Malville and the European anti-nuclear campaign

French nuclear energy problems

Until quite recently there were hardly any nuclear power stations in France—although one or two had been built in the early sixties. After the "oil crisis" the nationalised electricity company (EDF) proposed and proposed an enormous programme of building 50 to 80 conventional stations of about 1000 MW. Given the level of local opposition it now looks as if between 35 and 40 will be operating by 1985. But the key element in the drive to make France self-sufficient in energy was the construction of several fast breeder reactors. A prototype, Phenix, has been constructed at Marcoule and is always breaking down. There is a reprocessing plant at La Hague which will eventually treat not only their own spent uranium, but fuel from Japan and eventually West Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. The real conflict however has started over the plans to construct the first operational fast breeder, called Super Phenix, to be sited at Malville. At Malville the EDF started building before the public enquiry procedure was completed. As their president, M. Marcel Boreux, said, "We believe very strongly that the best way to avoid the controversy which is developing on both a local and a national level is to get the project under way, past the point of no return, and to publicise this decision."

Opposition in Europe

Opposition began to build up at Malville. In July 1976 the site was occupied by 10,000 demonstrators who were bodily thrown out by the CRS (riot police) after a week. They had adopted a CND non-violent style, and this won them considerable sympathy from the local population who until then had been apathetic. In September 1976 the local council asked for the project to be suspended followed by several others who would also be affected. Several Comite Malville were created, the largest being in Grenoble. But by now it was clear that the EDF were determined to go ahead whatever the objections and the nature of the opposition began to change.

At the same time, nuclear power stations were being opposed all over Europe. At Wyhl (Germany), the site had been occupied for 18 months and on March 11th this year the Freiburg court ruled that because of the political risks and possibility of technical failure the reactor could not be built. At Brokdorf in November 1976, 10,000 then 30,000 demonstrators tried to occupy a site and the riot police only eventually dispersed the crowds with tear gas, water cannon and chemical mace, reporting at one stage to attacking with low flying helicopters. In Switzerland, since the site at Kurer- ants was occupied in 1973, the movement has grown and this summer attention has been concentrated on the station at Goglen. In Spain, 200,000 people demonstrated at Bilbao against the construction of a station.

Preparations

Those who had come from the 'ecological' tradition wanted to organise a completely 'peaceful' demonstration, some later arrivals claimed they wanted to literally 'take the site by force'. The energy that should have been going into a whole range of possible activities, from legal procedures to sabotage, instead went mostly into an abstract debate about whether the 'assemblages' should be 'violent' or 'non-violent'. The Coordination Malville finally called for 'peaceful marches converging on the site', suggesting somehow filtering between the police and sabotaging the site.

With public debate going on about how violent the demonstration was going to be, it was unsurprising that the local Prefect would make preparations. However the scale of their operation surprised even seasoned demonstrators confining off an area 7 km around the site, continuously controlling the inhabited citys, about 5,000 CRS and internal security troops (gendarmerie mobiles), including a squadron of paratroopers and, so the story went, some foreign legion.

This undermined the arguments of both the pacifists and those who advocated military tactics. One can't sensibly sit in more than 7 km from your objective nor can you realistically attack heavily armed troops more or less spontaneously. At the same time the objective adopted by the Coordination became ambiguous: how could one march peacefully onto a site protected by 5,000 police? For nearly all of the 500 who started out on Friday 29th July these contradictory objectives were still unresolved. Only one thing was certain the state was ready for a fight.

July 30th morning

The public demonstration organised by the committees formed against the nuclear station at Creys-Malville ... to the east of the RN 75 (about 75 km from the site itself) ... is and remains forbidden' (Edict published by Jarni)
Letters marked * have been cut for reasons of space. Anyone not hearing from Zero will write a few weeks of writing should write again.

Dear Conrad,

Zero*

How, as anarchists, do you define a state such as "we demand revolution" and "Holdsworth's original sentence be freed to stand"? How, as anarchists do you define generalizations like "flaunts his misdeeds by all means keep all women in a state of fear and powerlessness"? As students of revolution do you arrive at the same definition nonviolent as "Feminism practices, what anarchists preach"? The revolutionary feminist theory and its practice and "Feminism transcends anarchism because feminism shows authority, hierarchy and leadership for what they really are, the regulations of male power".

T T Hurt
Kings Heath, Birmingham

Dear Zero*

I was very sorry to read in the August Zero* that "all men are potential rapists and that you reprinted without comment "rape is a means by which all men keep all women in a state of fear and powerlessness." I don't see how rape ever anybody, for example, if there are other men, straight and gay, who will not rape and see such an act as the worst kind of oppression. If that is true, why do you call upon us to crusade so crudely write off half the population? To accuse all men because of certain acts of some is bloody silly—are we all sexists too? I was sorry also to read "you demand that Holdsworth's original sentence of three years be allowed to stand", just as hangings didn't stop murder, no prison sentence has stopped rape. To be honest, I can't immediately think up a better solution but it is up to us to work one out.

Ray Bower
Ellin, Abergavenny

Dear Zero*

Women's movement is one of the most important as the Zero* article pointed out—anarchism would provide us with a stronger alternative to the authoritarian left in this country. In solidarity,

Not Yet Anarchist Workers Association (Provisional)

Dear Conrad's*

I have received Zero 1 & 2 through the mail and I am very timely and excellent! Keep firing away with your ideas. I would like to hear from women on anarchism and all women. I got out of the hole after 14 months and am now involved in one of the longest prison sentences of male progressive and socialtext, and cost the warders and his funny associates their job! Many changes have been made in the last few months. I must get more involved with the progressive communities and underground support from the George Jackson Brigade. Bring the pigs to our knees here. It brings the community in which it belongs and established parson as a political force to be heard. We anarchists have risen here in the prisons, it is a growth lot to the women's movement, the men's, black's, and gay's. It's the fringe where the pigs look to eye to eye. People want to fight. Pick you specialty and get in on the ground, go right now get our men incarcerated and themselves into the prison movement, we must get all in the prisons with programs and classes and personal relationships and craft and to deal with rape. Our women and ourselves cannot depend on the courts and we must defy and defend ourselves from the system and its products. We cannot comment or nurse our oppression, we have to make all we have do the same to deal with ourselves which would help them more and free us together.

