a article if you need it. And their own amnesty international argument says Egypt violates human rights by cracking down on strikes**

#### **Prefer –**

#### **1] Precision — anything else justifies the aff arbitrarily jettisoning words in the resolution at their whim which decks negative ground and preparation because the aff is no longer bounded by the resolution.**

#### **2] Limits – there are 200 governments in the world – letting them pick an unjust ones explodes limits via infinite permutations of governments**

#### **3] Phil ed – 1AR will claim no government is just but that just means that we defend ideal theory. That’s good –**

#### **A] forces philosophical contestation which can uniquely happen in LD debate whereas you can util debate on any topic**

#### **B] outweighs – framework debate allows to identify injustice which is a prereq to any other theory voter because they’re all philosophically grounded**

#### **Fairness- consittutive of comp activites, args presume**

#### **Edu- funded ny schools**

#### **DTD- dta illogical, time skew**

#### **No RVI’s- illogical, baiting**

#### **CI – intervention, collapses, race to top**

#### **T first – 1] aff abuse frames neg abuse 2] norming a] set early b] only 2 months to set T norms ow on urgency**

On case

**On the first adv**

* **dont have an internal link. If its true civil war should have happened, then it should have broken out already when al-Sisi’ declared the oppressive laws**
* **None of this is indicative of civil war**
* **Gala-2015- no warrant Egyptian populace feels the same**

#### **No nuclear winter – most accurate and comprehensive studies prove climate impacts are minimal in the long term**

**Reisner et al ’18 –** study conducted using Los Alamos National Laboratory numerical models (Jon, Gennaro D'Angelo Eunmo Koo Wesley Even Matthew Hecht Elizabeth Hunke Darin Comeau Randall Bos James Cooley, “Climate Impact of a Regional Nuclear Weapons Exchange: An Improved Assessment Based On Detailed Source Calculations” Journal of Geophysical Research, Vol 123 Issue 5, https://agupubs.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/2017JD027331)

**There have recently been new simulations of a limited nuclear exchange in the India‐Pakistan region using modern climate models** (e.g., Mills et al., 2014; Stenke et al., 2013) **that suggest devastating impacts on climate over a decadal time scale,** although somewhat less extreme consequences have also been suggested (Pausata et al., 2016). Our team has taken a careful look at some of the assumptions that were used in those studies, using an end‐to‐end modeling sequence. **Our series of simulations started with a nuclear weapon explosion followed by a simulation of the fireball and cloud rise.** **The key improvement in this study is our simulation of fire spread and soot transport in the environment that results from fires initiated by the fireball.**

Due to the heat of the fire and of the BC particles that are produced, some of the particles are lofted into the stratosphere. However, our **comprehensive urban fire simulations indicate that the bulk of the carbon mass remains in the troposphere, where it is quickly removed** **from the atmosphere**. **In most previous work**, for example, that of Stenke et al. (2013) and Mills et al. (2014), **all of the soot produced by the urban fires is directly injected near the top of the troposphere, and therefore much of it rises into the stratosphere, where it shades and cools the Earth**. In contrast, **if we use a realistic vertical profile for the BC aerosols as input to the climate model, the long‐term global impacts on climate are much less severe than predicted by previous studies**. **This was true even with conservative, worst case assumptions regarding BC production.**

To assess the significance of differences between a limited nuclear exchange scenario and the control climate, **we created an ensemble of forced** (BC‐loaded) **simulations using a range of realistic vertical emission profiles, all consistent with our detailed fire simulatio**n. A similar ensemble generated using small atmospheric temperature perturbations allows a robust statistical comparison of our simulated results with and without the carbon forcing. This **analysis demonstrates that while modest, statistically significant differences occur during the first few years, longer‐term impacts are unlikely, regional in scope, and limited in scale. None of the simulations produced a nuclear winter effect.**

**We also completed a thorough nuclear weapon simulation, determining that it was not necessary for this study and that the impact on climate of the fireball and cloud rise is negligible**. There are other, worse effects than those on climate, however, such as nuclear fallout in the region. Such consequences will be the focus of our future work using both xRage and HIGRAD‐FIRETEC. Likewise, we will conduct a more comprehensive investigation of regional effects, such as potential consequences for the Asian monsoon during the first few years after the nuclear exchange in follow‐on work. Additionally, **although this study examines a possible exchange between India and Pakistan via the injection of soot over this region, our modeling system could be used to examine potential impacts of other regional exchange scenarios.**

**On the second adv**

**Interoperability means fill-in takes a long time or never happens – different languages, controls, parts, etc.**

#### **Russia can’t fill in – Western export ban on machine tools means they can’t fulfill 90% of all orders**

Younkyoo **Kim and** Steven **Blank, 8-1**-2019. Russia’s Arms Sales Policy After the Ukraine Sanctions (Younkyoo Kim and Steven Blank are both journalists for Wiley Online Library, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/aspp.12471. Professor in the Division of International Studies at Hanyang University. He has published widely on international energy politics and political/economic problems of resource-rich countries. He is the author and co-author of over 50 scholarly articles and monographs, and author or editor of 4 books, including “The US Shale Revolution and Russia (2015), Putin and Korea`s Silk Road Express: Russia`s Game on the Korean Peninsula (2014), “The New Great Game in Central Asia Post 2014: The US New Silk Road Strategy and Sino-Russian Rivalry” (2013). Kim previously taught at various colleges in the United States, such as DePauw University, Butler University, and Saint Mary’s College. He currently serves on the National Security Panel at East Asia Institute, Blank is a senior Fellow and resident Russia expert at the American Foreign Policy Council. Previously, he worked as a professor at the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, timm)

Sanctions introduced in 2014 with respect to the supply of military and dual‐use goods to Russia had a serious impact on the Russian defense‐industrial complex. Their effects began to be felt in 2015–2016 when Russian reserves and stocks became depleted, and when contracts signed with Western countries prior to the introduction of sanctions expired (Bitzinger & Popescu, 2017, p. 15). The U.S. Congress adopted the CAASTA in July 2017 and strengthened it in October 2017 with an extended list of more than 30 defense companies and their subsidiaries responsible for State defense orders (GOZ) fulfillment, such as Rostec, United Aircraft Corporation (OAK), Almaz‐Antey, Kalashnikov, and others. Sanctions now officially have the Military‐Industrial Commission (VPK) worried. Given that most of those supplies were jeopardized by the sanctions over the crisis in Ukraine, in July 2014, the import substitution program was approved by the country’s President Vladimir Putin. Moscow was swift to respond to sanctions through two industrial strategies. The first one is import substitution by local production (namely, the “Russification” of production) with the establishment of two import substitution programs in the defense sector—one for Ukraine and the other one for NATO and Western countries (Boulegue, 2018, February 14). The most well‐known example of the impact of sanctions on the implementation of Russian arms procurement programs is connected with Ukraine. The most difficult issue was the replacement of products and components from Ukraine, due to their large number, and also because of the Kiev government’s strict compliance with the ban on the supply of this category of goods to Russia. This concerns the use of gas turbine units for the construction of frigates such as Admiral Butakov, Admiral Istomin, Admiral Golovko, and Admiral Isakov. In these cases, the lack of gas turbines led to the suspension of the construction of four ships. The construction of these frigates cannot be completed at least until 2018 when the first Russian gas turbine is expected to be produced (Bitzinger & Popescu, 2017, p. 14). The Ukrainian ban on arms exports to Russia has caused shortages of helicopter engines and power supply units for naval ships. The sectors that have attracted particular attention in this regard are Russia’s production and maintenance of its ICBMs, space rockets, helicopter and aircraft engines, shipbuilding, ground armor, and ground missiles (Malmlöf, 2016, p. 12). The aggregate effect of the arms embargo on Russia was modest due to the fact that only a small proportion of Western arms exports go to Russia. The negative consequences of Western embargo were minimized by the fact that a relatively small number of Western‐made platforms was in use in the Russian army, as well as by the fact that several import substitution programs were initiated in Russia for various reasons long before the 2014 crisis (Bitzinger & Popescu, 2017, p. 15). Regarding Western companies’ direct involvement in the Russian armament program, the Mistral and Rheinmetall deals are the best‐known examples. The Rheinmetall contract to build a combat training center in the Volga region was officially canceled as early as August 2014 (Malmlöf, 2016, p. 16). The Mistral deal was also postponed. Western sanctions might have a much deeper and more long‐term impact. They might even become a threat to the technological modernization of the Russian defense industrial sector and, eventually, the national economy (Malmlöf, 2016, p. 17). The production of substituted machine‐tools and microelectronic components is what the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of the military industry Dmitry Rogozin called the two “Achilles’ heels” of the defense industry. Up to 90% of all electronic components in Russian arms may be of Western origin. It could take Russia five to six years or even longer to become self‐sufficient in this area. The Western export ban on machine tools will complicate Russia’s ambitions to modernize its production base. Russia’s own industry is unable to produce the machinery needed for building advanced modern arms systems and can barely meet 10% of demand (Malmlöf, 2016, p. 17).

