



THE CUNNINGHAM AMENDMENT
JOURNAL OF THE EAST PENNINE ANARCHISPS.
 DEDICATED TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTS OF JOY AND
 IRREVERENCE IN A WORLD INCREASINGLY WEIGHED
 DOWN BY STERILE BUREAUCRACIES
 INDIVIDUALS £1.00 INSTITUTIONS £2
 PLUS P&P 35 PENCE FROM
 Room 6, Tangleford House, The Street,
 Bawdeswell, Norfolk NR20 4RT.



RECOMMENDED JOURNALS

THE WHINGER PRESS: publishers of occasional pamphlets and polemics. Also see www.whingerpress.blogspot.com. For more information contact Paul Petard at ppetard@hotmail.com

THE MATCH! A Journal of Ethical Anarchism; Post Office Box 3012, Tucson, Arizona 85702 USA \$2.75 Send cash or stamps only.

GLOBAL TAPESTRY: A journal celebrating Anarchism and Poetry £2.40 per issue. Subscription £9.00 UK (cheques payable to DA & R Cunliffe) available from Spring Bank, Longsight Road, Copster Green, Blackburn BB1 9EU

THE VOLUNTARYIST: P O Box 1275, Gramling SC 29348 USA. Edited by Carl Watner. \$20.00 for six issues.

IMAGINE: A sceptical journal of philosophy and politics. \$3.50 or subscription \$5.00 from P.O. Box 8145, Reno, NV 89507 USA

READERS DIGRESS! An irregular freesheet for the

irregular mind. Available from: Reader's Digress, 15 Dartington Walk, Leigham, Plymouth, DEVON PL6 80A

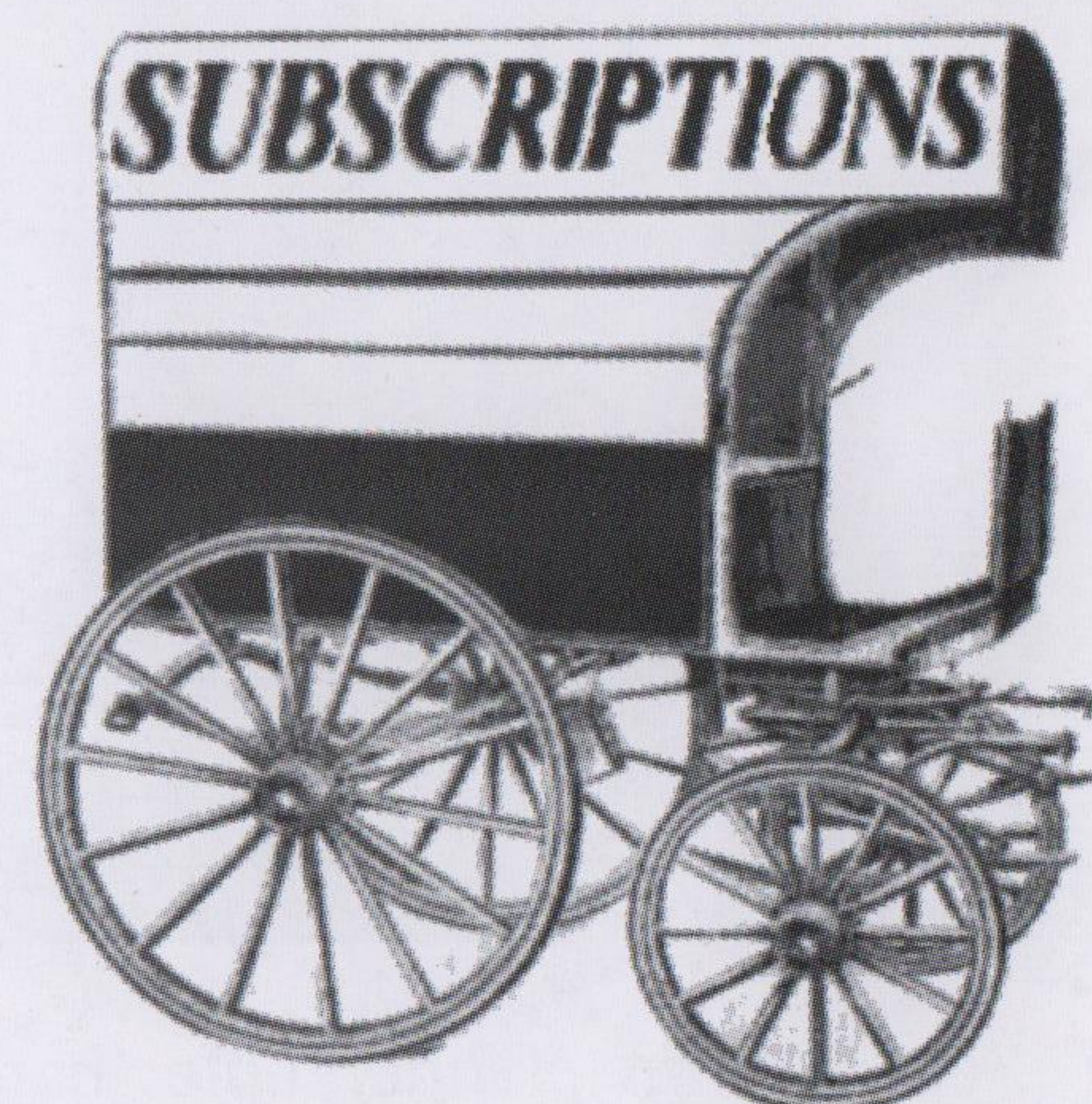
THE CUNNINGHAM AMENDMENT The Journal of the East Pennine Anarchisps. Dedicated to revolutionary acts of joy and irreverence in a world increasingly weighed down by sterile bureaucracies. Send donation (suggest £1.00) to TCA, Room 6, Tangleford House, The Street, Bawdeswell, Norfolk NR20 4RT.

THE DANDELION (Individualist Anarchist) Subscriptions are \$9.00 to people outside the USA. Available from Michael Coughlin, Post Office Box Number 205, Cornucopia, Wisconsin 54327 USA.

THE INDIVIDUAL published by the Society for Individual Freedom, 6 Swan Terrace, Hastings TN34 3HT

ANCHORAGE ANARCHY is an occasional publication of the BAD Press, an anti-government anarchist project. It is edited by Joe Peacott. Subscriptions are available for \$1 per issue. BAD Press can be reached at P0 Box 230332, Anchorage, AK 99523-0332, USA

THE LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE publish a range of Broadsheet type leaflets from a Libertarian viewpoint on a wide range of topics. Their address is The Libertarian Alliance, Suite 35, Lansdowne Rd, Mayfair, London. UK



For 4 issues UK £8.00 regular, £5.00 Concession. USA \$20 Send cash or UK cheques payable to J. Simcock, 47 High Street, Belper, Derby DE56 1GF. Total Liberty & Anarchist Voices back issues also available at 50p plus p&p.

ANARCHIST VOICES VIDEO PROJECT

A website featuring short video films of Anarchists talking about their practical projects and their vision of Anarchism.

<http://anarchistvoices.wetpaint.com>

ANARCHIST VOICES

A JOURNAL OF EVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

VOLUME 8 NUMBER 4

SUMMER / AUTUMN 2014



CONTENTS

Editorial by Jonathan Simcock.....	Page 2
Not as Pervasive as you think? by Larry Gambone	Page 3
The Invisibility of Albert Tarn by Chris Draper	Page 4
Tribute to Mike Hamilton by Jonathan Simcock.....	Page 8
Freedom: An anarchist education by Richard Griffin	Page 9
The Politics of Science by Joe Peacott.....	Page 11
Remembering the victims of the First World War by Dick Frost.....	Page 12
Appropriate Technology by Mike Hamilton	Page 13
An Anarchist Credo.....	Page 15
Recommended Journals.....	Page 16

The opinions expressed in articles featured in Anarchist Voices magazine are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily represent those of the editor. The editor welcomes the submission of articles for publication in Anarchist Voices but cannot guarantee that they will be published. Articles can be submitted typed on paper, on disc, or via email to loegrambyth@tiscali.co.uk.

EDITORIAL

Yet again it has not been possible to produce the two editions of AV which ideally should come out each year. However, here at last is the summer / autumn edition. The journal relies on the support of its contributors and on the generous financial support of certain individuals. As long as there are comrades able and willing to write interesting articles and others to finance the journal then AV will continue to appear.

