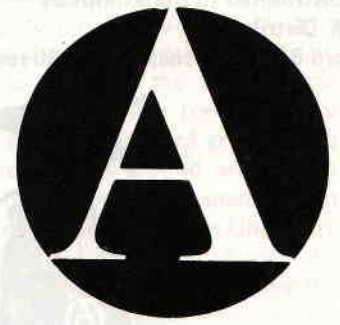
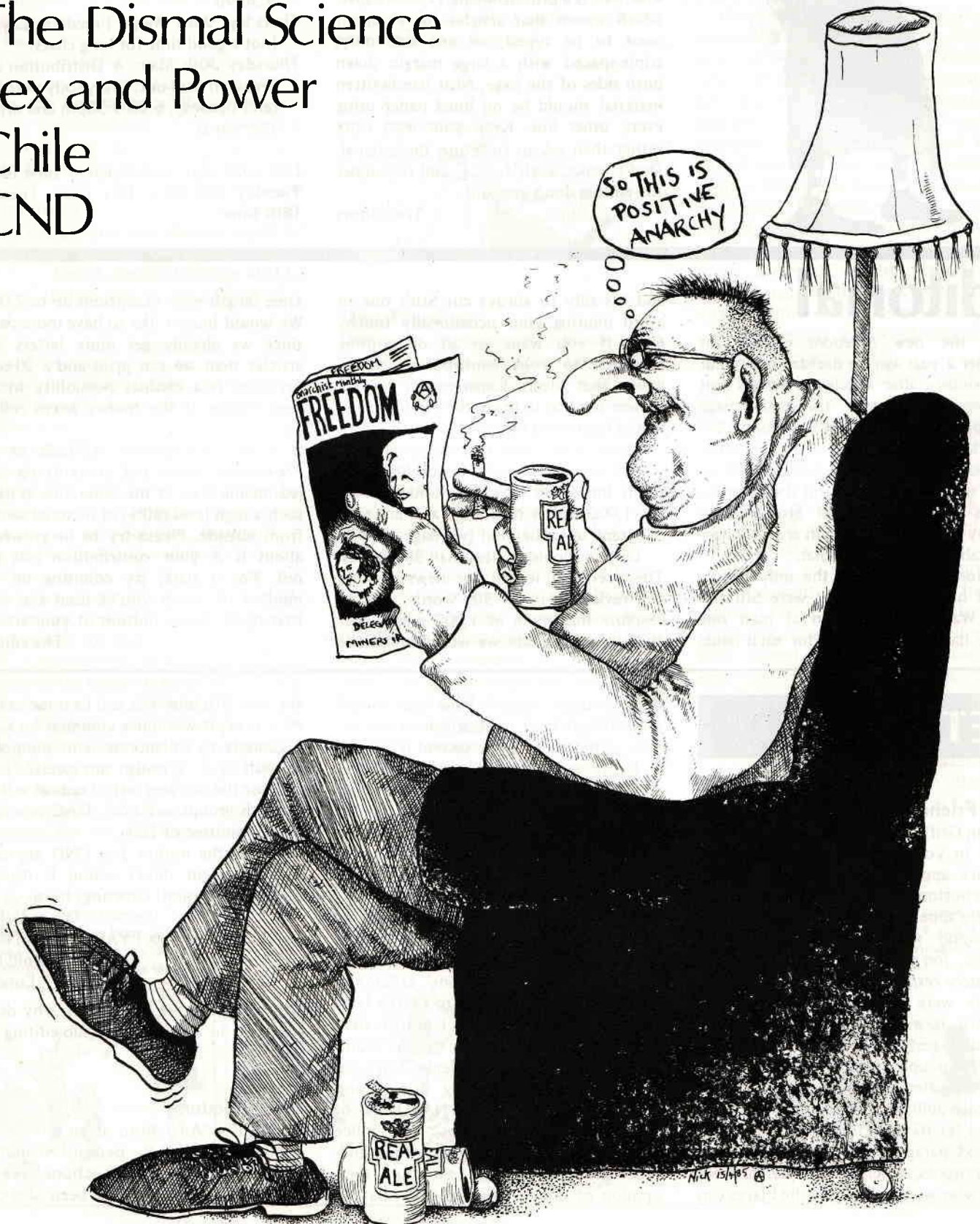


# FREEDOM



The Dismal Science  
Sex and Power  
Chile  
CND



# IWA-AIT Congress

In the aftermath of the miners' strike and following other major industrial disruption throughout Europe, it was natural that these disputes, and to a lesser extent unemployment, should dominate the debates at the Congress of the International Workers Association (IWA-AIT) (Northern Section) in London over Easter. In all seven countries represented at the Congress counting delegates and observers.

