

anarchist fortnightly

# Freedom

Vol. 62 No. 7

7th April 2001

50p



## Nationalism's chains

**T**he Balkans are on the point of another conflagration, this time in Macedonia, a republic which broke away from Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, and whose population is divided between Serbs and Albanians.

Macedonian troops in the town of Tetovo are blasting Albanian separatist guerrillas, holed-up in the mountains surrounding the town.

What's the bloodshed for? It's not that Albanians in the country are particularly hard done by. They certainly don't suffer the discrimination the Kosovans did. Tetovo, for example, is home to a new international university, which has a high number of Albanian students.

It comes down to the wish of a few Albanian would-be bosses to win support for themselves (as Milosevic

once used nationalism to feed his own ambitions). But that isn't a sufficient explanation. To work, it needs something more pointless still. That's the willingness of people – Serbs or Albanians in this case – to swallow nationalism's lies.

This willingness is one more link in the chains we wrap around ourselves. But it's the bosses' interests it serves, never our own.

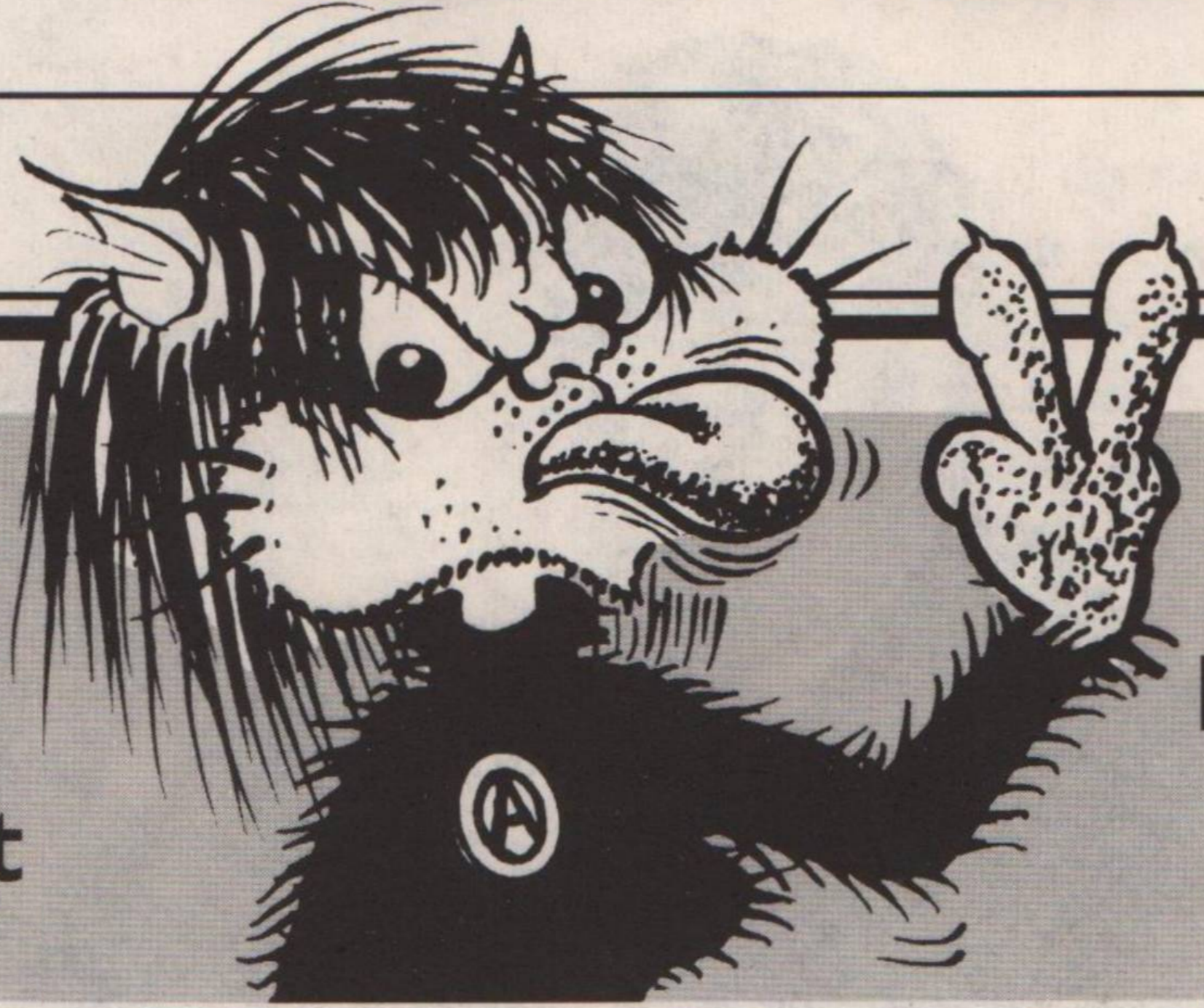
# anarchist fortnightly

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**OMIGOD!**  
Election shock  
... or possibly not

**IS THE  
ELECTION ON?**  
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**Obituary of  
TONY GIBSON**  
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## Québec summit

On 20th April, political bosses are expected to join representatives of leading multinational companies in Canada's Québec City, for the third Summit of the Americas.

The leaders of every state in North and South America, and of the Caribbean (except Cuba) are set to agree a historic trade pact, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

The new agreement would (its supporters say) be a significant step forwards for the globalisation agenda. It would extend existing agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) agreed by Canada, the US and Mexico in 1994, to cover the whole of the continent.

But Canadian hosts are alarmed at threatened mass protests against the summit from a raft of anarchist and other anti-capitalist groups. In the biggest police mobilisation Canada has ever seen, they have ordered over 5,000 cops and other security personnel to guard the meeting.

"We know that there are people who cause trouble and incite the crowd to rail against police, and it degenerates from there", warns official police PR Richard Gagne. "So we're preparing for that as a result. Our mandate is to maintain peace, order and respect for the law – and we'll do what we must to fulfil our mandate".

A provincial prison has been emptied of its usual inhabitants in readiness for the operation, which will be shared between the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Québec police and two municipal forces.

Canada's secret police, the Security Intelligence Service, has also been heavily involved in the state's preparations. One SIS report, leaked recently, worries that "radical elements and extremists are taking advantage both of the absence of a controlling element and the events themselves to indulge in violence".

Thousands of local residents and workers have been issued with permits to reach their homes, when a massive police cordon is thrown around areas of the city where meetings are expected. This will be enforced by a four metre high metal fence, nearly five kilometres long.

But prospective protesters have shrugged off the state's preparations. "It's in the hands of police, the determinate of how much violence there will be", says Juliette Beck of Global Exchange, a San Francisco human rights group. "It's up to the way the Québec police intend to greet these protesters".

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## Don't Vote



BAe Hawk jets, exported to Indonesia under the Labour government's 'ethical foreign policy'

As *Freedom* went to press, it looked as though Blair was going to delay the election until June, instead of having it on 3rd May as he was universally reported to want. But whenever the poll finally happens, we don't want to play his silly little game.

Why won't we vote? Because as anarchists, we want a society where we are free to rule over ourselves, where we can live in accordance with our own interests. And voting for somebody else to boss us around doesn't get us any nearer to our goal.

To be governed, as one nineteenth century anarchist famously wrote, is to be "watched over, inspected, spied on, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge nor the virtue to do so". We know damn well that whatever party ends up sitting on those posh green Westminster benches, Labour or Tory, all we can look forward to is another four years of attacks on the little freedom we now possess.

### Labour, Tory, same old story?

The Tories have always been open opponents of liberty. Labour nowadays have driven a stake through the heart of their old pretence, that they wanted to make our lives better.

There couldn't be a better example of the inadequacy of capitalist democracy than

Harold Wilson's last Labour government (the last Labour government before Blair, as it happens).

Returned to power in 1974, Labour seemed set on nationalising banks and other industries. The rest of the year saw a huge decline in the London share price. Memoirs of decaying Labourites have groaned ever since with the gloomy question: where did it all go wrong?

### Pressure from industry

The big cheeses in British boardrooms weren't exactly impressed by the new

government's reformist rhetoric. The scramble of companies to disinvest from the UK brought about a capital flight; by 1976, the Treasury was spending \$100m daily in a doomed attempt to support the value of the pound. Things could only get worse. The rest, as they say, is history. Broken strikes, unburied dead, winter of discontent, the

woman whose name we won't mention ...

Wilson's cabinet had its share of left-wingers, Tony Benn for one, and they were all powerless against two forces implacably opposed to change. The first of these, as

(continued on page 2)

## ELECTION VIEWPOINT

## Anarchists evicted

As *Freedom* went to press we learned that police had swooped on Brixton's Button Factory meeting venue, in support of bailiffs executing an eviction order. The surprise move was widely seen as an attempt to disrupt preparations for Mayday.

A team of around two hundred cops from the Metropolitan and City of London forces, and British Transport Police, accompanied bailiffs to the disused factory in Wanless

Road at 6.00am last Saturday (31st March). Nobody was at the address at the time.

The owner of the premises, using his own staff and machinery, then made the building uninhabitable.

Since its opening last year, The Button Factory had become an important meeting place for anarchists and other activists. Most recently, organisers of the Mayday Monopoly action had been planning a training weekend there.

