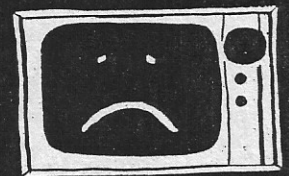
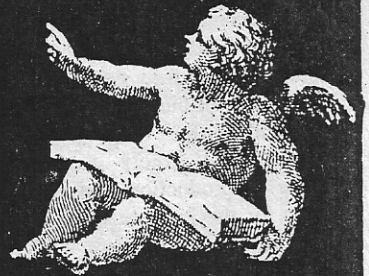
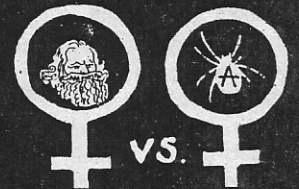




SEKHMET

ISSUE 6

MAGAZINE OF ANARCHA-FEMINIST FEDERATION OF AOTEAROA





SEKHMET

ANARCHA-FEMINIST FEDERATION OF AOTEAROA

The name of our zine *Sekhmet*, is taken from Egyptian theology. *Sekhmet* being the Egyptian war goddess. *Sekhmet* is run as a collective and does not necessarily reflect the views of the collective.

We are keen to receive any articles/letters people would like to contribute. If you would like to receive *Sekhmet* regularly then you can make out a cheque to A.F.F.A for \$10 and send it to the *Katipo Collective*. This will mean that you will get four issues of the magazine.

An *Anarcha Feminist* - is a feminist who uses anarchist practice and theory - or an anarchist that concentrates on feminism - to achieve equality.

Anarchism - anarchists want to bring about a free, stateless, classless and equalitarian society. Anarchism is the political that advocates that society should be organised without constituted authority, without government or rulers. it does not mean chaos, disorder, bombs, murder, and robbery. That's what Government is all about. Nor does it mean a return to the Stone Age. Anarchists seek a form of social life in which nobody is in a position to oppress or exploit any one else, and in which all means to achieve maximum material and intellectual development are available to everyone equally. Order in such a society being obtained by free agreements concluded between various individuals, groups and organisations, geographical and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilised human being.



Feminism - feminists work towards a society in which both sexes are equal. Feminism means fighting for women to be seen as individuals and not some stereotype object, breaking from subservient conditioning as well as many other issues that go along with being a woman.

Peggy Kavanagh: "In actual practice within the Women's Movement, Feminists have had both success and failure in abolishing hierarchy and domination. I believe that women frequently speak and act as 'intuitive' anarchists, that is, we approach, or verge on, a complete denial of all patriarchal thought and organisation. That approach, however, is blocked by the powerful and insidious forms which patriarchy takes - in our minds and in our relationships with one another. Living within and being conditioned by an authoritarian society, often prevents us from making that all important connection between feminism and anarchism. When we say we are fighting the patriarchy, it isn't always clear to all of us that, that means fighting all leadership, all hierarchy, all government, and the very idea of authority itself. Our impulses towards collective work and small leaderless groups have been anarchistic, but in most cases we haven't called them by that name. And that is important, because an understanding of anarchism as anarchism could spring women out of reformism and stop gap measures into a revolutionary confrontation with the basic nature of authoritarian politics.

If we want to 'bring down the patriarchy', we need to talk about anarchism, to know exactly what that means, and to use that framework to transform ourselves and the structure of our daily lives. Feminism doesn't mean female corporate power or a woman president; it means no corporate power and no presidents. The Equal Rights Amendment will not transform society; it only gives women the 'right' to plug into a hierarchical economy. Challenging sexism means challenging all hierarchy - economic, political, and personal. And that means an anarchist feminist revolution.

As anarchists we are aligned to the Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa and the aims and objectives of the alliance. It is not intended as a set of rules but merely a way of safeguarding the @@@ from groups who may claim to be affiliates, without holding an anarchist line of thought, particularly from groups who may wish to discredit the anarchist movement (be they from the left or right wing).

1. To achieve a society free from oppression and inequality resulting from hierarchical structures, including hierarchical religion and its superstitious support.
2. We oppose the State in all its forms, because there is nothing that co-operative individuals can not do for themselves.
3. We oppose discrimination on any grounds be it race, sex, sexual orientation, age etc.
4. We support other groups and individuals in other areas with similar views.
5. To create a world safe for the full realisation of human potential with respect for the environment and fellow creatures.

Humanity will never be free until we liberate ourselves by global social revolution

Affiliated Groups

Anarcha-feminist Federation
Katipo Collective
c/o Anarchy Organisation
P.O Box 14-156
Kilbirnie
Wellington

Random Trollops
c/o Books from the Black Lagoon
5 College Hill
Ponsonby
Auckland

Both groups also have a theatre side to them so it is best when writing to them to mention whether you are addressing the political or theatre part of the group.

Other Affiliated Groups
Committee for the Establishment of
Civilisation,
c/o Anarchy Organisation
P.O Box 14-156
Kilbirnie
Wellington

Auckland Section of Anarchist Alliance,
P.O Box 78-104
Grey Lynn
Auckland

Books from the Black Lagoon
5 College Hill
Ponsonby
Auckland

S'Anarchy
P.O Box 7100
Wanganui



IF THE USE OF 'GRRRL' IS STILL SEEN TO IMPLY 'YOUTH', IT MIGHT JUST BE THAT THIS PARTICULAR MANIFESTATION OF FEMINIST ACTION WAS INSTIGATED BY YOUNG PEOPLE, NOT OLDER, INTELLECTUAL FEMINISTS WITH LITERARY CAREERS

"BOP GIRL"

It's a Rock'n Roll RIOT!



THE GIRLS MIGHT HAVE THE LOOKS AND THE ATTITUDE, THE WOMEN HAVE THE ADVANTAGE IN TERMS OF EXPERIENCE, MONEY AND POWER.

In the U.S and Europe a movement has begun. A movement of young women with their own brand of feminism, who are challenging sexism in the music world. They call themselves RIOT GRRRLS.

They are making it known that women can rock too. Riot Grrrls have reclaimed the word "girl" as one of the few positive words to describe the female that doesn't define her as being attached to a man, eg "wife", "girl-friend", "whore".

Riot Grrrl began in the U.S. D.I.Y (Do It Yourself) punk scene and has inspired women in England and Europe.

Riot Grrrl is very similar to Anarcha-feminism as it is in New Zealand except more music oriented. They are women who have added feminism to their already radical politics and lifestyle.

"...even though we were trying to escape the culture of our parents, the message of our education and the reality of our whole fucken society, the music world we'd chosen to live and work in, was letting us down, it was corrupt and male dominated... imagine, your safe place is not safe."

The horror of discovering oppression so close to home, "oppression that could not be blamed wholly on THEM, ie the government, police, fascists, capitalists, or whatever", was what spurred women into action.

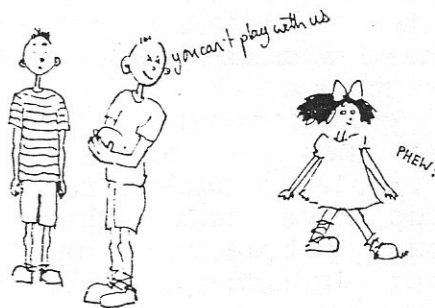
Riot Grrrl actions such as holding large meetings to teach & encourage other girls to produce their own zines, start their own bands and make their voices heard, lead to the beginning of a new subculture, where feminism could be accessible to young, working class (not necessarily university educated) women.