My love and rage

Carl Harper
Walla Walla, Washington

Dear Conrad,

*Zero*

Zero is a huge success editorially and graphically. There is something so sad about the reactions. I just went through a moving experience and am unable to say anything. I am trying to say that any melody can be put to if you know anyone who sings over, you can get at it on any instrument.

The Ballad of Anita Bryant

Oh, brother-loving sisters, come listen to my song.

Oh, sister-loving brothers, why don't you come along?

There's hatred in the country, there's fear across the land.

Can you and I choose to be walking hand in hand?

Now down in old Dade County, the libertines passed a law.

But freedom only lasted a hundred and forty thirty.

Anita Bryant came along and smashed a war on gay.

Now Bryant reads the Bible, and the Good Book says it's bad to you if a man is trying to be gay, it makes God damn mad.

And the bath is full of fundamentalists, a little out of date.

They say we kidnap and recruit on our side, we're sick of the perverts, godless people and this is not us. We come to you as a mirror of yourselves.

Oh, all of you people, this is who we are.

Will you sit back and watch the votes lost in Tyranny, together with all the people fight for justice, in our land?

Oh, sister-loving brothers, you're listened to my song.

There's hatred in the country, there's fear across the land.

Can you and I choose to be walking hand in hand?

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The Ballad of Anita Bryant

Rape is seen as a crime against male property rights (i.e. as a crime against men) Rape trials are conducted so as to protect the defendant and humble the woman, in fact women are symbolically raped. Women that take their rape to courts are fighting a fight to have rape to be recognized as a crime against women. In the case in point, Carol Maggs was violently raped, her breasts and thighs bitten, her ankles and neck heavily bruised and her vagina mutilated by Holdsworth twisting his ringed fist round inside her. To repeat the judge's comment at the time. It is probable that the girl would not have been as severely injured if in fact she had submitted to rape by the mere threat of force rather than force being applied in the manner that it was. Carol Maggs was in hospital longer than Holdsworth was reminded, and since being discharged from the prison she had dozens of jobs offered to him by male 'well-wishers'. While normal men will feel the courage and confidence to report her rape when even the violent and widely publicised assault of Carol Maggs leads to acquittal and release. Rape is not an act of men who are sick, or have problems but the extension of this society's normative patriarchal ideology and values into physical expression. Therefore you don't have to rape someone to benefit from male power anymore than you have to be raped to be kept in a state of powerlessness. The struggle is against rape in the sense of dealing with rape rather than dealing with rapists, and it would only slightly be ashamed to suppose that as anarchists Zero* believed that rape can be confronted through the courts as it would be to suppose that women do. Never the less, anarchistic theory has always been incriminating when it comes to solving violent crime and the letters above show it to be even more inadvisable in coming to terms with violence against women. The fact that there was no anarchist outcry when, for example, Forsham or Stonehouse were sent down gives the lie to the argument, and suggests that the real motive behind the hysterical response is the same as concern for male protection of meal interest that judges should be placed in rape cases. Hanged didn't stop murder, prison won't stop rape. Right. And Yet, it is up to all of us to work something out. But until that happens rape must be fought in every available way. This includes, in fact necessitating, rape being brought up into the open and seen for what it is, a crime against women. Even in the courts.

Sharon Rishard

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Answers to Questions

ZITRO NEWS

JULY 30th afternoon

We divided the afternoon, when forums were held in preparation of the texts, between Courtenay and Mostrel. At Courtenay the debate was about violence and non-violence, as it had been in the Malville Committees for weeks previously. The aim of the Coordination was the ‘maximum amount of harm to the installations’ without ‘a drop of blood being shed’. Even then it seemed unlikely that it would be the demonstration who would decide whether the march was peaceful, and a few realists questioned the problem of how the marchers were to go peacefully through the large numbers of CRS who would be waiting in the area. The answer was that they ‘would somehow get around them’, splitting up into groups of 10 to 20 people. But there was little attempt to organise into such groups; no account was taken of the complete lack of knowledge of marchers and police, and the sheer cunning of the former, a handful actually arrived at the site, it wasn’t clear how they would cut through the several electric fences and overwhelm the security forces guarding them. But when damage they would inflict on the two or three cranes that they would find there. Of all, little account was taken of what was happening in the other assembly points, and this lack of communication was to prove very disadvantageous in the preparation of the march on Saturday and in the development of the march on Sunday away from the elections, which may bring us into the government, and thus responsible for security, we are not going to attack the police.’

At Mostrel a completely different scenario was envisaged, which was confirmed by the might of the organised French left, who appeared to be dominating the proceedings. Various people were making blustering speeches, demanding votes on particular issues, and receiving rapturous applause from their supporters. But one decision which turned out to be important was taken (or improvised) to engage in a united march on the Malville site rather than the four marches from different sides. It was not clear whether all the events took place which were later to be blown up by the press and supported by the authorities, as an excuse for their xenophobic provocation and harassment of foreigners. In the end of the debate a couple of people (who may have been German) broke into the town hall of Mostrel, from the steps of which the speeches were being made, and were swept away to the pre-existing pressure of the crowd. The Parisien Libère was to improve on the events as follows: ‘An individual claiming to belong to the Baader-Meinhof gang, among a group of neo-Nazis, threatened to break tables and chairs inside the “Commonwealth”. A police officer was later seriously injured in the neck by a club.’