Reports from all the sections showed up the involvement of the organised international anarcho-syndicalist movement in these industrial and social disputes.

The Danish ASO is active in the current wave of strikes over Government imposed pay restraint.

In Germany the FAU is in the forefront of the fight for the shorter working week, which produced widespread strikes among metal and printing workers last year. The working week is now 38½ hours in some industries.

In Britain the DAM has worked hard to back the miners' strike and has helped co-ordinate solidarity action both nationally through its own branches and internationally in the IWA-AIT. DAM is currently doing what it can to support an amnesty for the sacked miners. As an attempt to mobilise the grassroots labour movement, in response to the challenge from the State, North West Regional DAM has joined together with other local organisations to co-ordinate a Rank and

File Conference on 20th April.

NSF of Norway has given massive solidarity support to the miners in Britain, as well as retaining links with labour organisations in Poland and Latin America.

The representative of the International Secretariat in Madrid announced a coming campaign throughout much of Latin America to reinforce contacts and advance the influence of the IWA-AIT in that area. Countries named for special attention include Brazil, Columbia, Bolivia and Costa Rica. In Bolivia, during the recent successful General Strike, there have already been many communications and contacts from sections of the syndicalist union – the COB – with the IWA-AIT in Madrid. The COB is not as yet affiliated to any of the International Labour Movements.

In a private conversation I was told that since the outbreak of strikes in many areas of Spain – in Galicia, Cadiz, the Basque region and elsewhere – much of the sectarian in-fighting within the CNT has ceased. Many CNT-AIT militants are now fully engaged with others in the social struggles with the bosses and the State.

The CNT-France gave a report as observers: They claimed most success with the agricultural workers of France. Though in some areas, such as banking, they have good relations with other unions.

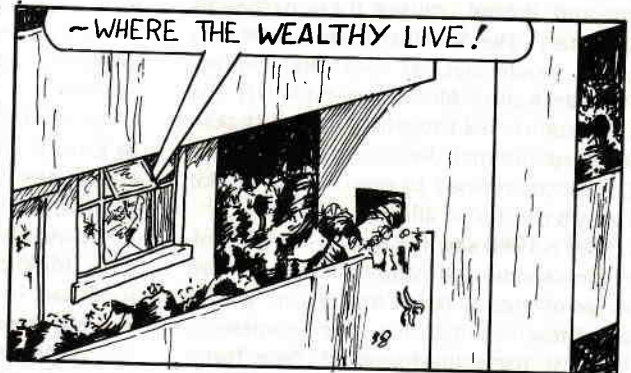
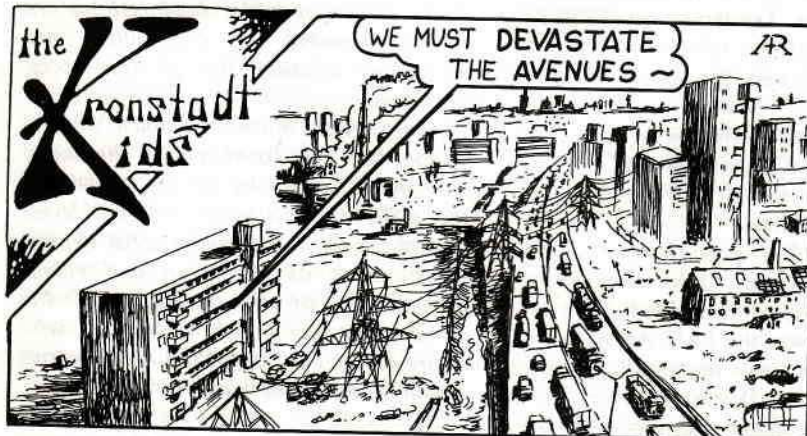
For the OBU (Holland) another observer reported a membership of 15,000. This union has members in fishing in the Port of Rotterdam and the Hague, among taxi drivers in several towns, teachers and the jobless. Many unemployed workers lacking support from their own bureaucratic unions are, it seems, turning to the OBU for support. The OBU, which is not in the IWA, is less sectarian and ideological than most of the sections of the International. As a result it seems to have had more social impact than most. It has produced pamphlets which put a basically direct actionist case without using the labels of libertarian politics, and setting themselves up as sitting ducks. Their approach is more subtle than many on the libertarian left in Britain.