Bands like Bikini Kill and Huggy Bear have helped make Riot Grrrl popular. Along with women friendly bands, came of course, women friendly lyrics and women friendly gigs. This means "no contact slamming". No contact slamming is

becoming common practise in the States and in much of England. The crowd is responsible for making sure there are no macho lads stomping on people and forcing women out of the pit. If the crowd doesn't do this (crowd control is the job of the crowd, not of hired thugs (police or bouncers), sounds like anarchy in action to me) the band will simply stop playing. Yay. About time there was equality in the slam pit!

Riot Grrrl is brashly claiming its own place in the music world, in feminism, in the media and in popular culture.

So many women are producing zines that a Riot Grrrl press based in Washington has sprung up to distribute zines internationally.



The style of feminist writing published in Riot Grrrl zines is at once rebellious, independent, thoughtful, unashamed and fucken cool. Here's a taste:

"Next time a bloke feels your arse, patronizes you, slags off your body - generally treats you like shit - forget the moral highground, forget he's been instilled with patriarchy and is a victim too, forget rationale and debate.

Just Deck The Bastard."

Riot Grrrl Press
c/- Riot Grrrl
P.O. Box 11002,
Washington dc 20008-0202,
U.S.A.

- Billie Clayton.



IT IS WORTH CONSIDERING THAT WHEREAS ROCK MUSIC IS AGEIST TOWARDS WOMEN,

Dear Sekhmet

Have you ever sat with a male friend and listened to him discuss how "feminist" they are, and how "domineering" other men are? Have you ever then noticed that tiny voice inside you say "something is fishy here and it's not him"! I am becoming increasingly aware that the most aggressively argumentative men I talk to are those who think they are the most "feminist", they know all the catch phrases and sometimes they know more facts and figures than me and they throw these in my face and call me "man hater" or say I'm "generalising" because they are "not like that", but then I watch and listen and, OK so they don't put women down as much as a really sexist man, but they still subtly treat the women around them as not-as-important-as-men.

I have a theory and it goes like this:

Some men - maybe in a particular sub-culture or group have heard the spiel about patriarchy and all that, and they admit that yes, men, via patriarchy, have fucked over women for centuries (but not them personally). Some of these men genuinely try to change themselves and their beliefs, others think that if they say they believe "all that crap" they'll get laid because women want sensitive men (didn't you know), and other men are just sheep and follow the flock because it's "in" to be "feminist".

The problem is, most of these men have only taken step one - that is, they have only stopped their blatant sexist ways and not even touched the deeper meanings underlying the movement. This is why, when a woman starts talking about deeper issues - such as

rape, body image, the rights of your body or division of child rearing labour, among other things - when these topics come up, men get really defensive and aggressive. Louise Hay points out in her book "You Can Heal Your Life", that when you feel the most resistance to an idea or something you are told, that is an area in your life that most needs change.

How many male friends still find it necessary to comment on my body; how many angrily tell me "don't blame me for the time you were raped (or your fear of rape/attack), I wouldn't do that", but still push partners into unwanted sex/sexual acts; how often do they ever feel obliged to comment that a mate is being sexist at the pub, or stop a mate abusing their girlfriend; if you're in a relationship with a male, do you think they pull their own weight emotionally? Do they do housework without a murmur? Do they serve you dinner before piling their own plate high?

It's easy to tell a blatantly sexist man what he is, but just try to tell a "feminist" male that they are sexist! You'll get the whole range of defensive angry catch-nets that are designed to make you feel like you're the sexist, aggressive one who's been oppressing the poor male for decades!, and you'll find yourself rushing to apologise for your "mistake" rather than the guilt wracked selfish male accepting his true colours!

This male attitude is just another backlash designed to keep us from telling how we think and feel and are. I call it Subtle Sexism and I don't think I'm generalising, or a man hater, or any of the other things I'll be labelled. I know one or two

LETTER



men are genuine, but I don't know enough of them to cover one hand. I would like to hear other women's comments but I don't trust mens reactions anymore, I'm sick of hearing them say "Society made me this way", it's not good enough. They know that belief is wrong, they should just change! Acknowledgement is 3/4 of the journey, are they too lazy to take another step? Well, don't tell me about it, because sexist "feminist" men just make me mad!

Sandi

Dear Sekhmet,

Hows it going.

Everyone from Palmy sends a huge thanks to you guys, we had a great time, very productive!

There are lots of ideas kicking around up here - keep you posted on what happens - possibly a display of some sort in the square soon.

We're setting up an Anarch-Fem group too, so I'll keep in touch about that.

Lots of love, Anthea

Dear Sekhmet,

Post-Anarchist Feminist Conference and heaps seems to be happening. The Random Trollops (Auckland Anarchist Feminist performance troupe) are still performing at various events around Auckland, rumours have it they may be touring the country! The last performance I was involved in was for the Hero Parade down Queen Street where a herd of Trollops who were dressed as

cows(?) pulled a chariot full of snogging matriarchs(?!). After a few drops of sweet cider (to break down socially constructed inhibitions) the chariot was off to a flying start. Madame Meyt (the bondage queen) was exciting the chariot's 6 foot high vulva while the parade's spectators were receiving vigorous lickings from the, might I say, volumptuous cows.

Following that well received performance the Trollops did another at a gig venue, unfortunately I moved to Wellington before this happened but I've heard it went well - particularly the maiming of Rachel Hunter act.

Anyway, Kathy (spaz), Johanna and I are keen to get some Anarchist Feminist Performance Stuff started here in Wellington going under the name of THE HAGS. We already have some plans for street-theatre which should have happened by the time Sekhmet 5 is 'on the streets'. Anyone interested contact

Valkerie Val
19 Millward Street
Newtown, Wellington

Ph. 389 1231

RAPE'S GOT FUCK-ALL TO DO WITH SEX - IT'S ALL ABOUT MALE DOMINATION AND VIOLENCE!



A Look At Mass Media

Change. There are many things in society that need changing. But for this to happen people need to be informed of what is wrong and what needs to be done. It is often said that those with something to lose (big business etc.) control the media. But this control can be a lot stronger than many people believe. Things can be distorted, misrepresented, be given disproportionate publicity, trivialised, ridiculed, or simply ignored depending on what will work best.

In the book **Manufacturing Consent** (which has also been made into a film) by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky they have this to say about the working of the media. "In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship makes it clear that the media serves the ends of a dominant elite. It is much more difficult to see a propaganda system where the media are private and formal censorship is absent. This is especially true where the media actively compete, periodically attack and expose corporate and governmental malfeasance, and aggressively portray themselves as a spokesperson for free speech and the general community interest. What is not evident (and remains undiscussed in the media) is the limited nature of such critiques, as well as the huge inequality in command of resources, and its effect both on access to a private media system and on its' behaviour and performance.