This is not something which can be said of the oldest of anarchist journals in Britain, namely *Freedom*, which has announced that it will now henceforth only be available 'online'. This reflects the marked decline in the readership of the journal. When I was a student in London in the early 1980s the production of 'Freedom' was a hands-on affair. Typeset copy was cut and pasted by Phillip Sansom and the finished artwork was sent off to a lithographic printer. The printed sheets which came back were folded and assembled by a small squad of volunteers. The paper included a news section and a review section.

The folding sessions were interesting social occasions with much discussion of topics in the journal and affairs of the day. It was an effective way of bringing people into the ranks of *Freedom*.

The subscribers, contributors and readers of *Freedom* at that time were a varied bunch and the content of *Freedom*, much to the disgust of Black Flag and other class struggle obsessed anarchists, was a

more liberal and outreaching form of anarchism reflecting the influence of Colin Ward and George Woodcock. The steady moving away of *Freedom* from this broad version of anarchism has likely been one of the main causes of the decline in its readership and the lack of its wider appeal to ordinary people. *Freedom* was guilty, at times, of featuring negative images of anarchists and anarchism on the front cover. However, despite its faults, the paper based version of *Freedom* will be much missed. Its demise marks the end of an era.

Anarchism could and should have a wider influence in our modern society, but to do so it needs to be modern and practical. An anarchism such as the tolerant and incremental anarchism advocated by Colin Ward during his time as editor of *Anarchy* magazine and later expressed so well in his book 'Anarchy in Action'. *Anarchist Voices* tries to provide a platform for this and other variants of anarchism, less popular within the British Isles, such as Anarchist Individualism.

Positive accounts of people putting anarchism into practise in their communities is perhaps the only effective way to persuade people unfamiliar with our ideas that anarchism is worthy of their attention and support.

Jonathan Simcock



GLOBAL TAPESTRY

A journal celebrating

Anarchism and poetry

£2.40 per issue.

Subscription £9.00 UK

(cheques payable to

DA & R Cunliffe) available

from Spring Bank,

Longsight Road,

Copster Green,

Blackburn BB1 9EU



Not as pervasive as you think?

The late Colin Ward revealed to us the anarchism of daily life. Many aspects of our lives are free from both state and illegitimate authority and operate on the principles of voluntarism, reciprocity and solidarity. The state and illegitimate authority are intrusions into this world of freedom. The anarchist anthropologist, David Graeber, also writes about the communism (anarchist communism, of course!) that is innate within our living situations. Families work on the principle of "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs". We don't keep the refrigerator locked, nor do we present our children at age 18 with a bill for past living expenses. Nor do we demand payment from our friends and neighbours for all those little forms of mutual aid we engage in. If we treated friends and family in this manner we would not have them around for very long.

The anarchism and communism of daily life show the inherent weakness of those twin evils, the state and capitalism. They exist as parasites upon a totally different mode of being. Indeed, without this foundation, the authoritarian and exploitative systems could hardly exist. Imagine if the system had to organise and pay for all those free and voluntary services. The cost would be beyond what it could bear.

Let's take these thoughts beyond friends and family into the economy of neighbourhoods and villages. Before we do that, however, we must know exactly what we mean by both capitalist and non-capitalist economies.

Capitalism is essentially what the term

describes – an economy based upon the production of *capital*. Not an economy to produce and exchange goods and services, and certainly not a subsistence economy, but one geared to creating money-capital to be re-invested to create ever more capital. What is produced is incidental to that end. The formula for capitalist production is M-C-M1, with M as money capital, C as the commodity produced, and M1 as the augmented money capital after the commodity C is sold. The wheel of capital grinds ever on, producing, selling and augmenting, ideally never ceasing.

Trades people, small shop owners, self-employed artisans and small farmers are usually involved in economic activity to provide a living for themselves and their families. Their goal is *subsistence*, to use the sale of their products or services as a means to buy other commodities essential to their lives, such as paying the rent, manufactured items, services and food they cannot provide themselves.

The formula for what they do is C-M-C, where C is the commodity or service provided, M is the money they get for selling it, and the second C is the commodity or service they buy with that money. This cycle, unlike that of capital does not grind on ever accumulating, but stops when the new commodity is purchased and a completely new cycle of production, sale and consumption must arise. Such an economy is therefore "steady-state" in nature.

It should be obvious that an economy based upon C-M-C is not capitalist in the least, even though it involves both private usage and market exchange. Note that both private usage and exchange existed thousands of years before capitalism and a serious error was committed by both leftists and the system's rightist apologists for equating these two elements with capitalism.

There is a term for the C-M-C economy, and none other than Grandfather Marx came up with it. He called it "Simple Commodity Production" (SCP hereafter) clearly stating that this economic form long preceded capitalism. Private usage and markets may be part of capitalism, but they are not the *essential* elements which mark this system as distinct from all others. To repeat, the essential aspect of capitalism is the production of capital. A second essential aspect is the separation of the once great mass of trades people, farmers etc., from their means of wealth production and their conversion into a powerless, property-less working class. An SCP economy, on the other hand, is one not dependent upon hired labour, but based upon self-employment.

Now that we got through all of that, look around your neighbourhood or village with the SCP

concept in your mind. Bet you will find many examples of SPC. This will be especially true in less wealthy neighbourhoods, where there is not enough income to attract the corporations or wanna-be capitalists (in my former neighbourhood, Point St. Charles in Montreal, I counted a total of 94 businesses. More than 80 of these were small family affairs). If you examine how these little businesses operate within the community and with each other, you will find that a third essential aspect of capitalism is generally missing. This is competition.

A kind of community ecology evolves. Little businesses take over "niche markets" within the neighbourhood and thus do not compete. An Indian restaurant and a fish and chip shop service different needs and different clientele. So many square blocks are needed to support a plumber, a convenience store and a barber and few would be so foolish as to attempt to set up shop in such a limited market. Capitalism, however, comes as an intruder into the neighbourhood. The corporate business destroys the "mom and pop" shop and the former self-employed are then reduced to wage slaves or welfare victims.

Marx stated that both small capitalists and non-capitalist forms of economy were doomed by an ever more concentrated capitalism. In large measure, he was right. His followers, however, foolishly lumped the SCPers in with the petty capitalists, writing them both off as reactionary losers. Needless to say, SPC people were not generally attracted to socialism because of this error.

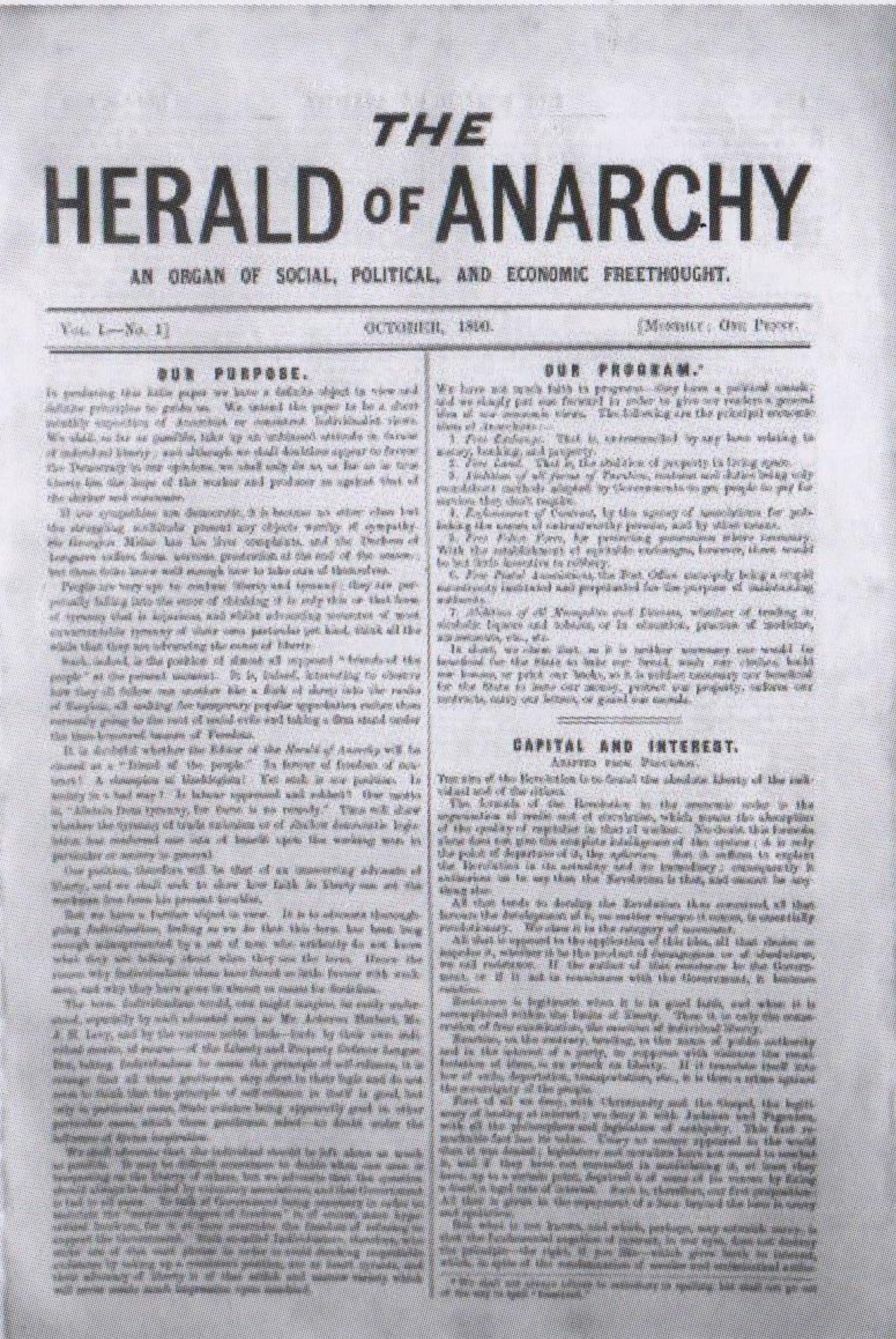
The contemporary anti-capitalist ethic combined with and exemplified by 'localism', farmers markets, the craft production of cheese, wine, bread, soap and numerous other products and services, should make us think again about Simple Commodity Production. Rather than dying out, SCP may be part of our future, but integrated into a non-capitalist mixed economy that also comprises worker and stakeholder co-ops and communal aspects. To help this integration occur we must combat the sometimes snotty attitude that leftists (and even anarchists) sometimes have against the self-employed. Never more must we hear that someone selling home-made soap at a farmers market or the woman with the fish and chip shop is engaging in capitalism and thus is a contemptible petty bourgeois.

