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## Left is dead, *-again-*

Group for Social Anarchism “Black & Red”

July 12, 2015

The referendum’s outcome leaves the government exposed against people’s will. There is a question openly put: what is the new social condition on which the new, left- wing party’s memorandum will be based? The answer is obvious even for the ignorant ones, the ones who voted for “yes”. What social class interests are served by this “yes” party? This is also widely known. The upper class’s interests. Hence, the political restoration of the upper class and the surveillance of its ideology will not be carried out by the traitors, who played a rather “preventive” than dynamic role, (except for the coup Tzimeros posted on facebook), but through the overall assimilation of SYRIZA within the upper class bloc, and this is exactly what is happening in front of us.

Of course, the issue here is not merely the “left” government itself, but the dominance of the bourgeoisie- capitalist ideology on the massive blocs of people who defied and smashed the fear and terrorism of the capitalists. SYRIZA will be the bridge of communication, meaning the political representative, between capitalists and “no” voters, because it’s the only political power who has access on these social classes and can influence them. SYRIZA is the “Trojan horse” for the subjugation of the collec-

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tive resistance of the oppressed masses, which is turned into an affirmation in front of the local and international capitalists' orders.

But let's not kid ourselves. The referendum was not held in order to play a key role outside the country, but in order to be a possible ornament of "democratic reassurance" in Tsipras's negotiation agenda. The only use the referendum was headed for, was lying rigidly inside the country, and this was well known not only among the various political powers, but also to us.

SYRIZA government handled it in the following way: with "no" it puts the political personnel of the traditional bourgeois parties in a tight spot and deprives them of the capability to make any "criticism" on the execution of a new memorandum, as they fully support its unconditional acceptance. At the same time, they ensure the well expected concurrence of the opposing party on the configuration of a "national strategy" which is politically managed by the government. Simultaneously, they deceive people creating an impression of "democracy", and they come up with new excuses for the members of the party's mechanism. The bourgeoisie back up abandoning the dilemma "euro or drachma" which they posed before the referendum, as the government has turned the meaning of "no" into "no clash with Europe".

One step backwards, three steps forward for capitalists. Finally the bourgeoisie can stand back on their feet again. SYRIZA has played a major role: It attempted to renew the social legitimization of institutions and intercept fiercely the social reaction, to bring social peace right in the middle of the worst social crisis which bursts out even worse for those oppressed, while a third three-year-long memorandum is at hand. The king is naked, the ghost of the left wing becomes history as it is: a delusion. And so people stand wondering if there's any chance at all to hold on to.

Yet, there is another more meaningful use of the referendum on the government's side, the use of it as a "reassurance

of democracy”. This can of course be used not only to bring upon a possible clash with the E.U. and lead to an exit from euro, but also to sustain Syriza’s new argument about a peculiar “European- german coup”. Taking the so-called coup and the government’s inability to face it for granted, (the truth is that it doesn’t even want to face it), the conditions of the new governance on the grounds of a “left” memorandum are fully starting to take shape. This governance will regurgitate again and again the following: “a denial of a new memorandum is not possible, meaning the further and harsher depreciation of labor and the life of the lower classes, but a left government is better because it can manage more effectively issues like corruption, tax evasion, mass media control e.c.t. ” We answer: these are bullshit that all the alter egos of the previous governments, which are now fully exonerated, spit over and over again. The whole process, including the spectacular memorandum and all the other bravados on the side of the government had one and only purpose which is crucial for every one oppressed to put in mind: to make SYRIZA the leader of the bourgeoisie, at the expense of the rest of the traditional political forces whose power on the masses had started wearing off. Having in mind that SYRIZA-AN.EL government has fully joined up the memorandum wing, the dilemma “memorandum or against memorandum ” which brought SYRIZA on power collapses completely because of the victorious sovereignty of those who always called the shots: capitalists.

There has never been a memorandum supported by 251 parliament votes. These so many “yes” are completely incompatible with 3.358.450 “no”. The reward for this unprecedented treachery of the left for the sake of capitalism belongs to SYRIZA who, in this way, becomes the “helmsman” of capitalists’ political triangulation. So far so good. However, the class exploitation, which SYRIZA tries to mitigate desperately but theoretically, will forcefully escalate due to the social reality very soon. Furthermore, the extent of the treachery can be

fully comprehended if we consider the fact that even those rats of the Greek Workers General Confederation are once and for all smashed because of their public statement about the referendum. How will these “institutional representatives of the working class” call 24 hour strikes, when at the same time they are willing to give up everything at the earliest opportunity?

