

to Evan:

http://www.boggscenter.org/html/community__councils.html

Creating Neighborhood Community Councils,

Aug. 31 meeting, Tuesday @ 6:30 pm

Creating Neighborhood Community Councils, Moving towards a Self-Governing America based upon the principles of local sustainable economics and participatory democracy. We invite you to a political discussion based upon the attached reading to explore together a vision for movement building in our city. While this excerpt was written in 1982, we believe the concepts and theory are relevant for our work today as we engage in resistance struggles and creating positive alternatives to our concerns relating to food security, education, creating safe communities and advancing real forms of work.....

Read

Manifesto for an American
Revolutionary Party CHAPTER
II

**Towards a New Self-Governing
America**

Chapter 11

Toward a New Self-Governing America

A revolution is not just for the purpose of correcting

past injustices. A revolution involves a projection of Man/Woman into the future. It begins with projecting the notion of a more human human being, i.e., a human being who is more advanced in the specific qualities which only human beings have-creativity, consciousness and self-consciousness, a sense of political and social responsibility.

-Revolution & Evolution in the 20th Century

Men at some time are masters of their fates, The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, But in ourselves, that we are underlings. -Cassius in Shakespeare's JULIUS CAESAR

Our nation was founded by great revolution which inaugurated an age of revolutions all over the world, because it gave men and women a new concept of themselves as self-governing human beings, as citizens rather than subjects. Instead of looking to kings or bishops to make the difficult decisions which are necessary to the functioning of any society, the men and women who made the first American revolution were convinced that ordinary people could and should think for themselves, could and should accept responsibility for making social, economic and political decisions. Instead of viewing history as made only by elites, they believed that they themselves could build the world anew.

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Based on this new concept of citizenship, which had been nurtured by the practice of self-government in colonial America and developed into a new concept of human identity during a decade of revolutionary struggles against the British Crown, our foreparents were able to win the revolutionary war against what was at that time the most powerful nation in the world.

But our nation was also founded on the eve of the

Industrial Revolution, in an age when capitalism was progressive in comparison with feudalism and on a continent which seemed to provide unlimited opportunities for the pursuit of private happiness. With plenty of land and a rapidly expanding economy, newly-liberated Americans were more interested in pursuing wealth than in citizenship. So we abdicated the responsibilities of self-government by adopting a Constitution which limited our political role to going to the polls periodically to vote for professional politicians. Therefore the ideas of Liberty and Equality, which were highly advanced ideas for their time, were not enriched by the systematic social and political struggles which would make each individual responsible for the overall good of society and at the same time infuse government with the moral energy necessary to exercise power with justice, courage and honesty.

Benefiting from capitalist exploitation of blacks, native Americans, Mexican-Americans, of Nature and the environment, and especially from the freedom of movement made possible by a black slave labor force, the majority of white Americans made no demands on themselves or on government to make politically and socially responsible decisions. Instead Individual Freedom without Responsibility became the prevailing philosophy, while government was limited to the narrowest areas compatible with the maintenance of public order. As a result, private capital was able to develop rapidly into an independent power, while over the years American citizens became its accomplices in the destruction of other peoples, other races, other nations and our own humanity.

In order to evade facing the crime of enslaving blacks, we embraced the ideology of racism and incorpor-

ated into the Constitution a provision legally defining black slaves as only three-fifths human. When we were forced to face the issue of slavery in the middle of the 19th century, we fought a bloody civil war, not to free the slaves but to contain slavery within the Southern states. Then, having been forced to free the slaves In the course of this war, we quickly moved to accept the 1877 Compromise which allowed Southern planters to keep blacks as peasants on the plantation so that workers could move westwards and European immigrants could be encouraged to flock to this country to provide cheap labor for expanding capitalism. When white and black poor farmers joined together in the Populist movement to struggle against Eastern bankers and railroad magnates, we allowed the movement to be destroyed by racism, swallowing the lie that the unity of blacks and whites in a just struggle would lead to black men raping white women.

Each time we were faced with the choice between economic expediency and principled politics, we chose economic expediency. Thus, when workers erupted in the midst of the Great Depression of the 1930s, it was easy for us to grant capital the right to manage the plants as it saw fit in exchange for economic benefits. (We called the system "free enterprise" or "management," not "capitalism," because to have called it "capitalism" might have forced us to recognize how much of our humanity and that of others was being destroyed by the system).