## The Miners' Strike

Perhaps those who advocate General Strikes at every turn will now grasp that the fragmented structure and the attitude of British labour at shopfloor level, make mass united action more difficult than they would have had us believe.

If DAM is not to become just another party of sectarian sleepwalkers, beating their own revolutionary drum, they must face up to these industrial realities and produce common sense policies. Then they must act upon them, instead of waving their 'Aims and Principles' like some religious gospel.

Brian Bamford



# Bad News From The Dismal Science

## WORLD MANAGEMENT AND THE SUPER-STATE

The difficulties which face the Western world economies are currently particularly acute but they are not insurmountable. Most of them can be traced to one source. Over the last five years the old national economies have been transformed into a genuine world economy (or at least a genuine Western world economy) as the volume of world trade has expanded but the management agencies are insufficiently international.

In 1972 the value of imports into the UK was £11,072,800,000. By 1977 it had risen to £56,940,300,000 (for comparison purposes prices rose 3.74 times over the same period). This amounted to £1,000 of imports for every person in the country. This expansion of trade is a worldwide phenomenon and its significance is that it means we are back in an era of genuine competition between firms.

In the 1950s and '60s in most wealthy nations there were usually only three or four firms making each product or offering each service. This made agreement between the various firms easy and prevented price wars being too serious or too frequent.

At the same time the various national states were able to control their economies via deliberate manipulation of the level of demand. In essence this idea is very simple. The idea was that whenever there was a sign of a slump the government simply printed money and spent it on, say, road building or investment grants to industry. The extra money boosted people's incomes which boosted sales which boosted production. This extra production meant there were more goods available for the money to be spent on so you didn't get inflation. In other words what was being done was to put people to work to make the goods which they themselves bought.

This system worked to achieve rapid economic growth and good profits for industry (though very poor interest rates were paid). From 1945 to 1970 unemployment in the UK never went above 4% and this was coupled with low inflation and rapid growth rates. Other countries did even better.

This controlled expansion lasted so long that it cannot be looked upon as a boom. It represented a genuine change from uncontrolled competitive capitalism to a nationally managed form of capitalism which if applied internationally need never experience a slump of the classical variety.

The problem at the moment is that since a world economy now exists the system needs to be managed on a world

scale otherwise the old solutions fail. Any government which at the present time deliberately tries to expand its economy has to consider that when it does so it will probably succeed not in expanding sales and production for its own factories but sales of goods made abroad (for economists what I am arguing is that the value of the multiplier has significantly fallen). This means that when people like Mitterand attempt to expand they end up having awful problems with their balance of payments and so they have to totally reverse their policies. Reagan's expansion of the USA economy (forget the rhetoric — a huge budget deficit and an 8% growth rate is an expansionary policy of major proportions much of it fuelled by defence spending) is likely to run into the same problem.

The nature of the situation can perhaps best be illustrated by considering the history of American car production over the last few years. It is not so very long since firms like General Motors, Chrysler and Ford were comfortably confident of their sales on the American domestic market. They competed on things like producing new models and on advertising strategies but they were very cautious about competing on price. Between 1978 and 1982 production of passenger vehicles in the USA fell from 9.2 million vehicles to just under 5 million vehicles.

What was happening was genuine competition was taking place on markets which had once been the secure province of a few stable firms. As the 1920s and '30s demonstrated real competition is very bad for business. It forces them to cut prices and creates a genuine risk of bankruptcy. It also tempts them to introduce labour saving machinery and cut back the workforces. The result is rising unemployment.

If this damaging competition is to be avoided an international managing agency will have to be created which is as powerful as the national state — a kind of super-state. This is what politicians like Edward Heath and Willy Brandt are groping towards. Such a managing agency could take action in a whole number of areas.