However, in order not to be blamed for being out of touch with reality, let's say this: what the governmental advocates call “European coup” is nothing else but the obvious aspiration of the international capitalists to go on unhindered and without the least retreat with its full consummation. Simultaneously, the hard core attitude of the E.U. exposes in the most decisive way the ridiculousness of the suggestion for a Europe in favor of its people. Facing this reality, the left government management will either prove its foolishness and hence its dangerousness, in case they pretend they weren't aware of the obvious truth that the E.U. institution was inspired in order to subdue massively the European peoples (as all the international political commissions which serve the capitalist ethics), or her mastery in political deceit, in case they were aware of it while at the same time they made promises about applying the “Thessaloniki agenda”, “tearing up memorandums”, and “sublime patriotic denials” through a referendum.

This is the point of view from which we must analyze separately why the german commissioners might consider that they ensure their European leadership even in the case of a Grexit, when at the same time this was out of the question for the Greek left government. The tricks proved fake when after 5 months as a government, SYRIZA and ANEL paid over 7 billion euros for interest at IMF, an amount which could be handled differently in case of a Grexit.

Therefore, there is no one to declare a collective no. There is no one except for the greek people who we resort to. Some will say that due to the government's use of the referendum

of the governmental negotiation. Nevertheless, remaining into E.U. and the euro creates the impression that class war is feeble because it takes place within a set of conditions that do not indicate any sign of change for the lower social classes. A crack, an intense concussion at the structure of capitalist integration of E.U. is what the revolutionary movement needs to do at this time in order to venture new paths. And this is not something insignificant. We are not afraid of difficulties. We must detect anything we think that can bring us closer to social revolution, anarchy and liberal communism. The attempt to be the first to unpick the European structure of hate, which we know it will never reform in favor of the Europeans, is a suggestion that can be held within the revolutionary perspective. However, this perspective will be clearly belligerent if it is not framed by an internationalist spirit, which will defy structurally left's patriotism and right's nationalism, and fight for the fracture of national unity, without double talk and fuzzy national-liberating bravados, which will be inspired by an anti-state anti-fascism with clear-cut class war characteristics. The intensification of the above processes the next period is the necessary prerequisite to achieve the overthrow of all governments, and establish the revolutionary board management on all occupied factories, social structures, public meetings, horizontally structured unions of workers and unemployed.

'Order reigns in Berlin!' You stupid henchmen!  
Your 'order' is built on sand. Tomorrow the  
revolution will already 'raise itself with a rattle'  
and announce with fanfare, to your terror: I was, I  
am, I will be!

Taken from Rosa Luxemburg's «Order reigns in Berlin», a revolutionary figure who was executed by a social-democratic government

(or its non-use at all), this was also meaningless for the people. They are wrong. No matter what means are used, no matter how the "memorandum wing" (meaning the political realization of capital's assault on labor) is now stronger than ever, no one will ever manage to persuade millions of oppressed people who resisted or resisted more consistently than July 4<sup>th</sup> of 2015 skipped immediately into the events of July 6<sup>th</sup>. No mechanism, however strong it might be, can persuade easily the social majority that this was all a delusion. On the contrary, although the referendum's "no" reversed highly the fear and terror unleashed by capitalists, their institutions and mass media propaganda, today it comes to integrate a negation towards the government itself, whose attitude proves plainly that when authorities say "no" they imply "maybe" but in the end they always apply "yes".

No government can ever have a positive impact on its people by its very nature, because its existing precondition is the enslavement of people by quitclaiming their right to decide for themselves. No one can decide for us, without us, what is best for the community. Every government will always be the embodiment of authoritarian tactics, corruption and tyranny. Today is the turn of the "great left leader" A. Tsipras to ascertain in the most brash way what Mr. Samaras, Papadimos and Papandreou came up with, meaning nothing more than that what people need "for their own benefit" is a new memorandum, so that the noose of a new loan can further throttle people.

Furthermore we are in the middle of a paradox: although the stakes of the referendum were high because of our denial to voluntarily consent to a condition of enslavement, at the same time occurred to an extent what anarchists have been declaring for ages now: not even the guise of democracy is ensured in liberal democracy. What constitutes the paradox is that a large section of society realized the futility of voting through ... the vote itself (especially when the government will deal with the outcome at will). Let's put it this way: those who consciously

abstained from the voting process feel “vindicated” and spit at the government, those who voted for “no” posing a more collective disavowal either feel “disgusted”, either (wrongly) “betrayed” and also spit at the government’s face. So here there appears to be a ground which provides the appropriate conditions for the anarchist, antiauthoritarian and non-institutional ideologies to develop as far as their impact on the masses is concerned.