When World War II ended and Great Britain could no longer police the world, we stepped right in, declaring ourselves the defenders of the "Free World." Insisting that we would "rather be dead than red," we labeled as "communist" and were ready to destroy any nation which, having been damned into

a state of underdevelopment by imperialism, was struggling to reorganize itself on non-capitalist principles.

Thus, when Americans of African descent rebelled and created the Civil Rights movement in the 50s and 60s, we labeled the movement "communist" even though all around us we could see the blatant racism in every institution and every strata of society. But the black movement could not be repressed, and in the 1960s,

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together with the anti-Vietnam war movement, it exposed the connection between racism and capitalism and between imperialism and capitalism, and for the first time since the first American revolution raised the revolutionary question of the power necessary to reorganize our society on new principles of social responsibility and non-exploitation.

The black rebellions of the late 60s and the anti-war movement, together with the defeat of our country in the criminal war against the Vietnamese people, ushered in a revolutionary period in our country. Every day it is increasingly obvious that capitalism and economic expansion cannot resolve the growing antagonisms between the races, the sexes and the generations; that our government operates only by expediency; and that the longer we postpone making fundamental changes in our values and our institutions, the deeper we sink into barbarism.

In the 1970s the women's movement, inspired by the black movement, began to struggle for new, more fulfilling relationships between the sexes, making it

clear , that political transformation cannot take place without personal transformation and also raising the need for a fundamental reorganization of Work inside and outside the home as the necessary basis for new female-male relationships. The ecology movement made us aware of how rapidly economic expansion is using up non-renew- able natural resources and polluting our Earth, our Waters and our Atmosphere. The energy crisis, precipitated by the just struggle of Third World nations to control their own resources, has forced us to recognize the social consequences of what once appeared to be only personal choices about where we live, what we eat and how we work. The human potential movement has exposed our spiritual aridity and the need for inner transformation. As a result, all over the country today women and men are exploring new ways of sharing work and family responsibilities. Women historians and philosophers are re-evaluating the history of Western society. Ecology groups are exploring new, less wasteful means of heating our homes, growing our food and producing necessary, goods and services. Thriving encounter groups and

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religious cults testify to the growing hunger of Americans for meaning in their lives.

Meanwhile, as American capitalism has developed into multinational capitalism, investing capital in the Third World or wherever it can make more profit, unemployment and inflation have spread, and the deepening economic crisis is forcing us to face fundamental questions that we have managed to evade for 200 years.

The economic crisis is easy to see, but from the movements of the 60s and 70s, it should be clear

that the crisis in which we are engulfed is much more than an economic crisis. It is a crisis of the capitalist method of thinking which is based upon the belief that if each of us pursues our private happiness, leaving economic decisions to private capital and political decisions to capitalist politicians, the benefits of expanding capitalism will inevitably trickle down to us in the form of a higher standard of living and social reforms. It is a spiritual crisis, stemming from our continuing conviction that only those things which can be measured and machined have value. This philosophy was progressive at the beginning of the modern age because it helped to unleash scientific exploration. But over the years it has turned us into prisoners of high technology and limitless expansion, rendered us powerless in the face of giant corporations and a growing army of bureaucrats and technicians, distorted our relationships with Nature, with other nations and with one another, and impoverished us morally to the point that we are not even sure that there is a difference between Right and Wrong.

Now this method of thinking no longer works even economically. American capitalism, in its new stage of multinational capitalism, no longer needs our labor, no longer feels the need to placate us with social reforms, doesn't care whether we or our communities or even our country survive or go under. In the face of this reality liberal politicians, whom we have counted on to protect us from the ravages of capitalism are completely helpless.

That is why we must now turn our backs on the direction which we believed was progress, recognizing that down through the years as we were making advances

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in the material sphere, we were becoming backward and damaged people on the spiritual and human

level. As citizens, we must now begin the painful but self-fulfilling process of accepting responsibility for making political and economic decisions as the first step towards building a New Self-Governing America. Based upon the recognition that we have come to the end of the epoch when expansion of production and continuing growth of the Gross National Product could be considered progressive, we must adopt a new set of principles and new forms of decision-making that will give us the confidence that our future and the future of the human race depend not upon capitalists or bureaucrats but upon ourselves.