A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalise dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their message across to the public. The essential ingredients of our propaganda model, or set of news 'filters', fall under the following headings: 1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms. 2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media 3) the reliance of media on information provided by government, business and 'experts' funded by the primary sources and agents of power. 4) 'flak' as a means of disciplining the media and 5) 'anticommunism' as a national religion and control mechanism. These elements interact with and reinforce one another. The raw material of news must pass through successive filters leaving only the cleansed residue left to print. They fix the premises of discourse and interpretation, and the definition of what is newsworthy in the first place, and they explain the aims and operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns".

Going back to what I was saying earlier about the way the media portray things, here are some examples of the media at work:

The New Zealand Anti Vivisection Society' (N.Z.A.V.S.) has been victim of chronic suppression in the media. Everything they do is

either ignored or edited so that the main points that are put across (such as the scientific argument against vivisection) are deleted or they are merely described as an 'animal rights' group. N.Z.A.V.S. now consider it an accepted fact that marches through Wellington city centre of 400 to 500 people will not get any coverage. On 'World Day for Laboratory Animals' (W.D.L.A.) April 24, 1992 approximately 400 people condemning General Motors for crash testing their vehicles on animals, marched to the firm in a strong and visually effective demonstration. This did not receive a mention in the media, but instead a full-page advert for the General Motors dealership appeared. Was this merely a very strange coincidence or a case of a newspaper editor taking the hint from the advertiser? The previous years march to Parliament had also been filmed but was not screened.



Bette Overell at front of march on W.D.L.A 1987

Bette Overell remarks in her book **Animal Research Takes Lives - humans and animals both suffer** that "In this situation where blatant censorship against anti-vivisectionists is an unpalatable but accepted fact the news is not only suppressed but contrived. For example those curious or concerned about vivisection are inveigled by its profiteers to make their assessment of its worth, or worthlessness, from the growing number of articles in glossy magazines which are the result of interviews between animal experimenters and willing journalists, who, if they wish to get their work published must believe without question, and certainly without a hint of challenge". Bette Overell also remarks in **Mobilise** (the magazine of N.Z.A.V.S.) "In 1990 across the length and breadth of N.Z. newspapers heralded the state / chemi. / medi. / vivisection booklet **Animal Research Saves Lives - humans and animals both benefit** as if it were the coming of the Messiah. Under bold headlines news of A.R.S.L. appeared duly embellished, and in several major editorials. Frightening that when a well sourced rebuttal falls from heaven the papers become coy. An interview between your editor and newspaper reporter of a leading Wellington daily on the subject of N.Z.A.V.S. World Day for Laboratory Animals book launch of **Animal Research Takes Lives** was within five minutes of being organised, cancelled by an embarrassed and apologetic reporter who said she had been instructed by her superior not to do the interview as the paper is 'not in the business of publicising books.'"

Another thing the media can do to discredit groups or movements is to make slogans or caricatures of the people involved to avoid the real issues. This can be done for political reasons (ie. towing the police or State's line on an issue) or simply to make more dramatic reading. Examples of this is the reporting during the 1981 Spring Bok tour of

the then - Prime Minister Muldoon passing on a list to the S.I.S. of people 'suspected' of hijacking the 'No Tour' movement to try to destabilise the government creating an atmosphere of suspicion, and the mass over-exaggeration by an Auckland daily paper (now ceased publishing) of a demonstration by the Auckland Unemployed Workers Rights Centre in 1991. A stand off with the police and the occupation of the National Party's Auckland office was condemned in the editorial as a 'riot'. Dramatic stuff to sell papers but clearly not true. Other media had Described A.U.W.R.C. as 'rent a mob' and 'rent a riot'. The allegation that some people within the unemployed movement were somehow professional protesters was limited to issues of solely unemployment, as some people had been involved in other demonstrations eg. anti gulf war it was implied that either they were paid protesters or that they protested for the 'fun of it'. As if people should only care about one particular issue. Another well known caricature is 'the ugly feminist' which was used to dog the women's movement, and it was pretty effective at it.

A recent article I read in **Profane Existence** (an anarcho-punk paper from the States) written by a Serbian in Croatia talked about blatant lies regarding the situation there. He writes about "an Italian TV station had the statement of a Serbian soldier captured by Muslims. He said 'I was drafted six months ago. I had to obey, those were the orders'. But the translation to Italian was 'I raped six women. I had to obey, those were the orders'. The article also mentioned a German TV speaker claimed that Serbs were raping Moslem women in Zenica (a town in Bosnia) even though since the war began Zenica has been held by the Croats! On the other hand Yugoslav media claim that 40,000 serbs in Zenica are being held captive and systematically tortured by Croats. A lie again. A woman friend of mine is from Zenica and her parents are still there and they are not imprisoned but they have to pledge allegiance to Croats authorities, dare not walk the streets in the afternoon (if they got killed nobody would get excited) and leaving home at night is prohibited".

Events placed out of sequence can tell a very different story. During the 1984/85 coalminers strike in Britain the BBC news showed footage of coalminers throwing rocks at the police on horseback, which was followed by the mounted police charging at the miners. This gave the impression of an unprovoked attack on the police. The event occurred in the late afternoon. Yet in the first sequence the sky was dark, but in the footage of the police charging the sky was light, indicating that the event occurred in the opposite order and the coalminers had only thrown rocks in retaliation to a police attack. A very embarrassed BBC claimed that the footage had 'accidentally' been shown in the wrong sequence. A similar thing happened with the footage of the Poll Tax Riot. A police car was shown getting attacked but what was left out was the previous event of the car driving at about 40km/hr at a group of standing people. So what really happened was the car had been attacked to stop it hitting them!

The previous examples have shown how the media can manipulate events and information. By doing this the media can dictate people's views on certain topics. But it is not just the news which can have effect on people's views or lives. People's opinions of reality can also be shaped by what is presented. A good example of this is the way women have changed the way they have lived their lives, with the changing barrage the media has directed at them. What was acceptable practice or

ambitions for a woman in society changed mainly as advertising and government needed them to perform different roles.

In the *Beauty Myth* by Naomi Wolf she says "The magazines, other writers have shown, reflect shifts on women's status: Victorian magazines 'catered to a female sex virtually in domestic bondage', but with World War I and women's participation in it, they 'quickly developed a commensurate degree of social awareness'. When the male work force came back from the trenches, the magazines returned to the home. Again in the 1940's they glamorised the world of war - production paid work and war effort volunteer work. 'The press cooperated,' writes John Costello in *Love, Sex and War, 1939-1945*, when 'the War Manpower Commission turned to ... Madison Avenue to boost its national campaign to attract first time women workers.' Glamour he claims was a main tool in the enlistment campaign. When the men were demobilised, Western economies faced a crisis. In the United States, the government needed to 'counter fears that American soldiers would return to an employment market saturated by women'. To its dismay, the Man Power Commission realised that they had been wrong in their hopes that they could exploit women's labour as stopgap: 'Behind the scenes, male dominated bureaucracies were casting post war plans on the assumption that most women would meekly return to their ageless mission as wives and mothers. But they were wrong': In fact, 61% to 85% of women, a 1944 survey found, 'certainly did not want to go back to housework after the war.' What the Commission saw in the decided response from working women was the threat of returned veterans thrown out of work in favour of lower paid female workers, which would lead to political unrest, even a repeat of the Depression. The year after the war ended, the magazines swung again - more exaggeratedly than before - back into domesticity, and three million American and one million British women were fired or quit their jobs.

