

NURSES FLEX THEIR MUSCLES

EVERYBODY KNOWS that the wage received by nurses is one of the lowest. It is also recognised that they perform one of the most important jobs and yet society places little value on their services. Most of us at one time or another have benefitted from their work but our present society, with its price tag for everything, will only pay out what they think they can get away with.

In such conditions the value and social importance of the job is of little consequence but those who nurse the sick are not subject to profit. The National Health Scheme is really a well-lined State pocket from which the private section makes huge profits at the expense of the millions of people who have the weekly contribution deducted from their pay packet. This money goes to the drug companies, the equipment makers, the building contractors and the higher echelons of the health service. The State also pays out huge sums of money for nurses from agencies, but is unwilling to pay this money to their own nurses. For those at the bottom of the chain of command the rewards are small. In fact, at one time it used to be reward enough - probably a figment of the middle class imagination - just to be a nurse. It was a vocation or some such rubbish.

To some extent nurses were willing victims to this crap. Their training, and often their aspiring middle class backgrounds, made them easy meat to this propaganda. But it must also be recorded that the working class has failed to give them the active support they should have done. Workers at Ford's did on one occasion down tools and demonstrate their support, but on the whole lack of sympathy, the

A joint editor of Time Out has been charged with handling stolen property. The charge concerns the French residence permit of the kidnapped Spanish banker, Bernardo Suarez, a picture of which was shown in Time Out and the Sunday Mirror. A Movement (according to Solidarite Internationale 'Situationaist') - The International Revolutionary Action Group - has claimed responsibility for the kidnapping. The police were granted their request to take the journalist's fingerprints against his will.

indifference and plain old 'I'm all right Jack' had predominated.

Now the nurses have themselves decided that enough is enough and are beginning to flex their industrial muscles. The unions involved are at last aware that they are supposed to gain the highest possible awards for their members. But what has happened is that the people who are in control of these bureaucracies are now being made aware of the real wishes of their members. But instead of uniting to win their members' demands they have been vying with one another for the leadership of the nurses. While the Confederation of Health Service Employees has said that its 70,000 members will strike if the Prime Minister does not offer at least £100 millions, the general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, Mr. Fisher, has accused this rival union of "sowing seeds of confusion in the nurses' ranks".

Mr. Fisher also said that this verbal exercise "seems to be designed to give themselves a superficial semblance of trade union militancy".

However none of these unions have shown any signs of militancy in the past. And it is plain it is only militancy that the authorities understand. They are not interested in justice, but action is a wonderful opener of purse strings.

If the nurses are not satisfied with the government's wage offer then they are fully justified in taking action for themselves. They are justified because this is the only language that those in authority take notice of. If other sections of the working class cannot take the necessary action to secure a living wage for the nurses then they will have to do it for themselves.

P. T.

Pat Arrowsmith Jailed

PAT ARROWSMITH was jailed for 18 months on Monday (20 May) after having been found guilty of handing leaflets to soldiers calling on them to refuse service in Northern Ireland; Pat and other friends distributed pamphlets at the School of Infantry, sited, appropriately enough, at Warmins-

ter. When they were asked to leave, Pat refused and was arrested, she skipped bail naturally enough and was subsequently arrested on March 14th.

As she was led from the dock at the Old Bailey, Pat shouted "Freedom for Ireland".

Judge Abdela persisted in refusing to see the point of Pat's action and proved it at the end by pontificating on the relative virtues and vices of "martyrdom"!

Pat's leaflet explained the special arrangements for giving British Servicemen asylum in Sweden if they wished to desert; any serviceman interested in this information are invited to apply to the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, c/o 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1, who still have the information on this and, undeterred by what has happened to Pat, are more than willing to make this information available to potential deserters.

J.



ARTHUR MOYSE

"AND I STATE, GENTLEMEN, THAT EVERY ONE OF OUR SOLDIERS SHOULD CLEAR OUT OF IRELAND..."

"--Watch it, General, they imprisoned Pat Arrowsmith for circulating the same idea---"

THE RUSSIANS HAVE GRANTED ARGENTINA A CREDIT OF £250million -- FAR LARGER THAN THAT GRANTED TO ALLENDE'S CHILE.
THE CHINESE ARE SENDING AN EXCHANGE COMMERCIAL MISSION TO BRAZIL.

THE VIOLENCE OF THE OTHERS

LAST WEEK was a typical, normal week of violence, private, public, officially sponsored and guerilla inspired. Naturally enough, the press teetered along the thin line between the sanctioned official violence and the to-be-condemned unauthorized violence. Differentiations were made between the Arab raid at Ma'alot where the precipitate action of Dayan's troops made certain the massacre and the vengeance-raids of the Israelis by land, sea and air upon the preponderately civilian population of the Lebanon.

As for the added horror of the Dublin bombs, the ready assumption of the perpetual guilt of the IRA has made speculation about the source of the bombers and their motives irrelevant, and hence from the assassins' point of view makes such bombings useless - even politically.