1. An international agreement could be reached to boost all OECD countries at the same time. Such an agreement would have to be enforceable by the super-state authority but it would work to ensure a planned end to the current slump without balance of payments problems developing.
2. The effects of the movement of enormous sums of money between countries could be reduced. At the moment Arab oil countries, international

corporations, pension funds, and the rich generally are moving their money from country to country seeking the highest possible interest rates. This means countries bid against each other to attract these funds and so high interest rates exist which prevent investment in industry. These high interest rates also create severe pressure on debtor nations forcing them to cut back and even put weaker banks at risk but they do produce very nice returns on their capital for the rich. In the UK real interest rates have moved from *minus* 13.7% in 1975 to *plus* 2.5% in 1983, leaving people like home buyers seriously struggling to get by.

At the same time these movements of funds between countries cause wild fluctuations in currency values making it virtually impossible for firms to plan ahead and so prevents investment. For instance, the pound was worth \$2.40 in 1980 and only \$1.07 in early 1985. At the moment it is fluctuating wildly day by day.

No one state is powerful enough to control the currency movements which are causing these rapid changes and so conditions exist in which a virtual collapse of one or other major currency may even be possible. Central bankers are, however, slowly moving towards the idea of collective inter-state action to protect their currencies and this international management will eventually come and then currencies could be pegged in value. Agreements on the level of real interest rates could also be reached.

3. Broad trade agreements might be reached, eg to peg the proportion of imports into a country or to slow down the rate of change of import penetration under threat of the increasing use of artificial trade barriers. Strict quotas could be imposed on imports from third world countries to shut them out of OECD markets. More likely, however, is that international competitors will merge or co-operate so that there are only three or four firms in the world making each product for which there is a world market, and these firms will not compete on price.

4. Minimum safety precautions and pollution measures could be agreed worldwide to prevent third world countries drawing firms out of the rich countries by offering Bhopal style safety checks and ruthless suppression of workers. At the moment third world countries are out-bidding each other in the vicious nature of their 'free trade' zones.

5. Energy conservation measures could be encouraged worldwide so that the

threat of oil reserves running out doesn't create a limit to productive capacity.

6. It is even possible to conceive of a super-state taxing national governments (just as the EEC does) so that the funds can be used to develop third world countries. We are used to the Marxist idea that capitalism wants us to be poor. A more realistic idea is that poor people make poor consumers. Better by far to get new markets and new profits by developing these economies. This was the logic applied by planned capitalism within nations which became rich — why shouldn't it be applied internationally as well as domestically. Capitalism, or at least that section of it which is involved in production, would rather deal with a world of hard working dutiful consumers. It is therefore more realistic to expect the growth of more middle class nations than a deliberate driving down into poverty of the third world, but this development can only be pursued by the rich nations

collectively.

Of course such speculation creates enormous grounds for error. It depends on a major ideological shift taking place in the ruling class. It says nothing about the reaction of ordinary people to economic developments (eg if wage militancy is relatively strong they may have to use unemployment or rigidly enforced wage controls to keep us in check, if generalised militancy is sufficiently strong the whole economy could be organised on a co-operative basis). It also says virtually nothing about ecological limitations on growth and the potential for environmental disaster which a huge expansion of production might create. It also completely ignores the fact that since we are now back in an era of competition we can presumably expect normal trade cycles to operate again and a boom might take place for cyclical reasons.

Nevertheless, on one essential point I think I am unlikely to be wrong. We can

expect to see a steadily increasing role for remote international bodies like the IMF which could develop into effective world management agencies and steadily reduce the independence of national states. If this develops ordinary people will become even less capable of controlling events which directly affect the way they live their lives than they are at present. An economic system carefully run by a super-state can be permanently successful at providing an endless supply of jobs, wages and consumer goods. What it cannot provide is freedom of thought and action and a life which you control yourself.

A K Brown

PS This article is an attempt to drastically reduce ideas which would have occupied a complete issue if all the background had been filled in. Criticism is welcomed, but could critics try and quote happenings in the real world rather than happenings taking place only in Karl Marx's head.

## Lost in the Permanent Depression

There is a marked tendency amongst anarchists to write at a very complex level, usually 'losing' the average reader without actually revealing the underlying principles or forces involved. It's all rather like a detailed discussion and argument about the orbits of various planets, which somehow never mentions gravity. So here's a mini-version of 'Keynsian economic analysis and the current People's Crisis'.