#### **Non-unique – Russian sales increased by 15 billion to 100 countries**

**TASS 19** (3-12-19, TASS, “Russia exports more armaments than expected despite sanctions — Kremlin aide”, accessed 9-12-19, <https://tass.com/defense/993524>,

Western sanctions complicate sales of Russian armaments but Moscow is ready for work in challenging conditions and exports more military equipment to other countries than earlier planned, Russian presidential aide for military and technical cooperation Vladimir Kozhin said on Monday. Sanctions are "a serious challenge and a serious problem," "but we know how to deal with this," Kozhin said in an interview with Rossiya 24 TV channel. The experience of last year shows that Russia has been successfully working despite the sanctions, he noted. Russia’s plans on exporting armaments remain unchanged, Kozhin stressed. "This year their amount is about the same, but last year the portfolio of orders did not decline, it is about $45 bln, and new contracts have been signed **worth more than $16 bln**," he said. "At the same time, it is absolutely wrong to say that everything will be very easy," Kozhin said, slamming the experts’ claims that the sanctions are not affecting the arms trade. However, "the Soviet Union and then Russia have been living under sanctions since 1949, and all the time they have been aimed against the defense sector," he stressed. "So, we have the experience of our predecessors and today there are smart people, and we know what we are going to do and certainly we won’t just sit and wait what else they will invent and which sanctions they will impose. We are preparing for this and we are ready," Kozhin said. Diplomat points out many African countries eager to buy new Russian weapons "To our satisfaction and probably, to the dissatisfaction by the other side, I should say that most partners are very pragmatic and defend their national interests…Today, everyone has learned to defend their economic interests and their economic zones, and for that unfortunately, the weapons are needed which we offer to our partners," he said. The sanctions have not changed the destination of Russian armaments’ supplies and the Middle East, North Africa and Russia’s traditional partners India and China account for nearly 50% of exports, according to Kozhin. Russia is cooperating in military and technical sector with some 100 countries and last year new partners were added to the list of traditional partners, namely Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, Qatar and Bahrain. "So, the geography has expanded," Kozhin said.

**No nuclear war between U.S. and Russia – Moscow is weak and will backdown**

**Chornovil 18 (**Taras, 12/19, a Ukrainian political analyst and foreign relations expert, U.S.-Russia nuclear war unlikely as Moscow technically weak – expert, The Unian, https://www.unian.info/world/10379499-u-s-russia-nuclear-war-unlikely-as-moscow-technically-weak-expert.html, CK)

**It is unlikely that a nuclear war may begin between the United States and the Russian Federation, as Moscow is technically weak**. "Putin sees his every sortie he escapes punishment for as a weakness of the Western world and encouragement to escalate. Moscow has not fulfilled the terms of the agreement for a long time. It has created missile carriers uncontrollably, equipped them with nuclear warheads, stuffed Kaliningrad region with missiles, and now violates the agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, bringing carriers and, obviously, warheads into occupied Crimea. This is a critical threat to Europe, the European command of NATO and the geopolitical interests of the United States. Of course, the threat is growing for Ukraine," he said during an online Q&A session with the Ukrainian news outlet Glavred's readers. According to the political analyst, Russia previously had a more favorable economic climate, which allowed the Kremlin to secretly build up weapons. "**The bubble has burst, and now the United States is demonstrating its readiness to go back to the arms race**. The United States has a financial and economic 'fat,' while 'Putistan' has only skin and bones," the expert said. Chornovil added the situation was similar to that during the Cold War, when Reagan nudged the USSR into disintegrating. "With one thing that is different: Soviet and American missiles could have mutually destroyed both superpowers. And now all American missiles can reach Russia, and Russians only threaten Europe," he said. **The political analyst stressed there is no parity of nuclear weapons now, therefore only a "suicide killer may unleash a nuclear war."**

#### **Our thesis is that the collapse of capitalism is inevitable, it is a question of now or later: you should frame your decision through an anti-capitalist lens by centering the valorization of productivity that aff’s logic is founded upon.**

**Kuang 20** [Da Kuang and Changyi Huang are professors at the Huazhong University of Science and Technology, College of Marxism in Wuhan 430074, China. A Study of Marx’s Thought on the Speed of Capital Accumulation, Presented at the 2020 International Conference on Social Science, Economics and Education Research (SSEER 2020), Atlantic Press: Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research Volume 455, 8-22-21, amrita]

III. CONTEMPORARY ENLIGHTENMENT: **CAPITALISM IS BOUND TO DIE OUT IN THE LONG-TERM STAGNATION OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION** As we all know, Marx and Engels reached a most important scientific conclusion in the Manifesto of the Communist Party: **the death of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.** This is the famous “Two Necessities” principle of Marxism. If we study **Marx’s thought of the speed of capital accumulation, we will come to the conclusion that capitalism is bound to die out in the long-term stagnation of capital accumulation.** Wallerstein believes that **although the production for the purpose of pursuing profits has a history of thousands of years, this mode of production has never occupied a dominant position in these historical systems. Only capitalism regards the endless accumulation of profits as the fundamental feature of its own system**. Wallerstein pointed out that the capitalist system has been maintained for more than 500 years, and the fundamental policy of endless capital accumulation has been quite successful. However, **the historical stage based on this has come to an end, and the late capitalism is coming to an end.** Andrew Kleiman made **an empirical study on the change trend of American profit margin from 1929 to 2009. He believed that after the boom period of World War II, the capital profit margin of the whole economic system was indeed declining irreversibly.** Robert Brenner calculated the declining trend of manufacturing profit margin in the United States and Japan since the 1950s. Among them, **the average profit margin of manufacturing industry in the United States has more than doubled, and the average profit margin of manufacturing industry in Japan has more than tripled**. These empirical studies **confirm Marx’s idea that the rate of capital profit keeps falling and the rate of capital accumulation tends to stagnate.** The global financial crisis that broke out in 2007-2008 is the most serious crisis of capitalism since the great depression in the 1930s. **Although the crisis is presented in the form of finance, the underlying law is still “relative overproduction”, that is, trying to expand credit consumption to alleviate the contradiction between the expansion of production and the relative reduction of consumption capacity, accelerating the real estate and finance** The development of bubbles. But **this contradiction is only temporarily covered by bubbles, and after a long period of accumulation and fermentation, the crisis finally broke out**. After 10 years of evolution**, the capitalist world has not recovered from crisis and stagnation, but has expanded into a structural crisis of capitalism along the path of financial crisis → economic crisis → financial crisis → debt crisis.** At the same time, **contemporary capitalism also faces the absolute limit of capital accumulation caused by the crisis of population aging and ecological crisis**. According to statistics, in 2014, the total population of 28 countries in the EU was 508 million, of which 18.5% were aged over 65, 19.9% were aged between 50 and 64, and 38.4% were aged between 50 and 64. **The trend of population aging will inevitably lead to the extreme shortage of labor force, increase labor cost, and further reduce the profit margin of capital; and the ecological crisis will gradually become the same or even more serious problem as the economic crisis.** As the existing capital accumulation models all go bankrupt, **the speed of capital accumulation will inevitably further decline. The economic cycle theory of western mainstream economics interprets the capitalist economic crisis as a kind of normal economic fluctuation, and holds that capital can always overcome the crisis and stagnation, and then accelerate the accumulation again. This kind of circular movement, which only attributes capital accumulation to quantitative change, conceals a historical fact: the final result of the crisis and stagnation of capital accumulation is the qualitative change of capitalist ownership, which is an irreversible linear process**. Over the past 200 years, **the world economic crisis has occurred more than 20 times, some of which directly triggered the proletarian revolution**, some of which first broke out in war and then triggered the proletarian revolution. **For example,** the result of **the capitalist economic crisis in 1847 was the final explosion of the French Revolution in June;** The capitalist economic crisis of 1867-1868 first triggered the Franco Prussian War, and finally triggered the Paris Commune Revolution; the capitalist economic crisis of 1907-1908 first triggered the first World War, and finally triggered the October Revolution of Russia which opened a new era of human history in 1917; the capitalist economic crisis of 1929-1933 gave birth to the second World War, and finally the war As a result, Eastern European countries including East Germany, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and other countries, as well as China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Albania and other countries have embarked on the socialist road. **In addition to the proletarian socialist revolution caused by the economic crisis, the capitalist internal system of ownership has also made major adjustments in response to the economic crisis.** From individual private capital to stock system, this is the first adjustment of capitalist ownership; from stock system to monopoly, this is the second adjustment of capitalist ownership; from private stock monopoly to capitalist state monopoly, this is the third adjustment of capitalist ownership; from capitalist state monopoly to international monopoly, this is the fourth adjustment of capitalist ownership. As a result, the capitalist ownership of means of production is becoming more and more like public ownership rather than private ownership. It is getting further and further away from the original private ownership and closer to public ownership. It can be predicted **that capitalism will inevitably die out in the long-term stagnation of capital accumulation. The ultimate fate of capitalism is to be replaced** by socialism.