## Freedom

anarchist fortnightly

*"I'm not talking about people bribing the government – that's corruption. I'm talking about government bribing the people – that's democracy."*

**'George Parr'**

Character on the satirical television show *Bremner, Bird and Fortune*

Anarchists work towards a society of mutual aid and voluntary co-operation. We reject all government and economic repression.

Freedom Press is an independent anarchist publisher. Besides the fortnightly newspaper *Freedom*, we also produce *The Raven* quarterly journal and many books on all aspects of anarchism. We also run Britain's biggest anarchist bookshop.

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# Dessert Storm

International flan groups have designated April as an 'international month of pie-rect action'. Groups such as the Biotic Baking Brigade in the United States, and Wales's Just Desserts activists, have named the month of actions from April Fools Day to May Day 'Operation Dessert Storm'. They promise a renewed series of custard pie attacks on very important people from politics, industry and the media.

This follows recent pies in the face for Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien and British Overseas Development Minister Clare Short. The latest victim was James Wolfensohn, director of the World Bank, who was flanned last week in Finland.

Piemeister Geek Sorbet of the Biotic Baking Brigade says "revolution is about doing things out of the ordinary. I think about what it will be like everyday and I expect to be shocked and surprised by any revolution. Pie-throwing embraces so many beautiful aspects of humanity, it's strange and it doesn't happen every day".

He explains the benefits of throwing a custard pie in the bosses' faces. "First of all there's the great video footage".

Secondly, "it is merely the act of a clown. That lovable self-abusive humour merchant. It's funny to watch. Despite your outrage,



World Bank director James Wolfensohn, flanned in Helsinki on Thursday 29th March

deep down you see the humour. A little pie never hurt anybody".

Thirdly, "we are all human, even the richest and most powerful. You could be forgiven for believing that these people are somehow

untouchable, special, above or separate from us. This uprising has its roots in the belief that our planet is not dying, it is being killed. And the ones doing the killing have names and faces".

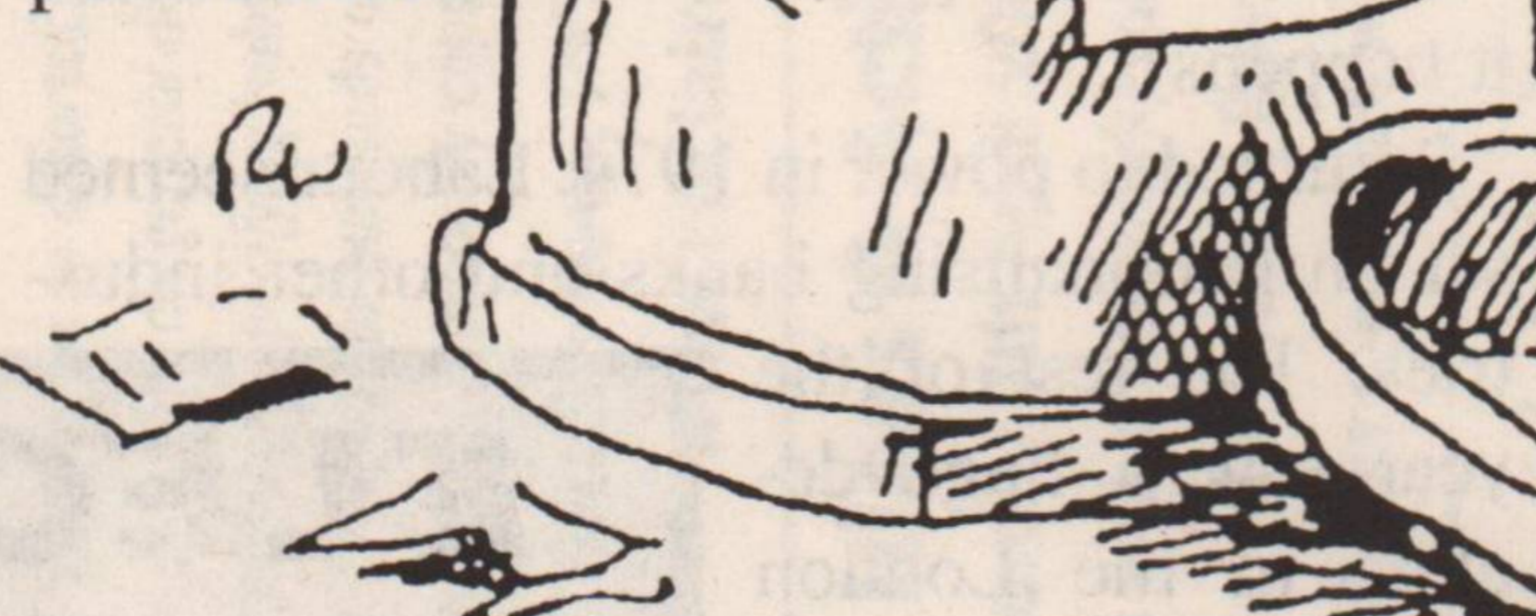
(continued from page 1)

always, was business. Industry is loathe to invest in countries where government policy affects its ability to make a profit. So it doesn't, or threatens it won't. And the consequences are dire.

### Power of the state

The other force pushing against any attempt at reform comes from the state's own bureaucracy.

Reformist politicians seem to think that government and state are the same, but that's a mistake. The personnel



within governments come and go (some ministers change yearly), as they succeed or fail in their attempts to pull the wool over our eyes.

The real power remains behind the throne, in the institutions of the state. It's the secret state of secret police and their masters we should worry about. It's the permanent government of Whitehall. These (generally) faceless spooks and mandarins are somehow accountable to elected politicians, we're told. But it's crap – we know it; the crappers know it; the people they're spinning the crap for know it most of all.

The state isn't neutral, and never can be. It has always been, will always be, an institution which exists to protect the few at the expense of the many. The mystery is why we continue to tolerate its existence.

### Some reforms allowed

Of course governments sometimes push through reforms which benefit their subjects. Even Blair has championed the minimum wage, in the face of lacklustre protests from

employers. But one hand giveth while the other one only taketh away. This newspaper has chronicled New Labour's repressive legislation programme and will continue to do so after the election. Our advice to you, dear readers, is not to be taken in by their plastic grins and their plastic charm.

They'll throw us a few crumbs of reform to be sure, when it suits them and when it doesn't cost too much (the minimum wage was accurately named, at least). They'll throw us a lot more too, when we really get angry enough to scare them. The reforms of an earlier Labour government, in the years after the second world war, were a cautious response to the fear of British bosses. This was articulated by Tory MP Quintin Hogg. "If you don't give the people social reforms, they are going to give you a social revolution".

And Attlee's reforms were remarkably cautious, in view of the way they've been talked up since. By strange coincidence, the 20% of the economy which was nationalised comprised the most unprofitable sectors of industry, leaving the previous owners to chortle over their fat compensation packages.

As we said all those years ago, "the owning class is not at all displeased with the record and tendency of the Labour Party".

### Direct action

We think that everything we've said makes it good practical sense not to vote on polling day. But there's a deeper reason too. Participation in the electoral process is the opposite of direct action. Even if we assume (an unfeasibly large assumption, we would point out) that politicians genuinely care about us and our concerns, representative democracy will always mean getting somebody else to act on our behalf. Instead of giving us empowerment, instead of giving us confidence in our ability to run our own lives, it creates new bosses to rule over us and assume responsibility for us. If that was what we'd wanted, couldn't we just've stayed at school?