Incidentally such is the institutionalization and acceptance of terror-bombing that now it is known and admitted that the official Provisional IRA has a reference number which they quote when announcing their planting of a bomb. This is obviously much more efficient, you can't have just anybody planting bombs!

There are four official, governmental wars going on at the moment, limited though they are - some of them - to guerilla wars; Syria-Israel, Vietnam, the war against the Kurds in Iran, and the guerilla wars of Angola and Mozambique. (It has just been disclosed that the U.S. government used rainmaking equipment to fight its war in Vietnam).

In Los Angeles a free for all 'shoot-out' between police and Symbionese Liberation Front resulted in the deaths of six or more of the group (whether Patricia Hearst, the 'kidnapped' heiress was among them is either unknown or denied). In Britain, a policeman at Brighton was acquitted on a charge of beating up a Communist councillor, since the magistrate chose to believe the policeman.

Well in the background a case is being heard on Britain's violation of Human Rights in Ulster. And - as if we hadn't enough - poor, starved India chooses this week to announce her acquisition of a new glossy expensive nuclear device ('Not,' everyone suspiciously hastens to add, 'a bomb', dropping the qualifying 'yet'). Mahatma Gandhi, where are you now that we need you?

Through this scattering of violence can be seen a pattern of justification by the big battalions. Governments in general have no respect for human life

and the standard they set for their own behaviour is very different from that which they expect from their subjects or, according to custom, from the smaller nations.

Is this then a justification for individual violence or for participating, under compulsion, in the State's violence?

Violence itself is authoritarian in the sense that it compels, by fear of death or by actual elimination, cessation of certain activities judged by its practitioners to be undesirable. Sometimes it is concerned with punishment for past acts or deterrence for future acts but never with reform. It has little moral concern (although its practitioners make great show of morals) and its success chiefly depends upon superior numbers or power.

Violence has been justified when 'defensive' but this is anticipatory violence and depends for its success just as much upon its superior force as upon moral superiority.

The question revolves round that of means and ends. It is easy to see that the modern State with its prisons, police and soldiers is incapable of providing liberty and peace. Is it not then possible that national liberation movements and revolutionary guerillas with their threats and kidnappings are as unlikely to achieve a society without violence or threats? The theory of non-violent resistance has rightly received much criticism but this cult of violent non-

resistance, of fighting the State with weapons which it understands and with which it can cope is just as much open to criticism. It is significant that the revolts which have touched men's imaginations have been those which were largely non-violent, and those which went down to an honourable defeat.

As recently as today (Monday) the governments of Britain and Northern Ireland have been shaken more by the strike of Northern Irish workers than by all the meaningless ritualistic bombings and killings. This is not to evaluate the morality of aims or methods of this strike but simply to record the power of labour even if organised for the most retrograde cause.

Secondly, it would seem that social changes have taken place in Portugal (not, on examination, of a very profound nature) without widespread military outbreaks. True, this may be the reflection of military exhaustion in Mozambique and Angola but it is a reminder that social change can, with promptings from the people below, take place without violence.

The State itself is founded upon and sustained by violence. It is sheer hypocrisy on the part of supporters of the State to feel that any violence on behalf of its opponents is inexplicable. That such violence is a logical consequence of actions of States is obvious. That it has any use or will be instrumental in forming a free society is highly questionable. Jack Robinson.

IN BRIEF

AFTER MORE THAN 18 MONTHS THE RUSSIAN UNDERGROUND JOURNAL Chronicle of Current Events WHICH HAD BEEN ASSUMED SUPPRESSED BY THE THREATS OF THE K.G.B. HAS EMERGED. THREE ISSUES ARE NOW CIRCULATING, AS BEFORE, FROM HAND TO HAND. THE K.G.B. HAD THREATENED TO MAKE A SERIES OF ARBITRARY ARRESTS UNTIL THE JOURNAL STOPPED PUBLISHING.

More than 2,000 out of 3,000 university teachers believe (according to a survey) that student unrest has done the teachers some good. The teachers believe militancy to be a good influence, making teachers more aware of students although they feel that public sympathy has been alienated.

The Guardian's 'Open File' reports (11.5.74) reports six delegates from the Women's International League for Peace and Free-

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dom going in a delegation to the Greek Embassy to protest against the detention of political prisoners. The police agreed that one member could deliver the letter whilst the others had to remain on the other side of the road. Shortly afterwards police reinforcements appeared who, after a short conference, approached the five and "politely requested their names", states Martin Walker. He concludes, "For future reference demonstrators might like to note that while the police do indeed have authority to request personal details, the individual has the right, as a security precaution and when not in breach of the law, to refuse to provide this information." However, it is not so simple; indeed a belligerent cop (there are such) may construe refusal to give information as a 'breach of the law': an even more belligerent cop could even provide the 'breach of the law' making such information necessary.

FREE

In the discussion prior to the acceptance by the National Union of Students of a resolution to ban fascist and other right-wing speakers from university platforms, Keith Paton contributed this article to Birmingham N.U.S. paper Redbrick, (11.2.74). A few small cuts have been made because of its length. The debate is still on, and important. J.R.)

