MOST PEOPLE ON the left would argue that 'democracy' is infinitely preferable to fascism and many working class people died in what they saw as a fight against the tyranny of fascism. However, this supposed alternative also threatens our liberty in perhaps a more insidious manner because of the smoke-screen it hides behind.

One of the main distinctions between the two is the use of naked force by fascism as opposed to the subtle brainwashing which is used in a democracy. One method is blatant and crude, the other, subtle and sophisticated but achieving the same goal: our passive acceptance of a system that oppresses us. A main part of this menacing strategy is the cult of leadership, a cult which is incompatible with the establishment of a society based on freedom and equality.

In any spectrum of human intelligence, there is a wide range of abilities, knowledge, and experience far outweighs the contribution of a few 'geniuses'.

Despite this wealth of abilities, human history has been marked by the usurpation of struggle and movements for social change by leaders who claim to 'know best'. It has been, and still is, a painful historical struggle of men and women to gain freedom from the political, economic and spiritual shackles which have bound them. But time and time again, having rid themselves of one tyranny, people have replaced it with another. Afraid to use their new found freedom, they hold up their wrists to some new jailer. If anarchism is to be achieved and capitalism overturned, then we must do much more than get rid of the obvious sources of oppression. The working class must also transform itself as individuals so as to reject leaders and any new tyranny.

Passivity

It is not surprising that people are so willing to submit to leaders. Capitalist society is organised so as to bleed us of our capacity to think for ourselves and take control of our own lives. This learned passivity manifests itself on the most subtle psychological levels. Individuals have a need to identify with something so as to gain some kind of recognition and importance. Subcultures within capitalist society such as the Skinheads fulfill this role. There is a dress and hair code that identifies the individual as a member of a group. All the individual has to do becomes part of the pattern of society but does not submerge his/her identity whereas in the second case the individual loses his or her individuality.

We are told we need leaders because there would be no discipline. It is assumed that without anyone telling us what to do, we would not know how to behave. But as anarchists we believe that human beings are naturally cooperative and that it is capitalist society and leaders who foster aggressivity and selfish competition.

We are often drawn to charismatic individuals who we allow to lead us. But we must be aware of the techniques that these individuals employ. Their claim to have the answers to our problems is a sham, the truth hidden behind demagogic rituals.

Another distraction is the claim by many parties on the left that what we need is better leaders. In other words, they would make better leaders. But this is another dangerous diversion, for what we need is no leaders, not better ones.

Unnatural

The social hierarchy that we accept as a natural order is just as unnatural and illogical as government. There are no 'natural' leaders only a ruling class which has grabbed power and uses this power to exploit and dominate the mass of the population. Social classes are not ordained by nature but the historic product of an exploitative society. Unfortunately this acceptance of hierarchy has filtered down to all levels of society and even exists in the organisations that workers create to challenge the system.

Collective responsibility is the alternative to leadership and the counterpart to equality. If we are to succeed in building an anarchist communist society, then the working class must learn to rely on itself. And, each individual in that class must be prepared to take responsibility and participate in the transforming of society. The revolution must therefore be not only against the ruling class but against leaders and hierarchy at all levels of society and most importantly, against our own passivity.

POSTER

Bundles of this poster can be got from the London address. Please send donation. Also available: stickers and a leaflet explaining what is anarchist communism.
WANT TO JOIN THE ACF? WANT TO FIND OUT MORE?

I agree with the ACF’s Aims and Principles and I would like to join the organisation.

I would like more information about the Anarchist Communist Federation’s views on...

Please tick/all in an appropriate return to: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

Please return form to: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

Please tick/find as appropriate return to: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

How to Order Organise!
Back Issues

BACK ISSUES OF Organise! (from issue 14 to issue 28 inclusive) will be available, from the London address group, as a few copies of its forerunner Virus. All back issues cost 20p & SAE each and include the following:

- Organise! 22: Recession; poll tax; warfare statute; Commune; Tax.
- Organise! 23: Iraq Interview; Greens; ANC; pits; poy
- Organise! 24: New World Order; Children; BCG; Class 26.
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Cover photograph by ... Rich Cross

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Organise! 30p & SAE.
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hospital in London success-

come not in an isolated way,

other workplaces. Health wor-

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organise! No. 29 Jan-Mar 1993

organise! No. 29 Jan-Mar 1993 5

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Blockades of road and rail on

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The increasing desperation

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The Babangida regime has also

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The battle to defend the

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However, even when they

Solidarity ac-

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These workers fight for the
the tactic of "saving democracy" with a temporary abat- ting of workers and sailors.

Sabotage

The unions attempted to limit the independent action of forces of struggle allowed the unions to exploit the debates in the workplaces.