#### **The aff’s insidious attempts to replace welfare with wage labor reinforces the idealization and social control of “work ethic”. Myths of work allow governments to blame systemic poverty on the behavior of the poor. Valorization of work and notions that you can resist via unionization deflates proletariat unity by turning workers against non-workers.**

**Frayne 15** Frayne, David. The Refusal of Work: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Work . Zed Books, London (2015); 98-105; CE recut amrita

In The Problem With Work, Kathi Weeks explores the legacy of the work ethic in some detail, highlighting the ethic’s tremendous capacity for endurance and adaptation over the course of modern history (Weeks, 2011: Chapter 1). **In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was religion that demanded a life devoted to work**, but the religious element had largely withered away **by the nineteenth century,** where **it was** being replaced **by the promise of social mobility**: the promise that through the sweat of one’s brow, it might be possible to elevate the social status of oneself and one’s family. **By** the middle of **the twentieth century**, a different element had been foregrounded, as **work came to be idealised as a route to self actualisation and personal development**. As an ascetic ideal, the work ethic has displayed a remarkable staying presence, but no matter what its form, the behaviours which the ethic prescribes have remained consistent. In all its forms, **the work ethic has promoted ‘the identification with and systematic devotion to waged work, the elevation of work to the centre of life, and the affirmation of work as an end in itself** ’ (Weeks, 2011: 46). In today’s affluent societies, **holding down a job is still commonly heralded as a signal of independence, maturity and good character, and hard work continues to represent a proper way of living, and proof of a commitment to the prosperity of one’s nation.** If there are other ways to contribute and achieve, outside the realm of paid employment, then these are not nearly as well represented or widely recognised**. For evidence** of this, **we need only observe the aggressive return of the work ethic in the context of neoliberalism. The British prime minister**, David Cameron, came to power in 2010 **relentlessly stressing the government’s commitment to** ‘hardworking people’. In 2013 Cameron said: ‘We are **building a country for those who work** and want to get on. And we are saying to each and every hard-working person in our country: we are on your side … This is a government for hard-working people, and that’s the way it will stay’ (Huffington Post, 2013). Prior to this, Cameron had routinely depicted benefit claimants as wasters, ‘sitting on their sofas waiting for their benefits to arrive’ (Cameron, 2010). These references to ‘hardworking people’ were echoed in a speech delivered by the Chancellor George Osborne at the 2012 Conservative Party conference: ‘Where is the fairness, we ask, for the shift-worker, leaving home in the dark hours of the morning, who looks up at the closed blinds of their nextdoor neighbour sleeping off a life on benefits?’ (Jowitt, 2013). These repeated **references to diligent work** (defined always in terms of paid employment) **function to construct a rigid dichotomy in the public imagination. On one side of this dichotomy are those upstanding, hardworking citizens who help secure the country’s future, whilst on the other are those morally dubious unemployed people who do nothing**. Which are you? The sleeper or the employee, the shirker or the worker? Do you do something, or nothing**? This technique of splitting the population into binary opposites has long been used as a method of social discipline, whether we are talking about the mad versus the sane, the normal versus the abnormal, or the dangerous versus the harmless.** The New Economics Foundation has referred to this latest dichotomy as the binary of ‘strivers versus skivers’: **a cultural myth which perpetuates the idea that those who exist outside the moral clique of ‘the hardworking’ are undeserving, morally suspect and likely to be criminals** (Coote and Lyall, 2013). **Imogen Tyler refers to these attempts to discredit non-workers in terms of a ‘culturalisation of poverty’** (Tyler, 2013: 162). **In spite of the structural facts of mass unemployment and deepening social inequalities, issues such as poverty and worklessness continue to be framed by governments as cultural or behavioural issues. As the discussion on social class wanes, an appreciation of the structural causes of unemployment fades away and poverty becomes regarded as a deserved result of poor self-management**. Even in regions where the number of unemployed people significantly outweighs the number of available jobs, it is still maintained that were a person to present themselves a little better, put a little more effort in, or just believe in themselves, he or she could find work and climb out of poverty. Society’s poorest are regarded as those who have failed to make the right choices in life, or who have shown an unwillingness to grasp the opportunities that society has presented to them. **Financial poverty is blamed on a poverty of aspiration, and this continued foregrounding of cultural attitudes has allowed governments to ignore the structural causes of poverty and unemployment. In this new framing, society’s main enemies are no longer the structural pathologies of inequality, job scarcity and the dearth of attractive jobs, but the personal pathologies inherent in a so-called culture of laziness, entitlement and dependency. Aside from the personal misery and stigmatisation they cause, perhaps the biggest crime of these cultural explanations is that they keep society’s more structural or systemic issues off the table. Mass unemployment should give us occasion to question the efficacy of work as a basis for social inclusion and solidarity, but the discussion that is actually taking place is much more blinkered.** Not everybody will be convinced by the rhetoric of ‘strivers versus skivers’ of course, but its sheer ubiquity is cause enough for concern. The **stigmatisation of unemployed people is infectious**. Tabloid reports concerned with the wastage of public money seem almost uniformly obsessed with the comparatively minor cost of suspected benefit fraud. A benefits mythbuster published by Turn2Us (Turn2Us, 2012) suggested that the ‘welfare burden’ caused by UK unemployment has been grossly exaggerated. The report suggests that, contrary to popular opinion, public spending on welfare has stabilised since the economic crash of the year 2008/9, and was far lower in 2012 than it was in 1995, following the previous recession.1 There is notably less anger about the public funds spent on working tax credits (which compensate for miserly employers), the high rents that force many people to depend on housing benefit, or the criminally underpublicised problem of corporate tax evasion**. The media pumps out a torrent of disgust towards unemployed people**, who are typically portrayed as leading empty, morally rudderless lives. The case of Cait Reilly, unfolding in the UK over the course of 2012–13, offers a perfect example here, as a media event which brought the ‘striver versus skiver’ discourse to the fore. In 2012, the UK Coalition government attempted to tackle worklessness by forcing many benefit claimants to undertake periods of unpaid work. Under the rules of the new policy, Reilly, an unemployed geology graduate, was forced to leave a work experience placement in a museum, to instead work unwaged in a Poundland store. Reilly’s name hit the headlines after a lawyer heard about her story and volunteered to help establish a legal case against the government. The tabloid media exploded. Responding to the suggestion that Reilly’s forced labour was a violation of human rights, Jan Moir of the Daily Mail wrote: ‘It is hardly ten years’ imprisonment without charge in Guantanamo Bay. It is hardly like being incarcerated in a Nazi prisoner of war camp for five long years, never knowing each day if you would live or die’ (Moir, 2012). The Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, Iain Duncan Smith, joined the debate, labelling Reilly a ‘job snob’ and levelling a broader attack on those who defended her actions – a so-called ‘commenting elite’ who are unaware of their own intellectual conceit and sense of superiority (Holehouse, 2012). These bitter comments came just months after UK public sector workers conducted a mass strike in response to government proposals to modify pension schemes. Rather than reporting on the motivations for strike action, Tim Shipman, also reporting for the Daily Mail, belittled the cause by citing statistics which claimed that, on average, state workers get paid 7.5% more than private sector employees in the UK. He wrote that ‘[t]he findings are a blow to the credibility of union leaders who claim that public sector staff are hard done by’ (Shipman, 2011). These examples show us that the moral fence around the work ethic is not only high but also tremendously well-fortified**. Any worker who steps out of line is quickly targeted as a dangerous outsider and denied a political voice. The political significance of the rebellious act is muted by portraying the rebel as pathological, diverting public attention away from the political cause and on to the supposedly deviant psychology of the rebel: Resistance in this context is not explained as something related to the inequality of the capitalist labour process, but rather a matter of personal problems within the worker – a negative attitude, an inability to be a team player or shirking one’s duties. In other words, the contemporary pathologies of work are pushed onto employees themselves and are internalised as personal demeanours and characteristics that must be ‘worked through’ in team meetings, development assessment seminars and ‘self-help’ consumption in the private sphere**. (Fleming and Spicer, 2003: 174) In Cait Reilly’s case, commentators variously implied that Reilly was neurotic, weird, or suffered from an unhealthy sense of entitlement. Catch-all terms such as ‘job snob’ work in the same vein as older terms such as ‘hippy’, ‘wacko’ or ‘conspiracy theorist’, being deployed in order to discredit immediately any threat to orthodox ways of thinking. Another common media response to labour disputes is the deployment of the Could Be Worse argument. If Reilly thought she was hard done by, then it was said that she should be grateful not to be a captive prisoner of war. If the UK public sector workers who went on strike in 2012 believed that they were victims of injustice, then it was said that they should have considered those who were earning less, working in poorer conditions, or struggling to find work. By providing suggestive examples of situations that are worse than the insurgent’s, journalists once again peddle the message that it is individuals and their sense of entitlement that are at fault. **Whilst the moralisation of work** certainly **gains purchase through its ubiquity in the media, perhaps its real power derives from its installation in a suite of workfare policies designed to encourage benefit claimants out of the welfare system and into paid employment. If the moralisation of work is powerful as a cultural device, it takes on an uglier, more coercive guise when enshrined in a modern policy agenda. In the UK, the New Labour government arrived** in office in 1997, **resolving to ‘rebuild the welfare state around work’** (Department for Social Security, 1998), **and previously protected welfare claimants such as lone parents and people with disabilities were increasingly expected to seek employment**. **The legacy of workfare continued in the UK Coalition government’s ‘big bold plan to Get Britain Working’, which has since phased in a tightening set of conditions around who is entitled to claim benefits, along with an increasingly stringent set of audits and penalties for non-workers who fail to comply**.2 These tightening conditions represent less a helping hand for the citizen in need than a stranglehold. In order to avoid sanctions, the claimants to Jobseeker’s Allowance have been required to display a fully accountable commitment to job hunting, to accept offers of employment judged reasonable by Jobcentre Plus bureaucrats, and to attend job-seeker’s training programmes deemed likely to increase the chances of finding work. The critic Ivor Southwood argues that, given the known shortage of jobs in many areas, these activities often have a performative quality, forcing claimants to project a phoney display of positivity and enthusiasm for low-status work roles: ‘To refuse to go along with this performance and its mutual suspension of disbelief risks bringing the full weight of the institution down on the “customer”’ (Southwood, 2011: 46). Among the most troubling developments of the big bold plan was the controversial policy to force benefit claimants to complete compulsory periods of unpaid work. Also**, the Work Capability Assessment – a test undertaken by claimants with disabilities, to verify their eligibility for benefits – was handed over to the private company ATOS in 2011. Following the handover, a controversy unfolded based on credible allegations from public investigators, whistle-blowers and failed applicants, who claimed that the flawed methodology of the Work Capability test, coupled with a punitive auditing process, was strongly biased towards a rejection of benefit applications** (Franklin, 2013). **It is estimated that thousands of people have been declared erroneously ‘fit for work’ by a system which, instead of providing support, has aimed to cap the number of welfare recipients**.3 Whilst workfare policies have undergone a complex series of changes, their underpinning morality remains consistent: **paid employment is unambiguously promoted as the normal and superior state to which everybody should aspire. What all of this ultimately means is that although we have reached a point in history where a reduction and re-evaluation of work are urgently needed, powerful moral forces remain mobilised against the development of a genuinely open discussion. A range of personal, social and environmental crises give us strong occasion to question work’s function and importance in modern society, but the relentless moralisation of work is confining us to the usual circuits of thought. It is like a constant source of noise pollution – the equivalent to someone repeatedly flicking your earlobes when you are trying to think**. I will show the effects of this in Chapter 7, where we will see that **many of the non-workers I interviewed found it difficult to maintain conviction in their critical views inside this work-focused moral climate.** Like Cait Reilly and the public sector workers mentioned here, **they often found themselves stigmatised for their alternative views and actions. In a context where those who resist work are so readily disparaged, reviled and feared, it becomes increasingly difficult to foster an open-minded and intelligent debate on the future of work.**