...Already in December 1917 the anarchist Press was predicting the rise of Bolshevik tyranny which was confirmed in April 1918 when anarchist presses and organisations were smashed, and from then on in the jailing and shooting of all dissenters. That's why it upset me when - on handing out a leaflet at the last General Meeting - Stuart Richardson said: "Oh, so you're a counter-revolutionary, are you?" He who stands in the tradition of the man responsible for countless lives of revolutionaries, at Kronstadt, in the Ukraine, and all over Russia, calls me a counter-revolutionary.

Perhaps if Trotskyists had supported free speech to all as of right, they wouldn't have dug graves for Stalin to fill with their own bodies in due course. If it is wrong to even talk with a supporter of National Socialism (10 million dead) is it right to make "united fronts" with those in the tradition of Leninist Socialism (15 million dead)? Why the double standard? What does our own behaviour, attitudes and organisations have in common with the factors which led to the failure of the Russian Revolution from early on, not just when nasty Stalin arrived in power? Nobody suffers more from erosion of free speech than the working class, for whose protection Left authoritarians claim to act. Equality always suffers when freedom suffers.

But correspondingly, freedom always suffers when there is no equality. As an anarchist I'm as far from the liberals as from the State socialists. Take this quote from the NCCL-NUS report on "Academic Freedom and the Law"--

"Clearly, no institution could function without staff to teach and to supervise research, without administrators, without technicians, without catering staff, cleaners and a whole host of ancillary staff."

I radically disagree with hierarchical specialisation. I believe that everybody should work roughly the same amount of time with their hands, and therefore we should all have equal time for idleness, recreation, research, relationships, making love, spiritual liberation. Capitalism is also capitalism, the superior status of the head over the hand, womb and heart. If we don't share the donkey work we can't integrate ourselves, our bodies or our theories in such a way as could point to a radically new society. Mass democracy is a draggy trip. So the Constitution of the "University or the "Union" is changed. Big deal. More privileged students and academics in on the power trip. The technicians are still at their benches, the typists in the offices, the women, the blacks, the porters --all in their place. And us on their backs mouthing our concern about the erosion of the higher freedoms.

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Real solidarity with the oppressed of this country is not a matter of endless "Left" resolutions at General Meetings about this or that struggle. It means trying strategies for liberation in the Union and the University which honestly grapple with the complex bargainings involved for most people throughout society - instead of taking advantage of merely local majorities at low quorum meetings in sheltered backwaters of the class struggle to practise the sort of authoritarian systems (Union 'democracy', the Party, University specialist roles) WHICH JUST AREN'T OPEN TO OTHERS AS OPTIONS AT PRESENT. Not that the University proletariat is likely to WANT to adopt authoritarian options. Women cleaners and typists know authority

too well at home to be over-impressed by the patriarchal role structures at work (once their struggles unfold). The CAFAD/NUS, the Liberals and the Marxist sects are content to operate with them, or ignore them.

Can't we see that WE deny freedom in our own institutions just as much as the correct but empty preachings of the conservatives and liberals about free speech are CONCRETELY limited and negated by the existence of the market?

Can't we see also, that if we deny the freedom of all to invite ANY speaker according to their own self-dictated arrangements, we cut our own throats vis-a-vis the University? I'm thinking not just of the Atkinson affair, but mainly of our everyday terrorisation by exams (the "sack") and the professoriat's dictating our studies to us.

... ..

FREEDOM OF SPEECH matters only when we really strongly agree with someone else. But even here, the rational approach is not to suppress the minority -- quite apart from the practical absurdity of trying to suppress MAJORITIES like non-believers in revolution, or racists. To suppress anybody's free speech is tantamount to claiming infallibility for our perspective. We may be wrong. Or only PARTLY right, just as the opposition may have some partial truths or ways of being or areas of concern we could learn from.

The truth of this comes home in any serious examination of the various forces of the Right and Centre and the structural relationship of their strengths to the missing elements of the Marxist synthesis (and most traditional male anarchism). For example:-

- 1) The Right's ability to use distorted sexual and religious energies (as we see it!) is related to Marx's total inadequacy to comprehend the spiritual and the sexual dimensions of politics; and the sexual dimensions of cosmic awareness.
- 2) The ability of the Right to use racism to split the workers - despite decades of Marxist propaganda in the labour movement, remember - is probably explicable when we NOTICE the ethnocentrism of Marxism itself, as the product of the peak imperialist age and nation and its economic logic. Like the boss, interested only in economic surplus value, the parties and unions are out for political surplus value, and ignore the real people who, at work, in their neighbourhoods, and associations are coping actively with life with the resources of a different CULTURE. Fear of other cultures is self-mutilating. If we don't comprehend the deeper level at which we are all one, we fall back on moralistic propaganda which merely reveals our own racism, and prepares the ground for the National Front to relieve people of the guilt they do feel at their irrational attitudes by asserting racism as respectable. This ethnocentrism of the Left also oppresses freak culture for its practical solidarity with Third World cultures, learning diverse non-patriarchal wisdoms and symbols and techniques from the imperialised peoples (eg Tentra).
- 3) Or else consider the Left's inability to handle the category of patriarchy, which is broader than one specific form (capitalism). This leads to our inability to liberate energies in our own bodies, lives and movements. So long as we can't live all the "unlived lives" of our bodies" (Norman O. Brown), we won't be able to liberate the constricting oppressive parts of the body politic. Instead of men liberating the woman or gay in themselves, liberals and Marxists, students and academics alike, constantly hedge and talk of "eliminating discrimination", "supporting" the women's and gay movements (those out there Martians).