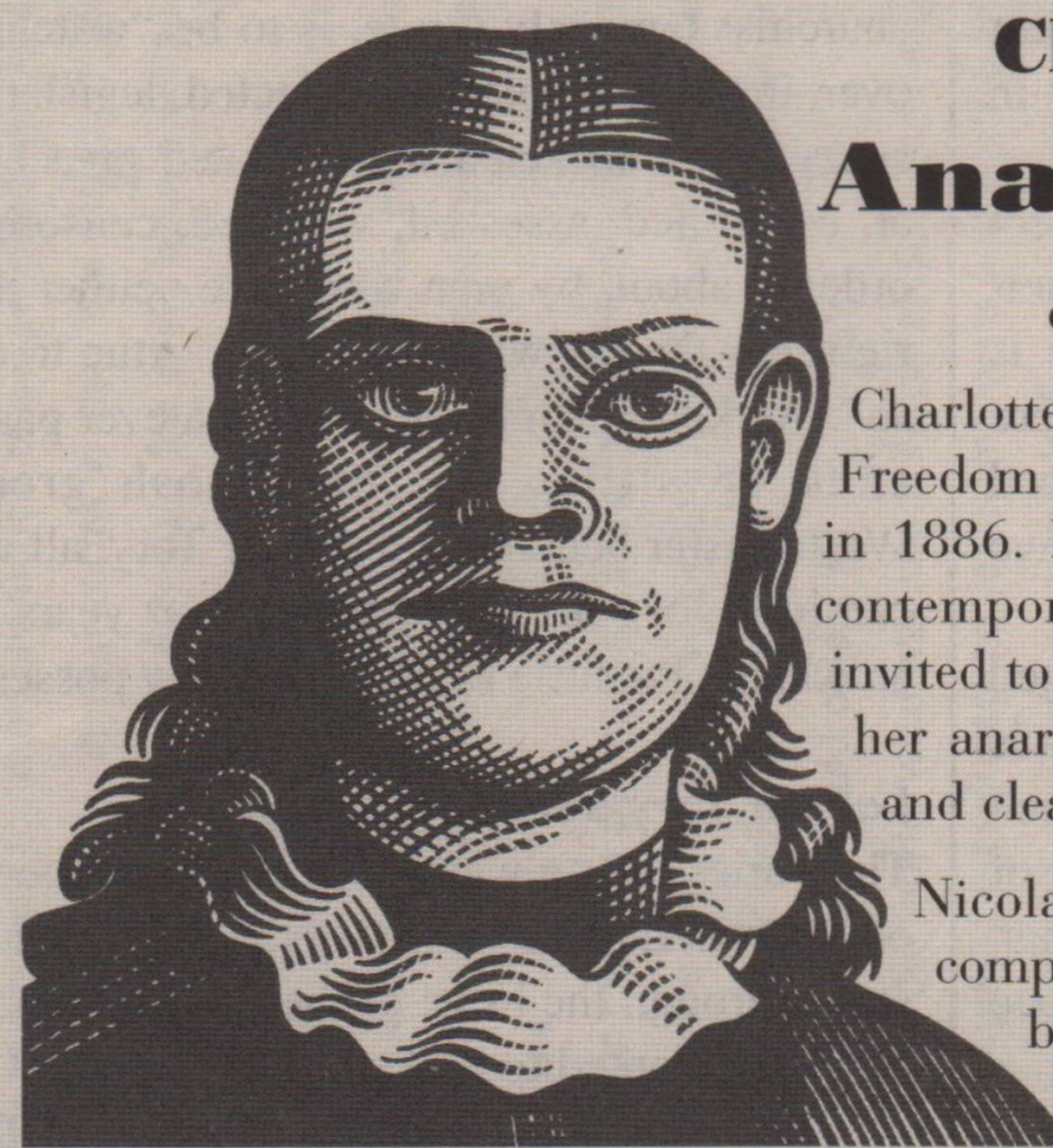
### Democracy – just say no!

But the deepest reason of all for staying home in May/June/October is because we reject the notion of democracy itself. It is a political theory which is based, at its root, on the idea that might is right and must be obeyed (what is majority, except might?). It takes away our sovereignty over our own lives as surely as voting for a new boss ever would. It marginalises us, it denies us. Put simply, it's daft. Yet people still roll up to vote. Don't do it – just say no.

Editorial on page 7

## Charlotte Wilson Anarchist Essays

edited by Nicolas Walter



Charlotte Wilson was the principal founder of Freedom Press and the first editor of *Freedom* in 1886. Like the work of her better-known contemporary Peter Kropotkin, whom she invited to England to join the *Freedom* group, her anarchist writings are scholarly, original and clear.

Nicolas Walter finished editing this compilation for Freedom Press a few days before his untimely death.

96 pages

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# 'Teenage tearaways'

A new government initiative aimed at teenagers began last week, reportedly as part of Tony Blair's promise of 'zero tolerance of yob culture'. Up to 1,500 people, labelled 'persistent young offenders' by press and politicians, are now under full-time surveillance from sophisticated electronic tagging.

As well as wearing the tags, they have to call in regularly from designated telephones in order to confirm where they are. They are also being closely supervised, with state employees accompanying them when they go out in the evening or over weekends.

The programme has been developed by the government's official 'youth justice board', as part of what it claims is a strategy for keeping 'teenage tearaways' out of custody and for stopping them becoming 'career criminals'.

Blair went into the 1997 election claiming to be "tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime", and has spent much effort on trying to boost his standing in what has traditionally been seen as a Tory area.

Activists have condemned the move as yet another erosion of civil liberties under the Labour government. "I suppose in one way it's hard to criticise it, if it means less people getting locked up" says Jax, an anti-prisons protester. "But I still wouldn't want to be watched by the police all the time, and as for



Caught on camera, some yobs go into action

having one of them join me when I was going out with my mates ..." He jokes "at least the government is consistent. They're not doing this because there's an election coming up. They've been a bunch of reactionary arseholes all along!"

Police and social services in Kent came under attack last week when it emerged that a 12-year-old girl had been kept in police cells for nearly three days.

Editorial on page 7

# Towards Mayday 2001

In our issues leading up to Mayday 2001, *Freedom* will run this regular column, featuring the more ludicrous/obvious plants by Britain's finest.

The headline in the *News of the World* (18th March) was "Name a thug and stop a riot". This was carried over snapshots of "28 prime suspects in Britain's biggest manhunt".

They were all caught on film during last year's May Day, when "5,000 anarchists tore through the capital, desecrating the Cenotaph and Churchill's statue".

Now police are racing against time to track them down before a similar wave of mayhem hits the streets on 1st May this year.

Detective Chief Inspector Jim Dickie, who is leading the hunt, told reporter Peter Rose that "these men are all wanted for questioning". He also sent out this warning: "We'll identify you and we'll get you".

Readers of Rose's article may be surprised to learn that at least three of the pictured 'anarchists' are "believed to be members of the Turkish communist party". Belonging to Leninist vanguards isn't usually seen as an libertarian strategy, after all. But Rose has a more important point to make. "In just one day after last year's outrage, seven out of eleven people who appeared in court held foreign passports". Shocker.

# Mark Barnsley

A second demonstration was held outside Wakefield Prison on 24th March to protest Mark's continued ill-treatment at the jail. Over forty people turned out and Mark and a number of other prisoners held a one day hunger strike. A couple of us went in to visit Mark and were subjected to the kind of harassment visitors to him have come to take for granted. After going through a rub-down search and x-ray, visitors are inspected by a drug dog - which, according to the Prison Security Manual, is expected to sit down to indicate traces of prohibited substances. On the day, the dog handler led the dog straight to Mark's visitors, held it next to one of us so that it couldn't walk past and, even though the dog wouldn't sit, ordered a closed visit. Over two-thirds of Mark's visits have been closed under such circumstances. The drug dog excuse has been deployed to justify the opening and delaying of legal mail. Mark's mail is routinely withheld, in breach of his rights under Article 8 of the European Convention.

All supporters are asked to attend a demonstration at HMP Wakefield on Sunday 22nd April at 12.30 - we'll keep coming as long as they keep up the ill-treatment. We urge everyone to attend, to make the demo as big - and as noisy - as possible. Prisons Minister Paul Boateng has now said in writing that Mark was transferred from HMP Frankland to HMP Wakefield (a jail with a 90% sex offender population) because of "rumours of possible unrest" at Frankland and because "Mr Barnsley has been a rather difficult prisoner to manage within a prison environment". No disciplinary offences were ever brought against Mark at Frankland, and neither he nor his solicitor have ever been given reasons in writing for the transfer to Wakefield, suggesting that the transfer was intended as a punishment transfer - a clear breach of Instruction To Governors 28/93 which prohibits transfers as a form of punishment.

Mark Barnsley was beaten up, fitted up and locked up by a state he's always opposed, and which continues to ill treat him. Many of us who support him feel he's also been let down by the anarchist movement and the wider left. If we can't defend one of our own then what use are we to anyone else banged up in such circumstances.

NS

Write to Mark Barnsley (WA 2897) at HMP Wakefield, 5 Love Lane, Wakefield WF2 9AG (send letter by recorded delivery or he won't get it - send him an sae if you want a reply). Join Justice for Mark Barnsley, PO Box 381, Huddersfield HD1 3XX. Telephone 07944 522001, or visit the website at [www.freemarkbarnsley.com](http://www.freemarkbarnsley.com)

# New Curriculum

From September 2001, the government-imposed curriculum in state schools will include instruction in citizenship. One key element will concern ethics and integrity in the workplace.