#### **Rights based frameworks that posit unionization as the end all to all problems are part of the problem—consumption and work fuel each other cyclically. The proletariat must refuse the demand of work to refuse the demand of consumption.**

**Lafargue 83 [**Lafargue, Paul. *The Right To Be Lazy*. Charles Kerr and Co., Illinois (1883); Retrieved on March 23, 2010 from [www.marxists.org](http://www.marxists.org/archive/lafargue/1883/lazy/index.htm); <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy> amrita]

That the competition of man and the machine might have free course, the proletarians have abolished wise laws which limited the labor of the artisans of the ancient guilds; they have suppressed the holidays. [[9]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn9) Because the producers of that time worked but five days out of seven, are we to believe the stories told by lying economists that they lived on nothing but air and fresh water? Not so, they had leisure to taste the joys of earth, to make love and to frolic, to banquet joyously in honor of the jovial god of idleness. Gloomy England, immersed in protestantism, was then called “Merrie England.” Rabelais, Quevedo, Cervantes, and the unknown authors of the romances make our mouths water with their pictures of those monumental feasts [[10]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn10) with which the men of that time regaled themselves between two battles and two devastations, in which everything “went by the barrel” Jordaens and the Flemish School have told the story of these feasts in their delightful pictures. Where, O, where, are the sublime gargantuan stomachs of those days; where are the sublime brains encircling all human thought? We have indeed grown puny and degenerate. Embalmed beef, potatoes, doctored wine and Prussian schnaps, judiciously combined with compulsory labor have weakened our bodies and narrowed our minds. And the times when man cramps his stomach and the machine enlarges its out-put are the very times when the economists preach to us the Malthusian theory, the religion of abstinence and the dogma of work. Really it would be better to pluck out such tongues and throw them to the dogs. Because the working class, with its simple good faith, has allowed itself to be thus indoctrinated, because with its native impetuosity it has blindly hurled itself into work and abstinence, the capitalist class has found itself condemned to laziness and forced enjoyment, to unproductiveness and over consumption. But if the over-work of the laborer bruises his flesh and tortures his nerves, it is also fertile in griefs for the capitalist. The abstinence to which the productive class condemns itself obliges the capitalists to devote themselves to the over-consumption of the products turned out so riotously by the laborers. **At the beginning of capitalist production** a century or two ago, **the capitalist was a** steady **man of reasonable** and peaceable **habits.** He contented himself with one wife or thereabouts. **He drank only when** he was **thirsty and ate only when** he was **hungry**. He left to the lords and ladies of the court the noble virtues of debauchery. **Today** every son of the newly rich makes it incumbent upon himself to cultivate the disease for which quicksilver is a specific in order to justify the labors imposed upon the workmen in quicksilver mines; **every capitalist crams himself with capons stuffed with truffles and with** the choicest brands of **wine** in **order to encourage the breeders of** blooded **poultry and** the **growers of Bordelais**. In this occupation the organism rapidly becomes shattered, the hair falls out, the gums shrink away from the teeth, the body becomes deformed, the stomach obtrudes abnormally, respiration becomes difficult, the motions become labored, the joints become stiff, the fingers knotted. Others, too feeble in body to endure the fatigues of debauchery, but endowed with the bump of philanthropic discrimination, dry up their brains over political economy, or juridical philosophy in elaborating thick soporific books to employ the leisure hours of compositors and pressmen. The women of fashion live a life of martyrdom, in trying on and showing off the fairy-like toilets which the seamstresses die in making. They shift like shuttles from morning until night from one gown into another. For hours together they give up their hollow heads to the artists in hair, who at any cost insist on assuaging their passion for the construction of false chignons. Bound in their corsets, pinched in their boots, decollette to make a coal-miner blush, they whirl around the whole night through at their charity balls in order to pick up a few cents for poor people, — sanctified souls! **To fulfill his double social function of non-producer and over-consumer, the capitalist was** not only **obliged to violate his modest taste**, to lose his laborious habits of two centuries ago **and to give himself up to unbounded luxury**, spicy indigestibles and syphilitic debauches, but also to withdraw from productive labor an enormous mass of men in order to enlist them as his assistants. Here are a few figures to prove how colossal is this waste of productive forces. According to the census of 1861, the population of England and Wales comprised 20,066,244 persons, 9,776,259 male and 10,289,965 female. If we deduct those too old of too young to work, the unproductive women, boys and girls, then the “ideological professions”, such as governors, policemen, clergy, magistrates, soldiers, prostitutes, artists, scientists, etc., next the people exclusively occupied with eating the labor of others under the form of land-rent, interest, dividends, etc. ... there remains a total of eight million individuals of both sexes and of every age, including the capitalists who function in production, commerce, finance, etc. Out of these eight millions the figures run: “If we add together the textile workers and the miners, we obtain the figures of 2,208,442; if to the former we add the metal workers, we have a total of 1,039,605 persons; that is to say, in each case a number below that of the modern domestic slaves. Behold the magnificent result of the capitalist exploitation of machines.” [[11]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn11) To this class of domestics, the size of which indicates the stage attained by capitalist civilization, must still be added the enormous class of unfortunates devoted exclusively to satisfying the vain and expensive tastes of the rich dasses: diamond cutters, lace-makers, embroiderers, binders of luxurious books, seamstresses employed on expensive gowns decorators of villas, etc. [[12]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn12) Once settled down into absolute laziness and demoralized by enforced enjoyment, the capitalist class in spite of the injury involved in its new kind of life, adapted itself to it. Soon it began to look upon any change with horror. The sight of the miserable conditions of life resignedly accepted by the working class and the sight of the organic degradation engendered by the depraved passion for work increased its aversion for all compulsory labor and all restrictions of its pleasures. It is precisely at that time that, without taking into account the demoralization which the capitalist class had imposed upon itself as a social duty, the proletarians took it into their heads to inflict work on the capitalists Artless as they were, they took seriously the theories of work proclaimed by the economists and moralists, and girded up their loins to inflict the practice of these theories upon the capitalists. The proletariat hoisted the banner, “He who will not work Neither shall he Eat”. Lyons in 1831 rose up for bullets or work. The federated laborers of March 1871 called their uprising “The Revolution of Work”. To these outbreaks of barbarous fury destructive of all capitalist joy and laziness, the capitalists had no other answer than ferocious repression, but they know that if they have been able to repress these revolutionary explosions, they have not drowned in the blood of these gigantic massacres the absurd idea of the proletariat wishing to inflict work upon the idle and reputable classes, and it is to avert this misfortune that they surround themselves with guards, policemen, magistrates and jailors, supported in laborious unprodutiveness. **There is no more room for illusion as to the function of modern, armies. They are permanently maintained only to suppress the “enemy within”.** Thus the forts of Paris and Lyons have not been built to defend the city against the foreigner, but to crush it in case of revolt. And if an unanswerable example be called for, we mention the army of Belgium, that paradise of capitalism. Its neutrality is guaranteed by the European powers, and nevertheless its army is one of the strongest in proportion to its population. The glorious battlefields of the brave Belgian army are the plains of the Borinage and of Charleroi. It is in the blood of the unarmed miners and laborers that the Belgian officers temper their swords and win their epaulets. **The nations of Europe have not national armies but mercenary armies. They protect the capitalists against the popular fury** which would condemn them to ten hours of mining or spinning. Again, **while compressing its own stomach the working class has developed abnormally the stomach of the capitalist class, condemned to over-consumption**. For alleviation of its painful labor the capitalist class has withdrawn from the working class a mass of men far superior to those still devoted to useful production and has condemned them in their turn to unproductiveness and over-consumption. But this troop of useless mouths in spite of its insatiable voracity, does not suffice to consume all the goods which the laborers, brutalized by the dogma of work, produce like madmen, without wishing to consume them and without even thinking whether people will be found to consume them. **Confronted with this double madness of the laborers killing themselves with over-production and vegetating in abstinence, the great problem of capitalist production is no longer to find producers and to multiply their powers but to discover consumers, to excite their appetites and create in them fictitious needs.