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SPEECH MATTERS

So what I'm saying is that Marxists and liberals should listen to the Right to learn what VALID areas of life the Right is focusing on (birth/death/community/belonging/generation/tradition). Only then can we challenge the relationship of these existential themes (embodied for people in gesture, custom, myth and symbol as much as in ideas) to the State's totalitarian advances and the Fascists' barbaric-hierarchical world myth of Master Being, contesting with free socialist ideas, myths, etc.

Just as there's a Stalinist in us all, there's a little Powellite, National Fronter, or Hitler in the white male left. As Reich said - and remember he broke from Marxism and the Party TOO LATE to avert Nazism - "There is not a single individual who does not bear the elements of fascist feeling or thinking in his structure." We've got to own our worst selves, and to do this we've got to at least be able to talk with our worst selves/enemies. Otherwise the denied in oneself exerts a fatal fascination for one, subtly shaping our behaviour according to what we're gazing at. RED Fascism, National SOCIALISM. Who did you last see making the Sieg Heil salute? Was it perhaps on a Left-wing demonstration?

The awful truth is that neither the liberals nor the Left have any coherent anti-racist strategy. To shout someone down is to create the suspicion that you can't answer their arguments, e.g. the Maoists when Eysenck came. Moreover, as Mill argued, even assuming that we are 100 per cent right, truth degenerates into shaky dogmas if people can't work it out for themselves and each other as something living in the political culture.

Now this anarchist position is sure to be labelled as liberal by some. My answer is that socialism is the way we socialise, that free socialism corresponding to the deepest aspirations of all of us amounts to a generalising of liberal claims, not a retreat from them, even an allegedly "temporary" one (the "dictatorship of the proletariat"). Academic freedom is a liberal issue unless we see it as an UNSPECIAL case of the freedom we all have to establish for ourselves throughout society.

Others will accuse this position of amounting to passivity or, in their ignorance, "pacifism". But non-violent revolution is an active solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed, a willingness to die with them rather than keep quiet or kill. It's an active and intelligent opposition to mistaken views, whatever crime we think they are "objectively" supporting. There is a whole range of active responses possible to the visit of a Powell or an Eysenck, short of the violence of institutional bannings, mindless disruption which merely plays into the hands of the Right. (However much we may dislike it, the Right control the main media: the distortion of reporting of our actions and motives has to be a part of reality-based thinking as opposed to the infantile magical wishing away that the Authoritarian Left indulges in.)

We can organise a boycott, and/or alternative seminars, and/or counterleafleting. We can heckle and/or ask for the chance of reply -- but I don't think we can INSIST on taking this with the threat of disruption, because the Conservative Association students who want to listen to Powell have the right to listen and this should take precedence because of the right initiative gives one to invite people in (or exclude them) as part of the practice of free association. Other people can make counter-initiatives with counter-association, the argument goes.

Somewhat more difficult are cases where some general body claiming to represent us all is chairing a meeting: e.g. normal or extraordinary

university lecturesL occasions under the auspices of abstractions that rule us like "Union", the B.B.C. etc. Here it makes sense to raise the ante up to the point of crackdown, but only if it won't cause more long-term bitterness than our marginal gains from asserting rights like the right of reply forcefully (as opposed to organising alternatives in the event of our quiet requests being refused).

Of course the main denials of freedom are from the Right and "Centre"; mixing it in retaliation is often understandable, it may be morally justified on the grounds of intolerance's forfeiting claims to toleration, but it's seldom the intelligent response, however easy. An example was the Sussex case where the lecture was a university one, the speaker (Huntington) was a racist, and various requests for intermediate compromises were rejected before the meeting was disrupted by intensive heckling (and when heckling becomes disruption is obviously a fine point). I'm not saying this motion solves all the dilemmas in a nutshell - far from it, but perhaps it can get a reasonable discussion going.

What if everyone claims the right of reply? Well, either meetings would get very long, or it leads us to reconsider the value of mass democratic forms and the lecture as a social institution as such. What if everyone demands the equal right to define (grade) the definition (grading) of members of staff marking exams? Exams would be shown up as the arbitrary educational sabotage that they are, and the patterns of reciprocity underpinning the academic enterprise could flower again.