Block

In particular the neo-communists of Rifondazione Comunista with their leftist allies can hope on increasing beyond the 18% support given to the union bloc, Eserre Sindicalistico. It looks as if, they have still fundamental to Japanese bosses, but with some important differences.

Zabatsu

The 1930s saw the development of the mass Zabatsu companies, which dominate Japanese capitalism today. These giant corporations were quick to embrace Taylor- list management and production methods (not unlike Bolcheviks in the USSR) and business with the increasingly militarist and fascist State, mercilessly crushed at workers' movements.

The anarchist contribution to working class resistance in this time came in the form of the anarchist-communists, Black Youth League and the All-Japan Libertarian Federation of Labour Unions again the image of a secure Japan, using military might, and the deployment of a capacity to engage in imperialist adventurers abroad. They realised that Japan's semi-feudal system had to make way for a Western-style (modified) from capitalism's development of the past 120 years since the 1868 revolution.

Modern capitalist Japan has been unable to create a union which saw the victory, after a civil war, of the lower Samurai class under the restored Emperor Meiji. The desire of the workers for the abolition of the Zaibatsu was shown with 25% of workers voting to support. It was, with the help of the unions and the street, with the aid of the union bureaucrats, may put a stop to this if they so wish (all)

On the other hand those workers supporting it have had their movement there by calling strikes for a day. The presence of the Zaibatsu may be described as semi-militarisation of Japan.

In the workplaces the discontent was shown with 25% of workers not renewing their union membership this year. In Naples a factory workers marched to the railway station, calling for the workers to support and blockaded the trains. Other blockades of rail and road took place in other areas. In Naples a factory workers (founded in 1868) workers' union leadership. In terror, the union called a general strike in the area that night. In Milan a hundred workers took off and quickly a 'dual line'.

Workers RIOTING on the streets is not an image generally associated with Japan but that's just what happened last October in Osaka's second largest city. When unemployed day labourers, living on a day to day, hand-to-mouth basis had their easy work payments stopped almost 1,000 of them angrily took to the streets, constructing burning barricades and fighting 1,500 riot police for three consecutive nights.

To understand how this could happen in the mythical land of the happy worker we need to look beyond the image and at the historical development of Japan's capitalism's development of the past 120 years since the 1868 revolution.

Zabatsu, Nissan etc) and workers themselves often subcontractors, temporary, seasonal or day labourers, and in worse conditions than the some privileged to sweat for their wages it paid lower wages and did not fund themselves often subcontractors, temporary, seasonal or day labourers, and in worse conditions than the some privileged to sweat for their wages it paid lower wages and did not fund. The Zabatsu are certainly loyal; there is little alternative when your wages are paid according to time served rather than skill. Put simply, loyalty tends to exist when workers can only raise their living standards by staying with the firm! The zaibatsu's Japan in the Passing Lane: An Insider's Account of the zaibatsu's Japan in the Passing Lane: An Insider's Account of the zaibatsu's Japan in the Passing Lane: An Insider's Account of the zaibatsu's Japan in the Passing Lane: An Insider's Account of the
WE ARE OPENING THE pages of Organise! to a debate on the same time legality has allowed the legality which has been the kiss of death to any revolutionary movement. At the article in Organise! 27 on the unions and an editorial reply. total compliance by the unions. It has increased anti-union laws, se-

Text of ACF ('London') leaflet

CONSTANT government-employer attac-
s on workers' rights and conditions coupled with the illegalization of any use-
f ul workers' actions have been met with total compliance by the unions. It has always been the kiss of death to any revolutionary movement. To quote from the leaflet, 'The best rank and file movement is one which acts as a workers' solidarity move-

Starting point

If you want social justice for the working class of the world, a general starting point is anti-capitalism. Unions have not always been anti-capitalist (although many union members are). The job of the union is to alleviate the sufferings of workers within the present system. This has developed into things like legal help, pen-

Left-wing leadership

We need left-wing leadership. It is necessary for the revolutionary movement to have leadership that is not controlled from outside but directly by the workers, in any workplace I know with an anti-union position.

Letter in reply from Dave Douglass

DEAR COMRADES,

Just a line to say how utterly bad/inac-

A way forward

One positive step would be the cre-

About the unions?

The best rank and file movement is one which acts as a workers' solidarity move-

We have enthusiastically supported all

The unions' response to such attacks is to defend the Empire against inde-

EDITORIAL REPLY: Hardly surpris-

We don't need to tell you that the union and the bourgeoisie have always been against such struggles. Indeed, anyone who's ever been involved in a dis-

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Joining an organisation that does not lack class consciousness. They see clearly on different levels aware that the unions are incapable of defending their interests.