Before we discuss something of more importance let us give an answer to some childish absurdities which illustrate the demagoguery of the government’s mechanism of the so-called “radical left” deployed once again. But before exploring the depth of the issue, we must say how sorry we are for those whose naivety and stupidity, along with a bunch of delusions and obsessions for a “left management”, makes them nothing more than timorous bourgeoisie who look desperately for hope. But this observation, of course, does not mean that they are not really a threat. We will juxtapose on this a crucial argument. They claim that a left memorandum is preferable because the measures that go along with the loan agreement put the burden on the big capital. So, before we laugh our hearts out on these matters, let us start from the minor issues: this does not hold any water because there are measures that affect directly the lower classes, meaning: VAT raise, abolition of early retirement, expansion of retirement’s age boundaries, raise on Agricultural Insurance Organization’s incomes, clause of entrepreneurship gap on insurance funds, raise on health incomes, sellout of public wealth, open stores on Sundays e.c.t. Even those who do not analyze it a lot could notice that all these are more than enough to contradict the argument about who the burden is on, but for us it is not enough at all, because we must indicate this disgrace on its full dimension.

Even if we take into consideration those measures which are going to “burden capitalists”, who can prevent those same capitalists from decreasing labor cost on private sector and lower

role on this occasion, but we must be careful. We must absolutely not fall behind the possible state’s concessions. Besides, it is a basic principle of the revolutionary struggle that when current events make assertions collective, we must not reset them on being sparse.

Nevertheless, this procedure of establishing structures must not be left without a coherent political suggestion, which will take into consideration the social reality, bearing always in mind its subversion. The overthrow of the E.U. and the eurozone by a radical and liberated movement of Europeans, seems more than ever the only way in order to both deepen the struggle with the bourgeoisie class and shape gradually- and only if we fight against capital- the conditions for the survival of the lower classes and the improvement of their life quality. But we must point out that, not by any means, “Greece’s possible decommitment from the eurozone”( a suggestion that even from the point of view of terminology underlines a patriotic disposition), is not alone a self-contained “anti-imperialistic action”, a “progressive- democratic attitude” or “a liberal movement”, or, anyway, anything else bothers the extra-parliamentary left. The society that will eventually be shaped after a “decommitment” will be at its worst, if we take into consideration that the well-known decommitment will not necessarily come along with revolutionary conditions, but it is more possible to come with the vision of the national growth, within the limits of a national economy, run by an already out-of-control national capital which will continue to suppress labor forces in order to win more competitive market positions, and make up for the losses, which are the outcome of its devaluation on the international map of labor- exploitation allocation.

And of course national capital will not be left alone, but it will get all the support it needs from both an overprotective state and the well-known mafia of oligarchs along with a mob of bourgeois nationalists strolling around with the helmets that were left behind during the spontaneous movement in favor

SYRIZA is not of this kind. If it was, it could never gather the necessary electoral patronage in order to govern during a bourgeois democracy era. But even this patronage will eventually stop buying from a store which cannot satisfy its hunger anymore. In this case, the king will not be merely naked, but dead and gone.

But such persistent and hard work cannot be carried out without us: the movement which thinks that the only feasible perspective is that people handle their own business. What would be of utter use is us having a plan in order to reverse the potential in favor of the revolution.

So, what is necessary, is to deepen our judgment and update our means of action by resharpening our interpretative and theoretical tools, without putting anarchism, anarchist ethic, aside as it is the wealth from which we can learn to earn possibilities.

Before anything else, we must reconsider our attitude toward the exploited class. During a time when ears are wide open and people question more and more things around them, the society's denouncing approach and the exorcism of a reality with the enemy's endless atm lines will not be of any use. Besides, the symbolic smashing of the exploitation front was brought upon by the anarchist movement some years ago through its contribution to the social uprising on December 2008. Now we have to win on the whole. In order for this to happen, it will be more effective if we boost human dignity by turning it into a revolting conscience, if we try to outreach reality by rearranging its structural properties. This could happen if the repressed subjects themselves coordinated, legislated politically and economically the social needs. Our squats, our unions, our meetings, our current structures and the ones we will establish, must aim at getting disengaged from the- almost especially private- "anarchist cycles" and develop as public and social laboratories of social solidarity and coherence having always in mind the the overall clash with state and capitalism. Social self-reduction actions could possibly play a supportive

wages in order to balance "the taxing damage". The answer is obvious! Nobody can and nobody will as long as there is no labor legislation, which is the exact reason why all these were set up in order to further degrade labor and life in general. At this point, let us bring in mind the magic of the situation. Even if the taxing incomes from greek capitalists returned through state benefits to the workers as wage raises on public domain, then what we would have is the resurrection of an old ghost, meaning the welfare state. However, whatever incomes may be reserved from the so-called "capitalists' taxing" and the raise of luxury tax end up to the IMF and European capitalists. And this is roughly the use of "debt" which is nothing more than a blackmailing tactic, which ensures the disorientation of labor and the unhindered capitalist fulfilment. Hence, not only do these measures not burden capitalists, but also oppress multiply the lower class.