Putting our own house in order is the precondition for successfully challenging our status of enslavement in the other campus buildings (controlled by mythical entities called "the Universtiy" and the "Departments"). Students on Senate is only a tiny part of the answer. The main problem is to shift our perspective from a governmental one (patriarchal democracy/oligarchy, the sons versus the father scene again) to a diarchal (anarchical) FEDERATIVE position. As stated, democratic equality and representation are concepts that should come in only when a genuine scarcity problem exists and decision procedure needs to be arrived at.

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Freedom of speech MATTERS ! Don't leave it to others to object if you see someone tearing down the opposition's poster, or if you hear of plans to disrupt meetings. Don't leave it to others to support the motion. Keep this article, discuss it with your friends, write a better one if you don't like it. Dat's wot it's all about after all.

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A whole era in the history of anarchism came to an end with the death of Lilian Wolfe, for she was the last active link with the movement which was shattered by the experience of the First World War and the Russian Revolution.

Lilian Gertrude Woolf (as her surname was originally spelt) was born at her father's shop in Edgware Road, London, on 22nd December 1875. Her father was Albert Lewis Woolf, a jeweller from Liverpool of Jewish origin and conservative views; from him she got her solidity of character. Her mother was Lucy Helen Jones, an actress from Birmingham whom she later described as "a very frustrated woman"; from her she got her independence of thought and action. Lilian and her three brothers and two sisters were brought up in a conventional, comfortable middle-class way until she was thirteen years old, when their mother deserted the family to join an operatic company touring the world.

Lilian had virtually no formal education, being taught by governesses and briefly attending the Regent Street Polytechnic before she began to make her own living as telegraphist. For twenty years she worked at the Central Telegraph Office in London, where she "hated every minute of it", but where she nevertheless made many friends who "had a good influence over my choice of literature and culture generally". Eventually she became a socialist and a suffragist, joining the Civil Service Socialist Society and also the Women's Freedom League (this was a small body which broke away from the large Women's Social and Political Union in 1907 because of the autocracy of the Pankhursts, and which was led by the equally militant but more democratic Mrs Despard). Her experience in these two organizations gradually brought about her disillusionment with both orthodox socialism and orthodox suffragism, and convinced her of the futility of conventional political action. At the same time she became a vegetarian and joined the health food movement.

By 1914 Lilian had evolved into anarcho-syndicalism, and with some friends began looking for a way to spread libertarian ideas more widely among working people. This was how she began a libertarian career which continued for the next sixty years, falling roughly into three phases.

FIRST PHASE 1914 - 1916

The first and most intense phase of this astonishing career lasted for less than three years. Back in 1907 the Freedom Press, which had published the monthly anarchist paper FREEDOM since 1886, had, for a time, also published a weekly syndicalist paper called the VOICE OF LABOUR. The new group was introduced by Mabel Hope, an anarchist feminist who was a frequent contributor to FREEDOM, to Thomas Keell, the editor, printer and publisher of FREEDOM and manager of the Freedom Press, and they all decided it was worth repeating the experiment. The new VOICE OF LABOUR began publication on May Day, 1914. (At first it was a weekly, but it became a monthly when the First World War began in August 1914.) The editor was Fred Dunn, but most of the work was done by Lilian.

This was a difficult time for the anarchist movement which, like the wider socialist movement, was split over the war issue. For a few months FREEDOM tried to remain an open forum, accepting articles and letters from both sides; it was not until the end of 1914 that Keell finally broke with the pro-war minority, led by Kropotkin, and decided to make FREEDOM a definitely anti-war paper. The VOICE OF LABOUR, on the other hand, was uncompromisingly anti-war from the start, and Lilian was one of the most active of the anti-war majority in the anarchist movement.

She was one of the members of the new Freedom Group, which was formed at the beginning of 1915 to run both papers. She was one of the founders of Marsh House, the anarchist commune which opened in Mecklenburgh Street, London, in February 1915. She was one of the signatories of the International Anarchist Manifesto on the War, which was issued also in February 1915. And she was one of the delegates at the national conference held at Stockport in April 1915, which unanimously opposed the war and unanimously supported Keell's actions in holding FREEDOM to an anti-war position, despite a bitter attack from some of the older comrades.

The struggle against the war became more critical as conscription approached. Back in November 1914 the VOICE OF LABOUR had already attacked both the campaign for conscription and the purely verbal campaign against it: "Wordy denunciation and protest is not enough; physical resistance must be our business." Lilian was one of the founders of the Anti-Conscription League, which was formed in May 1915 when the new Coalition Government began to move towards conscription, and which called on workers to refuse call-up. The real crisis began with the passing of the Military Service Act in January 1916. FREEDOM and the VOICE OF LABOUR both printed appeals for more than conscientious objection, and also began printing reports of the experiences of anarchists who got into trouble with the authorities. It was not long before these included those mainly responsible for producing the two papers.