What was 'new' (1936) about Keynesian economics was his observation that *what was true for an individual firm or consumer (micro-economics) was not necessarily true for the economy as a whole (macro-economics)*. This division between small scale (micro) and large scale (macro) effects is to be found throughout the physical world. To use Proff Searle's now 'famous' example, individual molecules of H<sub>2</sub>O are *not wet*. Liquidity shows up as a *feature* of their interaction. While common sense is certainly better than bad theory, macro whole-system effects are frequently *not obvious* in social life. Our individual experience will even mislead us into seeing them as 'obviously' wrong/silly 'nutter's theory'.

In economics, individual saving makes for individual prosperity. However, Keynes pointed out, at the national level where one person's spending is another person's income, saving leads to unemployment (unless its re-invested in Capital Goods).

Contrary to popular belief, the Keynesian solution to unemployment was *not* huge government borrowing and

spending, which merely transfers resources from the private sector to the state sector. The solution was, quite literally, to control the rate of interest, *print a little more money* and spend that (preferably on something worthwhile, but Keynes joked that you could bury money in holes in the ground and pay people to dig it up again).

This seems like something for nothing, but as Keynes pointed out, unemployed people and resources are just going to waste. The wealth they could have produced is simply *lost to us for once and for all*.

Why then do we have mass unemployment now? Well, during periods of 'controlled' full-employment capital accumulates faster than the demand for it. Being a commodity, its price therefore falls. Indeed, Keynes predicted an *absence of a rate of return on accumulated wealth* as a result of a 'generation' of state-managed full-employment.

This is not mere theoretical whimsey. It actually happened, here in the UK in the mid-70's. The Left, of course, utterly failed to notice this real 'crisis of capitalism' (from the capitalist's point of view). The Left seemed to expect the capitalists to take it lying down!

After 1974 and the miners' victory, the Right did a massive rethink and examination of their position. Somewhere, someone realised that if you could run the National economy to produce *full* employment, then you could also run it to produce *any level* of unemployment you cared to name and hold it there, steady. The same computer model would

do for either job.

All it needed was to abandon the political goal of full employment without a revolution (managed by the Labour Party who left 1.5M unemployed) and under the guise of an 'attack on inflation' substitute the aim of maximising the rate of return on accumulated wealth.

This depression is a deliberate, controlled political act. How far Thatcher's side really know what they've done I cannot say. Perhaps they don't realise Keynes is alive and well and living in the Treasury Computer. He would be stunned to see his equations put to exactly the opposite task to what he had in mind.

The important thing to notice about all this is that computer guided, nearly scientific, post-Keynsian economic theory says the same as us. That running the economy from the point of view of Capital (a thing) leads to less total wealth and treats labour (people) as a disposable commodity. 'What is Labour? Nothing. What should it be? Everything.' Who said that?

The return on Capital is now at historically high levels. The rich have solid political and economic reasons for keeping things exactly the way they are now, plus the means and knowledge to do so.

We have had our 'generation of full employment' . . . welcome to the Stable, Controlled, Permanent Depression.

Stu

PS Nobody's perfect. **THEY** could fuck it up.

PPS Did you get 'lost'? Sorry.

# CND and Effective Action

Rather than go tramping around the absorbent fields of Molesworth last Easter Monday I devoted the time to the following comments on Andy Brown's 'Dangerous Illusions' (*Freedom* April 1985).

To dispose of the criticism of AB's piece, it does a lot of what it correctly accuses CND of doing, shadow boxing around the reality of issues of political power and (nuclear) peace. This is regrettable because there are real issues buried beneath the tramp of apparently pointless marching feet, particularly pointless when they march miles away from anything other than wire and uniformed minions. Those of us who have seen the lack of point should be directing our energies to the resolution of these issues.

One reason for the decline of CND last time round is not very acceptable to anarchists. It was not exhaustion caused by ineffective action, but the fact that the middle class bureaucracy which held it together packed up. Why? As more than one such worthy said, and honestly believed, "Now we have got a Labour Government everything will be all right".

That particular lesson may have been learned, but in many places CND is simply a Labour Party front, acting as a funnel for the politically naive. But there are some differences. Last time around direct action was anathema to CND, hence the Committees of 100 in which many of us spent our time; now they are actively encouraging non-violent direct action.