** Since the European laborers, shivering with cold and hunger, refuse to near the stuffs they weave, to drink the wines from the vineyards they tend, the poor **manufacturers** in their goodness of heart must **run to the ends of the earth to find people to wear the clothes and drink** the **wines:** Europe exports every year goods amounting to billions of dollars to the four corners of the earth, to nations that have no need of them. [[13]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn13) But the explored continents are no longer vast enough. Virgin countries are needed. European manufacturers dream night and day of Africa, of a lake in the Saharan desert, of a railroad to the Soudan. They anxiously follow the progress of Livingston, Stanley, Du Chaillu; they listen open-mouthed to the marvelous tales of these brave travelers. What unknown wonders are contained in the “dark continent”! Fields are sown with elephants’ teeth, rivers of cocoanut oil are dotted with gold, millions of backsides, as bare as the faces of Dufaure and Girardin, are awaiting cotton goods to teach them decency, and bottles of schnaps and bibles from which they may learn the virtues of civilization. But all to no purpose: the over-fed capitalist, the servant class greater in numbers than the productive class, the foreign and barbarous nations, gorged with European goods; nothing**, nothing can melt away the mountains of products heaped up higher and more enormous than the pyramids of Egypt. The productiveness of European laborers defies all consumption, all waste.** The manufacturers have lost their bearings and know not which way to turn. They can no longer find the raw material to satisfy the lawless depraved passion of their laborers for work. In our woolen districts dirty and half rotten rags are raveled out to use in making certain cloths sold under the name of renaissance, which have about the same durability as the promises made to voters. At Lyons, instead of leaving the silk fiber in its natural simplicity and suppleness, it is loaded down with mineral salts, which while increasing its weight, make it friable and far from durable. All our products are adulterated to aid in their sale and shorten their life. Our epoch will be called the “Age of adulteration” just as the first epochs of humanity received the names of “The Age of Stone”, “The Age of Bronze”, from the character of their production. Certain ignorant people accuse our pious manufacturers of fraud, while in reality the thought which animates them is to furnish work to their laborers, who cannot resign themselves to living with their arms folded. These adulterations, whose sole motive is a humanitarian sentiment, but which bring splendid profits to the manufacturers who practice them, if they are disastrous for the quality of the goods, if they are an inexhaustible source of waste in human labor, nevertheless prove the ingenuous philanthropy of the capitalists, and the horrible perversion of the laborers, who to gratify their vice for work oblige the manufacturers to stifle the cries of their conscience and to violate even the laws of commercial honesty. And **nevertheless, in spite of the over-production of goods, in spite of the adulterations in manufacturing, the laborers encumber the market in countless numbers imploring: Work!** Work! Their super abundance ought to compel them to bridle their passion; on the contrary it carries it to the point of paroxysm. **Let a chance for work present itself, thither they rush**; then they demand twelve, fourteen hours to glut their appetite for work, and the next day they are again thrown out on the pavement with no more food for their vice. Every year in all industries lockouts occur with the regularity of the seasons. Over-work, destructive of the organism, is succeeded by absolute rest during two or four months, and when work ceases the pittance ceases. Since the vice of work is diabolically attached to the heart of the laborers, since its requirements stifle all the other instincts of nature, since the quantity of work required by society is necessarily limited by consumption and by the supply of raw materials, why devour in six months the work of a whole year; why not distribute it uniformly over the twelve months and force every workingman to content himself with six or five hours a day throughout the year instead of getting indigestion from twelve hours during six months. Once assured of their daily portion of work, the laborers will no longer be jealous of each other, no longer fight to snatch away work from each other’s hands and bread from each other’s mouths, and then, not exhausted in body and mind, they will begin to practice the virtues of laziness. Brutalized by their vice, the laborers have been unable to rise to the conception of this fact, that to have work for all it is necessary to apportion it like water on a ship in distress. Meanwhile certain manufacturers in the name of capitalist exploitation have for a long time demanded a legal limitation of the work day. Before the commission of 1860 on professional education, one of the greatest manufacturers of Alsace, M. Bourcart of Guebwiller, declared: “The day of twelve hours is excessive and ought to be reduced to eleven, while work ought to be stopped at two o’clock on Saturday. I advise the adoption of this measure, although it may appear onerous at first sight. We have tried it in our industrial establishments for four years and find ourselves the better for it, while the average production, far from having diminished, has increased.” In his study of machines M.F. Passy quotes the following letter from a great Belgian manufacturer M. Ottevaere: “Our machines, although the same as those of the English spinning mills, do not produce what they ought to produce or what those same machines would produce in England, although the spinners there work two hours a day less. We all work two good hours too much. I am convinced that if we worked only eleven hours instead of thirteen we should have the same product and we should consequently produce more economically.” Again, M. Leroy Beaulieu affirms that it is a remark of a great Belgian manufacturer that the weeks in which a holiday falls result in a product not less than ordinary weeks. [[14]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn14) An aristocratic government has dared to do what a people, duped in their simplicity by the moralists, never dared. Despising the lofty and moral industrial considerations of the economists, who like the birds of ill omen, croaked that to reduce by one hour the work in factories was to decree the ruin of English industry, the government of England has forbidden by a law strictly enforced to work more than ten hours a day, and as before England remains the first industrial nation of the world. The experiment tried on so great a scale is on record; the experience of certain intelligent capitalists is on record. They prove beyond a doubt that to strengthen human production it is necessary to reduce the hours of labor and multiply the pay days and feast days, yet the French nation is not convinced. But if the miserable reduction of two hours has increased English production by almost one-third in ten years, what breathless speed would be given to French production by a legal limitation of the working day to three hours. **Cannot the laborers understand that by over-working themselves they exhaust their own strength and that of their progeny, that they are used up and long before their time come to be incapable of any work at ail, that absorbed and brutalized by this single vice they are no longer men but pieces of men, that they kill within themselves all beautiful faculties, to leave nothing alive and flourishing except the furious madness for work. Like Arcadian parrots, they repeat the lesson of the economist: “Let us work, let us work to increase the national wealth.”** O, idiots, it is because you work too much that the industrial equipment develops slowly. Stop braying and listen to an economist, no other than M.L.Reybaud, whom we were fortunate enough to lose a few months ago. “It is in general by the conditions of hand-work that the revolution in methods of labor is regulated. As long as handwork furnishes its services at a low price, it is lavished, while efforts are made to economize it when its services become more costly.” [[15]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn15) To force the capitalists to improve their machines of wood and iron it is necessary to raise wages and diminish the working hours of the machines of flesh and blood. Do you ask for proofs? They can be furnished by the hundreds. In spinning, the self-acting mule was invented and applied at Manchester because the spinners refused to work such long hours as before. In America the machine is invading all branches of farm production, from the making of butter to the weeding of wheat. Why, because the American, free and lazy, would prefer a thousand deaths to the bovine life of the French peasant. Plowing, so painful and so crippling to the laborer in our glorious France, is in the American West an agreeable open-air pastime, which he practices in a sitting posture, smoking his pipe nonchalantly.