In April 1916 the VOICE OF LABOUR printed a front-page article called "Defying the Act", written by "one of those outlawed on the Scottish hills", claiming that "a number of comrades from all parts of Great Britain have banded themselves together in the Highlands, the better to resist the working of the Military Service Act". Lilian later recalled being in bed with influenza at Marsh House when the group met to discuss the article, "and me, of all people, dissuading them from cutting out part of it, which a few thought a bit too much". In May the VOICE OF LABOUR reported the arrest of most of the outlaws, and there is no evidence that there were more than a few people involved for more than a few weeks. But the idea was dangerous, and in the meantime 10,000 copies of a leaflet reprinting the art-

LILIAN WOLFE:

icle had been produced by Keell and distributed by Lilian. Some were posted to Malatesta, who was living in exile in London and was not surprisingly under police surveillance, and when they were intercepted the authorities decided to take the opportunity to attack the two leading trouble-makers. The Freedom office in Ossulton Street was raided on 5 May, and Keell and Lilian were arrested. They were tried at Clerkenwell Magistrates Court on 24 June under the Defence of the Realm Act for conduct "prejudicial to recruiting and discipline". Keell pleaded not guilty and made a vigorous defence; Lilian pleaded guilty, remarking that "there seemed little to say, as her whole crime appeared to be that of telling the truth". Keell was fined £ 100 with the alternative of 3 months in prison, Lilian £.25 or 2 months. Both refused to pay and were imprisoned.

By that time they had become companions, and Lilian was pregnant, so she was kept in the hospital at Holloway Prison. She was treated well enough (except by the chaplain, who pretended to believe that she was German and threatened her with deportation), but she became worried about the possible effects on the child, and paid her fine two weeks before she was due for release.

The Freedom office was raided three more times before the end of the war, but somehow FREEDOM managed to continue publication. The VOICE OF LABOUR, however, was forced to cease publication after August 1916, and Marsh House had to close. Most of the militant men were in prison or hiding, and Lilian felt she could take no further direct part in the struggle; she moved into a more peaceful stage of her career.

SECOND PHASE 1917 - 1943

Lilian had resigned from the Post Office before going into prison, and on her release she was cared for for a time by rich comrades. When her child was old enough to be looked after, she began to make her living again. For more than 25 years she managed health food shops, first in London and then in Gloucestershire. From the proceeds she and Tom were able to live and to bring up their son - and also to keep FREEDOM going for several years during the decline of the anarchist movement after the First World War and the Russian Revolution.

During the 1920s she spent most of her time living at the long-established Whiteway Colony in Gloucestershire and keeping a shop in the neighbouring town of Stroud. Tom still spent some time in London, struggling to keep FREEDOM alive. But in 1927 the paper was finally forced to cease publication and in 1928 he moved permanently to Whiteway, continuing to produce occasional issues of a Freedom Bulletin until 1932 and also to distribute books and pamphlets. Whiteway was important to them both, as a model of the society of the future as well as a happy refuge from the unhappy society of the present. Each individual or family had

1875 - 1974

its own home, but met in common rooms, and all members had a voice in running the whole community on a free and equal basis. Both Lilian and Tom were at various times Colony Secretary. Even here, though, the political struggle continued. Sharp differences between libertarian and Marxist elements emerged at the meetings. In the old days decisions had been made on the Quaker pattern, but voting became accepted in due course, and the libertarian way of life tended to fall into the background.

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A separate Freedom was produced monthly from 1930 by a rival group, which included some of those who had opposed Tom during the war; but it too ceased publication in 1936. At that point Vernon Richards began SPAIN AND THE WORLD as a new monthly anarchist paper taking up the tradition of the old FREEDOM, and Lilian and Tom gave it their full support. It was published by Tom until his death in June 1938, and after that Lilian continued to help, coming to London to work in the office at weekends. The Spanish Civil War ended and the Second World War began, and the paper changed its name to Revolt! and then to War Commentary. Once more it was a difficult time for the anarchist movement. In 1943, at the age of 68, Lilian gave up her shop in Stroud; but, far from retiring, she now began the third and possibly most important phase of her libertarian career.

THIRD PHASE 1943 - 1974

FOR MORE THAN 25 years Lilian Wolfe was the basis of the administration of the Freedom Press at its various premises -- Belsize Road, Red Lion Street, Maxwell Road, and Whitechapel High Street. She was that person on which every organisation depends -- the completely reliable worker who runs the office, opening and closing the shop, answering the telephone and the post, doing the accounts and keeping people in touch, and generally keeping things going. She was an indefatigable correspondent, keeping in personal contact with the thousands of people who read the paper - which changed its name back to FREEDOM in 1945 - and with many other old anarchists and new ones all over the world. She was normally the first contact new recruits made with the formal anarchist movement when they wrote to the Freedom Press or visited the Freedom Bookshop; hers was the bold handwriting in blue ink or the unobtrusive presence in the office which became such a familiar feature of British anarchism after the war.