Mummy, what's a daddy for?



Though many writers have pointed out that women's magazines reflect historical change, fewer examine how part of their job is to determine historical change as well. Editors do their job well by reading *Zeitgeist*: editors of women's magazines (and increasingly mainstream media as well) must be alert to what social roles are demanded of women to serve the interests of those who sponsor their publication. Women's magazines for over a century have been one of the powerful agents for changing women's roles ... In the 1950's advertising revenues soared, shifting the balance between editorial and advertising departments. Women's magazines became of interest to 'the companies that, with the war about to end, were

going to make consumer sales into the place of war contracts'. The main advertisers in the women's magazines responsible for the *Feminine Mystique* were seeking to sell household products." Naomi Wolf's research is also another example of what Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky said about advertising being one of the filters of information.

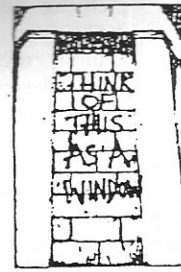
Betty Freidan backs up what Naomi Wolf has to say in her book *Feminine Mystique* published in 1973. "In 1939, the heroines of women's magazine stories were not always young, but in a certain sense they were younger than their fictional counterparts today. They were young in the same way that the American hero has been young: they were New Women, creating with a gay determined spirit a new identity for women - a life of her own... The majority of heroines in the four major women's magazines, (then *Ladies Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Women's Home Companion*) were career women - happily, proudly, adventurously, attractively career women... The transformation in the pages of the women's magazines, was sharply visible in 1949 and progressive through the fifties... By the end of 1949, only one out of three heroines in the women's magazines was a career woman - and she was shown in the act of renouncing her career and discovering what she really wanted to be was a housewife".

Media therefore can make a big impact on the way people live their lives. The media in general tends to put forward a rather conservative point of view, partly because they are aiming for what they think the majority of people do and are interested in. Recently there was an article in the *NZ Herald*, February 9, 1994 which read "A kiss is not a kiss not when it involves Rosanne Arnold and Mariel Hemingway. The American Broadcasting Company will not transmit an episode of Arnold's sitcom 'Roseanne' because it shows the two women exchanging a kiss in a gay bar. The episode was to go to air on March 1, said Tom Arnold, Roseanne's husband. Arnold said that, senior vice president of ABC said the scene 'is not the lifestyle that most people lead.' In the episode Roseanne goes to the bar with bisexual friend Nancy." Of course the explanation given for not showing that episode of Roseanne won't be the only reason. For whatever reason though people are generally kept ignorant of lifestyles and opinions that are different from the 'norm'. Apart from ignorance breeding prejudice it would be easy to mistake what we read and see on t.v. as reality. Anything challenging that view of reality and the interests involved in maintaining it would be difficult to find out about.

Naomi Wolf says "If we are to free ourselves from the deadweight that has once again been made out of femaleness it is not ballots or lobbyists or placards that women will need first, it is a new way to see." We need to extend this new way of seeing to all aspects of our lives. The media is just one way we are blinded.

"Situationists characterise our culture as a SPECTACLE. The Spectacle treats us all as passive spectators of what we are told are our lives. And the culture-as-spectacle covers everything: we are born into it, work and relax in it, the rebellion is often defined by the spectacle. Would anyone care to estimate the number of sensitive, alienated adolescent males who a generation ago modelled their behaviour on James Dean in 'Rebel Without a Cause'? I'm talking about a movie whose capitalist producers and who's star made a great deal of money from this Spectacular. Rebellious acts then tend to be acts of opposition to the

spectacle, but seldom are so different that they transcend the spectacle" Carol Ehrlich.



Every day through schools, newspapers and television, power reaffirms its perspective. It is difficult to see daily life from any other perspective because all our reference points have been given to us by power.

Grassroots and public interest organisations need to recognise and avail themselves of independent media, local non profit radio and newspapers also provide an opportunity for direct media. In the long run, a democratic political order requires a far wider control of and access to the media. Serious discussion of how this can be done, should be high on progressive agendas.

"The organisation and self education of groups in the community and workplace, and their networking and activism, continue to be the fundamental elements in steps towards the democratisation of our social life and any meaningful social change"
Manufacturing Consent

Anarchist magazines are traded among groups around the world, therefore keeping in touch with grass-roots struggles in other countries which otherwise we would never hear about. From the information received solidarity protests are often carried out worldwide. An example is when Anarchists and Revolutionary Syndicalists from Nigeria's 'Awareness League' were arrested last year during a wave of worker and student unrest protesting IMF/World Bank planned austerity plans; and were detained under the notorious 'Decree #2 (a catch-all 'preventative detention' law). A worldwide campaign for the Awareness League was organised with a week of protest at Nigerian Embassies with confirmations of actions by anarchists in Moscow, Rio de Janeiro, Dublin, NYC, London, Berlin and Hamburg. Anarchists were also ready to demonstrate in countries like Bulgaria and Norway but they lacked Nigerian targets. Petitions and protest letters have been received from Argentina, Japan, Turkey, South Korea, Russia, Italy, Brazil, Canada, Estonia, India, Norway, Ireland, Holland, Spain, Poland, the U.S., South Africa and the U.K. with money also sent for legal fees.

I feel there needs to be more of a crossover of information between different movements especially within countries so we can back each other up in Struggles going on, as well as helping strengthen our own media and information exchanges.

By Lyn

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Women and the Spectacle by Carol Ehrlich

Working for equality and justice

BY JEREMY ROSE

WHEN Eileen Cassidy was 12 her brother brought home a book on the history of Ireland "from an Irish perspective" that was to begin a commitment to working for "justice and equality" that has spanned more than half a century.

Next month Cassidy leaves New Zealand on a journey that will take her to Palestine/Israel, Eritrea and Yemen. When she returns later in the year we can be sure she will let the whole country know what they can do to help the people of those embattled lands rebuild their countries.

A strong internationalist streak in Cassidy has seen her pour huge amounts of energy over the years into trying to mobilise New Zealand support for those suffering oppression around the globe. The Spanish Civil War was another watershed in Cassidy's politicisation.

In a recent letter, prominent American dissident Noam Chomsky comments on their shared experience of becoming politically aware through the battle against fascism in Spain. Chomsky and Cassidy also share an admiration for the vision and courage of the Spanish Anarchists. (Another letter from Chomsky reveals he hopes to visit Australia and New Zealand during the middle of next year.)

Cassidy's interest in anarchism has been revived recently and she plans to spend a couple of months

helping out at an anarchist bookshop in Sydney before returning to New Zealand.

But she says she's never been one for "ists or isms". For Cassidy it has always come down to a desire for justice and equality.

She says she feels cynical when she hears politicians talk about "law and order".

"From the age of 13 I would have substituted 'justice' for 'law' and for 'order' I would have substituted 'equality.' Most politicians, Cassidy says, are working for neither justice nor equality—these things "would make this world a pleasant place for everyone not just for the few".

Cassidy was active in the labour movement in New Zealand from the 1930s and for a time worked in the office of Labour deputy prime minister Walter Nash. In between raising a son and a daughter Cassidy also managed to work in a number of government departments and major corporations.

