**Against Rape**

We condemn the ruling of the Appeal Court judges in the Holdsworth rape case. It is a clear example of the church’s abysmal support for, and protection of, rapists. Lord Justice Roskill, supported by Lord Justice Warne, "It is probably that this girl would not have been so entirely injured if not in fact she had submitted to rape by the mere threat of force rather than being coped upon in the manner that it was." This was just one of many explicitly sexist remarks made by the judges in court. Justice Warne took the myth of men’s invincibility of urge to escape the rapist’s brutal attack. He said "Holdsworth is a man who, out of the night in question, allowed his emotions for sex to overcome his normal good behaviour..." By contrast, Carol Maggs’ courageous statements to the press exposed the reality of rape and the added injustice suffered by rape victims in the legal system. We support the direct action taken by women in London who dashed military monuments in the Mall with the words "what justice for women?" This action expanded the public debate on the case, in the Press and in Parliament. It was a clear message to Carol Maggs that other women were angry at her treatment and that her fight to see that women got justice. But this is not enough, the appeal court judges are still presiding over criminal cases in the courts and Holdsworth is still free. We demand that the three appeal court judges be dismissed and Holdsworth’s original sentence of three years be allowed to stand.

The reality of rape.

Rape is an act of violence against a woman’s body and mind. It is not only the physical assault on a woman’s body but also the psychological trauma it inflicts. Rape is a violation of a woman’s autonomy and sexuality, and it is a crime that affects all women, regardless of their social status, economic background, or geographical location. Rape is not just a crime against one woman; it is a crime against all women.

The legal system fails to protect women from rape. Rape is often not reported, and when it is, it is rarely prosecuted successfully. The legal system is male-dominated and is biased against women. This is evident in the way that rape is defined and prosecuted. Rape is often defined as a crime only if it is reported and prosecuted, and even then, the likelihood of a conviction is low. This is because the legal system is biased against women, and it is not uncommon for rape cases to be dismissed on technical grounds or because of the victim’s behavior.

The media also play a role in perpetuating the myth of the "good" woman and the "bad" woman. Women who report rape are often subjected to scrutiny and judgment, and they are often blamed for the assault. This is because the media often portrays rape as a result of the victim’s behavior or because of their perceived lack of virtue.

Rape is not just a crime against one woman; it is a crime against all women. We demand that the legal system be reformed to ensure that women are protected from rape. We demand that the media stop perpetuating the myth of the "good" woman and the "bad" woman. We demand that women be given the support they need to report rape and to seek justice. We demand that women be given the resources they need to protect themselves from rape. We demand that the legal system be reformed to ensure that women are protected from rape.
Win this strike!

Grinwicks—just one non unionised back street sweat shop of the hundreds in North London and the East End which are living death work in. The boredom and frustration, lack of solidarity, and the feeling of resignation nearly drive you insane, using mainly immigrant workers, continually harassed and insulted by supercilious racist supervisors and arrogant employers, overtime is compulsory and wages pathetic.

August 1976, several people, including Jayden Desai, decide enough is enough, and walk out. They get in touch with Brent Trades Council who refer them to their well known standard bearers of working class militancy, APEX. A picket line is formed outside the factory, by 7.30 137 workers out on strike, wanting to join APEX. Ward’s response is to sack them all.

After the sackings there followed nine months of picketing by the Strike Committee, while APEX’s only puppy footed about, not wanting to tread on anyone’s toes. The courage and strength of the Grinwicks strikers amazes me. To stand outside the factory every morning from 7am onwards (right through a cold winter) for nine months, receiving few signs of practical support and solidarity—it takes some doing.

At the end of May, seeing that playing by the rules was getting them nowhere, the Strike Committee decided to call for a week wide picketing, to draw attention to events at Grinwicks. On the first day, June 13, around 750 picketers and supporters lined up outside the police waded in and arrested 84. Their attack was completely unprovoked, and they enjoyed every minute of it. Since that date, and over 400 arrests later, the dispute has become a national issue with the outcome of extreme importance to many (as it has been all along for those on strike).

Ward belongs to the Nineteenth Century, and is an embarrassment to the moderate right, who know well that allowing people to join a union (especially APEX), is no threat whatever. He has attracted support from the sort of saw who would like to see the Labour Movement in this country smashed—National Association For Freedom, Federation of the Self Employed, battalions of freepeep like Rhodes Boyson, John "I think these people are shits" Gorst. And of course the police and Special Patrol Group (SPG). The media has been having a field day—while the SPG systematically beat up anybody standing in their path (but especially women and blacks, surprise surprise), the press comes out with gems like "I ride the bus of fear" (SUN) surefly five pickets would be sufficient (GUARDIAN) and threat to our democracy!

I’ve always had a healthy hatred for the police, but have still been shocked at what I’ve seen them doing. Smashing people in the face, hanging heads against walls and vehicles, beating up arrested picketers in police vans. They have always done these things, but usually, in private, not out on the streets. A sign of things to come arriving? To lose this strike will be disastrous for the nonunionised working class. The hundreds of thousands of people working in places similar to Grinwicks will completely lose confidence in their ability to stand up and demand basic rights—freedom to join a union. The police will feel free to carry on as they have done in struggles to come.