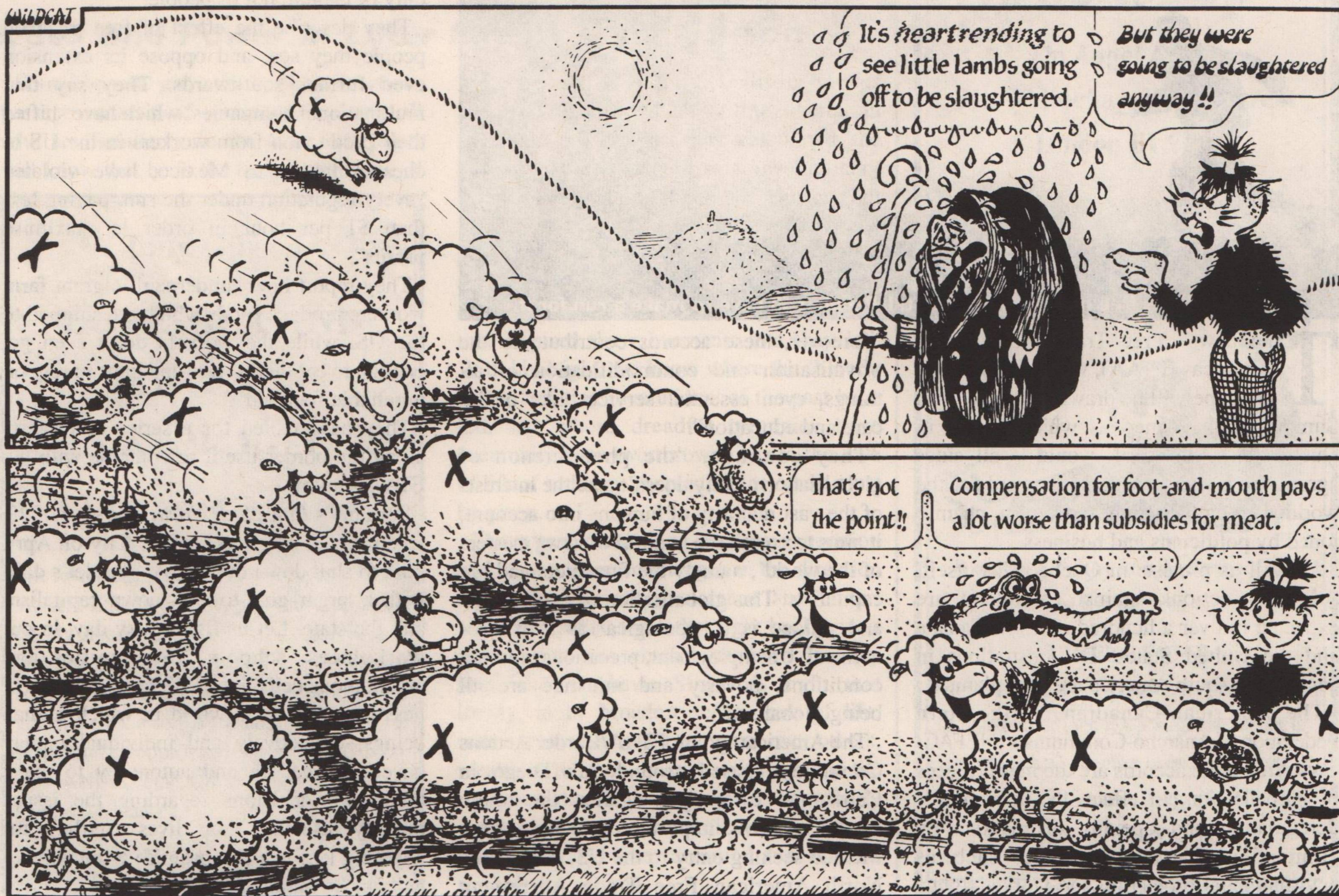
This follows one recent survey which found a relaxed attitude among 13 and 14-year-olds towards shoplifting and other forms of law-breaking.

The response of one teenager, on being told of the new course, was "yes, I know, more lectures". Another described a citizenship module she is already forced to take, in PDM. "That's short for Personal Decision Making. Or pants, because it's totally

useless. In PDM, they tell you that you can have your opinion, but if it's not the 'right' opinion, the teacher gives you a special look and says 'hmmm, yes. That's an interesting perspective. But I don't agree with it'."

The students were also suspicious of politicians' motives in introducing the new requirements. "Who do they think they are?" said one.

"They tell us to be caring and stuff" said another. "And then you go home and watch the news and the government is saying, yes we care about the third world debt, but those countries should still pay us back because we're the rich ones."



# Nuclear train delayed



Stop the train! 27th March

The largest police operation in Germany since the second world war finally ended on Thursday last week, when a huge consignment of nuclear waste at last reached the waste storage facility near the small village of Gorleben, in the north of the country.

The waste, which left the French reprocessing plant in Le Hague at dawn last Monday, was transported in a heavily-guarded CASTOR train. CASTOR stands for 'Cask for Storage and Transport of Radioactive Waste'. It crossed the German border on Monday night carrying 60 tonnes of waste.

Around 20,000 police guarded the shipment along the 375km route. But despite freezing weather, anti-nuclear protesters

obstructed the train all the way to its destination. It finally arrived over a day late.

People occupied the tracks, chaining and cementing themselves down to hinder attempts to remove them. In one place, this meant that police took 20 hours to remove five demonstrators.

On Tuesday, the train had to change its route after a blockade in Göttingen in which Greenpeace activists abseiled from a bridge and suspended themselves over the railway line.

In another action, school students squatted their schools to prevent police commandeering them as accommodation for their personnel. They then opened the buildings up themselves, to provide accommodation for protesters.

Before the train arrived at the Dannenberg rail terminal, where the radioactive casks were transferred to trucks for the final few kilometres of the journey, police evicted several camps which demonstrators had set up. Several demonstrators were badly injured.

Over the four days of the transport, 1,400 protesters were arrested. Most of them were later released without charge. There were widespread reports of police brutality.

This was the first CASTOR transport to be carried out since 1998. It came despite last year's promise by the German government, which includes several prominent Green politicians, to abandon nuclear power.

Editorial on page 7

# Indian dam

Hundreds of people took to the streets of Dhar in India's Madhya Pradesh province last week, in protest at the arrest of activists campaigning against the Narmada dam project on 21st March.

The original protesters had been campaigning against the Man dam; but activists against the Maheshwar and Sardar dams joined the march on the office of the province's chief minister, Shri Digvijay Singh.

They demanded that the minister order the immediate release of the prisoners and an end to construction work on the dams themselves.

The Man dam is one of thirty large dams included in the Narmada Valley Development Project. Seventeen villages will be severely affected, with the displacement of around 6,000 people. No compensation has been provided.

Shri Devisingh, one of those affected, says "the government is guilty of trying to forcibly displace us without rehoming us. Therefore the government should be charged for atrocities".

# Belgian Bookfair

Belgian anarchists who organised a bookfair in Gent on 17th March say that the event was a success. Ludwig, one of the organisers, told *Freedom* that around 700 visitors attended the event.

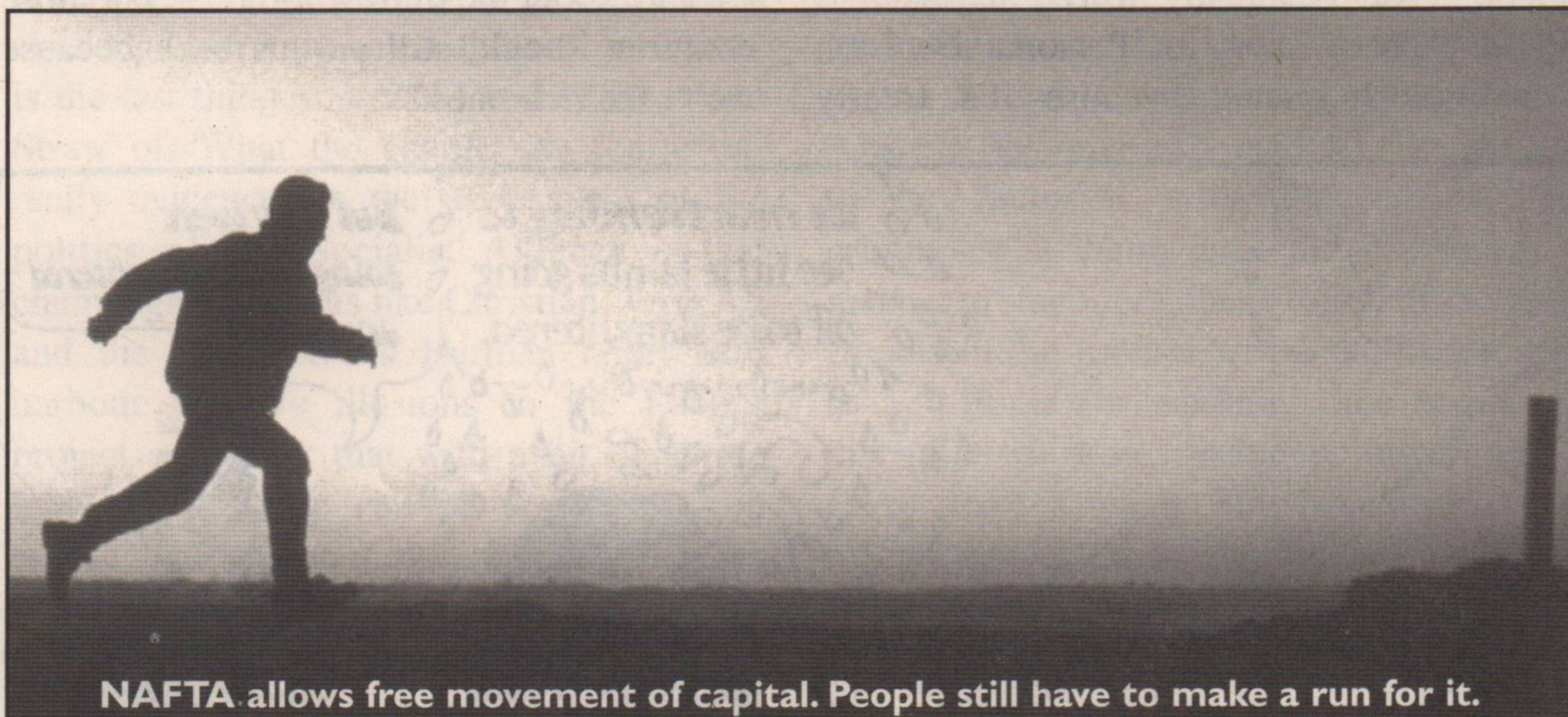
He says he sees the fair as a means of fostering "mutual contacts and understanding", following the development of closer



contacts between the two Belgian anarchist magazines, *Alternative Libertaire* (in French) and *De Nar* (in Dutch).