When Cassidy was in her 50s she went back to school passing UE before going on to university where she completed a BA in English and History, which enabled her to fulfil a childhood ambition of becoming a school teacher. The closure of the training colleges in the 30s had made it impossible for her to train.

It was while she was studying up on the Israel/Palestine conflict for the secondary school syllabus that she first became interested in the



Eileen Cassidy: worldwide unity of ordinary people is vital.

plight of the Palestinians.

Up until then Cassidy's views on the conflict were limited to a feeling of anger towards the British for turning away Jewish refugees fleeing European antisemitism.

In 1985 she spent nine months teaching English in the Palestinian village of Kafr Kanna near Nazareth, and was able to see some of the realities of Palestinian life under Israeli rule. A son of one of the families she stayed with was arrested for allegedly telling other Palestinians to raise the Palestinian flag during a protest about land rights.

She says despite the West, America and England in particular, being responsible for dispossessing many Palestinians there was a

surprising lack of animosity towards Westerners or for that matter the Jewish people.

During her time working with Palestinians she was introduced to a group of doctors running a Palestinian health project in the occupied territories.

Since her return to New Zealand Cassidy has been instrumental in organising fundraising events that have seen tens of thousands of dollars sent to Palestinian women's health groups in the occupied territories.

The health organisation now employs 800 health workers and could conceivably form the nucleus of a national health service in an independent Palestine.

Before going to Kafr Kanna Cassidy had spent three weeks travelling in Eritrea which was in the midst of a long struggle for independence from Ethiopia. Once again she made contact with women's groups and publicised their plight on her return to New Zealand.

This will be Cassidy's third trip back to the region since she first visited in 1985. One trip was partly funded by money left to Cassidy from a woman who heard her speak on National Radio.

Cassidy believes the most important thing is that ordinary people world wide are united. She was pleased to see New Zealanders giving generously to help the people of Sydney deal with the devastation of the recent bush fires.

• Wellington Palestine Group, Box 642, Wellington.

BOOKS FROM THE BLACK LAGOON

Quiet Rumours - \$5.70 + \$1 postage

Quiet Rumours brings together some of the key writings by anarcho-feminists from the early '70's. The various writers illustrate the clear parallels existing between a lot of feminists who practice non-hierarchical, anti authoritarian and decentralist behaviour and the theories of anarchism. It includes:

1. Anarcho-Feminism: Two statements, Chicago Anarcho-feminists and Black Rose Anarcho-Feminists.
2. Feminism as Anarchism, by Lynne Farrow
3. Anarchism: The Feminist Connection, by Peggy Kornegger
4. Voltarine De Cleve: an introduction by Marian Leighton
5. The making of an anarchist, by Voltarine De Cleve
6. Socialism, Anarchism, and Feminism by Carol Ehrlich

Anarchism and Feminism - \$2 + \$1 postage

Three Essays by Kytha Kurin, Zero Collective and Peggy Kornegger (same article by Peggy Kornegger as in Quiet Rumours).

Mujeres Libres - \$1.50 + \$1 postage

Mujeres Libres (Free Women) was founded by women who were activists within the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement. Between 1936 and Feb. 1939 they built an organisation which claimed over 27,000 women, in 147 groups throughout Republican Spain. This booklet is about these women and how they went about changing the situation for women in Spain.

What is Anarcho-Syndicalism - 50c + 45c postage

This is booklet is a brief introductory to anarcho-syndicalism by the Direct Action Movement.

Introduction to My Disillusionment in Russia - 60c + 45c postage

Written by Emma Goldman a prominent anarchist who was deported to Russia (her birthplace) in 1920 from the United States. This is Emma's testimony of what she found when she got to Russia during the take-over of Lenin. A true and little known account of the Russian Revolution.

About Anarchism - \$2 + \$1 postage

A brilliant introduction to anarchism written in 1969 by Nicholas Walter. One annoying aspect of this booklet though is the dated language (male centered) of the time. Worth getting!

Send orders to Books From The Black Lagoon, 5 College Hill, Ponsonby, Auckland

Reflections on the Conference

Having been part of the conference organising and planning, I had imaginings for months of how it would turn out. I had expectations of how the week-end would run and things I hoped we'd achieve. Living in Wellington, one is often in this position.

Together, many womyn had input and over many months plans emerged and changed and finally became imminent. Organising a conference has many aspects to it; finding a date, venue, workshops, food, transport and all the other little details like money to post information to people around the country. My thoughts on the conference for the purpose of this blurb focus on the issue of workshops.

Planning workshops is often a difficult task, as we hope that people will come forward with great ideas, keen to facilitate and fill in the gaps in our timetable. It's hard not because we don't have the people or the ideas, but because we are the ones doing it, for ourselves. We in the movement are the ideas. People have the ideas, but perhaps do not feel organised or confident enough to facilitate/lead a discussion. The movement needs to keep encouraging people to jump up and do it, as what we find in our discussions is our common experiences and feelings about living within the patriarchy. This is an arena where we decide for ourselves, what life is to be about - the means, processes, changes and the creation of as much as we can. This year we felt that because we were organising practical details that others around the country could help be responsible for workshops. There wasn't much response (which is normal) so we tried to confirm what we did have and said let's have lots of facilitators at workshops instead.

What has happened in the past is that you get caught up trying to organise as many different and relevant workshops that you forget to prioritise anarchism and anarcho-feminism. For this conference we gave it a whole day, but we didn't explore it as deeply as I would've liked. More like trying to defend A-F against Marxists than an open arena for discussion, especially people new to these ideas. Debate with others from different political planets is fine sometimes, but conferences are for those 'for' something aren't they?

To me, conferences are about two often conflicting ideals. On one hand we want to get together and talk about anarchist and feminist theories/ideas;

directions of the movement, etc. On the other hand, people are in holiday mode (especially in Levin!), tired, relaxing and don't want to sit around being serious. In between there is the exploring and sharing other areas of common interest, which happens either in related workshops or informally while lounging around. All is important and there should be a way to co-ordinate all desires.

Personally, I want to see more happening at conferences; back to basics if you like. The effort involved is enormous and it sometimes seems as if we're not taking ourselves seriously, skirting around the edges a bit. Maybe those who want to get involved in particular things, just get on with it, everyone taking responsibility for what they want. The role of co-ordination often comes reluctantly and it's time-consuming spending precious time trying to fill the day's timetable. While everyone needn't attend all workshops, some more ideas of what sort of things people want to do would be great, at the planning stages, please.

I had some interesting discussions after the conference which pointed to the different priorities people had and raised some interesting questions about anarchist (and feminist) organisation. For example, how much structure do we want or need; do we want to answer big questions (ask big questions!) or do we want to do our own thing; spontaneous activities? A bit of both ideally. So, what do people want from conferences? - organisers need ideas. Some said they went away somewhat unchallenged, others had a relaxing and inspired time and others, like myself, felt it was worthwhile but felt frustrated that it often took a while to get 'down to business'. I guess this dilemma is central to anarchism in practice - trying to take everyone's wishes into consideration, while attempting to stick to an 'arranged' timetable. I just kept thinking "we've only got 2 + a bit days...", still I had a wonderful time meeting and hearing lots of wonderful womyn and the food, concert and clothing was fabulous! Not to mention the beautiful wilderness of those three days. Let's do it again soon.