Editorial Reply: Thanks for your constructive letter, Paul. Perhaps our article on workplace organisation was not clear enough. We were not arguing against fighting for immediate needs, in terms of pay and conditions. We agree with you that "unofficial" direct action often won. Of course we want to be involved against the bosses.

Although we think that anarcho-syndicalism had its faults and has been transcended, we agree there is something to learn from it. However, we take issue with your statement that unions need not necessarily end in a "mess of hierarchy and sellouts, regardless of how they are structured, composed, or politically oriented". Only workplace groups and networks can advance independent working class struggle and help workers understand the true nature of the struggle that they are fighting.

In the first issue there was a major article on the class struggle and the role of unions. Most of the analysis of British anarchism was correct enough, and the ACF would agree with it. British anarchism had divided from class struggle, and that for years anarchists had been "on the right and wrong side of the fence", and was seen as a "counter-cultural resistance at society's fringes rather than a dynamic force".

The ACF also went on to produce four in-depth analyses, and here the tone was extremely class-struggle. Unions, however they are structured, composed, or politically oriented, and should not be confused with the political support of the AWG.

The AWG left the anarcho-syndicalist organisation, the Direct Action Movement, in 1992, after a number of years of conflict over building syndicalist unions in Britain. They criticised this strategy as being divorced from reality and added, looking at the example of Spain during the Civil War there, that "a revolutionary union does not guarantee a revolution". ACF members would agree with them on this point, and indeed the DAM's attempt to construct a syndicalist union, the Dispatch to Industry Workers Union, collapsed in mid-1992 in apathy.

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Leadership of Ideas

The AWG came to many of the same conclusions as the ACF in their article on organisation, in No. 2 of their journal. They took on board the ideas of 'leadership of ideas' developed inside the Organisations of Revolutionary Anarchist Fraction, ORAF, and the '70s and continued within the ACF.

This idea calls for anarchism to become more of a political movement, and that leadership is purely at the level of ideas and should not be confused with the political support of the AWG.

The AWG also, with reason, pointed to the lack of political leadership in the strikes. There was a refusal to criticise Scargill and the NUM leadership, activity being reduced to unquestions...
organise! no. 29 jan-mar 1993

features

working class that must accompany the switch to a war footing'.

Leninists

The AWG position was one that, unsurprisingly, was shared by many Leninists, and indeed they began to work in a committee with strips that argued for victory to Iraq. But now they had totally allocated themselves from the class struggle anarchist movement, despite some attempts at back-peddling in the last issue of their mag. Donkeys dead and unable to grow they wanted away.

The AWG experience is one that should be looked at in finding out what not to do in developing anarchist communist theory. With the collapse of Stalinism, a new period has opened, with the re-emergence of anarchist communism. However, the contents from anarchism still is a weak current, and is still prone to the influences of one hand Leninism (the examples of the AWG and the Anarchist Workers Association/Libertarian Communist Group in the '70s) and on the other hand the ivory tower irrelevanc of the left communists in millions. The AWG sincerely hoped to make class struggle anarchism relevant, but failed to withstand the influences of Leninism. Those ex-AWGers and those influenced by AWG politics should seriously consider the lessons of the AWG collapse.

intellectualism

The 20th Century has been the century of the intellectuals, when political movements that were based on the intellectual influence of one man or another, and who have influenced the intellectual world through their writings, have been especially influential in attempts to understand the world and to make sense of it. But as with any intellectual movement, there are dangers inherent in its nature. The dangers stem from the fact that intellectuals often become detached from the reality of the world, and become more concerned with their own thoughts and theories than with the needs of the people they purport to represent.

Marxist-Leninist tracts like Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, and The Leviathan, which are read by intellectuals all over the world, often have little relevance to the people who live under the capitalist system. The intellectuals who write these tracts often have little understanding of the problems faced by the people they purport to represent. For example, a tract on the nature of imperialism may discuss the exploitation of the colonies by the imperialist powers, but it may fail to take into account the way in which the people of the colonies are exploited by the colonial powers. Similarly, a tract on the nature of class struggle may discuss the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but it may fail to take into account the way in which the people of the working class are exploited by the bourgeoisie.

Revelation

Fascism and the so-called 'communism' of the Bolsheviks, both totalitarian systems, traced their origins to a particular kind of intellectual phenomenon. They appealed to the same prejudices and susceptibilities of intellectuals as other crusades and movements that have seized the imagination of the educated and the articulate — the so-called 'thinking people'. These movements have in common a sense of a revelation grasped only by the anointed, but a revelation that needs to be imposed on the benighted masses for their own good. Could anything be more of an ego trip, or more in keeping with the intellectuals' exalted view of themselves, or their resentment at seeing power in the hands of lesser beings?