He goes on, "of course all this wouldn't have been possible without the generous and spontaneous help of people to spread the news. For which our thanks".

# FTAA misery



NAFTA allows free movement of capital. People still have to make a run for it.

The new Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), which its supporters hope will be drawn up at the third Summit of the Americas which begins in Québec on 20th April, would – all sides agree – be a significant step forward for the worldwide globalisation movement championed by politicians and business.

As well as protests in Québec City itself, solidarity actions against capitalism are expected in over a hundred cities in Canada and the United States. Demonstrations in central and south America are also planned.

The American-Canadian Northeastern Federation of Anarcho-Communists (NEFAC) says "free trade accords are the masterpieces of globalisation. In effect, they permit the deregulation and opening of markets by eliminating 'barriers to trade' such as environmental protection and worker rights.

Moreover, these accords contribute to the privatisation and commodification of all things, even essential services like health care and education".

They continue, "the phenomenon of globalisation clearly doesn't take the interests of the vast majority of humans into account, it aims to enrich the handful of new 'masters of the world', namely the financiers and big capitalists. This globalisation of exploitation and pillage is as ecological as it is economical. Unemployment, precarious working conditions, poverty and injustice are all being globalised".

The American group FTAA/Border Actions Committee, based around San Diego in California, campaigns against the tough border controls imposed on people from Mexico seeking entry to the US, despite the North American Free Trade Agreement

(NAFTA) which allows free movement between the two states and Canada – but only of capital, not of people.

They describe the effect of free trade on people they see, and oppose its extension even further southwards. They say that multinational companies, which have shifted their production from workers in the US to cheaper labour in Mexico, have violated "every regulation under the sun, paying less than \$1 per hour in order to maximise profits".

They report how "underpaid migrant farm workers produce foods which are shipped to the US, while the workers don't even get enough to eat themselves and have to rely on unreliable food aid".

They have called for a series of protests along the border itself, to coincide with the FTAA summit.

Portland's *Black Star North* zine says of the summit, "let us go to Québec City on April 20th to shut down the FTAA – but let's do it with a larger goal to shut down capitalism and the state. Let us fight every day, in our workplaces, schools, communities and autonomous cells, by daylight and the darkness of night, for a world in which human beings, collectively and individually, may have the freedom and autonomy to make their own decisions regarding the issues directly affecting their lives. Settling for anything less is a compromise to our liberty and our humanity".

# Bolivian conference

Anarchists in Bolivia have held their first conference in over thirty years. The meeting in Cochabamba, which was held on 24th-25th March, was called by the *Kolektividad Libertaria* with the declared objective of establishing contact between individual activists and groups from around the country. Topics for discussion included the need for organisation, class struggle, history of the movement in Bolivia and analysis of current political developments in south America. Visitors from Argentina and Uruguay were also expected.

There has been an increase in radical activity in Bolivia in recent months, often centred on Cochabamba. "Bolivia is a social powder keg", said one attender.

— OBITUARY —

# Tony Gibson

Our comrade Tony Gibson died in the early hours of Thursday 22nd March 2001.

Hamilton Bertie Gibson was the youngest of seven children in a wealthy family. At the age of sixteen he absconded from his posh boarding school to live the life of Riley in Soho and Bloomsbury. At twenty he was accepted as a medical student, but had to leave when his father refused to fund him.

In 1939 he achieved fame, anonymously, as the Brylcreem Boy. An artists' model, he posed for Brylcreem advertisements with the photographer Howard Coster. His spiky black hair was greased down, though not with Brylcreem which the barber did not have. One photograph was used repeatedly, in full-page Brylcreem ads on the back covers of magazines. In 1940 the Brylcreem boy was given an RAF uniform by photographic retouchers – at a time when Tony was in prison for refusing military service.

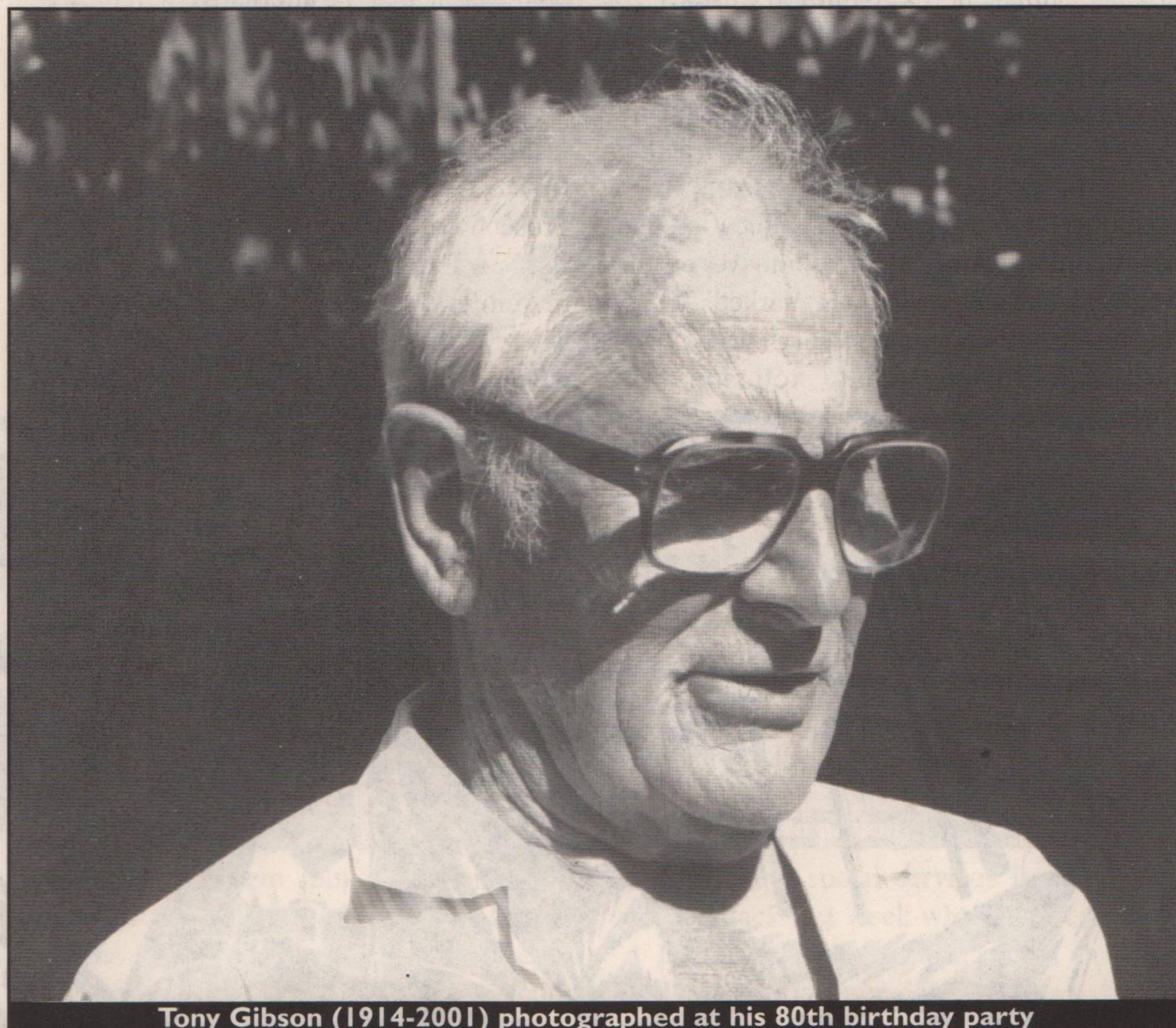
A handsome charmer, he had many love affairs, but settled with Betty, six years older than him, from the 1930s till her death in 1984. Without her influence, it seems unlikely that Tony would have achieved what he did.

He and Betty were members of the Forward Movement within the Peace Pledge Union. When war broke out, the Forward Movement declared themselves anarchists, and Tony was associated with Freedom Press from then on.

After three terms of imprisonment as a conscientious objector, he joined the Friends Ambulance Unit as a driver and paramedic in London. The first case he attended, he told us, was of two soldiers, one of whom had bumped his nose causing it to bleed, while the other had fainted at the sight of blood.

From 1945 until 1953 he taught at Burgess Hill School, a progressive school in Hampstead, London. In 1952 Freedom Press published his book about progressive schools, *Youth for Freedom, Freedom for Youth*, now long out of print. (His 'Burgess Hill School, a personal account' is still in print in *The Raven* number 3).

In 1954 there was an ironic windfall when



Tony Gibson (1914-2001) photographed at his 80th birthday party

Tony's father died intestate, and his estate was distributed according to intestacy law. Hamilton Bertie's whereabouts were traced by private detectives and he was given his portion, enough for him to become a student at London School of Economics.

For some time he had been advising fellow anarchists to read Max Stirner's *The Ego and His Own*, especially the last section, 'The Owner', in which Stirner sets out his social ideas. While most of his fellow students kept to well-known writers, especially Marx, Tony impressed his teachers with his knowledge of Stirner. He was awarded BSc Sociology with first class honours, and offered a job at LSE as Research Assistant (i.e. postgraduate studentship with a small

stipend). Declining this offer, he studied for post-graduate qualifications in psychology, and in 1958 accepted a job as Research Assistant to Hans Eysenck at the Institute of Psychiatry, where he obtained a PhD in 1962. Then followed a distinguished career as a university researcher and teacher. From 1970 to 1976 he was Head of the Department of Psychology at Hatfield Polytechnic (now gloriously the University of Hertfordshire) and retired from there as a Senior Research Fellow in 1979. Thereafter he travelled up and down the country, appearing in court cases as an expert witness on hypnotism. He was President of the British Society of Experimental and Clinical Hypnosis.