In sisterhood,
anna



Reflections on the Conference



November 24-26 was marked in my mental diary with a big red circle. The 2nd Annual Anarcha-Femme conference, and I was going to be there, to connect with other spunky anarchist-feminist womyn. This was going to be my first introduction to organised anarcha-feminism.

The food was plentiful, filling and yummy. The physical location was superb, flowing crystalline water, bush, hills, rain and sunshine. Accommodation was slightly squeezed, but with a little ingenuity and a strong desire by a proportion of the womyn present to sleep in an intimate pyjama party style, it wasn't a great problem. On the purely physical level the conference was great. How did the Katipo Collective do it? For only \$20 plus any travel costs, any womyn who wanted to learn more on anarcha-feminism, share her views, create revolution etc., was welcome to attend.

I turned up on Friday night, completely exhausted from lack of sleep, travel and an influx of new sights, sounds and people, to be greeted by a dog that scared the shit out of me by barking at me in an "I'm going to eat your leg" fashion. Ah well, no harm done, and the garlic bread and pizza soothed my ruffled nerves. Womyn kept arriving all night, from Christchurch, Dunedin, Auckland, Hamilton and other centres. It was a great re-connecting with old friends and tentatively communicating with new acquaintances.

The first day of the conference things took a while to get started, but eventually a discussion was set up to organise work-shops and develop people's views, and knowledge of anarcha-feminism. Now I was in slow mode from needing to catch up on huge amounts of sleep and only cruised into the discussion towards the end, however I heard that there was some tension going down due to one of the Marxist-feminists attempting to turn the discussion into a debate on Marxism vs. Anarchy.

Anyway, workshops were organised (back to Saturday again) and I decided to go to the W.A.P., Womyn's spirituality and future directions workshops. I made it to the W.A.P. discussion but ended up falling asleep, which was nothing to do with Maria's facilitation abilities and everything to do with getting to know some cool womyn and talking to the wee hours. I also made it to the Norml workshop, and found it very inspiring. Unfortunately I was too sleepy-tired to want to go outside on Sunday night to attend the Womyn's spirituality workshop, which from womyn who went said that it turned into a damned good howl at the moon, around a fire with a lot of anger, stress and tension being released.

The conference highlight was the concert that had been spontaneously organised by the Random Trollops from Auckland. Poetry, music, and skits entertained us all, with the "tongues and vulvas" skit appealing to me especially.

Some womyn have said to me that they wished there had been more focus on developing a definition of anarcha-feminism, as many womyn came with a desire to find out more about anarcha-feminism without much previous knowledge. For me, the conference was important from the networking angle, and the friendships and ideas that were begun at the conference have continued and become realised.

Congratulations and much cool stuff to the womyn of the Katipo Collective, and may the next conference be even better!

Catherine May.



Creative politics at Levin

BY GWENYTH WRIGHT

EVERYTHING at the Anarcha-feminist conference in Levin last weekend (26-29 Nov) was political from the handscreened T-shirt inviting the patriarchy to f— off to the housetruck seeking support for the decriminalisation of marijuana. And yet, it is easier to define this elusive branch of the women's movement in terms of what it is not.

It is not radical lesbian feminism although lesbians were among the 60 people who came from all over the country. Socialist feminism is for women who make a career in the Labour Party. (Careerists in the National Party are beyond the pale.)

Anarcha-feminists do not seek power over others. They empower the powerless at women's centres, rape crisis and Poverty Action. They campaign for peace. Communists and anarchists share a preference for a State that is withering away, but differ in the means they would choose to hasten its demise.

A creative politics to match beaded skirts and tie-dyed tights emerged out of nature spirituality, veganism and Vedic face-painting. It is an impetus born of male violence that identifies

with Maori struggles for self-determination; uncorruptible by consumerism; determinedly non-stereo-typical.

Anarcha-feminism has a literature. It's not the literature of women's suffrage: "The suffragettes were asking to take part in their own oppression."

Anarcha-feminism had a brief flowering in Spain in the 1930s and blossomed again in the second wave of the women's movement in the '70s. Now an international network, neither reformist nor Trotskyite, it is totally anti-authoritarian, equalitarian, responsible and respecting of the views of others as long as those views do not degrade women or limit their potential.

There were no men in sight at the rural retreat in the foothills of the Tararuas. Some anarchist men are still capable of sexism on a bad day, and so, until they have done their homework, women will continue to withdraw into the stronghold of their own culture. Their ethic has to do with cooperation in the kitchen, pooling resources, looking after one another's children. It used to be called community before the word was hijacked by the government.

• Contact Gaye or Ana at Corso, ph 473 5531.



Conference
photos by
Anna.

Future Directions Workshop

unity in action

We wanted to get away from focus on the differences between womyn, eg. Marxist womyn & A-F womyn, and doing actions together. But we may not want to work with some groups, eg. capitalist womyn.

These are the groups we thought of for interaction and dialogue with, sharing ideas and support for actions:

Womyns' Health, WAP, Refuge, Homebirth, Unemployed/Beneficiaries, University womyn, entertainment/clowning/street theatre, Corso/Afia (Maori Sovereignty), NZAVS, Peace Movement, Rainforest Action Group, AYN, McGillicuddies, Voluntary Welfare, Home-death Support Group, Permaculture, Ritual groups, NORML, Women's Loan Fund, Planet, individual activists, women's centres, & other indigenous groups, eg. Tibet, East Timor.

- Reclaiming our own days (basically days on which anti-womyn things happened) as a way of deciding when to do actions.

- Days of 'Random acts of Anarchy'; on a certain day every month.

Rape Toll

- Providing statistics, information, newspaper articles

- street theatre, telling womyns' stories

- co-ordinating exposure to the public (possibly touring).

Contact people

- to have a main contact in most towns for the distribution of info about upcoming events. They can then distribute stuff to womyn in that area.

- depending on the people concerned, they may offer their house as a 'safe house' for travellers.

Sekhmet

- communication between regions: for collecting articles, etc, distribution and promotion of zine.

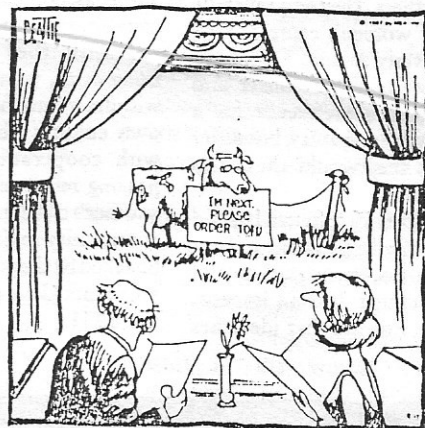
Womyn's calendar of events

- Not necessarily just A-F events and actions, but everything!

THE SPECIESISM WORKSHOP

The speciesism workshop, held outside on a sunny afternoon, was attended by lots of women - from those who had no idea what speciesism was, to women whose whole lifestyles had been adapted to show respect for non-human beings.

The discussion covered many topics. Why people become vegan, is having pets speciesist, swapping hints on vegan food and how farming and feminism are linked. For me the best aspect of the workshop was being surrounded by women who had similar views on how humans treat other animals. It must also have been encouraging for the women who were raising vegan children, or thinking about it, to meet other women who supported what they were doing. It was a change from the emotional blackmail they often face about endangering their children's health by not feeding them animal flesh. It was also cool that women who weren't aware of speciesism felt comfortable at the workshop and could learn without feeling intimidated. Hopefully through talking about our attitudes to animals and the environment things will change for the better.