The likes of Grahamson and Jackter would negotiate a sell-out at the first opportunity—the old familiar story. Only rank and file solidarity will win this strike. As we all witnessed on July 11 (4000 outside the factory gates), if united, we will win. For a short time the people controlled the streets nearby, and the factory was effectively blocked. Many were willing to stay all day to prevent the scabs bus passing through, but the officials who turned up marching—with the result of the bus getting through and the few hundred people left on the picket being attacked by the pigs. Linesmen like these should be remembered, and our mistakes not repeated.

I don’t know what we as anarchists can do, except show our solidarity to the Strike Committee by attending the picket line as often as possible (it’s been good to see so many anarchists down there), working within our own unions to build support, and by sending donations to the Strike Committee. Win this strike.

The state of Frelimo

In the phase of people’s democracy we are now entering, our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of the state.

—Samora Machel, President of Mozambique

Contrary to what many left wing apologists have written, the success of Frelimo is not leading to the liberation of the Mozambican people. It has led to their subjugation by the South African State-Capitalist regime, who now control all social and administrative units. Although they have overthrown the Portuguese colonial order and the family as a means of communication, conflict structured the Mozambican. It has led to the development of a “vanguard party”. It will continue its struggle to the people and against the state, building a new society. The structure of this party is strictly hierarchical, with the power centred in the “Standing Political Committee”. It appears that this new party will be able to resist against further control of those government.

Frelimo’s economic policy is to extract profit from both public and private enterprises, and use this to build up heavy industry. Agriculture is being developed in order to increase productivity. Health and Medical facilities are being expanded, as the government supports healthy and trained workers. At the same time they have introduced a new tax system and started a campaign for increased productivity—more work and less pay, a formula for industrialisation.

Under the guise of “liberation”, they have introduced new forms of ideology. Their cultural and educational policies aim to “decolonize” the “New Man” who “serves all, loves his country”. And presumably who will not cause any political trouble to the regime. They have thus, much loved emancipation of women now in their stride. They have even gone so far as to attack the black family. Unmarried mothers are a scandal. Adoption is...
U.S. nuclear strategy

The NAFIO Powers' nuclear strategy was until recently one of deterrence based on the concept of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). This strategy consisted of preparing enough nuclear missiles and/or nuclear armed bombers in the direction of hostile nuclear powers to ensure that in the event of a nuclear war, both sides would be completely destroyed. However, a few years ago there was a major change in U.S. military policy, with nuclear weapons being redeployed towards military rather than civilian targets—that is, towards Russia and other Warsaw Pact countries made obsolete in the face of international competition. They are able to succeed where the Portuguese failed because of their ideological hold over the farmers and workers of Mozambique. But as in the past, they are not matched for the Western states when it comes to economic competition, they will have every bit of work out of the people that they can. For those who are struggling for the abolition of capitalism throughout the world, and the complete removal of hierarchies, national liberation struggles such as that of Frelimo are merely a diversion down the road to state capitalism. F. B.

Italy: the state on trial

Italy is a country in which the state of trial has become almost a tradition. The latest group to be tried is the Brigate Rosse (Red Brigades). Their specific and recognizable group started in 1970 when they attacked and kidnapped the President of the Court of Cassation. The theory of necessity of building an armed revolutionary workers party and the need to attack the 'system' of the state (i.e., the legal system) where it is in the first time. They remain to be determined. The case was remanded on January 18, 1976. Because the BR consistently refuses to be tried by the courts of a state which they oppose, indeed, their refusal to accept defence lawyers, and the murder of a defence lawyer who has not only been in prison, but has made it clear that they will not accept the BR's lawyers. The BR have made it clear that they will not accept the BR's lawyers. The BR have not been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975. The BR have been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975. The BR have been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975. The BR have been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975. The BR have been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975. The BR have been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975. The BR have been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975. The BR have been in prison, but have been under house arrest since they were arrested in August 1975.
ZERO NEWS

precipitating factor would be an initially conventional military confrontation between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Europe, which could easily escalate into a nuclear war. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. are developing "mutually assured destruction" missiles, 155 mm artillery shells with 10 kg high explosive warheads. Position bombs produce more than twice the yield of the more usual fission bombs; giving them a reasonable chance of survival with heavy losses, but leave very little fallout. If such weapons were used, a full-scale nuclear war would be effectively unavoidable.

Given the available evidence, appeals for a nuclear-free East/West peace seem misplaced. Military technology is producing ever more effective weapons for fighting a nuclear war. Missile defense systems such as the U.S. built high power lasers will be feasible within a few years. On the other hand, civil defense programmes such as fallout shelters or underground industrial installations are distorting, as preparations for realism, for a nuclear war may well precipitate one.

The only certain way to avoid nuclear war is total disarmament, though the probability of this is low. It appears that there are only two alternatives; a reflection of nuclear technology on a global nuclear ban within the next thirty years.