#### **But capitalism can’t be saved. The short-term rejuvenation simply pushes back the long-term inevitable collapse which dooms us to death by climate change before the revolution can happen—this card is amazing and also preempts all their “cap solves climate change” answers.**

**Foster 18** [John Bellamy Foster, John Bellamy Foster is a professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and also editor of Monthly Review. He writes about political economy of capitalism and economic crisis, ecology and ecological crisis, and Marxist theory. “Making War on the Planet.” Monthly Review. September 1, 2018. <https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/> recut 8-22-2021 amrita]

**A short fuse is burning.** At the present rate of global emissions, the world is projected to reach the trillionth metric ton of cumulative carbon emissions, breaking the global carbon budget, in **less than two decades**.[1](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en1) This would usher in a period of dangerous climate change that **could well prove irreversible**, affecting the climate for centuries if not millennia. **Even if the entire world economy were to cease emitting carbon dioxide at the present moment**, the extra carbon already accumulated in the atmosphere virtually guarantees that **climate change will continue** with damaging effects to the human species and life in general. However, reaching the 2°C increase in global average temperature guardrail, associated with a level of carbon concentration in the environment of 450 ppm, would lead to **a qualitatively different condition**. At that point, climate feedbacks would increasingly come into play threatening to catapult global average temperatures to 3°C or 4°C above preindustrial levels within this century, in the lifetime of many individuals alive today. The situation is only made more serious by the emission of other greenhouse gases, including methane and nitrous oxide. The enormous dangers that **rapid climate change present to humanity as a whole**, and the inability of the existing capitalist political-economic structure to address them, symbolized by the presence of Donald Trump in the White House, have engendered a desperate search for technofixes in the form of schemes for geoengineering, defined as massive, deliberate human interventions to manipulate the entire climate or the planet as a whole. Not only is geoengineering now being enthusiastically pushed by today’s billionaire class, as represented by figures like Bill Gates and Richard Branson; by environmental organizations such as the Environmental Defense Fund and the Natural Resources Defense Council; by think tanks like the Breakthrough Institute and Climate Code Red; and by fossil-fuel corporations like Exxon Mobil and Shell—it is also being actively pursued by the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and Russia. The UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has incorporated negative emissions strategies based on geoengineering (in the form of Bio-energy with Carbon Capture and Storage, or BECCS) into nearly all of its climate models. Even some figures on the political left (where “accelerationist” ideas have recently taken hold in some quarters) have grabbed uncritically onto geoengineering as a deus ex machina—a way of defending an ecomodernist economic and technological strategy—as witnessed by a number of contributions to Jacobin magazine’s Summer 2017 Earth, Wind, and Fire issue.[2](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en2) If the Earth System is to avoid 450 ppm of carbon concentration in the atmosphere and is to return to the Holocene average of 350 ppm, some negative emissions by technological means, and hence geoengineering on at least a limited scale, will be required, according to leading climatologist James Hansen.[3](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en3) Hansen’s strategy, however, like most others, remains based on the current system, that is, it excludes the possibility of a full-scale ecological revolution, involving the self-mobilization of the population around production and consumption. What remains certain is that any attempt to implement geoengineering (even in the form of technological schemes for carbon removal) as the dominant strategy for addressing global warming, subordinated to the ends of capital accumulation, would prove fatal to humanity. The costs of such action, the burden it would put on future generations, and the dangers to living species, including our own, are so great that the only rational course is a long ecological revolution aimed at the most rapid possible reduction in carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions, coupled with an emphasis on agroecology and restoration of global ecosystems, including forests, to absorb carbon dioxide.[4](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en4) This would need to be accompanied by a far-reaching reconstitution of society at large, aimed at the reinstitution on a higher level of collective and egalitarian practices that were undermined by the rise of capitalism. Geoengineering the Planet Under the Regime of Fossil Capital Geoengineering as an idea dates back to the period of the first discoveries of rapid anthropogenic climate change. Beginning in the early 1960s, the Soviet Union’s (and at that time the world’s) leading climatologist, Mikhail Budyko, was the first to issue a number of warnings on the inevitably of accelerated global climate change in the case of industrial systems based on the burning of fossil fuels.[5](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en5) Although anthropogenic climate change had long been recognized, what was new was the discovery of major climate feedbacks such as the melting of Arctic ice and the disruption of the albedo effect as reflective white ice was replaced with blue seawater, increasing the amount of solar radiation absorbed by the planet and ratcheting up global average temperature. In 1974, Budyko offered, as a possible solution to climate change, the use of high-flying planes to release sulfur particles (forming sulfate aerosols) into the stratosphere. This was meant to mimic the role played by volcanic action in propelling sulfur into the atmosphere, thus creating a partial barrier, limiting incoming solar radiation. **The rationale he offered was that capitalist economies, in particular, would not be able to curtail capital-accumulation-based growth, energy use, and emissions, despite the danger to the climate**.[6](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en6) Consequently, technological alternatives to stabilize the climate would have to be explored. But it was not until 1977 when the Italian physicist Cesare Marchetti proposed a scheme for capturing carbon dioxide emissions from electrical power plants and using pipes to sequester them in the ocean depths that the word “geoengineering” itself was to appear.[7](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en7) Budyko’s pioneering proposal to use sulfur particles to block a part of the sun’s rays, now known as “stratospheric aerosol injection,” and Marchetti’s early notion of capturing and sequestering carbon in the ocean, stand for the two main general approaches to geoengineering—respectively, solar radiation management (SRM) and carbon dioxide removal (CDR). SRM is designed to limit the solar radiation reaching the earth. CDR seeks to capture and remove carbon to decrease the amount entering the atmosphere. Besides stratospheric aerosol injection, first proposed by Budyko, another approach to SRM that has gained influential adherents in recent years is marine cloud brightening. This would involve cooling the earth by modifying low-lying, stratocumulus clouds covering around a third of the ocean, making them more reflective. In the standard scenario, a special fleet of 1,500 unmanned, satellite-controlled ships would roam the ocean spraying submicron drops of seawater in the air, which would evaporate leaving salty residues. These bright salt particles would reflect incoming solar radiation. They would also act as cloud condensation nuclei, increasing the surface area of the clouds, with the result that more solar radiation would be reflected. Both stratospheric aerosol injection and marine cloud brightening are widely criticized as posing enormous hazards on top of climate change itself, while simply addressing the symptoms not the cause of climate change. Stratospheric aerosol injection—to be delivered to the stratosphere by means of hoses, cannons, balloons, or planes—would alter the global hydrological cycle with enormous unpredictable effects, likely leading to massive droughts in major regions of the planet. It is feared that it could shut down the Indian monsoon system disrupting agriculture for as many as 2 billion people.[8](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en8) There are also worries that it might affect photosynthesis and crop production over much of the globe.[9](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en9) The injection of sulfur particles into the atmosphere could contribute to depletion of the ozone layer.[10](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en10) Much of the extra sulfur would end up dropping to the earth, leading to acid rain.[11](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en11) **Most worrisome of all, stratospheric aerosol injection would have to be repeated year after year. At termination the rise in temperature associated with additional carbon buildup would come almost at once with world temperature conceivably rising by 2–3°C in a decade—a phenomenon referred to as the “termination problem.”**[12](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en12) As with stratospheric aerosol injection, **marine cloud brightening would drastically affect the hydrological cycle in unpredictable ways**. For example, it could generate a severe drought in the Amazon, drying up the world’s most vital terrestrial ecosystem with incalculable and catastrophic effects for Earth System stability.[13](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en13) Many of the dangers of cloud brightening are similar to those of stratospheric aerosol depletion. Like other forms of SRM, it would do nothing to stop ocean acidification caused by rising carbon dioxide levels. The first form of CDR to attract significant attention from economic interests and investors was the idea of fertilizing the ocean with iron, thereby boosting the growth of phytoplankton so as to promote greater ocean uptake of carbon. There have been a dozen experiments in this area and the difficulties attending this scheme have proven to be legion. The effects on the ecological cycles of phytoplankton, zooplankton, and a host of other marine species all the way up to whales at the top of the food chain are indeterminate. Although some parts of the ocean would become greener due to the additional iron, other parts would become bluer, more devoid of life, because they would be deprived of the nutrients—nitrate, phosphorus, and silica—needed for growth.[14](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en14) Evidence suggests that the vast portion of the carbon taken in by the ocean would stay on the surface or the intermediate levels of the ocean, with only a tiny part entering the ocean depths, where it would be naturally sequestered.[15](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en15) Among the various CDR schemas, it is BECCS, because of its promise of negative emissions, which today is attracting the most support. This is because it seems to allow nations to overshoot climate targets on the basis that the carbon can be removed from the atmosphere decades later. Although BECCS exists at present largely as an untested computer model, it is now incorporated into almost all climate models utilized by the IPCC.[16](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en16) As modeled, **BECCS would burn cultivated crops in order to generate electricity, with the capture and underground storage of the resulting carbon dioxide. In theory, since plant crops can be seen as carbon neutral—taking carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and then eventually releasing it again—BECCS, by burning biomass and then capturing and sequestering the resulting carbon emissions, would be a means of generating electricity while at the same time resulting in a net reduction of atmospheric carbon. BECCS, however, comes into question the moment one moves from the abstract to the concrete.** The IPCC’s median-level models are projected to remove 630 gigatons of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, around two thirds of the total emitted between the Industrial Revolution and 2011.[17](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en17) This would occur on vast crop plantations to be run by agribusiness. **To remove a trillion tons of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere as envisioned in the more ambitious scenarios would take up a land twice the size of India (or equal to Australia), about half as much land as currently farmed globally, requiring a supply of freshwater equal to current total global agricultural usage.