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Marxist Feminism & Anarcha-Feminism - a comparison

by Lucy Woolhouse

The following essay turned article will compare and evaluate Marxist Feminism and Anarcha-feminism. It will discuss marriage and women's role within it and the family using theories from both areas of feminist thought.

"Marxist feminism...invites every woman whether proletarian or bourgeois, to understand woman's oppression...as the product of the political, social and economic structures associated with capitalism." (Tong, 1989)

To understand the intricacies of Marxist feminism an understanding of Marxism (an albeit simplistic one) is needed. It is also good to keep in mind that Marxist feminism later developed into Socialist feminism.

Marxist feminism arose out of the women's liberation movement that swept across most of the Western world in the sixties. This formula for the emancipation of women being one of the many forms and theories that developed over that period. It representing "a unique politics that addresses the interconnection of patriarchy and capitalism, with the goal of dealing with sexism, class conflict and racism". (Vogel, 1983). It arose from a growing awareness that political liberalism wasn't enough without the economic resources to make it happen.

By the seventies radical feminism and a more socialist analysis of women's oppression merged into what was later named Marxist feminism or as it was commonly used then Socialist feminism. The main focus of this new theory was the participation of women in the struggle for revolution. Women from all sectors of society - regardless of race, sexuality and class.

There are many Marxian theories that help explain the roots of women's oppression according to Marxist feminists. Firstly, there is the Marxist theory of society. This concept is based around class and class differentiation. Put simply, within capitalism there is the means of production (land, raw materials, labour, tool, etc) and those who own the means of production - the property owner, the employer. The labour is the worker who is termed the proletariat; the wealthy the bourgeois. Unification of the working majority constitutes a class. Their awareness of themselves and their ultimate struggle - overthrowing the capitalist system that gave rise to such class divisions of people - will be

hard lost.

The Marxist feminist interpretation of this theory is whether women as a whole constitute a class? That is, the women who are the bourgeois and women who are part of the proletariat. Strictly following Marxist theory "women" do not qualify as a class. But taken further and linking with the Marxist theory of economics, women's experience of domestic work could be sufficient to qualify and "motivate a unifying struggle". (Tong, 1989).

Michele Barrett said that the goal of Marxist feminists is to identify gender relations with the processes of production and reproduction (ibid) to emphasise the fact that class division is by sex not economics.

Marxist feminism has its main focus in women's work related issues. The unfortunate gap in its analysis, that is also a symptom of Marxist theory, in my opinion is the lack of discussion on sexuality and reproductive roles - contraception, abortion, pornography, violence against women, etc. (ibid). This has been the main area of criticism that Marxist feminists have received.

The Marxist feminists as well as Marxists emphasise the need for the destruction of the capitalist state. Women's oppression is regarded as a result of the oppressing capitalistic system. This is at the core of their struggle, oppression by men is secondary.

Other areas of Marxist feminism debate focus on the socialisation of domestic work, wages for housework (domestic labour), and comparable worth, equalising wages.

Anarchist - feminism is a theory created during the late nineteenth century. It developed straight from the roots of anarchist philosophy - the fundamental importance of personal freedom and liberty over all else. If women's inequality stemmed from her dependence on men; economic, psychological and social; then liberation would mean a declaration of total economic, psychological and sexual independence from men and male dominated arenas. (Marsh, 1981).

There is a belief that the prime source of women's oppression lay in the institution of marriage. This domestic relationship and the family structure being monogamous and nuclear at the core. Anarcha-feminists ideally want a complete change to the structure of the tra-

ditional forms of marriage and domestic organisation.

Instead of the monogamous marriage, sexual variety is preferred. Non-exclusive sexual relationships or 'freelove'. The explanation for this is that exclusivity implies a form of property right. The abolition of the traditional definition of marriage and family, an acknowledgment of female eroticism and full economic independence would signify women's freedom. This "insistence of sexual and economic independence stemmed from a belief in the essential sameness of men and women". (ibid).

Peggy Kornegger states "I believe that women frequently speak and act as 'intuitive' anarchists, that is, we approach or verge on, a complete denial of all patriarchal thought and organisation". (1975) These thoughts are usually blocked by multifaceted patriarchy. fighting patriarchy means fighting all forms of leadership, hierarchy and all government-authority under all names. fighting patriarchy on all levels - personal, political and economic. It is not just an "overthrow of capitalism but a full social-sexual revolution, the simultaneous overthrow of capital, patriarchy and state". (Zero Collective, 1977). Anarcha-feminists like anarchists seek a form of social life in which nobody is in a position to oppress or exploit anybody else, everybody has equal access to resources and intellectual development.

Oppression and inequality from all power structures need to be abolished. The focus is on dissolution not seizure of power. It is the elimination of state over community and individual over individual. "The only way to achieve anarchism (according to anarchist theory) is through the creation of co-operative, anti-authoritarian forms. To separate the process from the goals of revolution is to ensure the perpetuation of oppressive structure and style". (Kornegger, 1975).

There is a strong belief in individuality and collectivity. This means in regard to social and political organisation, the balancing of "individual initiative with collective action". (Ibid). This is done through structures that allow decision-making by those in a community, for example a factory or local group, avoiding the leaders and representatives. A belief in spontaneity and organisation is strong with Anarcha-feminism. "Anarchists believe in fluid forms: small-scale participatory democracy in conjunction with large-scale collective co-operation and co-ordination (without loss of individual initiative)". (Ibid).

Anarchism is not chaos, violence, disorder and ugly. These are popular misconceptions. Other criticisms have been that it is an impossible ideal, that it would never work, human nature the way it is.

"Feminism practices what anarchism preaches. One might go as far as to claim that feminists are the only existing protest groups that can honestly be called practicing anarchists". Lynne Farrow stated this in 1974 - the height of the women's liberation movement. In the rejection of leadership, hierarchy and authority, feminism seems to mimic anarchist concepts. Feminism could possibly go beyond anarchism because feminism exposes hierarchy and authority for what they really represent - male power structures.

Anarcha-feminism is about becoming consciously aware of the links between feminism and anarchism, realising and expressing anarchism in the women's movement. Recognising and developing the positive comparisons that each hold.

In comparing Marxist feminist and Anarcha-feminist theory on marriage and women's role in the family it is clear that these two doctrines clash.

Starting with the Marxist feminist view an understanding of Frederick Engels: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* is required. Written in 1845 he illustrated "how changes in the material conditions of people affect the organisation of their family relations". (Tong, 1989). Stating that before the structure of the family existed, a primitive form of sexual varietism (to use an anarcha-feminist term) meant total sexual accessibility. This led to women as possessions and the pairing that we now know of as marriage came into being. The order of these primitive societies went from matrilineal and matriarchal to a society based on patriarchy and patrilineage. This shift is explained by the economic dependence of women on men through male dominated land based production. In other words the outcome was a classist division between "the propertied man and the propertyless woman". (Ibid).

As a result of such economic changes, Engels states that monogamy in marriage was based on economics and power. This social-sexual institution is the imposed guarantee of wives' sexual fidelity in marriage. In other words, compulsory monogamy.