Spino: CNT organises

The following interview took place between the paper 'Libertad' and CNT militant Luis Edo, in May of this year. The strike at La Roca mentioned in the interview involved 4,800 workers at the multinational Rochi Radiadores S.A. electronics factory near Barcelona. The Rochi workers stayed out for 95 days to press their main demand that their democratically chosen workplace assembly represent their interests. They had to battle against the company's threat of closing down the factory, the competing Leftist parties and their affiliated unions - even for hegemony within the factory. Only the CNT was unrepresented on the side of the workers' assembly. While the strike cannot be counted a complete success, the assembly has survived.

Luis Andres Edo: The CNT today? To begin with, it is not like other organisations. It is not an elected organisation, a political party, a trade union, or a formal association. It is an organisation of the workers themselves, who decide on the places they work. The CNT is an organisation of people who defend their interests, on their own initiative, in their own way. The CNT works at an autonomous movement rather that as a structured union within the CNT. There is of course a struggle between the CNT and the state. The CNT is already an organisation of people who are for formal mechanisms and those who are for the CNT as it actually is. The CNT is trying to say that the CNT works mostly against its own structures. At the present time, the CNT is trying to define itself and is open to all initiatives for social action. We are continuing the movement of the interests of the CNT. "Koella" is the place of social and cultural activities formally set up by the CNT and the whole libertarian movement for the workers in their own initiatives. We are concerned with ecology. We are trying to provide an unifying structure, to be the co-ordinating force for all autonomous movements. We are not autonomous movements. We are not autonomous movements. We are an autonomous movement. We are interested in what is happening within the CNT and above all, the solidarity committee of the factory.

Sono innocente! Sacco and Vanzetti-50th anniversary

August 23 1927 immigrant Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were electrocuted by the State of Massachusetts following conviction on framed charges of murdering a shoe factory paymaster in South Braintree in a wave of anti-radical hysteria.

"If it had not been for this thing, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scaring men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding, as now we do by accident. Our words--our lives--our pains--nothing! The talking of our lives...ah! That moment belongs to us--that agony is our triumph." Bartolomeo Vanzetti--statement after receiving sentence May 1927.

What is the history of the CNT in Spain at the moment? EDO: It varies from region to region. Especially because of the great restrictions on freedom which remain in place. Political development elsewhere cannot be compared with what is happening in the moment in Catalonia. In Andalucia, Aragon and Castile people are still frightened. They don't know what open stand they should take. It must be added that here in Barcelona we have seen demonstrations by workers and political movements with 100 to 150 thousand people. There were months when the Ramblas were under military occupation by the police. But now one can say that there are evenings, when around 10 o'clock on the street and the anarchist zones come into being.

TRANSLATION Romina Worvilj

An account of the La Roca strike appears in the latest issue of Open Road.
Queen saves god

Gay News, the national fortnightly paper for homosexuals (mostly male bias) and its editor Denis Lemon were yesterday (July 12) found guilty of blasphemous libel. It was the first such prosecution for 56 years. Lemon was given a year's suspended sentence and fined £300 plus a proportion of the costs. Gay News was fined £1,000 plus the remaining costs. Lemon said he will appeal — that there is still a blasphemy law which can be dragged out to enrage Mary Whitehouse or anyone else.

The prosecution’s cross-examination of character witnesses focused on the stereotype of gay men as computer, in spite of the earlier claim that homophobia was not the issue. Line drawings of male homosexual lovemaking reproduced from a gay sex manual were discussed. It is incredible that these should be mentioned at all — a quick comparison with the heterosexist equivalent shows that heterosexist rules, it’s not O.K. The judge hopes that “the pendulum of public opinion” is swinging back to a more healthy climate. The climate for gays in the States Anita Bryant and her Kill a Queer for Christ Brigade are making a political move and demanding non-discrimination legislation. In this country the age of consent still works against gay men. In Northern Ireland and Scotland sex between men is still illegal, gays are being witch-hunted and harassed at work and in the streets (wherever we are). Lesbians are getting beaten up by gangs of men as they leave a disco in London. Lesbian mothers are having their children taken away in some cases.

Mary Whitehouse, in spite of her claim that she wants no-one to be murdered, clearly intends to send Gay News through cost penalties. Meanwhile Gay News should keep back. The money should be sent to Gay News Fighting Fund, The Grounds Gardens, Greyhound Road, London W1 93B E. Morgan Farnham Judy Greenway

Anarchist feminist conference

One weekend at the end of May, nearly a hundred women came to Camden Women’s centre in London for a conference on Anarchism and Feminism. This conference arose from two anarchist feminist workshops at this year’s National Women’s Liberation Conference where many women expressed the lack of establishing an anarchist feminist current within the women’s movement. We have a new sense of solidarity and to develop our own theory and practice as women. The conference also involved women who are more active in the anarchist movement.