First and foremost among these new principles must be our philosophy of what it means to be a human being at this stage of human evolution. We must recognize that being human is not just being alive and breathing but being willing to struggle together to resolve the contradictions of our country, determined to control our own destiny and make our own history. Our present contradictions are the result of our past actions and choices. We are not just victims of external forces; we have the capacity to make new and different choices to change ourselves and the world around us. Refusing to accept the condition of faceless masses to which capitalism has reduced us, we must view ourselves as a people with a past we can learn from and a future we can create. We must stop being "Now" people preoccupied with our immediate wants and start exercising our capacity for acting on principle, based not only on our own needs but those of other people in our own country and in the rest of the world. We must begin to exercise the capacity that we have as human beings to evaluate critically our own actions and the actions of our class, our race, our sex and our nation. Flowing from this enlarged sense of our human identity we must reject the philosophy of individualism and materialism and of absolute individual rights which has dominated Western society for the last 400 years, and start afresh with the belief that life in the 21 st century

can only continue if we take responsibility for each other, for people in the rest of the world, and for our planet Earth. We must purge ourselves of the idea that we are conquerors of Nature. This attitude is deeply ingrained in our culture because, coming into existence as a nation at the beginning of the Industrial revolution, we accepted the massacre of the native American as the price for industrial expansion. We must have no illusion that we can create anything without taking it out of Nature. We are part of Nature, our only capital is in Nature, and as trustees and stewards of Nature, we must protect and conserve it for ourselves and our posterity.

In order to live in harmony with other nations, we must adopt the principle that all nation-states, large or small, are equal in the sense that each has its own distinct culture and history which we must respect. That means we must divest ourselves of our many ill-gotten possessions in other countries, not only our 400 military bases in foreign lands but the countless factories, mines, plantations owned by our multinational corporations, and turn them over to the people of these nations so that they can struggle with one another over how to develop their own economies, their own resources, and the kind of political philosophy they wish to adopt.

As a nation-state among nation-states, we can no longer allow the capitalist interest in making profit to become our interest at the expense of our human interest in living in harmony with other nations and with Nature. Therefore one of our first decisions as a New Self-Governing America must be to divest ourselves unilaterally of all our nuclear weapons so as to stop our drift into de-humanizing terrorism under the pretense that we are 'providing national security to our people. There is no national security in nuclear weapons. There is only national oblivion, the possible annihilation of our entire planet, and

meanwhile the miseducation of our children to believe that overwhelming force is the solution to complex international and domestic questions.

No nation-state can rule the world today. We cannot prevent other nations from choosing the socialist road. Trying to keep them "free," i.e., capitalist, only ends up

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in our backing the most reactionary and repressive forces and in our eventual defeat, as in Vietnam. If our country is invaded, we have the right and duty to defend ourselves. But if we want to influence other nations, then we must make a second American revolution that inspires revolutions all over the world because, like the first American revolution, it enlarges the concept of what it means

to be a human being.

The second American revolution will be a revolution unlike any of the many revolutions that have taken place in this century. Socialist revolutions have been and will continue to be made by other nations who have not yet developed their productive forces to the stage where the basic material needs of their people can be met chiefly because their economies have been distorted and kept in a state of underdevelopment by Western imperialism. Whatever contradictions develop from these revolutions, they will have to resolve. But in our country, under capitalism, we have already developed the productive forces to the point where our economy can be kept going only by war production, by turning us into mindless consumers, and by replacing human beings with robots. We do

not need more things; we need to become more human. Our challenge as Americans is to create new social, economic and political institutions on a human scale so that making socially responsible decisions for ourselves, for our communities and for our country becomes a natural and normal part of our daily lives. Our struggle is to make a second American revolution that will turn self-government from an empty slogan into a reality.

A New Self-Governing America will be founded on the need for Americans of all ethnic groups to live in harmony, mutual respect and cooperation with one another, struggling creatively to achieve the unity with diversity which has eluded us for 200 years because we have been poisoned by racism and imbued with the capitalist values of individualism and materialism. Our country is very fortunate in being more like a world than a nation, made up of people from every ethnic group and culture in the world. The American majority actually consists of a host

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of ethnic groups, each of which is a minority. Our generation has the unique opportunity to create a new national identity that preserves the diversity of these many ethnic groups while at the same time binding us together by our common commitment to create a New Self-Governing America. The ancestors of most of us were not among those who founded our country only 200 years ago and established the economic, political and social patterns which have brought us to our present crisis. The American people as a whole have never really engaged in the 'revolutionary struggles by which any great nation is created. That great humanizing experience still lies before us.