Lilian's name hardly ever appeared in print - "I am no writer," she said - but she played a more important part than many comrades whose names were always in the paper. Although she remained above all the administrator of the movement, she was no cipher. She signed one of the many protests against Herbert Read's acceptance of a knighthood in 1953, and when the nuclear disarmament movement emerged she became an enthusiastic supporter. She was to be seen on every Aldermaston march from 1958 onwards, and

she similarly attended several of the Committee of 100 sit-downs between 1961 and 1964; she was once more arrested and fined, and her only concession to age was that this time she paid up.

Lilian was perhaps best known for her incredibly Spartan way of life -- as described by Vernon Richards in his memoir (11 May). She not only managed to live on her meagre pension and frugal savings, but she actually managed to put some money aside. This she carefully distributed to libertarian papers, to political prisoners, and to other deserving causes. The amounts were not large, but they were regular and, considering their source, remarkable.

In 1962 Lilian had to move to Cheltenham for family reasons, and it seemed that she might retire at last. But she was soon back in the office, working in London during the week and returning to Cheltenham for the weekend, a pattern she maintained for another twelve years. On the occasion of her ninetieth birthday FREEDOM printed a tribute to her work by Vernon Richards, and hundreds of members of the anarchist movement subscribed to give her a holiday in the United States, where she travelled in 1966 and met many old friends.



AT KENWOOD (Hampstead, London)
September, 1971

In 1969 personal differences at the Freedom Press led to Lilian's departure from the office where she had served so long, but she expressed no bitterness and still did not give up her work for the libertarian movement. During the last five years of her life she continued to commute weekly between Cheltenham and London, working now at the offices of the War Resisters International and the National Council for Civil Liberties. Although she became increasingly deaf and frail, she kept her eyesight and her stamina, and week by week went on doing such essential but (to most people) tedious jobs as collecting press cuttings and stuffing envelopes. Typically she still asked for no reward or recognition, being quite surprised when the women's liberation paper Shrew printed a long interview with her in August 1972.

§

Lilian never ceased her wide correspondence, and exerted a personal influence to the end. Near the very end she took plea-

sure in distributing the collection of books and other material accumulated by Tom Keell Keell to various libraries and to a few individual comrades. Characteristically she delivered her donations in person, and thought nothing of visiting the Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme in Lausanne or the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. In September 1973 she was the oldest person present at the London meeting commemorating the centenary of the birth of Rudolf Rocker, and was suitably saluted by the large audience.

Predictably Lilian continued to work until only a month before the end, and did not finally take to her bed until the day before her death, when a series of strokes destroyed a body worn out by nearly a century of hard labour. On 28 April she died, as she wished, at her son's home in Cheltenham. A notice appeared in the Guardian on 30 April, reporting her death, "working usefully to the end... much missed by her family, comrades and friends". Her funeral at Cheltenham Crematorium on 3 May was attended by a few of these; tributes were given by a member of the Whiteway Colony, Vernon Richards, Tony Smythe, and Lilian's grandson, Richard Wolfe.

As Vernon Richards said in his memoir, "her long life was all of a piece". As he said in his tribute in 1965, "Popular history is unfair in that it analyses and notes what the writers write and say, but overlooks what the inarticulate (that is, the non-writers) actually do and contribute to a movement." If popular, or unpopular, history ever wants to describe the anarchist movement of the twentieth century, it will have to take account of Lilian Wolfe. Few comrades have lived so long, and few will live longer in our memory. Sleep well, Lilian -- you have earned it.

N. W.

"...In revengeful violence...the injury has already been done, and hence the violence has no function of defence. It has the irrational function of undoing magically what has been done realistically. The revenge motive is in inverse proportion to the strength and productiveness of a group or of an individual. The impotent and the cripple have only one recourse to restore their self-esteem...to take revenge according to the lex talionis: "An eye for an eye". On the other hand the person who lives productively has no, or little, such need... we find that in the most backward groups...the sense of revenge...seems to be strongest. Thus the lower middle classes, which are those most deprived in industrialized nations, are in many countries the focus of revenge feelings, just as they are the focus of racialist and nationalist feelings.

Erich Fromm
("The Heart of Man..")

BEHIND ENEMY LINES

☐ Peregrine Worsthorpe wrote a very interesting article for the Sunday Telegraph of 19 May. In it he says that "...whereas moral measurements can be applied to the actions of small communities, they are infinitely more difficult to apply to the actions of great Powers. The truth is that the scale and complexity of great Power responsibility make it impossible to judge their behaviour by the normal moral criteria". Since he is saying (his examples) that Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were "only arguably immoral" but the recent murders of Israeli children and Dublin civilians were definitely immoral, it should be interesting to look at his reasoning.

C.I.R.A

C I R A (International Centre for Research on Anarchism) was founded at Geneva in 1957, but since 1964 has been situated in Lausanne. Its aim is to collect documents of the anarchist movement; to provide information for historians, and to encourage general research into anarchism.

The principle activity of CIRA is a public lending library, of which the works come mainly from gifts, anarchist groups and press editors. The collection comprise several thousand books and brochures (mainly in French, Italian, Spanish, German, English, Portuguese and Swedish), many newspapers and periodicals, both old and recent, and pamphlets, posters and manuscripts.