CND was never anti-war. It is not therefore illogical for it to support excursions such as the Falklands, or culture clashes like Belfast or Beirut. And there is a qualitative difference between a few thousand (or millions) of humans devoting themselves to mutual annihilation, which is fairly acceptable, and the option of planetary biocide, which is not.

The point about the politics of *respectable people* is surely this: it does not matter whether their assumptions of the reality of the democratic process are correct or not; what is important is that the government is committed to pretending that they are correct. Both government and protestors can then be viewed as being

engaged in an escalation of credibility. Both deal in moral assertion and numbers, currencies which will reach limits of exchange. When these limits are reached, then credibility begins to break down. It is what happens at this point that should concern us initially.

There is no short cut. People have to test the illusions of their culture. Many never do, and remain content within that culture, but it is among those who are led to do so that we may expect to find new converts to sanity and anarchy. But we have to accept that the majority will not be able to face the implications of a breakdown of credibility, cognitive dissonance takes over very easily to protect us from different realities. One reason for the triumph of the bomb in our culture is probably that many people realise that you can't just get rid of nuclear weapons and leave everything else the same; they want the rest of the culture as is, even though it produces biocidal weapons.

So we need to change our culture. Anarchists accept this, but are more than vague on suitable methods. It may be that lots of people trying the mental shift required for *nvda* are taking a step in the right direction. There is a key factor within the concept of *nvda* which is rarely discussed, but which is entirely consistent with my idea of anarchy. It is this: in place of force *nvda* puts the responsibility and choice of any action upon the person it is being used against. (Your freedom ends where theirs begins.)

The scenario used to illustrate the principle was this: if the bomber (this was some time ago) is about to take off, and you wish to stop it you could a) throw yourself into an engine, or b) lie in front of the wheels. Which is *nvda*? Obviously the latter, because it puts the choice and responsibility for your death upon the pilot. He must make the conscious choice to run you over. Holding him up while his engine is un-gummed is not the same thing at all.

Whether the success of such actions may be worth staking your own life on depends on the degree to which you and the pilot share the same system of values. In the days when Gandhi was unsettling the British Raj, or even when Vietnamese Buddhists burned themselves passively to death, individuals who were prepared to make this sacrifice might have cut some ice. But is *nvda* relevant in this sense today?

We all know that under an increasing number of circumstances governments need little encouragement to kill people who inconvenience them. One could still die as an act of absolute moral conviction,

although such deaths would have diminishing returns, particularly against a background of general unrest and tension. For those who would choose this path timing and a sense of theatre are probably of prime importance. For most though, *nvda* will increasingly be seen as a tactic rather than a conviction.

As such it will probably be the final tactic in the breakdown of credibility of the moral rules of the culture for many. In this it has a place and should be encouraged. Police clubbing and booting of the pacifist middle-classes from the bloodstained wheat of Molesworth, in contrast to the same thing happening to miners on coal tips, could be a climatic final scene in the logic of the current round of people versus government in the matter of provision for genocide.

AB is right of course, governments will simply brush aside such protest in the final analysis. The trouble is, most people simply do not believe this. A sort of cultural cognitive dissonance operates at this level. Hitler's gift to governments of the world of open plan genocide is kept well hidden from the likely victims; each generation has to discover the possibility for themselves.

So what of answers? I hope it is not what I think AB means when he says that "it (*nvda*) can be replaced by some useful political activity". Surely that is what happened to those left high and dry in CND last time round: how does this help?

We have to try something new. To defuse both biocidal weapons and governments we have to develop cultural structures which avoid the possibility of such aberrations. The problem for all of us, from 'concerned, Croydon' to the purest anarchist, is that we are all playing on *their* pitch, with *their* ball, by *their* rules, (yes, of course the referee is on *their* side). What we have to do is invent new life games that avoid this dependence, and to start to play them for real.

If we are right in opposition to 'them', then they will become as irrelevant as many of the other socio-cultural artefacts which humanity has left behind in its evolution. Of course politicking can offer ego boosting excitement, but its danger is that it simply reinforces that which it confronts. In the end (or if there is to be no end) a new socio-cultural paradigm is the only answer.