We split up into small groups to discuss many issues:— the first session involved a series of parallel workshops where we discussed the questions of anarchism and libertarianism generally and our relationship to feminism, an theme that was central to the whole of the workshop. Other workshops included: Sexism in the anarchist movement, Spain (introduced by a woman from the CNT), Anarchist women and the women’s liberation movement, Revolution and Feminism, Non-violence, Sexuality, Art and Children (reports of some of these discussions are in the Anarchist Feminist newsletter). For many of us, the most important thing that came from this conference was the sense of good feeling and spirit. It was a very friendly atmosphere, the sense of the big groups and rooms of Camden women’s centre, plus the sunny weather, all helped to stimulate our discussions and workshop discussions.

Clapperton, a feminist hand, played and sang on the Saturday night. Bread and Rice supplied us with good food and drink. There was a lot of laughter and good food and drink. The conference seemed to enjoy themselves too.

Many of us felt we were gaining freedom and confidence, and that we achieve the society for which we are fighting.

Socialist Challenge

In June, the Trotskyist International Marxist Group brought out the first issue of Socialist Challenge, the latest in the series of papers produced by the group which included Black Dwarf, Red Mole and lately, Red Weekly.

The IMG at the moment is aiming to establish agreement amongst the various Trotskyist groupings, at least as far as they have devoted pages in every issue of the new paper to a full front of agreed dialogue addressed to their main rivals, the Socialist Workers Party. Without understanding, and without building on the framework of mass revolutionary organisations, there is no hope of getting themselves involved in petty inter-group bickering.

From the pages of this paper one can glean the essential differences between their approach and that of the SWP. The SWP tries to concentrate on building up their organisation as a party, with single candidates, and on getting support for the party. The IMG tries to concentrate on getting themselves involved in petty inter-group bickering and building their own mass revolutionary vanguard party without getting themselves involved in petty inter-group bickering and building.

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The latest threat to the 1967 Abortion Act, the Benyon Bill, fell in Parliament on July 15th mainly because of lack of time. No doubt the Anti-Abortionists are planning new attacks for the next parliamentary Session. One important thing the fight against Benyon has revealed is how inadequate NHS facilities for abortion are, and how dependent we are on the Charitable Clinics that were the main target of the Benyon Bill. The NHS has never fulfilled its responsibilities to provide a proper abortion service even under the limited 1967 Act and recently has been getting even worse because of spending cuts and doctors’ attitudes. In 1958-65 of all abortions were performed on the NHS; by 1975 this proportion was down to 48%. In one area of London, Brent, the number of NHS abortions has been halved in the two years 1973-5. One of the worst areas in the whole of England is Birmingham where in 1975 only about 10% of women who had abortions were able to get them free on the NHS. This is why Birmingham has been chosen by NAC for its next national demonstration on October 29. The help we have asked for this demonstration is an abortion caravan to tour the country in October with nanny Jenny’s abortion pill (by Anne Hughes)

Zero 2.

This is the second issue of Zero, a new anarchist feminist monthly produced by a mixed collective mainly from East London. Zero is looking for Streetchatters and also distributors in U.S.A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand and contacts to distribute the newsletter to Rise Free.

Corrections: Mujer Libre was wrongly credited. Credit should have read: Translated Liz Willis. Sorry Liz, Marie Louise Bernetti article: Last line column 2 should have read “The clarity and force of the anarchist position against the war quickly brought support from many anti-war individuals who thought out their position and recognised that there was no point in opposing war without opposing the economic situation which engendered it — capitalism — and the institutions which organised it, the state.” — Sorry, Philip.


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Zero Benefict

ZERO BENEFIT BGP dance to new up and coming band Hootie & The Blowfish 7, 11 Friday August 19th, 7 Dial Cabs, London E1 (Newport Court, London E1, London W1 93D E. Morgan Farnham Judy Greenway.)
Italy has about a million university students, a high proportion of them come from working class backgrounds, and more than six hundred thousand graduates looking for their first jobs. The Andreotti Government, backed by the Italian Communist Party (the one party Christian Democrat Government kept in office thanks only to outside support from the PCI) in the last months of the PCI, has started to cut back the growing numbers of university entrants with educational "reforms" which would increase the length of university studies, restrict the number of courses open to students and put up the cost of studying.

For some time now Italian youth and students have been living out a new situation reminiscent of May 68, responding militantly to the provocations of the trade union bureaucracies and the police. Once again the struggle is being carried out not by the recognized groups of the left, but by non-aligned groupings which have sprung up spontaneously in the recent months. Together these groupings, Autonomia Operaia (autonomous workers), Circisi Giovani, (youth circles), the Metropolitan Indians and the autonomous feminist groups form a movement that represents a new wave of autonomous struggle. Fernando Mir reports the assault on the poverty of Italian urban life.

MILAN

Milan Dec. 77: The city centre was a fortress defended by 1,000 police, plus the special antiriot squad. In an unprecedented display of force, the police were to defend the opening of a "futuristic" opera, "La Scala," in 1977. A thousand students outside La Scala bombarded the elegantly dressed patrons with rotten eggs. This time the protesters were the "Proletarian Youth Circles" who were provoked by the fact that the same people who were calling for sacrifice upon sacrifice to save the Italian economy had paid astronomical prices (100,000 lire per ticket) to attend the opera.