A New Self-Governing America must be based on **Local Self-Government** and on strong **Families and Communities**. Only people whose individuality has been developed within the context of family and community can evolve the power to transform our political institutions into human institutions. Only people who are constantly being developed politically through the practice of principled politics at the grassroots level can create a national government which will relate to other nations with justice, courage and honesty.

Ever since we moved from an agricultural to an industrial society, the role of family and of community has been lost in exchange for what we call progress. At the heart of this degeneration was an acceptance of capitalist values or the belief that material wealth is more important than social ties. That is why we have been such a mobile society, constantly abandoning our families and our communities in search of greener valleys on the other side of the mountain instead of struggling together to better conditions where we already live.

In order to change the course of our history, we must recognize the fundamental importance of the family as the first institution into which we are born, which we neither choose nor select but which is pivotal to our development into human beings. It is in this core of every human society that children assimilate the values of cooperation, learn to act ethically in relationship to others and to value the contribution of different generations.

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At the same time we must struggle relentlessly to rid our families and all our institutions of male domination and female acceptance of male domination. Special measures must be taken to

encourage the leadership capacities of **Women** and of female children so that they can bring their intelligence and their nurturing Qualities to the creation of a New Self-Governing America in which sex and race will no longer be the basis for assigning social roles. Special measures must also be taken to ensure that **Males** participate fully in the care of the home and in the rearing of children so that they can benefit' from the human growth which comes from assuming these responsibilities.

In a New Self-Governing America our families will be rooted in communities so that children can grow up with living models of people playing different roles and with a sense of belonging to a place and to a group of people with whom they have to live, watching adults make decisions and taking responsibility for the general welfare of the community as an extension of the family and as a larger and more diverse institution which is bound together not by kinship relationships but by public responsibilities. It is in the setting of a community that children who come from families with strong human values can see and experience all around them the need to develop into more human individuals capable of giving to and enriching the community and eventually the whole nation.

In a New Self-Governing America neighborhood schools will constitute the core of our **Educational System**. Only within a living community can schools be- come a place to acquire skills not only in reading, writing and arithmetic but in making the decisions and assuming the responsibilities which are integral to citizenship. Only within a living community can parents and the community be continuously involved in the education of our children. Our schools will then be seen as supplementing, not replacing, education within our families and communities. They will become places where young people continue to learn how to respect and appreciate others, the community,

Universe, as well as people in the rest of the world. To prepare our children for self-government, our schools will give them an understanding of the **History** of our country, both its achievements and its shortcomings; the contributions which it has made to lifting Humankind to a higher level as well as what it has done to diminish our humanity and the humanity of others; the sacrifices and hardships which Americans of all ethnic backgrounds have endured in the struggle to make a reality of the ideals of the first American revolution. In the process of learning that the American past belongs to all of us in the sense that we are all products of its virtues and its vices, our children will discover that none of us can go home again. All of us, no matter what our race, class, sex or previous condition of servitude, are now equally responsible for shaping the American future. Thus, through the study of American History, our children will develop the pride and the humility which are both necessary to a self-governing people. They will acquire an American tradition to build upon as well as the incentive to struggle to go beyond the past, so that as they reach maturity, they can assume responsibility for governing on behalf of generations yet unborn. Education will become a continuing process, from within the family to within the community, the school and the university, constantly combining the development of skills with responsibility for our families, for our environment, for our communities, for our nation and for our planet.

In a New Self-Governing America everyone will be guaranteed the **Basic Necessities of Life**: food, shelter, heat, health care and the opportunity to do meaningful work. But all these needs are closely related, and unless they are met on a human scale so

that people can plan how to meet these needs themselves, we will inevitably become wards of a centralized bureaucratic state. Therefore, in reorganizing the economy of a New Self-Governing America, **Decentralization** will be a basic principle. Human needs will be met within a locality or region. This will cut down sharply on the use of energy for transporting basic necessities. Today energy is squandered by transporting goods thousands of miles

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\across the continent, with the same products often meeting themselves going East and West or North and \South.

The reorganization of any economy begins with the reorganization of **Food Production**. In reorganizing food production, the break-up of agribusinesses and their replacement by small farms and small farm cooperatives: will have top priority. This is the key to restoration of our soil which is today being destroyed by chemicals that not only filter into our rivers and streams but into our bodies, causing all kinds of illnesses. We would never have been beset by these illnesses had we not acquired a capitalist mentality towards conquering Nature and had we not permitted the growth of agribusinesses which, in their endless pursuit of higher profits, have made us dependent on chemically-doctored food. As long as we have not grappled with this growing menace to our health, there is little use talking about guaranteeing everybody a living.