Throughout Saturday a steady stream of people arrived at the four assembly points. The atmosphere was that of a very large and spread out political fest. The organisation of the march was based on libertarian principles (the region) Malville committees were autonomous and open to everyone. But the use of ‘non-violent march on the site’, with all the contradictions that this entailed, carried considerable responsibility. Self-management by individuals of their part in the march depended not only on a non-authoritarian organisation of the march but on more positive initiatives on the part of the Coordination, such as ensuring efficient communication among the four villages, and along the march the next day.

By late Saturday night the atmosphere was changing. In spite of music and dance at the camp sites, which were only just surviving continuous pouring rain, people seemed to be quite tense about the situation. Very largely the tension was created by the authorities. At about 3 in the morning the people from Mostrel moved to Courtenay: a unified march had been decided.

JULY 31st: the march itself

We started at about 6am from Courtenay. The numbers had swelled enormously and were to continue doing so throughout the day, including an enormous influx of young people from the surrounding region. The average age of the marchers was low (early twenties), we were probably just in the first third of the march. Most of it took place along narrow country roads, and at some stage it was relatively easy to calculate roughly the numbers from the length of the march. We made it about 50,000, the figure given by the Coordination. Estimates in the bourgeois papers were to vary from 20,000 (the day after) to 80,000 (2 or 3 weeks later, when the “official” nuclear debate was in full swing).

The marches from each camp site converged at a village at the beginning of the forbidden zone. The timing was not perfect and the marchers from Mostrel were at the back of the unified march, which was to clear the road up to 3 km from the site. This would enable them to claim they had made concessions in the interests of non-violence. But it gave the marchers an immense feeling of triumph when they crossed into the forbidden zone. It was easy for rumour to circulate, there was little organised communication along the march, and immediately, most of the information we got was about what was going on more than 100 yards away from us, instead of the reports from the radio, which gave exhaustive reports of the march throughout the day.

Another, less precise but more powerful, way in which communication along the march took place was via the embassies (organised by the Coordination) that made their way up and down the march, squeezing through marchers closely packed in narrow country lanes. As the march proceeded, the police seemed more and more, although much faster. Around the time that we crossed into the forbidden zone we heard the sound of grenades. It rained heavily throughout the march and this reduced the effectiveness of tear gas; nevertheless an enormous number of grenades were fired and the fighting took place in a cloud of smoke. Further on we heard that in addition percutaneous grenades were being used; it was these that were responsible for the loss of limbs. Meanwhile, helicopters were almost constantly flying up and down the march; this was quite threatening, not least because at Brockdorf tear gas grenades had been dropped from helicopters, causing numerous injuries. After several hours through the rain and mud we arrived at the top of the hill overlooking Faverge, where nearly all the violent confrontation took place. We had only had time to walk through a certain amount of tear gas and have the unpleasant experience of a percussion grenade exploding overhead before the march began. The grenades started coming closer and the march assembled a couple of fields away. When we got back to the limit of the forbidden area, where a meeting was to be held, we heard that one of the marchers Vital Machalon had been killed. Vital Machalon was typically non-violent and Morestel (according to the local priests) and came up with 19 hostages to law and order. Over half were Germans and a quarter Swiss, with only five or six French held for 24 hours and beaten. Seven were then released, leaving twelve to be arraigned the next Saturday.

Meanwhile, the press reacted: apart from the alternative and extreme left press, Le Matin and Le Monde came out clearly against the police tactics and even the right-wing press realised that Jannin had perhaps gone too far. The repressions continued, especially when the authorities showed that Machalon had died from the effects of an explosive grenade. Jannin continued unabated, ‘I regret nothing that happened’. In this he was supported by the Minister of the Interior, who

The aftermath

This evening two of the computers of riot police who had been doing ‘work’ at Faverge were smashed up with cars, and German registration numbers, and dragging people out of their homes, they ransacked unhindered with any organisation. The authorities were made to report repeatedly to Berlin about the development. At Calais on the demonstrator’s own initiative, over 1,000 people demonstrated on the 29th.

The authorities showed clearly that he had been killed by a percussion grenade exploding close to his chest. According to the Prefect, everything happened as planned.

Photo: Christophe Raffin

Photo: Daniel Lévi-Lanfranchi

Photo: Michel Charlier

Photo: Jean-Pierre Mercier

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Zero News

Prince Phillip held at gunpoint

To coincide with her recent visit to Northern Ireland, the libertarian Black August Street Theatre presented a mock Trial of Queen Lizzie in those areas most incensed by the timing of her visit: the anniversary of internment. Beginning on Saturday 6th August in Derry's Guildhall Square, the street theatre performed throughout Belfast during the next week. New Lodge, Ardoyne, Lenadown, Twinbrook, Andovershows, the Divis, Broadway, Ballymurphy and the Turf Lodge. 'The general atmosphere was very tense', explains a member of Black August, 'with troops not only flooding them but effectively sealing them off. Many people were unable to 'sign on' in town, and next day no questions were asked at the dole offices. The burning of vehicles and rioting after a march or rally were common. The frequent searches and detentions to get out of sealed-off areas made it difficult to travel. At one point a Military Police jeep screeched to a halt beside us while our window was slashed in by the police on our way to a performance. MJR surrounded our van and a cocked pistol was held to our driver's (The Duke of Edinburgh) head with the order 'get out of your van with your hands on your head'. A bit heavy handed we thought. Then they realised that we were not about to 'rob a bank' and that it was clowns and red and white make-up we had on, and not rioters over our heads. We were taken to Short Strand Military Police Barracks and then to Mountspontain Police Station, being held for a total of five hours without being questioned.