Larry Gambone



The Invisibility of Albert Tarn

Albert Tarn was "The Herald of Anarchy". From the earliest days of the movement in England Tarn was a *Freedom* correspondent and "fellow-worker for Anarchism". In the 1880's and into the twentieth century, Albert's activism and public speaking carried the torch of liberty from London to Birmingham, Huddersfield, Newcastle and Glasgow. He wrote and published four anarchist pamphlets and distributed the pioneering monthly newspaper *The Herald of Anarchy*, yet there's no mention of Tarn on *libcom* or in the books of Max Nettlau, Peter Marshall or John Quail. Did he simply fade into obscurity or was the message delivered by "The Herald of Anarchy" so unwelcome that the movement resolved to shoot the messenger?



Right Side of the Tracks
Albert Herbert Tarn, the youngest of four children, was born in Huddersfield in 1862. His father, Edward Wyndam Tarn (1825-1900), was an accomplished architect whose notable commissions included St Luke's School, Milnsbridge; St Saviour's Church, Parsonage and School, Bacup and All Saints Church, Thornton. The young Albert enjoyed a thoroughly bourgeois upbringing in an intellectual household with a father who was a stalwart of the town's chess

club as well as the author of several books.
During Albert's infancy the family moved to London where he was privately educated at a school in St John's Wood. Awarded a prize in the 1880 external school examinations of Cambridge University, Albert went on to study at London University, his father's alma mater. Once again he proved an outstanding student, gaining the Tufnell Scholarship for Theoretical Chemistry; first class certificate in the Higher Senior Mathematics and also in advanced Organic Chemistry. After graduating in 1883 Albert was appointed to teach chemistry at Lancaster School of Science and Art.
During his appointment at Lancaster, Tarn enjoyed a sabbatical at the University of Berlin. In his twenties Albert's intellectual curiosity expanded beyond chemistry into politics. When a branch of the William Morris-inspired and increasingly anarchist, "Socialist League" was founded in Lancaster in 1886 Albert Tarn was one of the first to sign up.
Aflame with the spirit of independence and anarchy Tarn grew increasingly discontent in institutional teaching and in 1888 started his own business in Birmingham. After setting up a laboratory, he advertised in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, offering, "Private Instruction in Chemistry (Theoretical and Practical)". Tarn maintained his link with the League in Birmingham and in 1889, after transferring to 39 Newhall Street, he extended his advertising to include an entry in *Kelly's Directory*.
Bomb-Making in Brum?
By this stage the 27 year-old Tarn was a widely recognised anarchist having spoken on public platforms, not only in his adopted hometown of Birmingham, and his birthplace of Huddersfield, but also in London where he was involved with the *Freedom* group.
In this era of "propaganda by deed" an anarchist advertising "private instruction in chemistry" was an obvious invitation to bomb-makers guaranteed to attract the attention of the authorities. Yet it seems Albert was unable to attract sufficient business, legitimate or otherwise, and after a couple of years in Birmingham in 1890 he moved back to London.

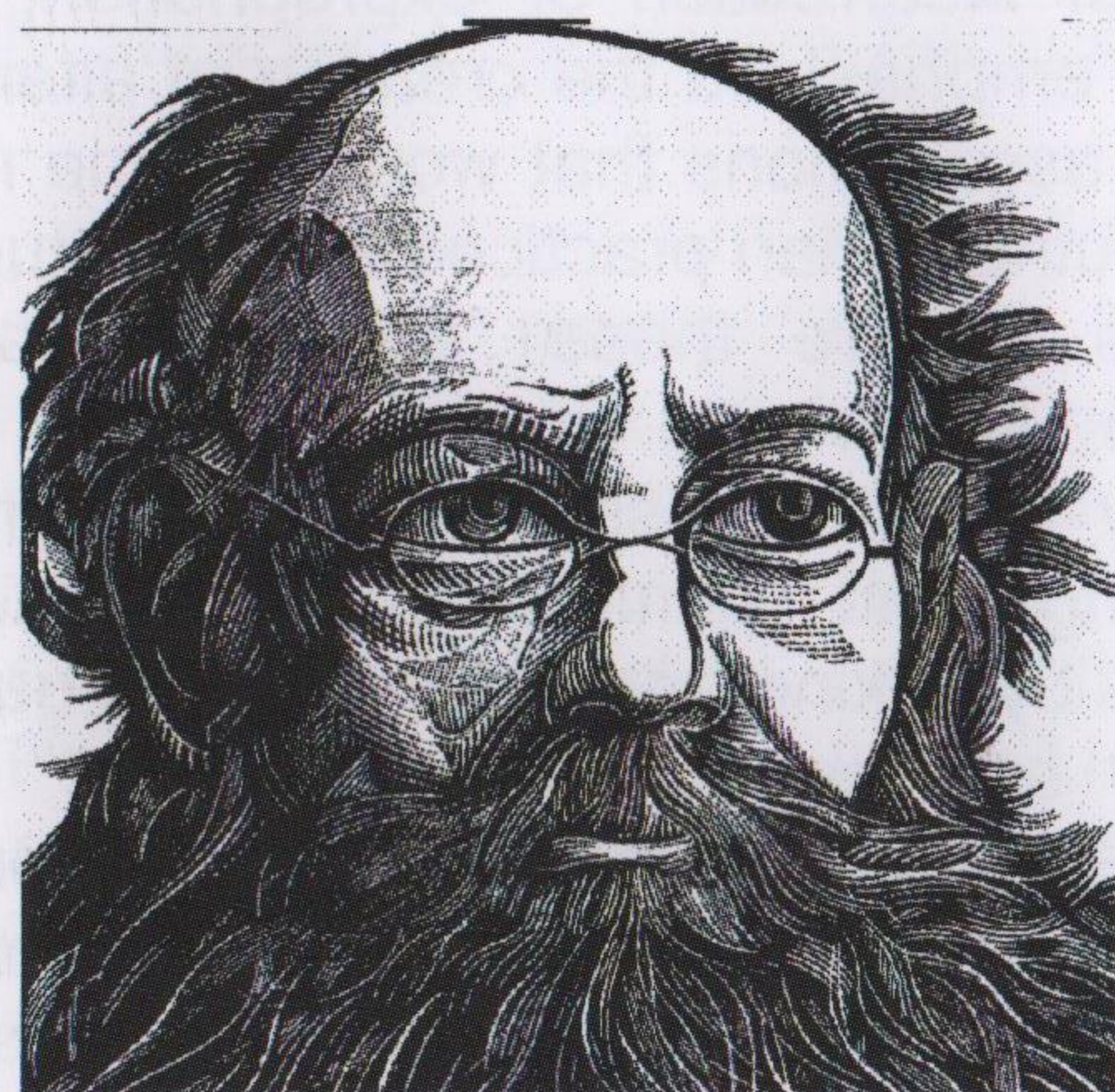
Not Marx but Spencer
The following year, when local Walsall anarchists did construct their own bombs, having eschewed Tarn's certified expertise, they inadvertently opted to follow the advice of a police agent (August Coulon)! Ironically, testimony of Tarn's unimpeachable character was supplied to their January 1892 trial by the authorities; "There had been no anarchists in Birmingham since a man named Albert Tarn, an