A similar action had taken place on October 31, when six hundred members of the "Proletarian Youth Circles" seized a packet of 2,500 lire tickets for a screening of "The Wages of Fear." They burned them at the political price of 500 lire. The activities of Autonomia Operaia, which organized "co-appropriations," have...
PARIS '68...

PARIS, FRANCE — The rejection of all forms of authority, etc. — Indians, Appalachians, youth, etc. — is the latest manifestation of a widespread feeling among youth worldwide, a feeling that there is a difference between the young people of May '68 in France and the Metropolis. Indians, Appalachians, etc. etc. have nothing to lose but their chains and they saw in Cohen-Bondit and others the spokesmen for this revolution.

The Assembly, 1977: 50,000 young people come out on the streets to demonstrate their refusal to accept any 'historic accommodation' and their determination to solve their problems: unemployment, the working class for a free

ROMEO

After the expulsion of the communist Lama from the city of Rome, the government proclaimed: 'We have rounded up the Central Lama, better known as Little Big Horn.' The Minister of the Interior, following the arrest of 200 Indians, said: 'We will not allow our country to be turned into a Wild West. The population cannot become a stronghold of the black and red revolution.'

The Indian movement represents a threat to the government's plan for a new kind of relationship between the Na'vajo and the government.

MANIFESTO OF THE METROPOLITAN INDIANS

We demand:

- The abolition of hostilities as a step on the way to the abolition of all prisons.
- The regulation of all empty public buildings in a way that would establish centers of community and cultural alternatives.
- A family, legal, and the right of captive animals to return to their communities and centers.
- The destruction of all (etc.)
- Public funds to be made available for the financing of alternatives.
- The reduction of all empty public buildings to a level determined by the youth movement.
- The abolition of all racial, class, and gender acts of violence.
- The closure of all racists, sexist, and fascist schools.
- The people's assembly to organize, starting in the community, a new society, a new way of life, a new kind of education, a new kind of culture, etc.
- The commitment of all creative young people to organize a national happening of the young proletarians for the beginning of spring.

APPROACHING DRUMBEATS

The sound of the tom-tom has reached our ears at last. All the violence of our opposition to a world, a society, a lifestyle ready made that is constantly on our backs, is now coming to an end. Not a revolution, you say, a mutation! A mutation that is finding its full expression in the destruction of our society and its transformation.

We are happy, or we felt ourselves their brothers at a given moment. We dream of California and the flowers, the beauty of life, until the system put it all on the market. We felt with the events of '68, and we imagined the future of our country. We put our own paint and gave free voice to our emotions and aspirations.

We were happy.

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We were happy.
When the music's over:
OZ and the underground. Recuperated... or upstaged?

Oz slipped quietly out of our lives in the winter of 1973 and, sadly, no real successor has emerged to fill the yawning gap it left. It was unique in its approach to graphic art, and both its art and its politics were innovatively experimental, frequently both assembling and infusing its readers with flexible, often contradictory and confusing aims and ideas. The remarkable freedom given to contributors gave it a bewildering mixture of widely differing subjects and views, complemented (and sometimes obscured) by breathtaking artwork.

So what went wrong, then, and why did Oz come to such an untimely and anti-climactic end? David Widgery and Richard Neville both wrote several pieces on this theme before the final issue, in which Widgery mourned the death of the underground movement, having written the obituary for Oz in a previous issue. He starts by asking how "underground rebels... became sheepfarmers, stallholders, senior lecturers in devised sociology, censors, rock-writers, commercial radio hacks". The question perhaps prompted by the frantic (and successful) forays into the underground press at that time by the established music papers, and the newly formed local and commercial radio stations to absorb as many disillusioned writers as they could tempt, with fat salaries. The continual strain of carrying on in the face of this and the open hostility towards Oz displayed by almost all the rest of the press, and desperate financial crises meant, as Widgery points out, that the quality of many papers fell, and the cynicism of many writers grew, at a time when larger numbers of people were beginning to show interest. The gossip-column hackishness of Fleet St. superceded the idealism of the late sixties, and the revolutionary artwork was gradually replaced by more and more full-page ads for record companies. George Melly had said at Oz's trial (in June-July 1971) that he'd called his book 'Rescued Into Style' because, as he saw it, each popculture began as a revolt which was seized upon by entrepreneurs, packaged and turned into 'style'. Charles Shaar Murray, writing in the School's Oz (which was the excuse for the trial) made much the same point, i.e. that once the media found that it couldn't ignore the music of the underground, the next step is 'take it over, package it, sell it back to itself'. This works very well: "Capitalism is alive and well - thanks to us. What can you do with your street-fighting ideal if the very people you want to fight against can package street-fighting? Put it into posters, records and books and sell it back to you at enormous profits!'" Widgery argues that the underground was smashed by the forces it had defined because, by 1968, it couldn't be "laughed at or ignored or patronised any longer", and the lengthy series of raids, seizures of material and general harassment by the police, up to and including the eventual trial showed quite clearly that Oz had caused considerable panic among certain sections of society.