As part of his earlier study of hypnosis in 1961, he tested a group of anarchist volunteers for susceptibility, comparing them with a group of students from University College London and a group of spiritualists and faith-healers (this last group proved "too weird in personality to be included in the main study").

He initiated the first *Freedom* readership survey, asking respondents about their education, occupations, if they were anarchists, how they had learned about *Freedom*, and what other periodicals they read (nearly all read *The Observer*, so it might have been useful to advertise *Freedom* there, if only we could afford their rates).

In retirement, Tony was associated with the University of the Third Age group in Cambridge. His authorship is long and varied, including a biography of Eysenck and books on hypnotism, pain and ageing. One book, *Love, Sex and Power in Later Life*, is published by Freedom Press with the author's name given as Tony Gibson, not H.B. Gibson as in his other books.

His essay 'Should we mock at Religion?' was written for *The Raven* number 25, and his pamphlet of 1952, 'Food Production and Population' is reprinted in *The Raven* number 30. Another 1952 pamphlet, 'Who Will Do the Dirty Work?', is reprinted in Freedom Press's popular compilation *Why Work?*, and other contributions are reprinted in *Violence and Anarchism, A Decade of Anarchy* and *The State is Your Enemy*.

His interviews with British anarchists who were active in the 1930s and 1940s (but omitting some of the most influential including himself) are housed at the Institute of Social History in Amsterdam.

Tony flaunted his intellect and was uncompromisingly blunt in expressing his opinions. To many, including ourselves, this made for delightful friendship. Some others, however, thought him arrogant and difficult.

He leaves two grown-up children by his late companion Betty, and at least one other child.

Donald Room and Rufus Segar

## What about 'Love'?

an extract from *Love, Sex and Power in Later Life* by Tony Gibson

The word 'love' is at the beginning of the title of my book, and I use it advisedly. It does not matter whether a relationship is of very long standing or is a brief 'shipboard romance', or just a one-night stand, what is being celebrated in the best sense of sexuality is love of life, expressed in the consummation of the attraction between two people. I cannot do better than to quote the great Jewish writer Bashevis Singer:

"The love of the old and the middle-aged is a theme that is recurring more and more in my works of fiction. Literature has neglected the old and their emotions. The novelist never told us that in love, as in other matters, the young are just beginners and that the art of love matures with age and experience. Furthermore, while many of the young believe that the world can be made better by sudden changes in the social order and by bloody and exhausting revolutions, most older people have learnt that hatred and cruelty never produce anything but their own kind. The only hope of mankind is love in its various forms and manifestations – the source of them being love of life, which, as we know, increases and ripens with the years"

Some people may think that the above passage smacks of sentimentality, but all who are familiar with the works of Singer will know that he is the least sentimental of

writers, and is utterly realistic in his portrayal of life. Much of the libertarian literature of the past has celebrated the military achievements of such revolutionary figures as Zapata, Mahkno and Durruti, but these heroic figures inspired their followers, and those who have admired them elsewhere, not on grounds of sheer military efficiency but because of the broad humanity that inspired the movements that they led. With hindsight, we know where the 'bloody and exhausting revolutions' of the past have led, but where dreadful tyrannies have eventually been overthrown, it is to the love of life of ordinary people that the credit must be given.

I have grown old along with my generation and have witnessed changes in the direction of greater liberality, tolerance and understanding against the rather ugly background of the times into which I was born. It is my hope that Bashevis Singer is right that loving, in its broadest sense, love of life, rather than attachment to power over others, wealth or religion, matures with age and the older societies of the future will accordingly achieve the better society for which revolutionary libertarians have striven towards for so long.

**Tony Gibson**

**LOVE, SEX AND  
POWER IN  
LATER LIFE**

**A Libertarian Perspective**

The revolution in sexual mores experienced in Western Europe over the past thirty years has largely bypassed the needs of older people, with the emancipated young often unable to accept that the old, especially parents and grandparents, also have a continuing need for sexual and emotional fulfilment. Tony Gibson, in a well documented account, sets out to redress the balance.

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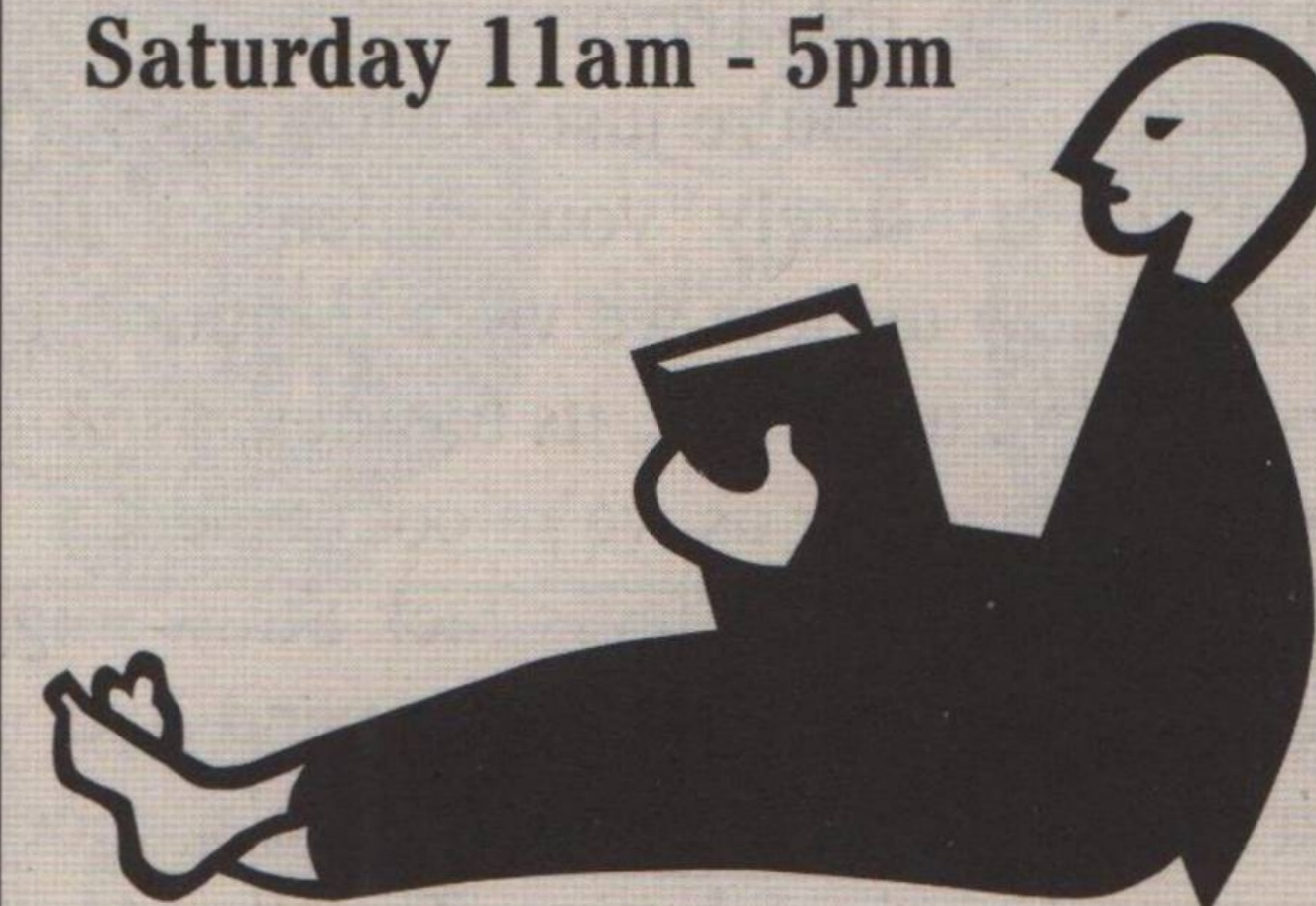
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# The Way Ahead

A few weeks ago a number of supporters of the Justice for Mark Barnsley campaign were invited to attend a Lawyers for Socialism meeting at the London School of Economics. Lawyers for Socialism turned out to be a front for the Socialist Alliance (SA), and the main speaker was solicitor and SA candidate Louise Christian, who, as a speaker, comes over like a cross between Mary-Poppins-as-a-suffragette and a particularly earnest and eager to please Moonie. If, as Denis Healey once put it, being verbally attacked by Geoffrey Howe was akin to being 'savaged by a dead sheep', watching Christian evangelise for her happy clappy aren't-we-all-so-nice version of militant socialism is a bit like being battered round the head with a soaking wet copy of *The Guardian*. After telling us how proud she was, like so many of her fellow lawyers, to be a voice on behalf of the underprivileged (which prompted the response from this writer that some of us can speak for ourselves well enough and if you're all so proud, isn't it a pity that more of you don't make a decent job of it more often?) Christian revealed that her main concern in representing the SA was to defend asylum seekers, and that, if she had any critique of New Labour's policies with regard to criminal justice, it's that they are 'confused'.

