

Vaneigem, R. (1974) “Total Self-Management,” Chapter 3 of his book *From Wildcat Strike to Total Self-Management*. Translated by K. Knabb. Bureau of Public Secrets.
<http://www.cddc.vt.edu/bps/CF/selfmanagement.htm>

Translator's preface

trying to get at the question of post-revolutionary social organization
cf. Castoriadis' *Workers' Councils and the Economics of a Self-Managed Society*
he imagined a non-hierarchical revolution that abolishes capitalism and the State
autogestion generalisee is autogestion extended to every region and every aspect of life
and yet there is also a sense, in the text, that V means autogestion that is total, where there is no
heterogestion at all

Total Self-Management

the “self-managing assembly” plays a really big role here, the leading one 2
there will also be “coordinating councils” 2
these will have delegates elected by the assemblies; the delegates are constantly
monitored, and they can be recalled at any time [very CC here] 2
the council has only a coordinating function; it cannot exist apart from the assembly 2
any separation between the assembly and the council is to be prevented – this will tend
toward a new State 2
prevent leaders from emerging 2
the proletariat is the only agent here, they will do everything, and everyone else will benefit 2
[Vaneigem is entirely workerist and productivist in this piece]

Positive Revolutionary Rights

rights are good, and they should be constantly increasing 2
we need to free our passions that are currently being repressed 3
not by attacking our bad desires, but by developing our good ones 3
there will be a self-defensive war to eliminate the statist forces, during which we will have to be
extremely strict and ruthless [then after the state is gone everything will be awesome] 3

The Right to Self-Defense

right to be armed, to fight guerrilla war in zones not yet liberated from the state [ugh] 3
increasing rights, to let desires be free, is the key 4
from boredom and passivity to creativity and passions 4
no compromise with the forces of the old world 4
the assemblies must hold all the power, no State can be allowed to re-form 4

The Right to Participate

the assembly does not delegate its power; a delegate has no power, she is only a means to implement the power of the assembly 4

we must prevent separation between delegates and assemblies at all costs 4

organizational forms of the delegated councils: equipment, self-defense, harmonization, liaison 5

majority cannot preclude other desires 5

some differences will spontaneously harmonize themselves, others will have to be harmonized by the assemblies 5

people participate in assemblies because they desire to—no coercion; they can always change assemblies 5

The Right to Communicate

each has the right to express her ideas, and access to all means to do so 6

each has the right to know what the collective knows 6

all decisions are debated in the open 6

assemblies will err, they must be open to reconsidering their decisions 6

[the only fatal mistake is when the assembly gives up its power and lets itself be governed] 6

The Right to Fulfillment

delegates exist to carry out some particular project 6

each person should achieve the realization of her desires, and she should have many desires [very Callicles here] 6

so: to each according to his desires 6

no exchange, but giving without expecting anything in return 6-7

it will be a society of abundance and luxury 7

we will lose our taste for avarice, property, jealousy, etc. 7

The Right to Forced Labor

abundance will mean no need to work, only the need for creativity 7

develop your desires in the now copious free time 7

develop wide range of skills 8

no cars, no bureaucracy, no spectacle, no state, no cities, no market 8

“social harmonization” will produce lots of different desires [?], and these will be the source of abundance 8

The Right to Encounters and Affinities

harmonization will facilitate encounters, foster variety of desires, encourage disagreement, which will result in increased pleasure 8

the more difference there is, the more spontaneous harmonization there will be [wtf?] 8

we will not suppress the old/bad desires, we will instead harmonize the new/good ones 9

well, OK, statism will have to “be resolutely combatted during the life and death struggle against the statist forces”; but after that struggle has been won, all rivalries and affinities will spontaneously help with self-management! 9

after that battle, all desires will be welcome, and all will get along spontaneously, it will be self-organized, it seems without trying 9

encourage all desires!!

economy and everyday life are one piece, they cannot be separated 9

end of fragmentations of knowledge, of expert and layperson, etc. 9

The Free Use of Space-Time