**[18](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en18) The costs of implementing BECCS on the imagined scales have been estimated by climatologist James Hansen—who critically notes that negative emissions have “spread like a cancer” in the IPCC climate models—to be on the order of hundreds of trillions of dollars, with “minimal estimated costs” ranging as high as $570 trillion this century.[19](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en19) The effects of BECCS—used as a primary mechanism and designed to avoid confrontation with the present system of production—would therefore be a massive displacement of small farmers and global food production. Moreover, the notion that the forms of large-scale, commercial agricultural production presumed in BECCS models would be carbon neutral and would thus result in negative emissions with sequestration has been shown to be exaggerated or false when the larger effects on global land use are taken into account. BECCS crop cultivation is expected to take place on vast monoculture plantations, displacing other forms of land use. Yet, biologically diverse ecosystems have substantially higher rates of carbon sequestration in soil and biomass than does monocrop agriculture.[20](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en20) An alternative to BECCS in promoting carbon sequestration would be to promote massive, planetary ecological restoration, including reforestation, together with the promotion of agroecology modeled on traditional forms of agriculture organized around nutrient recycling and improved soil management methods.[21](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en21)This would avoid the metabolic rift associated with agribusiness monocultures, which are less efficient both in terms of food production per hectare and carbon sequestration. Another commonly advocated technofix, carbon capture and sequestration (CCS), is not strictly a form of geoengineering since it is directed at capturing and sequestering carbon emissions of particular electrical plants, such as coal-fired power plants. However, **the promotion of a CCS infrastructure on a planetary scale as a means of addressing climate change—thereby skirting the necessity of an ecological revolution in production and consumption—is best seen as a form of planetary geoengineering due to its immense projected economic and ecological scale**. Although CCS would theoretically allow the burning of fossil fuels from electrical power plants with no carbon emissions into the atmosphere, **the scale and the costs of CCS operations are prohibitive.** As Clive Hamilton writes in Earthmasters: The Dawn of the Age of Climate Engineering, CCS for a single “standard-sized 1,000 megawatt coal-fired plant….would need 30 kilometers of air-sucking machinery and six chemical plants, with a footprint of 6 square kilometers.”[22](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en22) Energy expert Vaclav Smil has calculated that, “in order to sequester just a fifth of current [2010] CO2 emissions we would have to create an entirely new worldwide absorption-gathering-compression-transportation-storage industry whose annual throughput would have to be about 70 percent larger than the annual volume now handled by the global crude oil industry, whose immense infrastructure of wells, pipelines, compressor stations and storage took generations to build.”[23](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en23) **Capturing and sequestering current U.S. carbon dioxide emissions would require 130 billion tons of water per year, equal to about half the annual flow of the Columbia River. This new gigantic infrastructure would be placed on top of the current fossil fuel infrastructure—all in order to allow for the continued burning of fossil fuels**.[24](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en24) A Planetary Precautionary Principle for the Anthropocene If today’s planetary ecological emergency is a product of centuries of war on the planet as a mechanism of capital accumulation, fossil-capital generated geoengineering schemes can be seen as gargantuan projects for keeping the system going by **carrying this war to its ultimate level**. Geoengineering under the present regime of accumulation has **the sole objective of keeping the status quo intact**—neither disturbing the dominant relations of capitalist production nor even seeking so much as to overturn the fossil-fuel industry with which capital is deeply intertwined. Profits, production, and overcoming energy poverty in the poorer parts of the world thus become justifications for keeping the present fossil-capital system going, **maintaining at all cost the existing capitalist environmental regime.** The Promethean mentality behind this is well captured by a question that Rex Tillerson then CEO of Exxon Mobil Corporation asked—without a trace of irony—at an annual shareholders meeting in 2013: “What good is it to save the planet if humanity suffers?”[25](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en25) The whole history of ecological crisis leading up the present planetary emergency, punctuated by numerous disasters—from the near total destruction of the ozone layer, to nutrient loading and the spread of dead zones in the ocean, to climate change itself—serves to highlight the **march of folly associated with any attempt to engineer the entire planet**. The complexity of the Earth System guarantees that enormous unforeseen consequences would emerge. As Frederick Engels warned in the nineteenth century, “Let us not…flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victories over nature. **For each such victory nature takes its revenge on us**. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first.”[26](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en26) In the face of uncertainty, coupled with an extremely high likelihood of inflicting incalculable harm on the Earth System, it is essential to invoke what is known as the Precautionary Principle whenever the question of planetary geoengineering is raised. As ecological economist Paul Burkett has explained, the strong version of the Precautionary Principle, necessarily encompasses the following: (1) The Precautionary Principle Proper, which says that if an action may cause serious harm, there is a case for counteracting measures to ensure that the action does not take place. (2) The Principle of Reverse Onus, under which it is the responsibility of those supporting an action to show that it is not seriously harmful, thereby shifting the burden of proof off those potentially harmed by the action (e.g. the general population and other species occupying the environment). In short, it is safety, rather than potential harm, that needs to be demonstrated. (3) The Principle of Alternative Assessment, stipulating that no potentially harmful action will be undertaken if there are alternative actions available that safely achieve the same goals as the action proposed. (4) All societal deliberations bearing on the application of features 1 through 3 must be open, informed, and democratic, and must include all affected parties.[27](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en27) It is clear that geoengineering promoted in a context of a capitalist regime of maximum accumulation would be ruled out completely by a strong Precautionary Principle based on each of the criteria listed above. There is a near certainty of extreme damage to the human species as a whole arising from all of the major geoengineering proposals. If the onus were placed on status quo proponents of capitalist geoengineering to demonstrate that great harm to the planet as a place of human habitation would not be inflicted, such proposals would fail the test. Since the alternative of not burning fossil fuels and promoting alternative forms of energy is entirely feasible, while planetary geoengineering carries with it immense added dangers for the Earth System as a whole, such a technofix as a primary means of checking global warming would be excluded by that criterion, too. Finally, geoengineering under the present economic and social system invariably involves some entity from the power structure—a single multi-billionaire, a corporation, a government, or an international organization—implementing such action ostensibly on behalf of humanity as a whole, while leaving most affected parties worldwide out of the decision-making process, with hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, of people paying the environmental costs, often with their lives. In short, geoengineering, particularly if subordinated to the capital accumulation process, violates the most sacred version of the Precautionary Principle, dating back to antiquity: First Do No Harm. **Eco-Revolution as the Only Alternative** As an extension of the current war on the planet, a regime of climate geoengineering designed to keep the present mode of production going is sharply opposed to the view enunciated by Barry Commoner in 1992 in Making Peace with the Planet, where he wrote: “If the environment is polluted and the economy is sick, **the virus that causes both will be found in the system of production**.”[28](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en28) There can be no doubt today that it is the present mode of production, particularly the system of fossil capital, that needs to change on a global scale. **In order to stop climate change, the world economy must quickly shift to zero net carbon dioxide emissions.** This is well within reach with a concerted effort by human society as a whole utilizing already existing sustainable technological means—particularly when coupled with necessary changes in social organization to reduce the colossal waste of resources and lives that is built into the current alienated system of production. Such changes could not simply be implemented from the top by elites, but rather would require the self-mobilization of the population, inspired by the revolutionary actions of youth aimed at egalitarian, ecological, collective, and socialized solutions—recognizing that it is the world that they will inherit that is most at stake. Today’s necessary ecological revolution would include for starters: (1) **an emergency moratorium on economic growth** in the rich countries coupled with downward redistribution of income and wealth; (2) radical reductions in greenhouse gas emissions; (3) rapid phase-out of the entire fossil fuel energy structure; (4) substitution of an alternative energy infrastructure based on sustainable alternatives such as solar and wind power and rooted in local control; (5) massive cuts in military spending with the freed-up economic surplus to be used for ecological conversion; (6) promotion of circular economies and zero-waste systems to decrease the throughput of energy and resources; (7) building effective public transportation, together with measures to decrease dependence on the private automobile; (8) restoration of global ecosystems in line with local, including indigenous, communities; (9) transformation of destructive, energy-and chemical-intensive agribusiness-monocultural production into agroecology, based on sustainable small farms and peasant cultivation with their greater productivity of food per acre; (10) institution of strong controls on the emission of toxic chemicals; (11) prohibition of the privatization of freshwater resources; (12) imposition of strong, human-community-based management of the ocean commons geared to sustainability; (13) institution of dramatic new measures to protect endangered species; (14) strict limits imposed on excessive and destructive consumer marketing by corporations; (15) reorganization of production to break down current commodity chains geared to rapacious accumulation and the philosophy of après moi le déluge; and (16) the development of more rational, equitable, less wasteful, and more collective forms of production.[29](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en29) Priority in such an eco-revolution would need to be given to the fastest imaginable elimination of fossil fuel emissions, but this would in turn require fundamental changes in the human relationship to the earth and in the relationship of human beings to each other. A new emphasis would have to be placed on sustainable human development and the creation of an organic system of social metabolic reproduction. Centuries of exploitation and expropriation, including divisions on the basis of class, gender, race, and ethnicity, would have to be transcended. The historical logic posed by current conditions thus points to the necessity of a long ecological revolution, putting into place a new system of sustainable human development aimed at addressing the totality of needs of human beings as both natural and social beings: what is now called ecosocialism.