It's difficult to know exactly where to start in response. New Labour's attack on the right to opt for jury trial, its speed-up of the process of juvenile justice and the introduction of the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act and the Terrorism Act are hardly evidence of confusion, but go to show a government committed to repression as a means of closing down any democratic public space within which an effective politics of resistance might develop. As we've said before, if the Thatcher government represented an offensive response to the 'crisis' of working class resistance to capital which was the hallmark of the 1970s, New Labour's is the politics of a ruling class which has lived through its nightmare and intends to police the lower orders in such a way as to ensure such a challenge is not mounted again. 'Confusion' is the last thing you could accuse Blair and Straw of. What the charge of 'confusion' really evidences is the uselessness of the politics of the Socialist Alliance – that champagne militants like Christian, Tariq Ali and the SWPs Chris Harman really still harbour massive illusions in the Labour project and think that with a bit of gentle lobbying the ship can be urged back on course. The charge also carries with it a bit of special pleading on behalf of the Trot left with regard to the Terrorism Act – 'please Jack, we know you're just confused – we're not a threat, surely you remember that. Think of how useless we were in your NUS days. Believe us, please, its business as usual on that score as far as we're concerned'.

Anyone who still believes Jack Straw might indeed be confused ought to spend half an hour reading the Home Office's recent document *Criminal Justice: The Way Ahead* (CM 5074). *The Way Ahead* represents an explicit commitment by New Labour to forcibly increase the prison population by rigging criminal trials – so as to facilitate a new regime of prison labour. The document links the 'pervasive' growth in crime (a 'growth' undermined by earlier Home Office statistics which show a fall in crime across the board) to the "collapse of employment opportunities especially for unskilled men". The document's main criticism of the failing of the penal process is that "too often, short

sentence prisoners leave custody just as illiterate, as unemployable ... as when they went in". The solution? "The Prison Service is establishing a new £30 million Custody To Work programme to double by 2004 the number of prisoners going into jobs when they leave prison." The Social Exclusion Unit is also, we are told, examining "whether better and more systematic links with employers could make prison education and training provision more responsive to the needs of the modern labour market". Thus, the causes of crime become not poverty or alienation or 'social exclusion' but



unemployability, the refusal to submit to the discipline of labour, and prison becomes a means of ensuring that offenders are adapted to low paid work on release by Custody to Work programmes which make the prisons sites of forced low paid labour. Straw intends to grease the creation of a prison-industrial complex in the UK which mirrors that in the US. The lobbying from the likes of Wackenhut, Group 4 and Corrections Corporation of America has obviously paid off. Prisons are to be factories with fences', as the criminologist Weiss once put it, both as a means to facilitate the profits of Straw's friends in the private prison industries, and as a "vehicle for instilling time and work discipline in those unable or unwilling to find proper paid employment ... a mechanism of control, providing a way of ordering time" (Roger Matthews, *Doing Time*, Palgrave, 1999). Little wonder, then, that the conclusion drawn from all this is that "far too few crimes are detected and prosecuted successfully" and, concretely, the planned construction of an additional 2,660 prison places and 400 new places in secure training centres for young offenders. New Labour at least has the virtue of being blatant in its de-linking of the penal process from crime control. Crime is falling, yet Straw argues that the prison population needs to be higher. The reason is obvious – prison exists as a means of putting manners on the working class. Straw plans to criminalise a generation of working class kids (and the Criminal Justice and Police Bill sets out explicitly to create a range of 'anti-social' offences designed to criminalise young working class men for not showing due social deference walking round the streets with a beer in their hands as if they own the place – and a range of spot fines and,

ultimately, a short spell inside to remind them that they don't) to ensure their acquiescence to a future of low paid labour on the basis that the alternative will only ever be below paid labour in jail.

*The Way Ahead* also contains a range of proposals to make sure that the criminal justice process doesn't interrupt the steady flow of labour into jail. The Crown Prosecution Service is to get a 23% real term rise in funding for 2001-2 to allow the recruitment of "scores of extra prosecutors". There will be further changes as regards defence disclosure including disclosure in

advance of defence witnesses and disclosure of all expert witness reports prepared for the defence (to discourage the defence from 'shopping around' for a sympathetic opinion) – undermining the defence experts no longer becomes a task for the prosecution – in Straw's courts the prosecution need not prove its case, the idea is to get the defence to undermine itself. 'Dirty Jack' also plans changes to the laws of evidence. At present what counts is the oral testimony of witnesses in court but, in case prosecution witnesses can't remember the script or crack on the stand, Jack wants us to know that the trial should not 'become simply a test of memory'. The Home Office is at present considering "the scope for greater use of written and other material to supplement oral evidence". Moreover, "witnesses are performing a public duty and should be treated with dignity and respect" (unless they are defence witnesses, presumably) – guidance is therefore planned on powers "to restrain unnecessarily aggressive and inappropriate cross-examination". Plans are also afoot to allow evidence of a defendant's previous convictions "where relevant" and to review section 78 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984, which at present gives the court discretion to exclude evidence improperly obtained. *The Way Ahead* makes clear that, in a New Labour second term, the plan is to push the prison population still higher and the 'reviews' of trial proceedings and rules of evidence proposed will be a licence to fit up and lock up, with the prosecution allowed as many bites of the cherry as they fancy, by allowing prosecution right of appeal against judge-directed acquittals on evidential matters or matters of abuse of process, and the modification of the 'double jeopardy' rule.

What the likes of Lawyers for Socialism and the Socialist Alliance need to bear in mind is that the 'double jeopardy' proposals came about as a result of the much heralded Lawrence Inquiry, and the noises about restrictions on "aggressive and inappropriate cross-examination" arose from feminist concerns about undermining of rape victims in the trial process. Perhaps the lesson to be learned is that concerns for 'fairness' and the 'just application of the rule of law' ought to be abandoned as hopelessly naive when it comes to the criminal (in)justice process that asking the state to police itself only allows it the licence to use 'progressive' arguments against us and shackle us still further, and that courtrooms are as much theatres of class

warfare as any other aspect of capitalist society and the kind-hearted reformists of Lawyers for Socialism end up being part of the problem by not grasping this. The SA hasn't noticed most of what's in *The Way Ahead* document. I'd suggest there's a simple reason for this. The SA doesn't see 'socialism' as a project of working class self-emancipation but about 'fairness' (the likes of Louise Christian probably don't believe those of us, crop-haired and trainer-wearing she sees in her office and views with gentle disdain, are capable of spelling self-emancipation, much less achieving it). In consequence, it doubtless thinks that the idea of offering to help the unemployed criminal find work is, somehow 'fair' – and that full employment (albeit shit low paid full employment, enforced

through the threat of withdrawal of benefit and the coercion of a short sharp spell inside) is a 'good thing'. For the Socialist Alliance the lower orders are a 'social problems' rather than a constituency, and the likes of Louise Christian and Tariq Ali – despite ideological differences – share the social prejudices of Straw and Boateng. The separation of the left from the working class is complete.

Those of us who see the SA as a dead end need to look to what actually needs to be done to rebuild a movement capable of working class self emancipation away from the dregs of the left. We would do well to start with finding ways to resist the process of criminalisation of the working class which will be the hallmark of a second New Labour term.

**Nick S.**  
Anyone genuinely interested in exploring the ideas suggested at the end of this piece, write to me c/o *Freedom* and let's see what we can begin to do.

**Build a movement for self emancipation ...**



**WORKING CLASS RESISTANCE**

## What we say ...

### Election timing

As *Freedom* went to press, it seemed certain that Prime Minister Blair would postpone the elections (general and local) for a month, until 7th June.

Flunkeys dutifully explained that he had decided to "rule for the whole country rather than just in the interests of the Labour Party". At a time of grave national emergency – the foot and mouth epidemic, in case you've forgotten – it would be quite inappropriate to fight an election campaign etc etc etc.

How do they square all that guff about sacrifice, emergency, blitz-spirit and the rest with the following? "Every day for the past three weeks one of Labour's key strategists has been scrutinising the major news bulletins to see how much time they devote to foot and mouth", said last Sunday's *Observer*. Charred cattle and thousand of sheep being dumped into trenches, these are images which won't work as the backdrop to election campaign reports.

Politicians exist for two purposes. The first is to win power, the second is to keep it. For all the tears Blair is said to be shedding for the countryside, any decisions about election timing were made wholly with a view to winning the second term he wants so much.

Why postpone the election to June? The epidemic won't be over. The logical thing would have been a longer delay, until the autumn. But by then, the recession will be biting, and who knows what else might've happened?

It's all an irritating game, this one the politicians play, and they expect us to join in with it. We won't. And between now and 7th June (except in our Mayday issue), we'll do our best to expose it.

### Causes of crime

It began with ominous words. "Tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime". We knew then, back in 1997, that the causes of crime wouldn't get a look in. We knew then that it wasn't crime the new government would be tough on, because crime is a relationship between individuals and their society. Being tough on crime would mean serious analysis of what society is for, and the role of individual human beings within it. Being tough on the causes of crime would mean serious thought about how individuals come to be what they are. Neither fits easily into a soundbite, or on to the front page of the *Daily Mail*.