'Only one of our 8 had street theatre experience, so the play was somewhat stylised in both structure (the idea of a trial) and speech (too many slogans). Its strongest points were the mimes, the evidence of the witnesses (travelled, homeless, factory worker and prisoner) who related how they were spending their own silver jubilee, the songs at the beginning and end of the play which helped warm up the atmosphere, and the jokes cracked between the 'joyful couple' and the audience. Several times we had to stop and wait until the kids who had returned from 'picking a passing pig' who had come within stoning distance of the play.' One of the main long-term problems was the identification of the street theatre with the Provisionals. This was mainly because of their strength in the areas where we performed, and the easy confusion of our anti-monopoly propaganda with their anti-fascist activities.' Black August are now working on a new play around the government's intentions to clear away housing for motorways.

John Roberts

Sabotage and the Special Branch at British Steel

On January 21 this year, the 100 strong workforce at a British Steel Corporation Factory Reinforcement Steel Services in East Greenwich received notice of the management's intention to close the factory. This has been interpreted as an overestimation of the level of demand for steel in the area, and a general recession in the steel industry. Built only two years ago to provide reinforcement to the new DLR airport and Channel tunnel developments, the factory had maintained a high level of production supplying other projects in the area, the National Westminster tower and the Docklands redevelopments for example, despite the original plans for the airport and tunnel being dropped.

The main union concerned, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) began negotiations with the Corporation to keep the factory open but quickly abandoned the workforce's demands and successfully persuaded a minority to accept severance payments.

Some weeks later, the workers voted to stop work and support the NUPE organised day of action against the cuts on May 11, and despite threats of disciplinary proceedings from the management a stoppage took place. As a result of supporting something directly relevant to their own situation six were sacked and seven others suspended. On May 12th a full works meeting decided on immediate occupation not only in protest against the management's action, but in response to weeks of fruitless negotiation by the union. Once in occupation the workers discovered management documents which gave an astonishing picture of the collaboration that nationalised industries have evolved with the Special Branch and other agencies to enable them to forestall labour problems. The documents included a detailed report on 'Whistleblowing' at the factory during July—September 1975. The management had two men, Ray Duffin and Paul Lidstone responsible to the extent of checking with the Economic League for information on them. (The Economic League is a right-wing anti-socialist organisation exchanging information on left-wing trade unionists for money and information in return.) They also recorded that the Special Branch had a file on Lustig for his political activities, namely 'distributing National Socialist (that's right) literature (Lustig is an SWP member) disturbing the peace during demonstrations and taking part in illegal demonstrations.' Duffin was even convicted of a crime he committed in 1914, for which he had been found guilty over two years. An unsigned letter from someone in the ISTC hierarchy in Sheffield to Robbock the works manager stated:

'We have taken expert advice on your problems at Greenwich and as expected there is little direct action we can take which could not be interpreted against you under unfair dismissal. Maximum amount against a claim could be £5,200 which I consider too high a price to pay. We advise you to seek legal assistance and to present meticulous records of anything that happens concerning individuals so that we can build up a dossier ... at the same time, have also been outlined to you for the purpose of tightening up on discipline so that even if you do lose your job you can overcome the problem.' Another document proved to be the management's day by day account of the two week stoppage, over safety and operating procedures that took place before the final announcement including the activities and details of overhear conversations of named individual workers who were attempting to black the move to fulfil orders placed at Greenwich with supplies from Sheffield. A third document contained plans for moving the production of steel at Greenwich to a new site at Enfield, dated January 23rd, only two days after the closure announcement, which showed the management negotiations about 'keeping the factory open' to be a complete farce.

Armed with this information the Occupation Committee sent delegations to steelworks all over the country to get their support. At the ISTC National Conference in June (only the second or third since they started in the 20's) their request of a meeting with BFI for the ISTC General Secretary was refused. So was their request to meet Charles Villiers the BSC chairman. Resolutions passed at the NUPE and NAMCO national conferences called in donations of £100 and £150 respectively, despite warnings from ISTC that they were supporting an unofficial action. But overall the occupation received very little support and even less publicity.

Eventually, after fourteen weeks, continued lack of support and solidarity forced the workforce to discontinue the occupation on August 20th and enter a Greenwich worker had told Zero 'We still feel that our decision to occupy was the only thing we could do that would be effective, but having had virtually no publicity, support or solidarity, we aren't feeling too enthusiastic about carrying on with the EDL.'

The union's behaviour has been one of the most telling effects this dispute.'

John Blake

Music for socialism

Words and Music is a week-long series of concert debates being held at the Almeida Free Theatre in London at the end of October. The seven events are being presented by Music for Socialism, an organisation which since its inception last year has presented a 2-day festival of Socialist Music and a series of Sunday night film and music events at the Other Cinema.

The aim of Words and Music is to try to advance the level of musical political debate beyond a concern with the political content of lyrics—in other words to examine music as music rather than as an instrument for delivering a message.

The programme for the seven days, starting on Sunday 20th October, includes:

Thursday and Music: 'How can Socialists develop a political music within a theatrical form where the audience is accustomed to treating it as entertainment—especially when presented as part of this kind of a stage?' How might the effect of even socialist 'lyrics be blunted within the framework of the theatrical cliches other music normally exists within?'

Illustration: Cliff Hall

I suppose this society is incorrect against it make. It's kind of kind of being the thing that the new different Russian Angela, the new different—trials, perhaps, and all nineteen—would be the human being that all individuals, individuals achieved.