The keystone which has to be removed first is that which underwrites most undesirable human activity: our institutional structures. The task we should be addressing, whether as anarchists or pacifists, is the means of deconstructing the institutions which generate the problems.

Colin Johnson



## CND Debate

I agree with Andy Brown, the nuclear disarmament movement collapsed in the 1960s because of delusions. Anarchists and others tried to tell people what was happening, but the deluded could not understand our warnings. The cult of 'non-violent direct action', however, did no harm; the delusion which caused the collapse was faith in democratic leadership.

We must distinguish between the campaign for nuclear disarmament, ie a campaign, and the (capital letters) Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, ie an organization with membership fees and paid officers. Anybody may be a *member* of CND who will pay the sub, but the *policy* of CND is decided by a committee. Before about 1968 there was a permanent committee (doubtless they were re-elected annually), consisting of Canon Collins (chairman) and the other founders of CND. None of them favoured 'direct action'; their sole plan for getting rid of nuclear weapons was to convince the lawmakers by reasoned argument. Without exception, they were members of the Labour Party. Their professional organizer, the remarkable Peggy Duff, was another keen Labourite, fully committed to the CND line.

The first two Aldermaston marches, one by a lone elderly pacifist and the next by some tens of thousands, were quite independent of CND; examples of 'non-violent direct action', marching to Aldermaston to argue with the workers in the atomic weapons factory. Seeing the numbers prepared to march, CND undertook the organization and turned subsequent marches towards Westminster, in conformity with their policy of converting the people who commanded the work rather than those who did it.

The marches now became the principal



activity of both CND and the nuclear disarmament movement outside CND, so much so that the movement and the organization became confused in people's minds. Gerald Holtom's famous nuclear disarmament symbol, designed for a group called the Direct Action Committee, came to be thought of as a CND trade mark. CND was mis-credited with various 'direct' actions which they opposed. The confusion persists to this day, as we see in Andy's article.

Hugh Gaitskell, faced with a ban-the-bomb decision at the Labour Party annual conference, said in a famous speech that he would continue to fight it. Harold Wilson, faced with a similar decision, did not say either that he would fight it or that he would accept it; he said 'We had totally reserved our position.' Taking non-committment to mean acceptance, CND diverted all their resources and used all their influence to

the end of getting Labour into power.

It was obvious Labour in power would keep the bomb, and like many others I thought at the time that the controllers of CND were a crew of cynical political tricksters. It soon became clear, however, that their only fault was misplaced faith in human nature. Canon Collins published an 'Open Letter to Denis Healey' (the new Labour Minister of Defence), so expressive of disillusion and frustration one could almost see tearstains on the printed page. Peggy Duff resigned from the Labour Party, after many years as a Labour Councillor, with well-publicised expressions of disgust. All the officers of CND, both honorary and paid, resigned their offices.

The movement in general trusted the CND leadership, CND had trusted the Labour leadership, and everything had gone phut.

Donald Room

## A far-too-long Debate Reply

It is really good to see *Freedom* coming up with some good articles which discuss present day problems and issues. It seems to me many anarchists have become stuck in the 19th century along with their long-time protagonists, marxists (and, for that matter, conservatives), as Bookchin writes, 'just as the emergence of private property became society's original sin in Marxism orthodoxy, so the emergence of the State became society's original sin in anarchist orthodoxy'. In the Stu/Mick debate over delegation of power, Stu argues that Marxism has no theory of political power, but I am also beginning to wonder how far anarchism has progressed in developing its theory of political power,

as I am not one of those people who believes all theoretical, and consequently, *practical*, problems have been solved.

As far as I can see, Bakunin was correct in his analysis of the importance and function of state political power, but what exactly does 'smashing the state' (which Marx also enthusiastically advocated in the Communist Manifesto) mean today. For example, the State of Bakunin's time did not fund or run hospitals, playgrounds, day-care centres and the like, institutions which comprise our welfare state, which, in true libertarian fashion the present radical Tory Government is 'smashing' with terrible consequences — it was recently estimated in the *Guardian*

that 40,000 old age pensioners had died last winter because of cuts in benefits for heating. Bakunin's State, especially the despotic tsarist regime he lived under, and in whose prison he was incarcerated, which existed in order to protect the interests of a ruling elite and expanding

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