analytical chemist, left this town to edit a London Anarchist journal. He, however, seemed a theoretical kind of Anarchist, and was an admirer of Herbert Spencer. He and his few supporters confined their efforts to distributing handbills explanatory of *What Anarchists Want*."
Despite his undoubted ability Albert was no bomb-maker and no class warrior either, so how was he connected to the anarchist-communists of *Freedom*? Before detailing Tarn's link to *Freedom* it's worth noting the perceptive account of his politics given at the Walsall anarchists' trial as it captures his approach as an "Individualist-Anarchist" drawing inspiration from Tucker and Proudhon rather than Kropotkin or Bakunin. Therein lay the seeds of his own destruction, but that is jumping ahead of ourselves. The 1892 trial report concluded, "It is not known that there are any Anarchists in the town at the present time, though at periodical intervals copies of *Liberty* the American Anarchist paper and other specimens of kindred literature are received in Birmingham".
Individualism was popular in 1880's England but the founding of *Freedom* in October 1886 triggered an outbreak of anarchist-communism that within a decade came to dominate the anarchist movement. When *Freedom* featured an article by Albert Tarn encapsulating his ideas in September 1889 there was still everything to play for. "The State has arisen out of and still embodies the principle of Mutual Distrust, and it can only be abolished by replacing this principle by that of Mutual Confidence". There was no mention of insurrection or expropriation; Tarn's approach emphasised the creation of alternative, voluntary associations that would in time replace existing authoritarian practices and structures. As anarchists nurture these "seeds beneath the snow" the State would simply wither and die. In this essay Tarn also dissects the role of "money" in defining and reinforcing the State and concludes by asking and answering the question, "But how can we do without money?" plainly enough. Start exchanging on any mutual principle upon which you and others can agree, either by a Free Currency representing your goods or on a principle of Free Communism, (meaning the free giving and taking of services), or by any other mutual arrangement you may devise. With this explicit acceptance of "Free Communism" Tarn posited an ecumenical anarchism that could accommodate both Tucker and Kropotkin.
"Individual or Common Property – a Discussion"
A feature published in *Freedom* in December 1889 illustrates an increasingly obvious divergence of approach but also a continuing commitment to open-minded debate. Headlined

as above the article continued, "At the suggestion of our individualist fellow-worker for Anarchism, Albert Tarn, we open our columns to a full and free discussion of the question of property. Our own views as Communists are well known to our readers, but as we hold it to be every honest man's business to let the other side speak and to prove the truth of his own position by hearing what the opposition have to say, we welcome the idea and shall be glad to print contributions which are to the point, from either Communists or Individualists."

Throughout the following year the debate raged. Seizure of the means of production was especially hotly contested with Tarn responding to Comrade Pearson of the *Freedom* collective with the neat counterclaim that "whilst, Communists would convert the workers into thieves, the Individualists would convert the thieves into workers."

It was all conducted very good-naturedly and a report of a recent social evening, published in *Freedom* April 1891, evidenced a continued fellowship. "More than a hundred comrades assembled...in the upper chamber of a City coffee tavern...the Editor of the *Herald of Anarchy* in amicable discussion with one of the *Freedom* staff...the Individualist Anarchist League all cordially mingling with Anarchist Communists from every group in London. So passed a social evening which, we hope, will not be the last of its kind." The party wasn't over but it soon would be.



The Unbelievable Goodness of Kropotkin

Kropotkin gave Anarchist-Communism instant appeal. The revolution was both inevitable and imminent. After the revolution fields, factories and workshops would be run on rational, scientific principles and in the resultant land of milk and honey everything would be freely available to anybody.

Unfortunately Kropotkin, like Marx, deluded himself as to the immediacy and inevitability of revolution. Unlike Marx, Kropotkin assumed that

after the revolution the natural goodness of humanity would reign supreme. Albert Tarn's individualist vision of anarchy was less simplistically optimistic. He didn't assume revolution and he certainly didn't believe you could create a heaven on earth where everyone would have unlimited access to warehouses of the fruits of production without consequent chaos or starvation. Tarn was concerned to identify mechanisms anarchists might use to facilitate rational and fair methods of exchange and distribution.

Publish and be Damned

Tarn set out his intellectual stall during a highly productive period of publishing between 1889 and 1892. The titles of his pamphlets offer insight into his politics;

1. "The State: Its Origins, Its Nature and Its Abolition" (Charles Stocker, Birmingham)
2. "The Anarchist Position" (William Wood, Birmingham)
- 3 "The Individual and the State: a Brief Analysis of Political Government" (New Fellowship Press, London)
- 4 "A Free Currency, What it Means, How it Can be Established and What it Can Accomplish" (Labour Press Ltd, London)

Tarn was Britain's Benjamin Tucker. Tucker was his inspiration and returning the favour, Albert acted as distribution agent for Benjamin's newspaper *Liberty* in England. Albert also advertised his own publications in *Liberty* but none of this pre-empted the master's criticism. Approvingly reprinting Tarn's essay on "Property" in an 1890 issue of *Liberty*, Tucker characteristically criticised an over-dependence on assertion. In following years *Liberty* published Albert's essays on such topics as "The Question of Interest" and "Mutual Bank Notes".

Fanfare for "The Herald"

The first issue of Tarn's own newspaper "*The Herald of Anarchy* – An Organ of Social, Political and Economic Freethought" appeared in October 1890. Published monthly, each issue cost a penny and was printed at the Labour Press in Chancery Lane, London. After a couple of issues a further strap line was added to the title page, "The Only Uncompromising Advocate of Liberty in England". Although anarchist economics predominated, the newspaper also examined "the drink question, the socialist fallacy, papers we recommend, sexual relationships, the land question and what anarchists want" as well as "various other questions, for the existence of

which we are indebted to stupid and conceited lawmakers".

The high level of intellectual analysis mystified some reviewers. *Chit Chat* of *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* disingenuously observed, "unfortunately, no doubt from my own want of intelligence, I can make nothing of the *Herald*", then with a single swipe shifted responsibility for incomprehension onto Albert's shoulders whilst simultaneously ridiculing his support for rational, phonetic spelling; "It is no use spelling "program" with ever such pellucid simplicity if one has no programme!"

Shoot the Messenger

Initially welcoming the appearance of the *Herald*, "Freedom" followed up with a statement rubbishing everything Tarn, his newspaper and his comrades proposed. An 1892 editorial devoted to a critique of Individualist-Anarchists emphatically pronounced, "*Certainly they are not anarchists*". In 1893 the *Torch* followed up with a piece by Merlino emphasising, "*We Anarchist-Communists have nothing in common with the Individual-Anarchists!*" *The Herald* raised difficult, detailed, awkward questions about the radical reorganisation of society that Anarchist-Communists preferred to gloss over. As far back as 1890 Tarn had spoken against, "The Fallacies of Socialism" and was consistently sceptical that either parliamentary or anarchist versions of collectivism would create heaven on earth. By 1893 Individualist-Anarchism was in decline in England leaving Tarn no alternative to closing the *Herald*, but that didn't end his activism.

Not so Independent Labour

Tarn's own account of the reception he received at a Glasgow ILP public meeting in 1895 is illustrative, "The lecturer in the course of his address frequently alluded to collectivist principles and finished up with a beatific vision of the Promised Land, where we shall all live in love and happiness under the care and protection of Bumble. At the close of the address I rose and put the question, "*Has the collective management of industries been so far an unquestioned success?*" Tarn was not only denied an answer but booed out of the hall by the party faithful.

Local newspapers generally gave Tarn a fairer hearing than the politicians. Speaking at Spittal in 1904 he, "impressed upon his hearers the superiority of an honest labourer like a fisherman to those who spent their time loafing about and meddling with other people in their occupations. To the class of loafers and meddlers belonged people who made Acts of Parliament, bailiffs, policemen and magistrates."