In a New Self-Governing America intensive **Energy** conservation will become the responsibility of every citizen and community. Where climatic conditions are favorable, solar energy will be used for heating, while energy from coal and other fossil fuels will be used in areas where solar heating is not feasible. Cities will have limited populations so that a farm

belt can be close to every urban center. Food will be grown in all localities, either in open fields if the climate permits or in hothouses where solar energy can be utilized to grow vegetables all year round. By this means all our young people will acquire a new respect and relationship to Nature, based on living experiences of its role in the cycle of life.

Housing in the United States has never been built to meet our human needs for community. From the cotton patch shanty in the South to the industrial tenement to the housing project, housing has been built in order to meet the needs of capitalism for labor to work on the farms, in mines, mills and factories-or today to house the executives and technicians who move every time the corporation or the factory moves. In a New Self-Governing America we will build houses for human beings to live together and interact with one another, young and old, intel-

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lectual and nonintellectual from varying backgrounds and interests. To encourage individuals to live together in a way that will enable them to appreciate the continuing evolution of Humankind. We will build the kinds of housing units in which several generations live closely together within the community. In this way the raising of children can be shared by grandparents, aunts, uncles, friends and neighbors and children and adults in the community can acquire a sense of responsibility for one another.

Despite the many **Health** facilities in our country today the quality of health services is still governed by capitalist objectives. The American Medical Association is one of the country's most powerful lobbies which views medical care as a privilege and not as a right. In a New Self-Governing America we

will organize a crash program in health to show us how to take care of our bodies, making clear that good health is not the product of medicine but of healthy living, working, eating and caring relationships with one another. Only in this way can we counteract the dependence on drugs which has become one of the biggest and most profit-able industries in our country spreading ignorance for the sake of profits. Only when medical research and science are devoted to human development rather than to the making of profits will community health centers and health workers be free to eliminate the halo around medicine and make preventive medicine a reality.

Our present attitude to **Work** has been shaped both by the capitalist degradation of human beings to appendages to machines and by the racism which has kept Americans of color at the bottom doing menial work while other Americans climbed the ladder on their backs. Thus Work has been debased; it has become something to escape from. In a New Self-Governing America Work in the home in the community, on the Land, and in offices and factories will all be recognized as necessities for the development of the human personality. Work will be appreciated as a human activity which not only produces goods and services but enables

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all of us, children as well as adults, to develop skills, strive for excellence and practice cooperation. In order to make this possible, we must repudiate the idea that labor-saving machinery makes Work easier and replace it with the idea that "Many hands make light work." We must also repudiate the capitalist idea that decisions about production are best made by elites in the boardrooms of absentee corporations. In a New Self-Governing America those working in plants and offices will have the right and the duty to form Responsible Production

Councils together with the people in the' community where these offices and plants are located, so that they can determine the goals as well as the methods of production. These councils will decide when and when not to use advanced technology, bearing in mind always the human purposes of Work, the protection of the environment, and the needs of the family, the community and the region. One of the first responsibilities of these Councils will be to devise ways and means to convert from military and useless goods production.

Since World War II Public Transportation in our country has been on the decline while the costs of transportation skyrocket every year. Today, whether it is to transport food and goods or people to and from work, private transportation not only wastes too much energy but also too much time, robbing us of sociability and emptying our streets of pedestrians so that street crimes escalate. In a New Self-Governing America public transportation will be publicly subsidized and cost the rider little or nothing. This will encourage everyone to use it for travel to and from work, for recreation, to visit friends, to attend social and cultural events. For travel between cities a few hundred miles apart, plenty of railroad and bus transportation will be available at low cost so that airplanes will be chiefly for emergencies and for long distance travel. With the economy decentralized for growing food and producing basic goods, railroad transportation can become the main method for long-distance shipping.

In every region of a New Self-Governing America Regional Self-Reliance Councils will be organized.

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Regions with surpluses will either trade or barter them with other regions. Additional surpluses will be purchased by the national government and stored for aid to other nations in need or for emergency

situations, such as drought, earthquake, floods or national disasters.