All to achieve a bit. It was the even for the only for the only way. It was the only way for everyone. Do it or the different people. It's the way. A different people.

It's the known power of the known people, of the different, different people, of the different people. It's the known people of the different. It's the known people of the different.
Police shield racist right

Police has been getting decidedly hotter recently, with increased violence on demonstrations and attacks on several bookshops. Cenntrepo, a bookshop/community centre in Hackney, East London, has had its windows smashed several times and in June the words "Tiggers Out" were painted across the front. The centre houses a youth club used by the local black kids. In August, hundreds of pounds worth of books were burned when petrol was poured through the letterbox, and not long after, a few days after the violence, the centre was closed down. The National Front staged a march through Lewisham, staged by the National Front, who are very active in the Hackney/Hoxton area. Other shop attacks have been taking place. A few days ago, a local black resident placed stickers and slogans, and received threatening phone calls. Atlas Books also in Ealing.

New Beach in Finchley Park and Unity Books in Hulthorpe, which was attacked in April, have also been affected. In August, the police's political neutrality is clearly exposed for the sham that it really is by their failure to do anything about these attacks. In fact, we're told (of the record) that such shops are "selling themselves." Police action or the Grunwick pickets, their protection of the National Front at Lewisham and L_physic and their confrontations with black people (not only at the Notting Hill Carnival) has shown the police in a more provocatively political role, and at least one similar officer is worried that this may not be acceptable to the general public. The police always go out of their way to avoid trouble, and at least one similar officer is worried that this may not be acceptable to the general public. The police always go out of their way to avoid trouble, and at least one similar officer is worried that this may not be acceptable to the general public. The police always go out of their way to avoid trouble, and at least one similar officer is worried that this may not be acceptable to the general public. The police always go out of their way to avoid trouble, and at least one similar officer is worried that this may not be acceptable to the general public. The police always go out of their way to avoid trouble, and at least one similar officer is worried that this may not be acceptable to the general public.
Maternity care: a women’s right to choose

Pluimton Maternity Hospital, one of only two maternity hospitals in the London borough of Newham in the East End, has been occupied by its staff following the decision of the Area Health Authority to close it down at the end of the year. The occupation began in July and the hospital is working at full capacity, providing normal facilities. The staff say that it is actually providing a better service than before the occupation. The staff are in full control and management are not allowed into the building, apart from one administrator. Newham’s hospitals are all very poor state, and as the Action Committee points out, this will leave an even more inadequate service.

Newham is one of the most deprived and depressed areas in Britain, with the worst record in virtually all social services except for infant mortality rates in Europe. The closure of Pluimton Hospital can only mean that this will get worse, and in the Action Committee’s words, “the people taking these decisions are usually not affected by them, and they certainly aren’t concerned with the people of Newham.”

A letter from the Action Committee said that Newham’s two Maternity hospitals were themselves inadequate and that further facilities were needed rather than costs. Staff are worried that closure will mean that women in Newham will not be able to get adequate ante-natal care and that life will be endangered. The only other maternity hospital in Newham is Forest Gate, which is on the edge of the borough, and Newham’s poor transport services make it almost inaccessible for many women. There is no bus service on Sundays and only one infrequent route passes through the hospital during the rest of the week. Many women are reluctant to go to Forest Gate as the maternal care is also inadequate. It is getting to it from the other side of Newham, and the staff at Pluimton point out that the proposed closure will take away from women the right to choose their hospital. In response the Area Health Authority points to the falling birthrate as evidence that Pluimton hospital is no longer needed. In fact both Newham’s hospitals are fully booked.

The proposal to close Newham hospital is not scheduled to go to punch for another 15 years and even then no assurance has been given that it will contain a maternity unit. “Swing cuts in the health service over the last few years have meant that the few and outdated hospitals left in Newham are hard-pressed to cope with the needs of a population of over 200,000. The Action Committee believes that if they don’t fight this closure the NHS will close down other hospitals in the borough. The three members involved—NAGLO, NUPE, CONHE—have so far given full support to the occupation, and support and donations have come from most of the major unions, as well as local tenant associations, playgroups, doctors, ambulance workers, trades councils and the Community Health Council. A more militant approach has been adopted through Newham for October 1. With support, the fight to keep the hospital open can be won. Donations should be sent to Pluimton Maternity Hospital Action Committee, Haywood Rd., Plaistow, London E13 (Tel: Geoff Inglis Field)

Bulgarian prisoners

On the 10th and 11th of September, pickets were held outside the Bulgarian Tourist Office, and the Bulgarian Embassy in London. They had been organized by the London group of Social Revolutionaries, and between 25-50 anarchists/libertarians attended. One picket was arrested for obstruction. The pickets were called to coincide with Freedom Day in Bulgaria, which commemorates the overthrow of the Nazi regime there in 1944. Yet even since the Socialist dictatorship was set up in Bulgaria, the police and other authorities have been able to fill the prisons, and have been continuously imprisoned. In particular the pickets were held to appeal for the release of the libertarians Petrov, Antonov, Nakov, Amanov, Kostov, Lomova, Dimitrova, Galitsos, Dimov and Antonov. Send letters to: Bulgarian Embassy, 72 Queens Gate, London SW7.

Over the last few years the military display at the Manchester Show has been published with anti-imperialist feelings. Breaking the rules of the British Army in N. Ireland, each year the pickets are disrupted by the police intervention. This year’s picket took place on 2nd and 29th of July, and last year the pickets were arrested. In particular the pickets prevented from carrying on their fight against the occupation of 5 prisoners in Spain. They were arrested and put into solitary confinement. In total there are 10 prisoners, and the authorities have been given a new year for their release. The letters are addressed to: Bulgarian Embassy, 72 Queens Gate, London SW7.