The Glasgow ILP branded Tarn a "Capitalistic

Anarchist" which, although evidencing ignorance of his critique of capital, at least had the merit of identifying him as an anarchist which the anarchist-communists denied him. Tarn acted as well as preached anarchy as an October 1902 press report records, "At Gateshead Police Court on Monday Albert Tarn was summonsed for not paying borough rates. He said he offered and had the money to pay all except the School Board rate because the Board schools were unfit to send his children to...he objected to the legalised kidnapping of children".

Diabolical Liberty

Tarn opposed monopoly and was alive to the danger of group pressure stifling and silencing the individual. His distrust of the emerging mass trade union movement prompted him, sometime around 1900, to accept the position of Northern Area Secretary of the "National Free Labour Association". Despite its libertarian rhetoric this was essentially a strike-breaking organisation that in 1902 led Tarn to actively support Lord Penrhyn in a notorious industrial dispute against his own north Wales quarrymen. This was a shameful misjudgement. Cast adrift from the anarchist-communist remnants of an almost moribund movement he had no rightful place alongside employers who relied on the State to enforce their exploitative contracts. I don't know whether Albert arrived at the same conclusion but in any case he soon returned to teaching chemistry.

Albert's Last Lesson

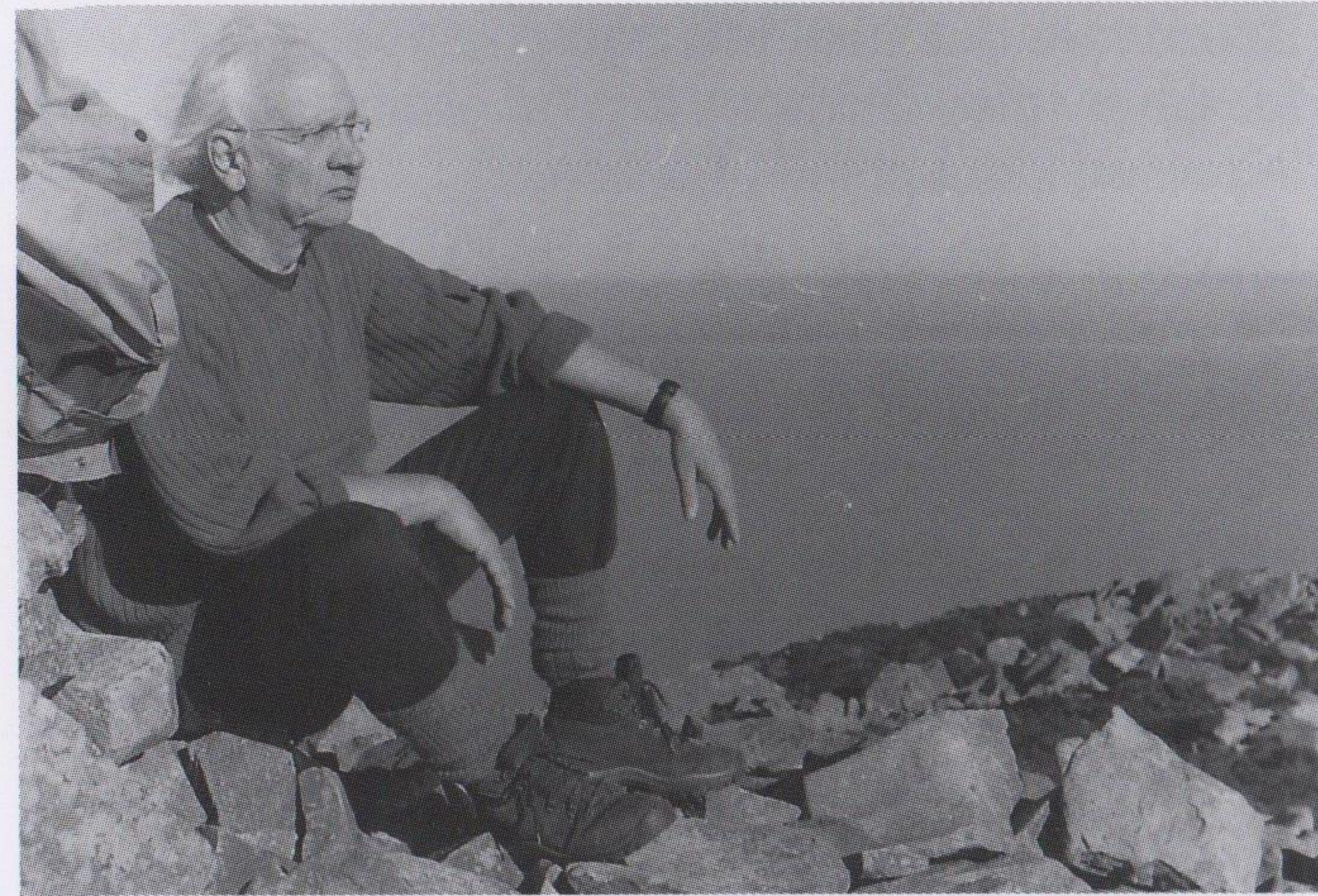
As late as 1907, Tarn continued to campaign against State control of education before retiring from political activism. On 23rd December 1923, aged 61, he died at home in Thornton Heath. Gone but not quite forgotten.

Albert Tarn never claimed definitive solutions but identified and tackled some of the key problems of anarchy. The devastating effects of the recent world-wide financial crash underline the relevance of his analysis of the political role of economic mechanisms. Despite the assertions of our class-war comrades, Individualist-Anarchism doesn't simply reduce to selfish egoism or unrestrained capitalism. Tarn attempted to identify how freedom for the individual is best articulated within a social context. As revolutionaries in Russia and Spain soon discovered problems of distribution are critical. It was the key issue that prompted the libertarian colony at Whiteway to abandon anarcho-communism as an impractical failure and instead adopt mutualism that's endured for more than a century.

Group-think takes hold all too easily.

Impervious to Kropotkin's charms, the Herald of Anarchy was excommunicated from the movement by a dominant communist faction and then effectively airbrushed from history. With a whisper from the grave Albert Tarn reminds us to remain ever fearful of all forms of collectivism.

Christopher Draper



Tribute: Mike Hamilton 1948 - 2013

Mike Hamilton, family man, community activist, anarchist, gardener, walker and most of all, friend, died on Monday 30th December aged 65. I first met Mike in the summer of 1993 when he started attending the walks programme 'Red Rambles' for Anarchists and radicals which commenced that year. Mike first came to the walks because of an advert which I had placed in the anarchist fortnightly paper 'Freedom' and he immediately became a regular on the walks. Mike became a comrade and close friend as the two of us proceeded to organise a series of events and conferences in Derby and the east midlands. These started with a couple of conferences at the Derby Rainbow Centre and were followed by further events in the Peak District, the Yorkshire Dales, Manchester, Nottingham and Leicester. Mike and I decided to set up a monthly newsletter under the banner EMAB (East Midlands Anarchist Bulletin) and during the 5 years of EMAB's existence we produced over 40 editions. Many of the editions were joint productions with Mike travelling over from Loughborough to join me in front of the Amstrad PC in my home in Belper to put together the 2 sides of A4 text and pictures that comprised the newsletter. Mike's contribution to these drew greatly on his wide knowledge of green ideas for more self sufficient communities, and his involvement in community and anarchist politics.

Mike, myself and Ron Marsden organised the meeting which relaunched the Northern Anarchist Network (NAN) in Manchester Town Hall in 1995. The NAN subsequently evolved to advocate a brand of class struggle Anarchism not entirely to Mike's liking as his was far more a communitarian and green influenced version of the anarchist ideal.

We also took part in other events and occasions including trips to the York Anarchist Forum, and on a number of local demonstrations around such issues as the Criminal Justice Bill in Loughborough and others such as a well attended demonstration to protect Alport Dale in the Derbyshire Peak District from development.

Mike was always a 'doer' and was a key participant in organising the series of EMA Anarchist camps and gatherings. These included a camping weekend in the Peak District, another in the Yorkshire Dales and then between 2001 and 2003, 3 consecutive anarchist weekend gatherings at the Woodcraft folk movement centre at Height Gate, Hebden Bridge. These were always small friendly gatherings of around 15 anarchists where we would cook and eat together, drink, talk and go walking in the locality.

Mike was generous, open and honest and if he disagreed with you he would say so. On one occasion we fell out briefly over the Newsletter and this led me to start publishing *Total Liberty* which subsequently became *Anarchist Voices*. However, Mike and I were soon friends again and he continued thereafter to be supportive of *Anarchist Voices*.



Among Mike's greatest achievements were the Norwich Alternative Bookshop which he helped establish while a student in Norwich, and then in his work as a Community Development Worker, the Nanpantan Community Allotments which he set up on the outskirts of Loughborough. Mike's openness was expressed in his work through his open espousal of Anarchist politics even while taking part in Loughborough community politics various and inevitable committees, even when he

was representing the community centre on the Police Committee of the local authority.