The third memorandum will be even worse than the previous ones. Neither does it take to be a valid ideologist who highlights that "neither right or left, bosses are the same" to find that, nor to analyze one by one the measures and compare them to the previous ones as if one is a desperate victim of SYRIZA youth who tries to cover up whatever they can from this manifest of social genocide. It just takes to be a worker or unemployed who has already been severely affected by the previous two memorandums' consequences, and now the current left government asks them to tighten their belts. Well, this is out of the question. And this is what we, the anarchist movement, must grasp in order to reorganize the social dynamics and strike in a victorious spirit the unified bourgeois bloc which is now under a left leadership.

At this point let us make a historical and philosophical reference. It's worth mentioning that there's an imminent danger. History proves that whenever the traditional left collapsed (weather Stalinist or reformist) its share of the blame addressed to all the forces of social liberation, as masses cannot perceive

the clear cut boundaries between anarchists and left. We should bear this in mind and not allow the disintegration of the left ( it is quite possible that SYRIZA turns fast into a traditional centrist bourgeoisie structure) to drag into it the social movements.

After the 25<sup>th</sup> of January elections and the time before that, when it was patent that SYRIZA would be the next government, some of its younger parliament members who had roughly known Ferenc Feher (the well- known Hungarian philosopher who reenacted Fukuyama's "end of history", declared passionately that "SYRIZA's victory eliminates once and for all the bourgeoisie theories about "end of history" because it proves that the left can govern and – of course- "it will govern differently" ". Five months later, Francis Fukuyama's laughter wafts like a ghost over greek democracy the fate of which is at the hands of our left government. Does this mean that we truly believe some sort of end has come? No way. But we must point out that capitalists' laughter which insinuates their final dominance will never stop with the temporary election of some arrogant European leftists of our small country.

The only thing that can end laughter and the dramatic narrations about an end is the social movement's action itself. As a carrier which will activate the social self-motivation against the ongoing dissolution of life by capital and authority against the logic of delegation and any form of triangulation. In other words, there can be no social/ liberating conditions brought by the orders of a left authority. For us, of course, this is no surprise. No contradictory institutions could model new liberating social bonds, even if they are the members of, let's say, "a revolutionary government" who really want it, let alone if we refer to this "pinkish neo-bourgeoisie nomenclature", who likes for some indeterminable reason to pretend being "radical social democracy", whatever it may signify. At this point we must remind the repressed class of why there

cannot be social democracy again. It's a good period to do it, as it has been proven clearly that this cannot indeed occur and that's why whoever the political carrier that tries to resurrect social democracy will be crushed down.

Social democracy was a historical choice made by capitalists of west bloc, roughly between 1930 and 1970. It was preferred on the grounds of the general crisis caused by the over-accumulation of capital on the one hand, and the revolutionary threat of workers' movement, who claimed "the whole fucking bakery", on the other. Social democratic management was the only model which responded to this double problem. With state intervention, as the major economic factor and administrator, there was a gradual control of the crisis of accumulation, while simultaneously, through its welfare politics, the state integrated the workers' class into the dominant ideology in order to counter their will for a massive upheaval. Of course, murderous crackdown and the manslaughter of the world war were sufficient measures to "persuade" those who continued to resist vigorously. Capitalist management achieved the disbandment of the revolutionary movement indeed, but it could not prevent new crises from taking place.

However, it shaped new tactics, for instance internal loans, in order to both handle these crises and avoid taking new welfare measures. So, after social democratic management, which is nothing more than the capital in a state of emergency, burnt out, it was abandoned. It had managed to constrain all the social goods in a place where only the upper class had access to: the state. The upper class, on turn, took them out of this well hidden place and took them home, under the nose of an alienated working class, which was gently lulled by the corrupted syndicates' bureaucracy. Capitalists are not at all in the mood of taking steps backwards, unless they are forced to.

But what history has shown, is that the only thing that has forced capitalism to reshape in order to survive is the revolutionary movement which persists on demanding everything.