Its anti-authoritarian stance, its questioning of the work ethic and its often unmanipulated and exaggerated sexual content meant that Oz stood on one side of what Richard Neville called the culture gap, which was much more than a simple generation gap, which was much more than a simple generation gap.

Those who were quick to attack Oz were often motivated by fear, stemming from a complete inability to understand what was going on. To the Fleet St. papers, Oz was just one more offensive than usual piece of porn, and the obvious point about pornography, so obvious that the Longfords and the Whitehouses etc. can't see it, is that in itself, it presents little threat to capitalism. It is an eminently saleable commodity, why shouldn't capitalists sell sexuality itself if they can use sex to sell practically anything else they want us to buy? Thus the porn industry flourishes with the co-operation of the law, and publications dealing with sex are rarely prosecuted for that reason alone. It is when they can be seen to have progressed from mere sensation towards forms of sexual satire, and actually ask questions about the nature of sexuality, morality and the law that the forces of law and order invoke their best vintage bullshit about protecting us all from depravity and guarding public morals against corruption. As Richard Neville explained at the trial, Oz and its readers had had enough of the powerful interests which controlled the media, whether it be for political or financial ends. Oz sought to provide a voice for people with new things to say and nowhere to say them. The intention was to mirror a changing way of life all over the world, giving a platform to the "socially important" whose struggles were denied legitimacy - homosexuals, children, women, blacks, the poor, the third world, clinically-defined psychotics and "erotic minorities".
critique wasn’t able to gloss over the glaring defects shown in the left’s own analysis. It barely conceded, moreover, the fact that anti-semitism and other politics organized, Oz and the like would be among the first to be suppressed. "Revolutionary socialist," Wrigley argues, is "profoundly libertarian" and concerned with the totality of working class life. Therefore, he believes that a magazine like Oz is anchored in working class politics, although he admits the "class-wise progress of all" in this, particularly the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the twenties. The real problem is that the "revolutionary" socialist has been known to be so - because its struggles have usually been confined to relatively narrow issues and cannot be perceived as revolutionary in implications. A purely class analysis doesn’t ask enough questions about the totality of our lives - as the majority consumers of books and images - of which the socialist tradition is a part. It was perhaps possible, for those that recognized this, to escape the society of the 1960s, but those who represented precisely that escape - a voice for those with the temerity to demand a say in the running of all aspects of their lives. For a while, it seemed that the revolution was going to be fun after all. However, fun was a concept recognized by the law as a form of revolution for fun means a revolution for a new way of living without wage-slavery, without domination and exploitation, where human beings can choose to live together, without coercion, in free cooperation, having full control over their lives and their environments. Such a vision is inevitably at odds with the left because there is no mention of a centralized organizational hierarchy, and, for the left, revolution has always been about authority and control. The party elite strategy - distanced from above and below - has been to respond with disciplined obedience. On no account must we organize ourselves, or demand, spontaneously. Above all, we shall not enjoy ourselves. How much real difference is there between this kind of authority and the attitude of lawyers and judges? The laughter of his court? The absurd and surreal world that, every so often, as Richard Neville, Minute, everyone bows to the leading man, functions in precisely the same way, wherever it controls it, and has no place in truly free society.

Left and right were unanimous in their condemnation of the sexual content of Oz. For the right it was just the excuse needed to launch an attack. For the left it was just a symbol of the cultural degeneracy, and nowhere did their condemnation touch on its deep sector. In fact the best critics of Oz often came from within its own pages, and David Wrigley acknowledged that it had failed to recognize the true nature of the opposition to Oz that finally knocked the underground was its complete inability to deal with women's liberation. It was not enough to condemn repression and hypocrisy, and bring sexuality out into the open, if the new sexual revolution was only going to be a regression of the old convention trick of "free love" whereby women were expected to "let men" do what they wanted, to turn their "freedom" into a weapon to reject their formally passive sexuality and yet still continue to fulfill a role designated for them by men. Just as straight left politics conceived of analysis and pass stinct attention to oppression of all women was insufficient, so was the socialist underground failed to understand that the gender relations would have to be revolutionized to make revolution possible in all social and political situations. Revolution has always been seen by men as being a question of political power, while the left should be defined in terms of male sexuality, women being referred to as "captive" and "exploited." Women's liberation offered support and loyalty to their master. The imagery of revolution, whether in posters of Che, the romanticized machismo of the guerrillas, or the克拉迪耶迪 heavy militant of the sixties "left," has reinforced male-supremacy notions and masculine definitions of "the rebel" and this firmly established sexist tradition in left wing politics has contributed to the continued enslavement of women by men. Oz, although unable to escape this concept of male dominated politics, published many articles which focussed on the above points. True to its contradictory nature, it managed to combine such critiques with outrageous sexual content. An attempt to formulate a clear position on the constitutional matter, that so many start profiting pornography organisations and activities and illustrations which were published in the same way as Playboy. It's all too easy to see how Oz and the underground male mistakes and that underestimates the variety of issues here being dealt with. Once this was realized it was time to stop, rethink, and start again. "Oz_, nobody's got any further, and O", the underground (whatever it is or isn't), it really thought that we all hoped all of those offerings held us very suddenly become another piece of history, and another name issue and gone. Oz consolation? Perhaps Angelo Guzzardi summed it up in his piece where he stated that Oz was an "unhappy but not gratuitous departure from the mainstream, Or, if Oz desire not fulfilled, the thousand desires sparked by daily frustration, fill our air with a lethal mixture which, over the years, results in a lingering cough, his cough is only sign of life in the thick smog. None about the masculine pronoun... L.T. take note. Geoff Ingarfield.