Mike had a large number of contacts in the Loughborough community to whom he would give Anarchist literature on occasions such as the



Loughborough Green Fairs, held in a park in the middle of the town, where Mike and I would have a stall promoting Anarchist ideas.

Mike agreed to take part in the *Anarchist Voices Video Project* and he can be seen in two videos on the website. In one he gives us a tour around his beloved community allotments at Nanpantan, Loughborough and in the other he gives us some insight on his views on anarchism. Mike's position on Anarchism was very much within the tradition of the incremental anarchism of Colin Ward and the wider 1960s community activist influenced anarchism. Many of the books which Mike would pass to me reflected this. On other occasions the two of us visited alternative projects such as the self build co-operative housing project near Southwell, Nottingham and another time the Centre for Alternative Technology near Machynlleth in mid Wales.

Mike Hamilton's humane and practical vision of Anarchism is one which could influence the movement in a positive way, which would be a fitting tribute if there were only a fitting journal to give space and publicity to such a viewpoint. My abiding memory of Mike will be of the good times spent together as a comrade in many different events and as a friend on many walks and rambles from Derbyshire to Yorkshire from the midlands of England to the coastal paths and mountains of north Wales. His impact on friends and community was shown by the number of people who came to say a final goodbye to Mike on a cold January morning at the natural burial ground at Burton on the Wold. Mike will be missed by all who knew him, and as they say in Wales, *Heddwch i'w lwch*.

Jonathan Simcock



Freedom: An anarchist education

Freedom newspaper, Britain's longest running anarchist publication, is no longer being produced in paper form. Starting as a monthly in October 1886, Freedom has been printed on and off ever since. From its inception Freedom's mission was not to be associated with any one anarchist group but rather to be a mouth piece for the movement as a whole. A century on anarchism is much broader than it was in 1880s but Freedom has remained focused on what I regard as the core of libertarianism: anarcho-communism. In fact from 1889 Freedom started to describe itself as a 'Journal of Communist Anarchism'. A criticism by some anarchists in recent years was that the paper was in fact too limited in its focus, that anarchism was much bigger than just the class struggle stuff but that the paper did not reflect this.

To be fair to Freedom I think it long tried to have a wider perspective. I used to regularly write for the paper in the 1990s. They were, it seemed, exciting times for far left politics with the rise of direct action campaigns particularly the anti-roads ones, Reclaim The Streets, Earth First, papers like Squall and Do or Die but also a progressive rethink amongst some elements of the labour movement, most notably around the striking Liverpool Dockers. It was a period of activism. Taking copies of Freedom to the Newbury anti-bypass camps and marches I was impressed how open most people were to anarchist ideas. It was also refreshing not to see any Socialist Worker sellers. Authoritarian marxism struggled to accommodate democratic eco-activism; anarchism embraced it.

I have looked back at some of the things I wrote for Freedom back then (I also wrote for Total

Liberty, AV's predecessor at the same time). I was surprised how eclectic the topics were. Yes I did produce regular updates on worker's struggles (I was working for a trade union at the time) but also stuff on growing food, the road protests, skinhead culture, GM, voting, public spaces, music reviews, play, an interview with Clifford Harper about his art, skateboarding, pornography (against), allotments, supermarkets, even architecture!

For a while it felt like a new, anti authoritarian movement might emerge from this period and that anarchism was well and truly in the mix. There was even talk of red, green and black alliances. It seemed anarchism was emerging centre stage from the long standing shadow of marxism and the more recent one of anarcho punk. Yet looking at the state of the movement today retrospectively through the lens of these articles I am surprised that the movement is still so tiny. Was our optimism misplaced? Sure in the intervening years the annual Anarchist Bookfair has grown leaps and bounds, moving from the claustrophobic (and it must be said, crusty) constraints of Conway Hall to the wide halls of Queen Mary's but there are now fewer groups around and fewer activists. And now no Freedom newspaper.

I used to also sell copies of Freedom on marches and demos. The most I ever sold was on the massive anti Iraq war march. Seven or eight of us met outside the Festival Hall the morning of the march, each taking a bundle of papers off the then editor, Toby, and headed off. I remember standing outside a hotel near the Ritz with people queuing to buy the paper! Queuing! It felt we were part of something. A decade later by coincidence I was in the same spot on an anti austerity march against the current government. I did not see anyone selling Freedom. Most anarchists that day were part of a separate bloc, which let off some flairs, sprayed some walls and broke some windows. I did not feel we had moved forward.

Reflecting on my time with Freedom I realise that writing the articles was an education for me. The big lesson I took from researching the arguments for the various pieces I wrote was that anarchism can be applied, as Kropotkin well knew, to all aspects of, not only economic, but also social and cultural life. Anarchism, defined as mutual aid and cooperation, is part of us - despite capitalism's best efforts! This was the point Colin Ward made in each edition in his regular column, always the first thing I would read when Freedom landed on the doormat. Fundamentally, writing for Freedom and reading it every two weeks convinced me that anarchism

was right.

Freedom's web-only existence has been driven by a few factors. Fewer people read physical books and papers. Freedom's subscribers have dwindled to 225 and retail outlets for the paper to fewer than 30. Volunteers have also fallen off. Actually for a short while I helped with sending the paper out. Once a month I would head to East London, shoot down Angel Alley, gingerly walk up the bookshop's rickety stairs into a room that looked like something out of a Dickens novel - dusty, full of boxes, old papers, journals, envelopes and books - clear a space, sit down and stick labels on the brown envelopes. From memory we sent out 600 or so. Falling subscribers and fewer volunteers means the paper made an annual £2500 loss in the end.

Lack of volunteers is also hitting Black Flag magazine which has not been published for well over a year. Other anarchist publications appear intermediately. It is odd but many anarchists seem content to be consumers rather than producers. What do those thousands of people you see at the bookfair do in between? But who am I to judge? The last thing I wrote for Freedom was a review of Anarchist FAQs, some six years ago (vol 70 no 14). I stopped reading the paper shortly after as my activism wained. My anarchism has stood the test of time but I realised a long time ago that radical politics is a marathon, not a sprint.

In the end, a bit like Dr Who, we probably all have our favourite periods of Freedom and less favourite ones. We have probably always thought it isn't as good as it used to be. I bet anarchists used to say the same in the 1920s.

The original founders of the paper, like Charlotte Wilson, saw the need for anarchism to have a paper that stood outside of individual groups - that was about and for the Movement. That paper and vision is no more. Online Freedom still fulfils a role and it may be the comrades who started Freedom in 1886, if they were around today, would be writing blogs and web based articles rather than writing, laying out, designing, printing and posting a paper, but it's not the same. We have lost something. I stopped reading it but I miss it.

Richard Griffin

"People will come to love their oppression, to adore the technologies that undo their capacities to think"

Aldous Huxley



The Politics of Science

"In science, theories are always hypothetical and provisional and are a convenient method of grouping and linking known facts, as well as a useful instrument for research, for the discovery and interpretation of new facts; but they are not the truth."

"The scientist makes use of hypotheses to work on, that is to say he makes certain assumptions which serve him as a guide and as a spur in his research, but he is not a victim of his imagination, nor does he allow familiarity with his assumptions to be hardened into a demonstrated truth, raising to a law, with arbitrary induction, every individual fact which serves his thesis."

These quotations are taken from two articles written by Errico Malatesta in the journals *Umanità Nova* and *Pensiero e Volontà* in 1922 and 1924, respectively. In these pieces, Malatesta was formulating a critique of the "scientific" socialists and anarchists of the day, people like the marxists and anarchists such as Kropotkin, who believed that the methods of natural science could be applied to people and their social and economic relations. Malatesta, on the other hand, believed that human beings and their interactions could not be analysed, nor their actions and decisions predicted, in the same way that scientists could study and hypothesise about planets, atoms, plants, and other animals. He saw that the mind and free will which people possess make them and their behaviour unpredictable, and thus gives the lie to the determinist social theories of Marx and Kropotkin.

While I am in complete agreement with this critique, it was not a new insight for me. What

struck me, however, when I was reading *Errico Malatesta: His Life and Ideas*, edited by Vernon Richards (and the reason why I selected the excerpts above), was how clearly Malatesta, a non-scientist, understood the scientific approach, how science is supposed to be done and what purpose it should serve. Science is a tool to elucidate natural processes and phenomena in order to discover the underlying "laws" of nature; how things work. Once that is understood, scientists can then study the effects of intentional or unintentional human interventions on them.