CIRA regularly receives most anarchist publications from all over the world. The collection can be consulted at the library in Lausanne, and many of the books and brochures, as well as bound periodicals can be lent to members of the Centre.

CIRA publishes a twice yearly bulletin comprising book reviews, lists of recently acquired material, and information on the activities of the Centre. Occasionally it publishes booklets on anarchism. The latest is Introduction a l'Histoire du Mouvement Libertaire au Portugal (which can be obtained from Freedom Bookshop for 25p + post 3p).

This year the CIRA General Assembly will be on Sunday, June 2nd at 10.00 a.m. at CIRA, Beaumont 24, 1012 Lausanne, Switzerland. The main points for discussion will be: Structure of CIRA, New Location and Finance.

Accommodation will be provided for Saturday night, June 1st, and should any comrade wish to attend would they get in touch with FREEDOM as soon as possible.

Firstly he point out that the Palestinian guerrillas and Irish terrorists had "no legal standing", in contrast to Britain and the U.S, who "committed those acts of violence in their capacity as sovereign States fighting a war". However, this is only a legal distinction and doesn't explain why he feels less shocked by Dresden than by Ma'alot (compare the numbers of deaths). The answer to this is that the defeat of Nazi Germany was "by any rational standard" more important to mankind as a whole than is the triumph of the Palestinians' cause. This is true and it distracts attention from the fact that he hasn't logically argued his way to his conclusion about great Powers being, for all practical purposes, exempt from normal moral standards. His statement, "The truth is that the scale and complexity of great Power responsibility make it impossible to judge their behaviour by the normal moral criteria" stands by itself. Very interesting, and of course we all share Worsthorpe's faith in governments.

P.S. For those who are wondering, "even Britain" still counts as a great Power for purposes of mass bombing. MO

Contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on THURSDAYS from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press, followed by get together with refreshments.

THREATS TO FREEDOM - last of series Wed. 29 May BENEDICT BIRNBERG on Threats to Civil Liberty. At Caxton Hall, SW1 (tube St. James's) at 7.45 p.m.

UNITY THEATRE. "Case for a Rebel" by Emmanuel Robles (Dutch Indonesia 1948; a European takes part in the nat. revolutionary movement) Every Fri., Sat. & Sun. June 7 - Jul 6 at 7.45 p.m. Tel. 387 8647.

BUILDING COLLECTIVE needs one or two more members with some building experience. Conversion of house to community centre near Finsbury Park, and other jobs. Ring Dick/Allison 263 2111.

SOCIAL ACTION PROJECTS (Drug Dependents Care Group) open meeting Thurs. 30 May, 7.30 p.m. at 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1. Tony La Rocque, an ex-addict, will speak about his experiences.

PRISONERS WIVES UNION Wed. June 12 Demonstration/March Trafalgar Sq. 12 noon Buckingham Pal. and Home Office, ending at Downing St. More details from PWJ at 216 Hornsey Road N7 7LG tel. 0;-607 3514 or 01-883 2001

SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND, T.P. & P.T. c/o Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High Street, London. E. 1.

Alternate Sundays HYDE PARK ANARCHIST FORUM, Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcome.

BRECHT's St. Joan of the Stockyards at Half Moon Theatre, 27 Alie St. (off Commercial Rd. Leman St. E.1. Aldgate East) Tues.-Sun. until June 8, 7.30 p.m. Tel. 01-480 6465. Tickets 50p.

Biographer of Alexander Berkman, in Europe this summer, wd. like help to guide him to people who knew Berkman, Write Bill Nowlin, Social Science Dept., Lowell Technological Institute, Lowell, Mass. 01854 USA

CENTRO IBERICO meets socially each Sat/Sun 7.00 p.m. at 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (side entrance in Steele's Rd.) Buses 31 & 68; Tube Chalk Fm/Belsize Pk. (Chalk Fm stop). ALL WELCOME.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO. Letters or postcards to Giovanni Marini, Carcere di Potenza, 85100 POTENZA, Italy

DUBLIN Anarchists Robert Cullen; Eddie Jones; Desmond Keane; Columba Longmore and Noel Murry, all remanded in Detention Centre, Curragh Military Camp, Ireland would like to hear from comrades.

WILDCAT - Anarchist Internal Bulletin, monthly. Send details of pickets, demos, meetings, group publications, printing facilities, etc. to Wildcat, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. Tel. (05366) 66781) Subscription 50p for six issues.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES says "If we do not get a healthier

bank balance your civil liberties, as well as everyone else's will be in even greater jeopardy." Send donations and/or ask for details of membership NCCL, 186 Kings Cross Rd. London WC1X 9DE(01-278 4575)

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Contributions

9 - 15 May

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TOTAL: £ 9.77

Previously acknowledged ...£ 546.30

TOTAL to DATE £ 556.07

PREMISES FUND:

Enfield: J. & M.S. £ 5.00

Published by Freedom Press, London, E.1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.