In every country there are a few products which can only be extracted from Nature or produced in a particular section of the country. If these resources are strategic to the whole country, the national government will stockpile and distribute them in accordance with the needs of particular regions. All essential strategic minerals and resources from other countries (for example, oil, copper, zinc, diamonds) will be purchased by the government with the aim of establishing the best relationships with these countries. Regions would then purchase them directly from the government at cost. The same process will be used with technical tools or instruments which cannot be made in our country. All trading with other nations will be done government to government.

In a capitalist society trade like production is done only for profit. In a New Self-Governing America Production and Trade will be for use by ourselves and our neighbors. When goods and services are produced for use on a local scale, workers, youth and everyone in the society will be encouraged to produce the best quality products because we know that we are working to supply the needs of ourselves and our neighbors. This will enable us to eliminate the many different brands of goods of inferior quality which result from a system of competition and exploitation.

Of all the contradictions in the United States today, none is more confusing than the number of laws on the books. Every village, town, city, county, state and the federal government has laws, many of which contradict one another. One of the first acts of a new revolutionary government will be to convene a Constitutional Convention to establish a new set of

elementary rights and responsibilities between local and national government, based on the principle that local self-government is a necessary foundation for self-government on a national scale. The new Constitution will set forth the fundamental

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principles governing a New Self-Governing America that will encourage every citizen to respect the dignity and possessions of others and join in creating the new human and social relationships and institutions that will reduce the need for police, jails, prisons, detention homes, security guards, lawyers and judges.

A decentralized economy will enable us to practice a new concept of citizenship on economic questions, thus serving as a check against the rise of bureaucracy. But a New Self-Governing America will also need new political structures, **New Forms of Decentralized Power**, which will enable us as citizens to make political decisions. The fundamental political structure of a New Self-Governing America will be the **Local Convention** which is convened every year or every two years in every town and city in our country. At these local conventions delegates, elected by **Neighborhood Responsibility Councils** who have previously conducted full discussion and debate in their neighborhoods over the issues facing the town or city, will evaluate the state of the town or city and set goals to be achieved in the coming year, based upon the needs of the people in their area and their relationship to other areas in the country-and not upon individual wants and greeds. These conventions will then elect leaders who have the responsibility for giving leadership to the citizens of the town or city in themselves carrying out the decisions of the convention. Following the convention the Neighborhood Responsibility Councils will take the decisions made by the

convention back to their communities, holding weekly meetings so that every citizen can participate in deciding how to implement on- going programs and meet new problems.

National conventions will be organized on the same principles. Delegates from local responsibility councils, after full discussion in their localities, will meet to evaluate the state of the nation, set national goals and then elect a national leadership to give direction between conventions in the achievement of these goals.

It should be obvious that this kind of political structure is very different from the one that we have been living

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by for over two hundred years and which has brought us to our present stage of crisis. The main difference is that instead of depending upon private capital and upon capitalist politicians to make the decisions that shape our lives, the lives of our children and the future of our nation; instead of electing politicians and then wondering what course they will pursue, we, as citizens who have assumed the responsibilities of self-government, will first decide in convention what should be done and then elect leaders to give us leadership in ourselves carrying out our decisions. We will not always make the correct decisions; and even when we do, new contradictions will arise- because the human race and our nation are still evolving. But whatever the risks, the time has come when we can no longer abdicate the responsibilities of self-government. The time has come when we must stop acting like subjects and start acting like citizens.

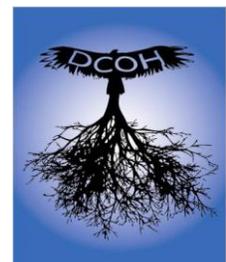
These are only some guidelines to make clear some of the fundamental principles which will guide us in creating a New Self-Governing America. In putting forward these principles and goals we are not basing ourselves upon ideas which have been created by liberals or reformers or idealists. Capitalism has brought us to the juncture in history where the only solution to our immediate problem is by making a revolution against capitalism which will at the same time make a reality of Self government. To continue to hope, to dream, to wish or only to blame the capitalists for our crisis is to conceive of ourselves as underlings and to accept the subjugation to inhuman forces which is at the heart of capitalist theory and practice.

To arrive at the point where we have the power to create this New Self-Governing America is going to require some very serious struggles, both against our own capitalist values and against those who are determined to hang on to the present obsolete structures. The conflict between these two roads will be the basis for the coming American Revolution. That struggle is before us and like coming into the family, we can't choose whether or not there will be a struggle. But we can choose which side we will be on.



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