The words 'science' and 'scientific' have an aura of truth and respectability about them that lead to people to apply these labels, even when not merited, to their own ideas and work in an effort to achieve an acceptance they might not otherwise have. Fields of study like psychology, sociology, and economics, for instance, are commonly called social sciences, but are unscientific in the extreme. While they all involve some level of research, which generally is simply the recording of observations of human behaviour, they are unable to conduct true experiments with any rigor, since they all deal with the observed behaviour of people, and it is impossible to accurately assess what leads to this behaviour and why. While the "scientific" social change theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have largely gone out of fashion, they have been replaced by a new generation of pseudosciences.

While it is bad enough that what passes for social science is anything but, it has become increasingly apparent that natural science has also fallen prey to the pitfalls identified a 100 years ago by Malatesta. It has become increasingly common to read about poorly-designed research trials, falsified data, burying of research that failed to support the desired hypothesis. Some researchers cherry-pick data that fit their theory. Unproven theories can become dogma. Dissidents can be treated as heretics. While there is much important and well-done scientific research being carried out, much of what ends up in public view is shoddily done and politically motivated.

Climate science is the most obvious case at present. The scientific establishment has accepted the inevitability of global increases in temperature and speculates that the consequence of this warming will be more or less disastrous to lots of people and ecological systems around the world. This view is propagated by newspapers, television, on-line information sources, movies, books, seemingly everywhere. We are told that global warming is "established science," and those who disagree

with this orthodoxy are commonly described as global warming deniers, a phrase used to make them look as absurd as those who claim that the Nazis did not systematically murder Jewish people (holocaust deniers). But when the data conflict with the hypotheses of the global warming scientific elite, the data are rejected instead of their likely very-flawed hypothesis.

The last united states surgeon-general's report on *The Health Consequences of Involuntary Exposure to Tobacco Smoke* is another example of badly-done science. In it the statement is made that "There is no safe amount of second-hand smoke. Breathing even a little second-hand smoke can be dangerous." There is no real research presented to back this up, but there is apparently no need for that these days when it comes to the self-evident evil of tobacco. While it can be proven experimentally that ingredients in tobacco damage cells, and epidemiology has clearly demonstrated the ill-effects of active smoking, neither of these facts support the statement about the danger of incidental exposure to small amounts of second-hand smoke — except in the sense that there is no safe amount of salt, since it increases some people's blood pressure; or driving, since some people die in road accidents; or sunlight, since UV rays damage skin cells; or inhalation of car exhaust when one walks or bikes next to a roadway, since these gases too contain toxins. In these cases people are advised to reduce their exposure or risk but not to entirely avoid these things. There is no warning from the surgeon-general not to walk or drive around New York during rush hour. But the prohibitionist approach has so distorted discussion of tobacco that this statement was trumpeted about by newsies and the public health authorities, but never challenged. Least of all by any "reputable" scientist.

The concept of established science is valued by establishment scientists and their political supporters and funders. But real science is about open inquiry and can never be truly established. New data can always be discovered that can completely change the game. Medical research, though imperfect, often seeks real innovation and tries out seemingly crazy approaches in attempts to treat disease, especially in cancer research. Risky conjecture and scepticism regarding consensus theory is a key part of true science but is seldom seen in the big, government-funded science arena. Since critical thinking and the questioning of authority are discouraged so actively among the population at large, I guess it shouldn't be surprising that so many scientists never overcome their upbringing and training. Authoritarian societies and education systems

are pretty good at creating people, including scientists, who will go along to get along. Anarchy, instead, would promote real science, since both require people who think and act for themselves, who see things as they are and could be, and who change their opinions based on new information, instead of clinging to worn-out dogmas and explaining away conflicting evidence.

Joe Peacott

Remembering the victims of the First World War



A television programme about the destruction of images during the French Revolution made me wonder why I am trying to get a local war memorial repaired. The memorial is in a park near where I live and shows a beautiful angel of peace on a column, along with the names of the dead. What upsets me is that the angel's nose has been smashed in.

The French revolutionary iconoclasts were, quite rightly I think, destroying symbols of royal, church and aristocratic power, and doing so because that power was real to them: it was evidence of their oppression.

Memorials are still declarations of the power of whoever sets them up — though they will often be

financed by their victims and certainly built by them. There are thousands of memorials around England today which proclaim the bloody glory of British military leaders and the bloody achievements of colonial pirates. They don't bother me, but quite rightly, minorities from the empire now living here are affronted by the stature of a general who led the army which destroyed their country's freedom and heralded decades of exploitation and often slavery.

Quite reasonably, Ken Livingstone tried to shunt some of these relics of an inglorious past into London side streets; it surprises me that there isn't more clamour by former colonial subjects for their removal.

I don't care because I have not been conquered nor enslaved more than the average worker — and I have an affection for memorials to the dead of two terrible wars; I find an earlier memorial — to the Camel Corps in the embankment gardens by the Thames in London — quite charming; nice camel.

The Great War memorials are a terrible, sad recognition of the unwilling dead, particularly of the trenches, in so far as they do not glorify war. My memorial is a simple 12ft-high column with names and the full-sized angel of peace in bas relief. I am not happy with angels which brandish rifles; nor with slogans such as "to our glorious dead" or "They gave their lives that we might live"; "for freedom"; "for king and country" or any other such slogan.

Names, often such long lists of names, are enough. Platitudes reduce them but sadly, they are not totally inaccurate; many men went willingly to war — conditioned by a life of jingoistic education and stories of heroism and out of solidarity with mates they went to school with or worked with. The generals lied; but it is necessary to remember the power of brain-washing that underlies so much of a willingness to acquiesce in destruction and self-destruction.

Memorials are necessary in so far as they commemorate the dead and because they trumpet the futility of war and the stupidity of the people who advocate it and send tens of thousands to their deaths — though not loudly enough.

I want to see my local memorial repaired, partly so that I can write a news item about the angel of peace getting a nose job; she is in any case a very beautiful work of art and merits repair. It is unlikely that she was the victim of any revolutionary; more likely some ignorant teenagers bashed her nose in with as much thought as they smash telephone boxes and public lavatories.

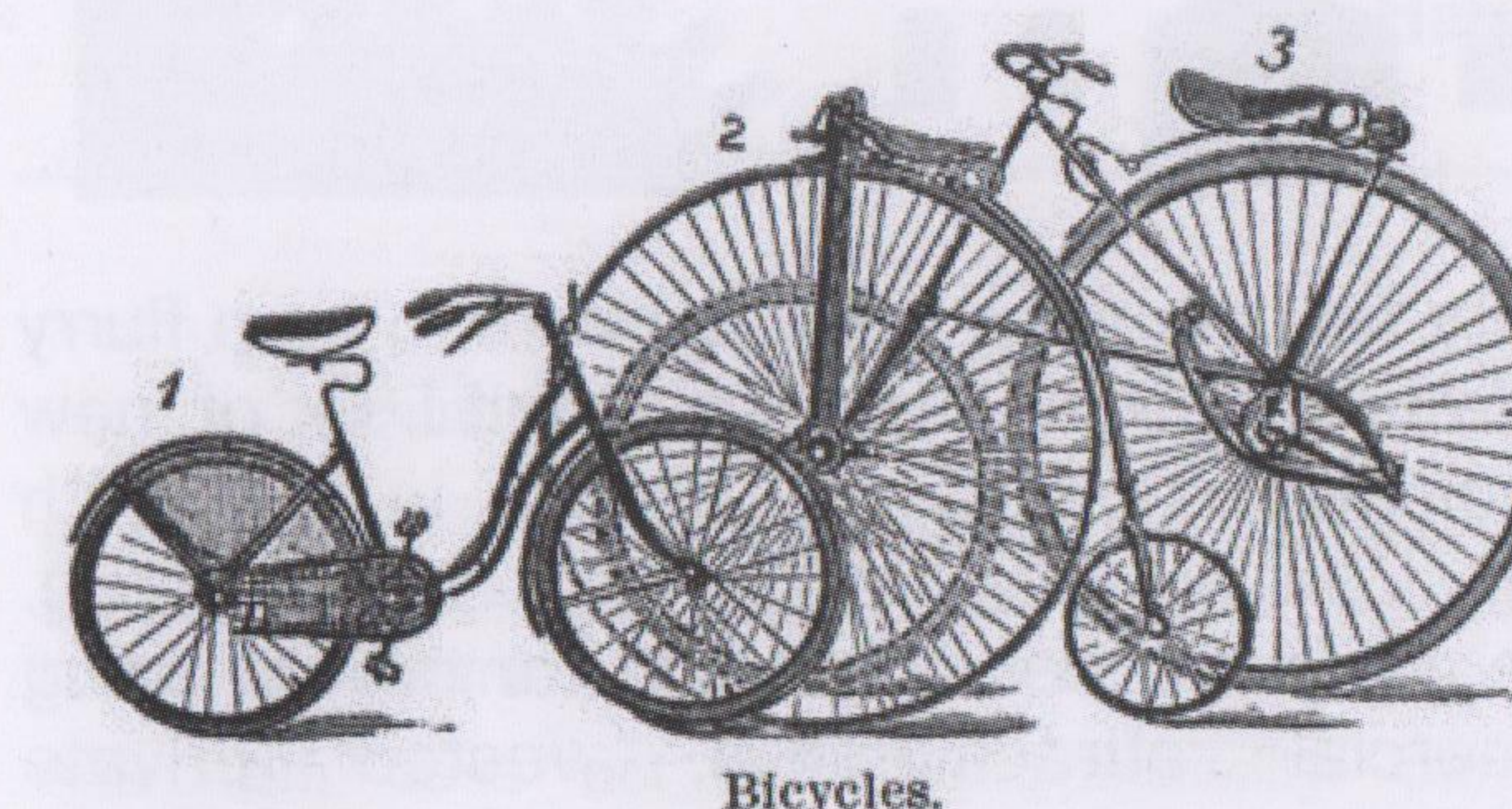
It is right that in the coming months she will be