To a certain extent it can be understood that working class people sought inside this maelstrom of bourgeois struggle there were through genuine conviction, a conviction that unfortunately ended control over social minorities, but nevertheless is burning with ardent desire to smash the capitalist system. Among the amazing stories of this century are the pillages of intellectuals to the lands of the dictators, only to come back to gush over the 'progress' of tyrannies whose subjects were making desperate efforts whenever they could. When the facts of massacre and abuse were too blatant too deny, the explanation was that these were the 'growing pains' of a new society or 'local excesses', and we were reminded that 'you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs'. Much later the evidence of these excesses, the facts, yes, in the Ukraine the famine which killed millions had been deliberately engineered.

This didn't matter to the intellectuals, but a revelation that need to be imposed on the benighted masses for their own good. Could anything be more of an ego trip, or more in keeping with the intellectuals' exalted view of themselves, or their resentment at seeing power in the hands of lesser beings?

But in the absence of a society which encourages in each individual that individual's full potential, we have to be on guard against privileged minorities who build political structures and weave sophistries about the absence of special skills and the objective, use Taylorist, Fordist and Ziaibatsu companies to. Schools and have proved highly successful. Also important has been the failure to find any interest in unions in Japan. Their total integration into capitalism is considered satisfactory, without any levels of resistance whether ideological or political. Neoliberalism has imposed its industrial base to its Asian neighbours, such as South Korea and Malaysia, and even 'Communist' China, where lower wages and pressures communications conditions are enforceable. Wherever workers manage better wages and conditions companies have moved to other countries.

The day-labourers in Japan itself have tended to bear the brunt of the repressions, however, it is these that, if the wheels of capitalism are turned, is describing another form of liberation. And so, in fact there are many who are the most potentially combative of the Japanese working class. In the face of vicious exploitation they have developed a strong sense of a shared experience, and are the most potential combative of the Japanese working class.

Some of these excerpts, particularly those from the well-known international tract, Anarchism Versus Leninism, were what were put on the map. The quality of their writings, in terms of logical coherence of evidence, may have been questionable. But these were mass producers of propaganda ideas, and the yearning midgets egotists to grab hold of to make into a political agenda of their making?

The AWG sincerely hoped to make class struggle anarchism relevant, but failed to consider the lessons of the AWG collapse.

The Movement

Donald Roum repeats this elsewhere in the book where he states that few anarchism are in the formally structured organisations. Now, the 'movement' has evolved to the point where British anarchism is re-affirming its rejection of all structures and the most anarchist activists are in one or another national organisations. In fact what Donald Roum describes as the movement in this country has far more resemblance to that of 19th century organised anarchism. The and result of the pamphlet, despite some excellent excerpts from anarchists thinkers, is an impression of a confused and contradictory mass of碎片 ideas and currents all within one big happy family. This has been the political thrust from which the ACP and other class struggle anarchists in the country have pulled themselves out. As such, the pamphlet will not go very far in answering the interested reader's question of 'What is Anarchism?'.
A Short History of Political Vi-

A recent study highlights the significance of political violence as a weapon of state, particularly following major insurrections. As power dynamics shift, state violence from the Norman ruling class to the establishment of the Great Miners' strike to the present day reveals a pattern of suppression. Opposed groups are strongly dependent on the counteraction mechanisms, in all its forms of nationalism, as a weapon of state, particularly after major insurrections. As power dynamics shift, state violence from the Norman ruling class to the establishment of the Great Miners' strike to the present day reveals a pattern of suppression. Opposed groups are strongly dependent on the counteraction mechanisms.

This pamphlet successfully challenges the pro-IRA arguments that have been used to silence the debate on the Merseyside issue in the North of England. The authors argue that the struggle for a united Ireland cannot be achieved without a united working class, and that this will require a united revolutionary movement. The authors argue that the struggle for a united Ireland cannot be achieved without a united working class, and that this will require a united revolutionary movement.

A new book on libertarian education, written by John Shotton in which he states that "Libertarian education is about helping to break down the boundaries between people and to create a new form of society in which all our ideas can be realised independently. However, this should be as working class work and cross-class movements.

The pamphlet is a call to action for all those who believe in the struggle for a united Ireland and a united working class.

A Short History of Political Violence in Britain. Martin Everett, 60pp. 10p. pages. Also available in this short history is to demonstrate that political violence is a tradition of the British state, British society”, and should be taken into account in any future anti-milan campaign. The pamphlet is a call to action for all those who believe in the struggle for a united Ireland and a united working class.

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