#### **Endorse a dictatorship of the proletariat. Global capitalism’s inequities can only be fully purged once its intrinsic contradictions expose themselves and allow for the collapse of the bourgeoisie state. A dictatorship is required to solidify our transition to communism and is why you should reject any perm that attempts to preserve the state apparatus.**

**Revolution 73** Proletarian Dictatorship Vs. Bourgeois “Democracy”; Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line; Revolution; May 1973; Edited by Paul Saba; <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/pd-v-bd.htm>; CE recut amrita

**This situation can only be reversed by socialist revolution to overthrow capitalist rule.** The first task of this revolution is to smash the power of the bourgeois state through the armed might of the workers and their allies. **The bourgeoisie and its armed forces are disarmed. The political structure and the courts and bureaucracies of the bourgeois state–and all its rules and regulations aimed at enslaving the people–are abolished. Once in power the working class moves to socialize the ownership of the means of production-**making them the common property of society–to resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism, to break down the obstacles capitalism puts in the way of progress, and makes possible the rapid development of society. Socialism is a higher form of society than capitalism, and is bound to replace it all over the world, just as capitalism replaced the feudal system of landlords and serfs. **In the process of socialist revolution the working class and its allies builds up their own state machine, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers are armed and organized into people’s militias and armed forces. The capitalists and their enforcers are punished for their crimes against the people. This dictatorship imposed by the working class on the former exploiters and over new capitalist elements who arise under socialism is absolutely necessary in order to crush their resistance and prevent them from wrecking socialism and restoring their rule.** Although this country’s capitalists like to point to the Soviet Union today and say, “This is what communism means,” **the dictatorship of the proletariat is not what exists in the Soviet Union** today. The working class was once in power in the Soviet Union and was building a powerful socialist society which was the bright hope of workers around the world. But the capitalist class was able to stage a comeback, when a new bourgeoisie seized power in the mid-’50s and turned the Soviet Union back from a socialist country to a capitalist country. Today **the Soviet Union, as well as Cuba and most Eastern European countries** under its thumb, **are examples of bourgeois dictatorships. They disguise themselves as socialist countries where the working class rules, but in reality a new capitalist class rules and enforces its strict dictatorship over the working class.** The dramatic events in China since the death of Mao Tsetung and the arrest of those most closely associated with him are signs of the fact that a new bourgeoisie has seized the reins in China and is attempting to steer this country, too, down the capitalist road. **The dictatorship of the proletariat is qualitatively different from the bourgeois state that exists in the U.S. and the Soviet Union and other capitalist countries. Its purpose is not to enforce exploitation and the rule of a tiny minority. The proletarian state for the first time in history means the rule of the majority, the working class, allied with all of the oppressed.** At the same time that there is a dictatorship over the former capitalist exploiters there is the unparalleled extension of real democracy for those oppressed by capitalism–the working people. **The proletarian state is a million times more democratic than even the most democratic capitalist state. No longer do a handful of parasites run society for their own private profit and the working class sets out to transform all of society. To accomplish this the government is set up and run by workers, and the press, television stations, schools, etc., which the capitalists use to mold public opinion and shore up their rule, are stripped from them and become the common property of the working class and the masses of people.** Since the working class and the socialist society built under its leadership represent the interests of the great majority of society, the workers openly proclaim their rule and openly dictate to their former exploiters and tormentors. **The rule of the working class cannot be exercised by deceiving the masses of people, but only by their active involvement in every part of the political life of society and raising their political consciousness.** But **socialism is not a Utopia. It replaces capitalism, but cannot do away in one stroke with the inequalities, the old selfish ideas and the remnants of capitalism. Socialism itself is only the lower stage and transition to a still higher form of society, communism, where there will no longer be any classes, and, therefore, there will no longer be any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.** During this entire transition period, the working class must maintain and strengthen its rule over the former exploiters and the new bourgeois elements that arise under socialism, prevent them from subverting the new society and restoring the old, and overcome the remaining influences of their dog-eat-dog, “look out for number one” philosophy. **When everyone in society can share equally in mental and manual work, in producing goods and services and managing the affairs of society; when the outlook of the working class, putting the common good above narrow, individual interests, has become “second nature” to members of society; when goods and services can be produced so abundantly that money is no longer needed to exchange them and they can be distributed to people solely according to their needs; then society will have reached the stage of communism. Classes will have been completely eliminated, and the state as such will be replaced by the common administration of society by all its members.** As this happens, throughout the world, mankind will have scaled a great mountain and will look out on a whole new horizon. The experience of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin and the People’s Republic of China during the lifetime of Mao Tsetung, has shown that **the working class can overthrow the exploiters and run society in the interests of the masses of people**. The fact that the rule of the working class was overthrown in the Soviet Union and now temporarily in China also shows how stubborn the class struggle is under socialism and the need for the proletarian dictatorship to be maintained. Communism will show that the people can do away completely and forever with the institutions and influences of capitalism and all other forms of class society. Karl Marx, founder of communist philosophy and of the revolutionary workers movement, wrote, “The existence of classes is only bound up with particular phases in the development of production . . . the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . [and] this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of classes and to a classless society. ”