at the centre of many events marking the outbreak of the First World War; and sad that few will be held in recognition of its stupidity. There will be much muted mumbling about bravery and sacrifice and perhaps some red faced general on the staff might take the opportunity of calling for more spending on nuclear missiles or aircraft carriers. When the memorial was dedicated in 1923, one such general according to the local newspaper report, "advocated preparation for war as the best means to preserve peace".

Some hope; then or now; but the angel is a beautiful piece of work and will look better with nose sorted.

Dick Frost

The following article is reprinted as a tribute to the late Mike Hamilton and was originally published in EMAB: the monthly bulletin of the East Midlands Anarchists in October 1995. While some of the references may have dated, the underlying arguments remain as valid today as they were in 1995.



Appropriate Technology

Beyond technological fixes: towards socially directed innovation.

"Technological innovation is widely believed to hold the answers to many of our economic and social problems. But what sort of technology should we be focussing on and how do we decide?" (Dr Dave Elliot, Open University: Discussion Paper No. 9, May 1987).

If any reader has ever been to public debates on how to renew local communities they will have heard the usual formulas of economic revival through attracting large and small scale technology. Loughborough in this respect, is no different, with its supporters pointing out the successes of the town with its Science Park on the Epinal Way site and the newer Science Park on the Ashby Road attracting, as it did, the new British Gas Research Centre. However, on closer inspection neither development have

produced the goods in terms of local employment. Nor have they demonstrated the 'trickle down effect' on the local economy. Quite the contrary, they have both remained specialist sectors operating within a very narrow field of application. Jobs that have been created tend to fit into the low skilled or no skilled variety, usually manual and low paid.



Every few decades there appears to be a flurry of activities, usually around a specific set of 'new technologies' (the steam engine in the 18th century: the micro-chip in the 20th century). There are a number of reasons for this including commercial attractiveness, vested private interests, corporate plans, national government plans.

The problem with these seemingly 'objective developments' is that they contain many underlying values, often dressed as common sense. The results, however, have been far from what many people regard as 'sense', be it common or otherwise: deskilling of traditional crafts, built in obsolescence, products of a kind which prevent repair or renovation. As a direct consequence a society is emerging that defines wealth and wellbeing in terms of ownership and understanding of the latest technological gadgetry, turning tools and life enhancing appliances into gateways for a happy and rewarding life. One has only to consider the recent launch of 'Windows 95', a mere tool for personal computers, but from the advertising hype you would be excused for thinking that love making would never be the same again.

How should we then calculate the benefits of technological breakthroughs? Below are some considerations for consideration:

Criteria 1: make efficient use of scarce material resources—by designing for long life, easy repair, renovation and reconditioning, and ultimately, for easy recycling of constituent materials.

Criteria 2: make efficient and safe use of finite energy resources (a) by adopting cleaned-up, efficient energy conversion systems for fossil fuels, avoiding waste and loss at point of use (via insulation etc), matching supply to demand more effectively, and (b) by substituting renewable energy sources (wind, wave, tidal and solar) for finite resources wherever possible.

Criteria 3: technologies should develop and enhance human skills rather than decrease them, reduce boring and dangerous work, and lend themselves to control by users, rather than the other way around.

Criteria 4: technologies should be as flexible as possible. All other things being equal, we should choose small-scale options and/or modular systems which can be introduced piecemeal, rather than large integrated systems with long development times. 'Lots of eggs in lots of baskets', with the emphasis on diversity and the avoidance of technologies which foreclose options and can't easily be abandoned, should they prove troublesome.

What are the underlying prescriptions in the criteria so far outlined? That we might be better off with smaller scale (though not necessarily unsophisticated) systems in many circumstances, within a more decentralised social and industrial framework. Working with materials and products made in the locality as far as possible. Promoting enterprises that give priority to meeting local needs, using local labour and contributing to the enriching of the local economy.



Personally I would give priority to co-operatives and neighbourhood enterprises in which the local inhabitants would be supplying goods and services to their friends and relatives. This local approach to employment creation does not require large corporations being bribed with the

creation of larger and faster links to ensure that their goods 'get through'. The very best aspect of this development approach is in the local knowledge and flexibility necessary to respond to our ever changing circumstances. This aspect alone beats the high street organisations hands down because of their centralised management and manufacturing processes.

Quality and size of manufacturing runs would be strictly determined by local needs. Obviously any orders beyond the immediate neighbourhood could be taken on board, without the particular organisation having to rely exclusively on outside sales. Research and development of new products would be part of the everyday experiences within the local enterprises. Not just the skilled workers finding perhaps simpler ways of producing a particular item, but having listened to customers comments upon the reliability and durability of the item, go on to manufacture an innovative 'Mark 2' of said item. How many of the present companies producing dining room furniture (for example) ever listen to the customers?



Can the present town planner note that what we require in Loughborough is a determined approach by our elected members and officers of Charnwood Borough Council, to promote local initiatives from within our own communities. This could be achieved by a multifaceted strategy providing start-up workshops and offices with centralised facilities for book keeping and secretarial back-up buying finished goods and services for the benefit of tax payers with Charnwood, searching the European Union for grants and similar projects for ideas and inspiration.

In the long term neighbourhood enterprises will serve the people of Charnwood in ways that will

ensure local corporations extract profit from the local economy and change production requirements between continents. Encouraging companies manufacturing on the leading edge of technology suffer from short-termism. In other words, the latest scientific gadget, almost by definition, promotes its own obsolescence because some other company will be working to capture that particular market. Keeping enterprises local and creating local enterprise might just recreate a local identity and promote greater fellow feeling among the citizens of Charnwood. In the process beautiful objects and a beautiful environment might emerge from the combination of local skills and ecological awareness. One thing is for sure, even if a local co-operative fails miserably, the people of Charnwood won't be faced with massive redundancies or ugly vandalised buildings rotting away (take a walk around Empress Road). The starting point for promoting this 'other' economy could be the placing of a contract for the maintenance and refurbishment of council houses and estates to a local building co-operative.

Mike Hamilton

An Anarchist Credo

Anarchism is not terrorism or violence and anarchists do not support, aid or sympathise with terrorists or so-called liberation movements.

Anarchism does not mean irresponsibility, parasitism, criminality, nihilism or immoralism, but entails the highest level of ethics and personal responsibility.

Anarchism does not mean hostility toward organisation. Anarchists only desire that all organisations be voluntary and that a peaceful social order will exist only when this is so.

Anarchists are resolute anti-statists and do not defend either "limited states" or "welfare states".

Anarchists are opposed to all coercion.

Poverty, bigotry, sexism and environmental degradation cannot be successfully overcome through the State. Anarchists are therefore opposed to taxation, censorship, so-called affirmative action and government regulation.

Anarchists do not need scapegoats. Poverty and environmental destruction are not ultimately caused by transnationals, IMF, the USA, the "developed world", imperialism, technology or any other devil figure, but are rooted in the power to coerce. Only the abolition of coercion will overcome these problems.

Anarchism does not posit any particular economic system but only desires that the economy be non-coercive and composed of voluntary organisations.

Anarchists are not utopians or sectarians, but are sympathetic to any effort to decrease statism and coercion and the replacement of authoritarian relations with voluntary ones.