Swedish repression

On April 1 this year, an enormous police action began in Sweden with 100 police raids against known activists throughout the country. A total of 50 people were arrested: 15 in Stockholm, 10 in Malmö, 5 in Göteborg, 5 in Uppsala, 4 in Västerås, 4 in Umeå, 3 in Trelleborg, 2 in Örebro, 2 in Karlstad, 2 in Växjö, 2 in Halmstad, 1 in Söderhamn, 1 in Jönköping, 1 in Sundsvall, 1 in Landskrona, 1 in Helsingborg.

Northern Kroger and A. Adomaitis, two prominent communists, were flown back to Germany two days after arrest without being allowed to contact a lawyer. They are among 5 people, Mexican, Chinese, British, and Greek, were deported two weeks later. Seven Swedish communists are still in prison, and have been in prison for more than three months. Letters and newspapers have been censored, and no one is allowed to visit them. The defence lawyers are having difficulties in finding a trustworthy interpreter, because the prisoners are allowed to speak only in Swedish and not Norwegian. The petition was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the government and the president of the republic.

A campaign has been launched to get the release of the prisoners. The campaign has been launched in Stockholm, Sweden, and also in London. The campaign is called ZERO3. Zero is an anarchist/anaconda feminist monthly produced by a mixed collective, mainly from East London. Zero is looking for street sellers (pick up Zero and Rising Free). The pickets were held on 10th and 11th of September and on 29th of October.

Tyrant: Bread ’n Roses
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Fed Fridays in October and November. Friday, October 21st to the first Friday of December. 7pm-11pm. Bar/Food. Friday now 18 unconfirmed at time of going to press. £5. 1 bar/Food. Both at Seven Dials Club, Shelton Street, Covent Garden. Tube: Covent Garden (Circle Line)
Feminism and the Italian Left

The women's liberation movement in Italy is multifaceted. It can be divided into two main streams: 1) the revolutionary groups, and 2) the reformist groups. The former is known as the bloc of the Italian Feminist Movement (BIM), which is the women's organization of the PCI, and various other women's organizations and Left parties such as the Socialists, Radicals, and the ex-extra-parliamentary groups, like women belonging to La List, Radicals, Avanguardia Operaia, etc.

Among the first groups, I place all these collectives which proclaim their autonomy and call themselves simply 'feminists' even if there are a lot of differences and divergences in their demands. From a political point of view the reformist groups aim only at political gains: that is, their feminism is 'feminist' for the advancement of the electoral base of the parties they depend on. This fact creates a political conflict of positions, although their propaganda does contribute a little to attracting interest to feminist issues. In the last analysis, they form a movement which exists as a predator on their respective parties' ideology and on the government's social problems by means of the legal system for the regulation of the integration or, better, that the campaign to confirm the difference line.

The revolutionary groups, on the contrary, insist upon the existential aspect of women's emancipation from the roles and bonds imposed upon women at any time and by any government for other socio-political or economic reasons. Among these groups, the main difference is indicated by the presence or absence of a Marxist-leninist Marxist or a group that can be accepted from a theoretical and from a political point of view. In general, the latter group is more autonomous in its aims and in the way it works. It also involves more commitment and solidarity with the other progressive groups and movements. The solution for the women's question is implicit in the cultural and political discussions; they promote solidarity and self-help, autonomy and self-management in the family and various other consequences are clear in the affirmation of the individual. The divergence comes to light when dealing with practical and methodological aspects, which depend on different analyses of Italian social reality. One current which does not lie in with socialist praxis is that of Salaria Al Lavoro Domiciato (Workers for Home-based Work). They say that they demand a salary for the unpaid housework they do for the greater part of capitalist society, acting as a lever on one of the greatest contradictions of capitalism. They seem not to realize the implied perpetuation of roles. They claim a complete emancipation for women through work at it were only by obtaining an 'independent' (how independent?) job outside the walls of "home sweet home" that a woman can count herself free. Another Marxist-feminist handicap among many. 

The problem of gender is also the problem of women's liberation as a branch of class struggle in its classic terms: that is, not only as a sexual and political issue which must be addressed because they believe bourgeois women to be free already since they can buy divorce and abortion and they don't have to remain seduced in the house. On the contrary, I believe that freedom cannot be measured in terms of money (this is quite a "pseudo-bourgeois" standard). I am of bourgeois origin myself, and I have only to look at my mother and many other millions like her to realize what her 'freedom' represents.

At the opposite pole there are those who conceive feminism in 'mystical' terms. These are very narrow and exclusive groups totally devoted to creating their花钱 called "training for self-consciousness" which I call simply 'a new version of collective psychoanalysis' or "collective psychotherapy". They aim at minimalizing the real impact of social and political factors. They build a moral all-over the image of a woman for themselves and their respective parties, by means of the legal system for the regulation of the integration or, better, that the campaign to confirm the difference line.

In the end, the Italian women's liberation movement is in a floating situation. In general, the Italian women's movement is clearly and almost sharply divided. On one side there are those who maintain that feminist issues are at the center of the main line of the emancipation of the whole of humanity, while on the other side the discussion is political and ideological. They deny divisions of roles and discrimination of power, and they are particularly opposed to the Church and the moral and political oppression they perpetrate. They feel the consequences of the emancipation of the individual. The divergence comes to light when dealing with practical and methodological aspects, which depend on different analyses of Italian social reality. One current which does not lie in with socialist praxis is that of Salaria Al Lavoro Domiciato (Workers for Home-based Work). They say that they demand a salary for the unpaid housework they do for the greater part of capitalist society, acting as a lever on one of the greatest contradictions of capitalism. They seem not to realize the implied perpetuation of roles. They claim a complete emancipation for women through work at it were only by obtaining an 'independent' (how independent?) job outside the walls of "home sweet home" that a woman can count herself free. Another Marxist-feminist handicap among many. 