This is a substantial and useful addition to the work on anarchism in Spain, maintaining high standards of research and analysis. It contains much detailed information on the activities of a number of major figures of the Spanish anarcho-socialist movement, and provides a useful synthesis of the history of anarchism in the province of Andalusia. The book is well-written and extensive, and is a valuable contribution to the study of Spanish anarchism. It is highly recommended for those interested in the history of anarchism in Spain.

ANARCHISTS IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION By Jose Piersats. (Solidarity, Toronto. $2.50).

On the 27th of June a hundred people gathered together in London to discuss: "What is the C.N.T. today?" in many ways the new C.N.T. that is emerging is quite different to that of the thirties and forties (e.g. the debate about sexual freedom), it can best be understood in the light of its history. The translation of Piersats' book enables English readers to learn that history.

The book covers the development of anarchism from the first International to the present day. Although it discusses in detail the movement from the establishment of the C.N.T. in 1910 to the defeat of the Anarchist Parties in 1975, the book is written in such a way that it can be read as a history of the development of anarchism in Spain. It is a valuable contribution to the study of the history of anarchism in Spain and is highly recommended for those interested in the history of anarchism in Spain.

Although its subject matter is events which took place 7 years ago this book, which is a translation of the major part of a work originally published in French, is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the Polish strikes and demonstrations of late 1970 is essential to an understanding of the revolutionary developments which are unfolding in this bloc. But the book divides into two parts: the first part is a vivid and exciting description of the workers' response in the Baltic ports of Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin, and the whole of Poland in the popular massacre of 7th May, 1970. The book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the development of anarchism in Spain and is highly recommended for those interested in the history of anarchism in Spain.

Pawlowski's book is the result of a long-term project to provide an English translation of the original Polish version of the book. It is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the development of anarchism in Spain and is highly recommended for those interested in the history of anarchism in Spain.

The book is based on a study of the workers' response in the Baltic ports of Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin, and the whole of Poland in the popular massacre of 7th May, 1970. The book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the development of anarchism in Spain and is highly recommended for those interested in the history of anarchism in Spain.
Letters marked * have been cut for reasons of space.

Dear Zero*

A few days ago I saw the first edition of your new paper. Congratulations. It’s really great to see the beginning of an emerging political project. It has already made a mark in the U.S. as a sizeable portion of the feminist movement is clearly moving in that direction. However we still don’t have a paper though more and more of us are getting together to figure out how such others and establish on going communications.

Love and solidarity
Helene Ellenberger
Seattle, Washington.

Dear comrades

It was an interesting experience to read the collective statement in the centre pages and I would like to suggest a few ideas. First, I hope that the statement will be the start of a debate. Finally, I think it is necessary to see a mention of bureaucracy. It is not sufficient in my mind to merely make mention of all “bureaucratic and authoritarian” organisations. I think that the different kinds of technocratic/bureaucratic differences deserve a special mention in anarchism theory. The old style of bureaucracy no longer exists. The only people who both own and control the institutions in this country are those who have small family farms and as such exist in a highly significant informal context.

The Citizen, the B.P. the B.R.T. the National Enterprise Ltd. the Ford, the Fiat, the big merchant bankers, the insurance companies, and so on are run by people who own the company. Another breed of person controls apart from the official bureaucracy. This has taken place over the past century between the old bosses of the capita and bourgeois type and an emerging new class of new bosses of a technocratic type. The increasing success of the latter has been caused primarily by the incapacity of the former to materially continue to expand. The first type of person controls the difference between different capitalist families, but as these trusts developed and these organisations emerged, the place of capitalists as controllers of the former and the latter new class taken over by executives. The development of the nationalised industries, furthermore, provided another new playground for the new powerful technocrats. It is quite common for business people from private enterprise (i.e., not “nationalised”) to take jobs as the directors of this and that nationalised industry. Their behaviour is that same except that the resources that they own now control are much greater than before.

Bakunin had intuitively grasped the development of this new class with relation to the Marxists. He argued that the type of society proposed by Marx would never lead to a dictatorship of the masses by those who controlled, not the means of production (because theoretically a Marxist state the people “own the means of production”) but the entire bureaucratic class. Undoubtedly little known writings of Bruno Rizi elaborated the concept of the state of the masses by the “state of the bureaucracy,” which in Russia, whilst not owning the means of production, collectively own the means of production.