And so it came to pass. All the toughness amounted to was a flinty condemnation of individuals who were often disadvantaged to begin with. All governments do it. And while we allow them to, we are all enslaved.

### Waste of space

Thousands of people tried to stop a trainload of nuclear waste from being sunk into the ground in northern Germany last week. Hundreds were arrested. Students squatted their schools to prevent police from sleeping in them. They let protesters sleep there instead.

All of this took place under a leftist government, containing several green politicians, which has promised to end the use of nuclear power.

To us, the episode shows the strength of resistance and direct action. It shows the power of solidarity. And it shows something else too. Nuclear waste wasn't the only waste in evidence last week. The biggest waste was the politicians who allowed the transport in the first place: a complete waste of space.

## Readers' letters

### Selective ABCF

Dear *Freedom*,

It was with profound feelings of dismay that I read your well-intentioned but misguided comments about the Anarchist Black Cross Federation "supporting prisoners around the world" (10th March). ABCF support only those whom they choose and who are also invariably not anarchists. Certainly they are reluctant to offer support to anarchists in America. In recent months, they have refused support to, among others, anarchists like Rob Thaxton, Harold Thompson and Chris Plummer. Stateside, they are a sham dogmatic organisation, leeching on the goodwill of anarchists across America because they know there is precious little empathy of a material kind to be generated in the name of the political prisoners they actually direct support at, ie. maoists, castroists and hardline marxists, as against the groundswell of anarchist resistance to capitalist globalisation. Of the some forty or fifty prisoners in the US currently receiving assistance from the ABCF, a mere two have identifiable anarchist credentials, the rest are of one or other of the political persuasions described above.

ABCF define anarchists/anarchism strictly according to their own interpretations, excluding anyone who doesn't meet with their PC criteria, preferences or even dress sense. Few genuine prisoners who are anarchists get a look in. The less than a handful they do support are purely tokenistic in order to lend credibility to their own marxist aspiration to authoritarian communism. Nobody should be fooled.

They are quoted in *Freedom* as saying "the struggles against police brutality ... are critical to the overall liberation struggle".

Damned right they are! So why won't the ABCF support Rob Thaxton who got 7 1/2 years for doing exactly that in Seattle?

Anyone interested in expressing much-needed support for our own, ie. the many incarcerated anarchists, would do better with both their time and energy to get in touch with: APLAN (Anarchist Prisoners Legal Aid Network), 818 SW3rd Avenue, PMB #354, Portland, Or 97204, USA. This way, at least we can be sure that support reaches those who share our anarchist visions and not those who would have us bowing and scraping before inflated images of their 'revolutionary heroes' lining the boulevards and plazas of Leftsville. ABCF in America are duplicitous when it comes to supporting real anarchists. As the revolt against global capitalism gains pace and volume, there is too much at stake to leave the fate of imprisoned sisters and brothers to this lot.

Frankie Dee

### Popular culture

Dear *Freedom*,

Glad to hear Dean didn't "seek to dismiss rap music and hip hop culture" (Letters, 24th March) in his trashing of Eminem (24th February). A pity his comments resembled most mainstream (and radical) reactions to popular culture: talentless, 'inauthentic', 'cynical exploitation', 'crass ramblings', 'mediocre', etc. Your readers might not know that Eminem was respected in the grass-roots hip hop 'underground' years before being packaged by the music industry. Focusing "on the irony of Eminem" would balance talk of corporate agendas and celebrity marketing with an awareness of what the music and its wider contexts actually mean to people. All

Dean does is insult us as dupes of capitalism – this I call 'elitist' and 'ignorant'.

As for "pedagogical sniping from the sidelines", my writing on popular culture hasn't appeared in the anarchist press, where I've seen no real debate on the subject (I hope this changes); and I'm a keen participant in hip hop culture (understood broadly). But, to me, subcultural concerns with distinction and superior taste are poisonous to both culture and politics. My apologies to Dean if I was wrong to see such sneering in his comments.

Tom Jennings

### No census dilemma

Dear *Freedom*,

May I commend Peter Regan on his excellent article outlining the dilemma anarchists face over the census. Personally I find his dilemma less problematic than he appears to. A legally enforced census is an invasion of privacy. It is tantamount to theft of knowledge and an infringement of ones 'right to remain silent'. Conscriptio into a revolutionary army may make it easier to abolish the state more quickly and so help us bring about freedom more quickly. It would still be wrong. So, finally, the census might be useful to us in arguing our cases, but we should still oppose it because it is wrong to violate people's rights on the mere grounds that doing so is useful.

Richard Garner

**Correspondents are asked to keep their letters short. The editors regret that they may have to cut letters for reasons of space.**

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## The Anarchist Alternative

### Politics - a dirty game

President George W. Bush has annoyed his political counterparts in Britain and Europe by taking the United States out of the Kyoto Protocol to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases.

Bush has close links with the oil business, and has risen to power by the support of the coal and oil industries. He can't afford to offend the people who put him where he is - not a majority of voters, but a coalition of business interests. If pollution targets were to be met, it would be the ordinary citizens who would have to pay, not the shareholders.

Serbia's ex-president, Slobodan Milosevic, is said to be one of the world's wealthiest men, with as much as £2.7bn syphoned off into international bank accounts in Switzerland, Greece and China. Working his way up through the ranks of the Communist Party, he rose to power by stoking up hatred between Bosnians, Serbs and Croats. This money represents the state assets of Yugoslavia, some of which would otherwise have gone to improving the lot of the Yugoslav people - some of those same people who for so long put their faith in Milosevic.

The late General Sani Abacha, former dictator of Nigeria, looted the country of another sum of £2.7bn in the five years prior to his death in 1998. Major British and international banks are believed to be involved in attempts by his family to launder the proceeds of corruption. All this money should have gone to Russia as payment for the construction of a steel plant, and what the theft amounts to in real terms is that the Nigerian and Russian workers never got fully paid for their labour, while a ruling elite maintained a lavish lifestyle.

In Britain our press like to dwell on what it calls the 'sleaze factor' - we are asked to believe that one political party rather than another has the greater proportion of honesty among its politicians.

But our capitalist press, which performs a valuable function in exposing the hypocrisy and duplicity of crooked politicians also make the public suppose that it is the individual rather than the system which we should object to.

All over the world, whatever the political system, politicians line their pockets, capitulate to vested interests, live in style, and there are constant corruption scandals. Everyone knows this, yet they continue to hope that an alternative system - the introduction of democracy, or a reform of the electoral system - will put into power people who are honest and disinterested.

Yet we anarchists would point out that the fact that individuals are named and shamed masks the truth that it is the systems themselves which are corrupt. We claim that corruption is inevitable in any society based on maintaining inequality - the nature of the political game.

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## Meetings & Events

### London Anarchist Forum

**13th April** Debate: Superstition, Skepticism and Anarchy

**20th April** Anarchy and Education (symposium, with guests)

**27th April** Anarchy School: Class 2 (regular explorations of basic anarchism, for new and old anarchists)

The weekly discussion forum of the London anarchist movement now in its eighteenth year. Every Friday from 8pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn. For more information see: [www.trak.to/LAF](http://www.trak.to/LAF) or [LAF@anarchic.co.uk](mailto:LAF@anarchic.co.uk)

### Reclaim the Streets

General information on RTS: 020 7281 4621 or [rts@gn.apc.org](mailto:rts@gn.apc.org)

**London meeting every Tuesday at 7pm**

(check RTS answerphone for venue)

For info on RTS subscribe to [allsorts@gn.apc.org](mailto:allsorts@gn.apc.org) specifying 'subscribe RTS only'.

To receive info on general direct action, etc., stuff subscribe to [allsorts@gn.apc.org](mailto:allsorts@gn.apc.org) specifying 'subscribe allsorts'. To have your news action reports, etc., sent out to hundreds of like-minded people all over the country (and bear in mind probably cops too) e-mail it to [allsorts@gn.apc.org](mailto:allsorts@gn.apc.org)

**Reclaim the Streets, PO Box 9656, London N4 4JY**

[www.reclaimthestreets.net](http://www.reclaimthestreets.net)

### Ideas & Action Southwark

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Ideas and action marketplace at Clubland in Southwark

(Camberwell Road, near Albany Road)

*lots of groups getting on with ideas for pro-community action*

### Anarchist Federation Day School

**Saturday 7th April from 10am to 5pm**

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn

*£2 waged, free or donation unwaged, disabled access*

Anarchist Federation, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

e-mail [anarchistfederation@bigfoot.com](mailto:anarchistfederation@bigfoot.com)

### Libertäre-Tage (Libertarian days)

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An invitation to play ...

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**on Tuesday 1st May 2001**

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### Red Rambles 2001

Red Rambles walks and rambles for Radicals, Libertarians, Anarchists, Greens, Socialists, Syndicalists, et al. See <http://members.tripod.co.uk/ainema/index-2.html>

**Mayday bank holiday 7th May 2001**

Meet at 12 noon outside Hurt Arms Hotel, Ambergate, Derbyshire, on the A6 road (also on bus route R1 for Nottingham to Manchester, 100 yards from Ambergate railway station) for a short and easy walk four miles in length through Shining Cliff Woods. Walk concludes with a Mayday picnic, so bring food and drink to share, musical instruments, blankets to sit on, etc. Walk leader Jonathan.

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