I don't think it's a shame to recognize that anarchist movements all over the world, in any other organization of revolutionaries, have always been male dominated. I don't blame anybody for that, though I think it's high time not to perpetuate the same pattern in our own group. In the last analysis, the problem which haunts women's emancipation with the anarchistic movement is essentially the same as the problem facing the Italian Left in its political intervention in it. After having discussed on several occasions with many comrades (women and men) on different levels about the need for the construction of a political defense of the world toward anarchist theories in general. I think it is still there, and I realize it's not the question of anything, but that the effective solution lies elsewhere, in the problem of culture and communication in the broadest sense.

Unfortunately, a lot of comrades are still convinced that propaganda is composed of newspapers, leaflets, posters, and some sporadic public speech, or great demonstrations in the streets. We can use these devices all right, but in a new form. First of all we must bear clearly in mind the quality of the message we want to communicate, and this must be varied according to the form or category or type of generation of people we are addressing. Most comrades, on the contrary, display an urgent need to say everything in every language and on the most visible, realizable result is nothing but a few oddities people don't listen to, or at best, they laugh at our dreaming.

I don't mean that the right way lies in the system of half-truths, which is a very dangerous and typical (of the Communists) aiming at gaining sympathy from the largest possible and not at the expense of ideological consistency. When people realize it, they feel as though there have been cheated and fall back into wild reaction. What I mean is to translate into sectorial terms the fundamental principles of anarchism without creating new political divisions. As anarchists we must admit that it is impossible to forecast the future of the social revolution, honestly, and tell the people: it will be or and so on. But our great strength lies in an infallible principle: the anti-authoritarian principle which can be applied to any social reality as well as to any individual person. The great difficulties are in how to use it. Many anarchist comrades talk of anti-authoritarianism while being quite authoritarian themselves, therefore the one more frequent way to think and to suppose.

The proper way of political intervention in society from an anarchist point of view, must be built more on facts than on words. For instance, when a woman is harassed by the police over an abortion, it is better to talk to her about the Spanish Revolution, anarchists in India, and Nester Maksimov, and then to address the address of a good doctor. Should we be proud of our theoretical planning for people's happiness in the new social order under which all women will make their own decisions? That's why we think of our brothers and sisters as mere objects, as things. We don't fight against the oppressors, but we fight against them. That's why we have no purpose. That's why we have no purpose.

In conclusion, the importance of the cultural and political context in which the process of women's emancipation takes place is clear. Women's liberation is not just a question of rights, but of creating new social relations, new forms of communication, new forms of self-organization. To define oneself as an anarchist and to write such stuff in anarchist papers displays such a tragic view of reality as much as absurdity. Moreover I think it's a good thing to talk about these issues or not at all.

Anyway, I really can't help laughing at such "darkened" minds which rival each other in the Roman "scene" in the defense of partisans, the defense of the women of society... Another fact of utter irony is that not only a young woman, but also a well-known Novara by these anarchists, I am not surprised! I am not surprised! A simple newspaper was replaced by a small group of anarchists. For me, the new reason was the issue of Nera Novara. As far as I am concerned the case needs no comment. See how the "Glorious" Italian Anarchist movement works.

Anna Maria V. can be contacted through Zero.
Gays Under Attack:

'Capital punishment for homosexuality—volunteers needed.' This message appeared on posters in Los Angeles following the successful campaign in June by Anita Bryant and Save Our Children inc. to dismantle gay rights legislation in Dade County, Florida. That same month in San Francisco, anti-gay propaganda culminated in a man being stabbed to death outside his home by four men shouting 'Faggot! Faggot!' The dead man's mother intends to sue Anita Bryant for stirring up hatred towards homosexuals and provoking the murder of her son. Since June an estimated 70,000 gays have demonstrated in the streets of major USA cities. In Los Angeles, 9,500 people marched down Hollywood Boulevard protesting against Bryant's presence in California. The marchers included heterosexuals and representatives of ethnic minorities. In response to Save Our Children's obsession with child molesters, some banners read 'Anita, WE are your children'. One group carried the banner 'Parents of gays join in the fight for your children's rights'. Although less lurid, Mary Whitehouse's anti-gay activities in this country...
Destination Point On A Never Ending Journey

George Woodcock, editor of the recently published *Anarchist Reader* looks at the resurgence of anarchism in the light of its formidable list of historical failures.

I suppose anyone who has a strong philosophic view of society—the kind of view that is loosely but rather incorrectly described as utopian—is always coming up against the modifications that real life forces one to make. There was a time—early in the 1930s—when it seemed possible to imagine that the kind of ideal society one dreamed of might come into being through some miraculous transformation, in the twinkling of an eye. The revolution would take place, the new dawn would arise, everything would be different. But now a new dawn has arisen: in Russia, in China, in Cuba, in Vietnam, in Cambodia, in Angola. The transformation of values has been proclaimed, and for a while it has seemed as though a new world was indeed in the making. And perhaps it was, but what kind of a world? We see, time and again, that the great symbolic act which all nineteen century socialists—the libertarian Proudhon as much as the authoritarian Marx—believed central to human liberation is carried out. The private ownership of the means of production is brought to an end; no individual any longer exploits the labour of another individual. But is exploitation ended? Is freedom achieved?