In this way the statement in your paper is relevant to your statement in two ways. I do not agree that “Marxists” mean ordinary members of the various Marxist Parties. I agree that only some of them really want “free communism.” And secondly, if you accept the analysis of the rise of a new technocratic/bureaucratic class you must re-examine the significance of the statement that “this nuclear family is the economic base for capitalism.” Is the nuclear family the economic basis of the bureaucratic society? A glance at the ideology of “bureaucracy” should be cause for doubt. The ideal here is of a young woman making her way in her big business. Marriage is not entirely frowned upon but having children is definitely taboo. Best wishes for the future.

Nina Stull
London.

Dear sisters*

I’ve just finished reading your paper. I couldn’t have said it better myself! It made me feel like I haven’t felt in a long time, the politics are so basic, clear and true. Too many of us in the women’s movement are anarchists we are often so busy straddling against each other’s ranges of male supremacy that we have little time or energy to affirm our womanhood in a more formal way. This is not to say that a good many feminists aren’t in a basically anarchistic way, but often it seems to be politically unconscious.

Many male anarchists in the United States seem to have more fear and contempt for feminism than they do for the established government. As a result women have stopped contributing to their papers and bulletins because of the reactions of hostility and ridicule they have experienced. Also men in this country often call themselves individualists or capital–anarchists—something my definition doesn’t encompass.

For the future issues you will devote some space to issues like battered women. Wages For Housework May be a better idea. There should be a review of “Housework Handbook” (I’ve never seen a copy) Some of us Anarchist women have put much work and thought into this issue for a long time, but it often appears as the Marxist–Leninists have a monopoly on the issue because of their monolithic, dogmatic, tired style of work in your paper.

In Sisternhood,
Betsy Warrior
Cambridge Massachusetts

Dear Zero*

I’ve just seen a copy of your last issue and it looks good. I certainly ought to fill a glaring gap in the available anarchist/feminist journal world. The anarchist/feminist gay need to get themselves together next—or has Zero such connections?

Good luck
Rose Tanner
Croydon.

Dear Friends

We felt the need for a new libertarian paper and all of that happened. Hopefully it will go weekly, eventually. We don’t like the name. How about more pun on (Punk Against Fascism) new forms of revolt. The situation has changed.

East Anglian Libertarians have started a campaign for the Demilitarisation of East Anglia. The group from Norwich went to USAF Mildenhall on March 20th “Open Day.” We were few (7) and they were many (150-200). Consequentially we had only one person led through a combination of facts, fears, paranoia—inducing American police and threatening jets. We would like to see Zero emphasise anti-militarist campaigns, and anti-totalitarian struggles, e.g., against nuclear technology, the festival at Windscale. With love and playful rebellion,

Jenni and Terribly
Norwich.

Dear Zero collective*

The paper’s great, very needed concerning the state of the Left press at the moment. We’re using the Anarchism/Feminism article as a basis for discussion in the women’s group. Love and solidarity

Finn Townsend
Leicester.

Dear Zero

Very seldom do I read a magazine on receipt. But I felt I had to say getting the first issue of Zero. I found the centre-page article gripping. You really show how feminism and anarchism need to be fully “merged” (?). This is true! This centre-page article contains a profound truth. It has helped me to widen my consciousness...on much so that I am changing the title of my work Of Man and Revolution to Of Hominid and Revolution. I am passing Zero on to my HAPUTOJl boyfriend and sisters. I am sure they will get much from it also. Many thanks for advertising us. We will do the same for you.

Love
Michael Tobin
Amsterdam.

Dear Zero collective*

I don’t consider abortion an anarchist or feminist objective. I consider it killing, the ultimate oppression. Life begins at conception and gradually develops. There is no sharp distinction between unborn and born. Abortion is not a woman’s control over her own body, because the embryo is not part of her body.

However, I think that Zero overstressed the abortion issue ever for a publication that agrees with abortion. I can think of more important things. What about women’s problems in jobs, and housing? How about working to remove some of those social grounds that drive women to abortion? What about rape? What about the problem of battered wives? There isn’t much, if anything, about these issues.

There were some things I liked— the article on N.Ireland which explored the question of why the UK government is hanging on—the review of the two pamphlets on socialism—the foreign news.

Love and peace
Diana Forest
Hastings.

Is zero replies?

Is abortion killing? We don’t think so. Others might. Whatever our beliefs we have no right to impose an individual viewpoint on others—and this is precisely what anti-social legislators such as Banham are attempting to do. It will be very easy to talk to a female friend of mine in the CP than the manufacturing-conferring brigade.

Mike Mait

Horwitzer returned 8 copies of Zero to 40p. I haven’t the time or energy (I look after 3 kids on my own) to give you a detailed critique but, 1. Coverage of CNT/Spain good and welcome. 2. Open makes it difficult to argue. I’m fed up with strident ‘all males are bastards/sus’ males, feminists. Off are symptomatic males like me. Thank goodness there are rational feminists like Mupreis Libres and a number of liberation women. I know who do not like WSLC for reasons which have briefly indicated. Indeed, I find it much easier to talk to a female friend of mine in the CP than the manufacturing-conferring brigade.