All too obviously it is not. Utopia—if what has been achieved can be called Utopia—is no better and perhaps a bit worse than the society it displaced, because it has narrowed down the options for dissent, for rebellion, even for the kind of effective action that is sometimes the only way to preserve a modicum of freedom when open defiance ceases to be possible. Individual exploitation ends but is replaced by collective exploitation in the hands of the party or the bureaucracy representing the state. Apart from that, all that has happened is that the political police have a different name (though they are often the same people) and new people tell us how we must be free while they enjoy those fruits of power which under self-ruling authoritarian regimes seem to be hardly less tempting than they are under right-wing autocracies.

It is all very well to say that as socialists we have known it all along, ever since Marx tried to glamorize a power structure on the First International, or since Trotsky and Lenin massacred the Kronstadt sailors who rebelled in favour of free soviets in 1921; ever since the Stalinists played their power games behind the Republican lines during the Spanish Civil War. The fact remains that, while the authoritarian socialists have by now achieved, in an alarming number of countries, at least one of their aims, the seizure of power (even if they have done surprisingly little with it), the libertarians, where they have striven dramatically, have merely produced dramatic failures.

Sixty years ago, on the eve of World War I, anarchists controlled the CGT, the great French trade union movement. As recently as forty years ago they headed the largest working class movement in Spain, the CNT. During the Spanish Civil War literally thousands of villages, inspired by wandering anarchist apostles, turned themselves into libertarian communes, sharing their work and their produce according to the free community teaching laid down by Peter Kropotkin in books like *The Conquest of Bread*. In Russia, between 1918 and 1921, large areas of the Ukraine were turned into libertarian communes by Nestor Makhno and his Insurrectionary Army which for long defied both Trotsky’s Red Army and the White Armies of the Tsarist generals. Even in Mexico the great movement of agrarian rebellion by the anarcho-syndicalist doctrines of Ricardo Flores Magón, who inspired his own libertarian uprising in Baja California. Even Gandhi, in India, read Kropotkin and Tolstoy and called himself an anarchist, devising an elaborate plan of a decentralized agrarian society in which the role of the state would become quickly superfluous owing to the development of a federated network of self-governing village communes.

All that promise, let us admit, in spite of those who would prefer a rose-tinted version of anarchist history, was negated. The French CGT was taken over by the Communists after World War I; the Spanish agricultural communes and the CNT were destroyed with Franco’s victory; Makhno was defeated and died in exile; Zapata was murdered by people who pretended to be his allies and his movement became merely the legend of a lost leader who would return or a white horse; and we have all seen in recent months how little Gandhi’s teachings of a pactifi, decentralized society mean in an India that is now a nuclear power.

And yet, with all this record of magnificent failure, of victories lost, of movements aborted, of promises frustrated, the idea, the set of mind we call anarchism has shown an amazing power of recuperation. Three years ago the anarchist following had shrunk to the lowest of decadent movements a few thousand Austrian and Spanish refugees meeting hopefully to celebrate the party, some miniscule groups of noble idealists running little papers in countries uncognizable by the dictators, and a tiny group of writers and intellectuals, like Herbert Read and Alan Comyn, Paul Goodman and Kenneth Rexroth, to name the best-known, who found anarchism the only political doctrine that seemed in any way compatible with the free life of the artist. To call oneself an anarchist in the 1940s was almost like belonging to an exclusive secret society so few were one’s associates likely to be.

In the sixties all that changed. A vast increase of interest in anarchist and libertarian doctrines generally among people—young people especially—who knew very little of the history of the movement, Historical books on the tradition like my own *Anarchism* and James Joll’s *The Anarchists*, were written; the classic writings of Kropotkin and Proudhon and Goldman were reprinted; many of the central anarchist doctrines re-emerged among the ideas of the New Left, particularly de-centralism and participatory democracy.

What was it in anarchism that gave it such power to survive dramatic failures and to emerge in a later generation with such freshness and vitality? Since the anarchists had shown themselves so much less capable of creating and manipulating mass organizations than the Nazis, what was it in their teachings and their style that made the anarchist idea, if not the historic anarchist movement, suddenly so attractive to large numbers of people who had never heard of it before?

What message may the idea have for our time? And how can that message be brought to bear on the world we live in?

Clearly there are many arguments and proposals of
the anarchists, as of other types of open thinkers, that have been roaming the pages of this book in the past few years. It will be seen that the anarchists and libertarians retain their value despite their rough edges, even because they have failed to give the kind of special protection to the individual which he needs in order to develop his full potential. In this way, as Godwin and Proudhon pointed out in their work, the individual always comes first. And because of this, the political anarchy of the individual does not necessarily lead to the dissolution of society. For society is not a mere sum of individuals, but a living whole, in which the individual is only one part. The anarchist, therefore, sees society not as a collection of individuals, each living for himself, but as a unity of individuals, each living for the whole.
Against Our Will, Men, Women and Rape. By Susan Brownmiller. (PenguinBooks 95p.)

Susan Brownmiller has so thoroughly researched this topic as to be a truly terrifying reality. "The inflammatory nature of the subject, rape, demands careful attention, as well as accurate and adequate research." Brownmiller's book is an important contribution to the growing body of knowledge on this issue.

The book succeeds in making the reader aware of the gross underreporting of rape, which is a major reason why so little has been done to address the problem. The author's argument is based on a thorough examination of the evidence, which includes interviews with survivors and analyses of police and hospital records.

Brownmiller's main points are: 1) The legal system is complicit in the underreporting of rape because it is biased against women. 2) The criminal justice system is also biased against women when it comes to rape cases. 3) The medical establishment also helps to perpetuate the underreporting of rape.

The book is incredibly well-researched and well-written, and it should be required reading for anyone interested in this issue. It is a powerful and persuasive argument that the problem of rape is much worse than we have been led to believe, and that it is time for a major change in the way we think about and tackle this problem.
Zero

Feminism and the Italian Left: "... anarchist women must start facing their problems seriously in their own ways..."