Sometimes described as prostitution, the bourgeois marriage is seen as an economic and sexual exchange. An agreement that guarantees legitimate

heirs into the bourgeois minority. The proletarian marriage, on the other hand, according to Engels acknowledges the existence of the woman worker. That the marriage reaches an equality between the husband and wife. Engels describes this as providing the foundations for true 'sex-love'. Engels argued that the primary source of the division of labour stemmed from the sexual act and that the sexual division of labour is at the core of the class division between men and women.

Contemporary Marxist feminism discusses the socialisation of domestic work, childcare and economic dependence when it brings up the issues of marriage and family. A basic analysis of marriage and women's role in the family must take place before these specific issues are discussed.

The first focus is on the acknowledgment that the family is in no way a 'natural' institution outside the economy, instead it is an inseparable part of the broader economic system. (Jaggar). Traditional Marxist theory does not link the family into the economic structure. Socialist/Marxist feminists, Eli Zaretsky for example, states that "sexuality and reproduction, like the production of food and shelter, are basic forms of 'economic' or material necessity in any society". (Ibid).

Women's role being more home-based in the capitalist society, child-bearing and child-rearing tended to be regarded less and less as productive, whereas men's work, focused on production of commodities was therefore regarded as highly productive. Strictly following Marxist theory, because women's work or labour did not add to production it was deemed 'unproductive' labour. Therefore women's work was totally devalued.

The Socialist feminist argument opposing this traditional Marxist viewpoint holds that women's work in the home is productive and does contribute to surplus value. Child-rearing and cooking are basic necessities in any society and are therefore productive. There are two ways in which women's work in the home contributes to surplus value. One is the direct labour in producing labour power - a product in her children. And two is the domestic work she does for the home of the fully acknowledged wage earner, saving him time and money.

From this the concept that the family is an integral part of the economic structure combines with another social issue of work in the wages for housework campaign. Briefly, it is the belief that "working class housewives belong to

the working class" (Ibid) and should therefore be paid by the state.

The institutions of marriage and family are regarded as 'property-giving'. Ownership is characterised by the "my wife", "my child" terminology. (Ibid). An alternative family structure needs to be found. This is where some similarities with Anarcha-feminism arise. Extended families based on the common goals and ideals of a committed group or community, where people are regarded and enter as individuals. That individual would develop her/his own skills and realise their potential for personal growth. Sexuality is to be developed as each person desires, with the focus on human sexuality.

Similarly with Anarcha-feminism the belief in sexual equality, sexual liberation as an essential part of the liberation of society. Sexual liberation is only one part of the struggle - to reconstruct women's role in the family and marriage.

Anarcha-feminists have two alternatives to the nuclear family. firstly a construction of large co-operative communities or extended families where people may live as individuals (to maintain physical and psychological separateness) or as lovers together. Children are cared for by the group, more specifically by those who have made child-rearing and education their chosen career. As it is a communal institution all members take part in productive labour. This concept of shared group living was primarily from the Communist anarchist but adapted well to anarchist feminist ideals.

The second alternative was the influence of what was termed in the late nineteenth century as Individualist anarcha-feminism. This ideal was "independent men and women, in independent homes, leading separate and independent lives, with full freedom to form and dissolve relationships, and with perfectly equal opportunities to happiness, development and love". (Marsh, 1981). They accepted that child-rearing and motherhood was a burden. An anarchist society would have childcare facilities available for all and economic support from the father would not be obligatory.

The argument for women's freedom - in communes, co-operative homes or independent - is the demand for economic independence through self support. (Ibid).

There is not much discussion on the issues of sexuality and reproduction from Marxist feminists, as theirs is an extension of pure Marxist theory and therefore focused primarily on wom-

er's work-related concerns (Tong, 1989). Anarcha-feminism, on the other hand, acknowledges human sexuality, be it homosexuality, bisexuality or heterosexuality. This concept is integral to the belief in total human liberation on all personal, sexual, economic and political fronts.

Marxist theory did not really see anything beyond the study of the family and social reproduction. The stumbling block was the 'woman question'. Juliet Mitchell complains that "what is striking in (Marx's) later comments on the family is that the problem of women becomes submerged in the analysis of the family - women, as such, are not even mentioned" (Vogel, 1983). The Socialist feminist movement held that women and the institution of the family are complex areas for complete analysis and that there is more to the 'woman question' than its relation to production that traditional Marxist theory gave.

A claim by anarcha-feminists in the late nineteenth century that sexual varietism led to the development of higher moral standards would spark debate even now. They held that free love would end sexual excesses and produce happy, healthy and wanted children. (Marsh, 1981). A liberated being had close links to sexuality and sexual freedom.

Contrasting with this view of free love and liberation is the Marxist theory of sex-love. This ultimate relationship can only happen through an economic equality between husband and wife. Socialist feminists hold that sexuality is highly political. "Most...argue that the much talked about new sexual freedom... (is an) illusion" (Jaggar). Stating that the tools by which we seek to define ourselves and our sexuality are depersonalising and products of a capitalist society. One view, that of Gayle Rubin, declares that "the genderless society is at least as necessary to women's liberation as is the classless society" (Ibid) Which again links in with Anarcha-feminist thought. The emphasis is on creating a human world enriching human experience.

The processes Anarcha-feminism has undertaken to promote their struggle and activate have been diverse. And although their voice is not loud they are by no means silent. It is a long term process. Examples of successful implementations of anarchistic principles can be found. In the Spanish revolution in 1936 the Mujeres Libres (Free Women) activated thousands of working class women throughout Spain. There was also widespread general strikes and protests in France in 1968. These can be

seen as examples of Anarcho-syndicalism which is the application of anarchist principles to industrial trade-unionism. Tactics such as sabotage, strike and boycott are used as direct action. Three levels of the anarcha-feminist strategy for change include: educational (the sharing of ideas and experiences); economic/political; and personal/political. Education is in the form of 'spreading the word'.

Participation in the anarcha-feminist strategy for change is based around personal day to day action. Where we work, where we eat, who we identify with, what we buy... The emphasis is on 'every little bit counts'.

Anarcha-feminism is a 'vision'. It has been criticised for its utopian dream as unattainable and impossible. "It is true that there is no solution, individual or otherwise in our society Fran Taylor stated in 'Second Wave' - an American feminist magazine in the seventies. It is a personal consciousness that relies on itself for existence: Just as Marxist feminism realises it needs all women to become aware of themselves as a class - only then will they become empowered to make changes in this society.

The differences lie in how to go about change and what to change it to, but the similarities hold fast - the ultimate goal is for a human world.

Marxist feminism runs into trouble because of the lack of discussion on sexuality and its related concerns - abortion, contraception, pornography, rape, etc. Contemporary feminism in all its forms cannot ignore issues of such importance to all women. Marxist feminism can no longer hold to the premise that "the capital is the primary oppressor of women as workers and that men are, at most the secondary oppressors of women as women" (Tong, 1989).

The future for Marxist feminism, as I

see it, is that it needs to do some re-evaluation about men's involvement in women's oppression. Endless theorising and intellectualising will not help the actual struggle they see as so necessary. With the voice of Marxist feminism held fast in theory, not a lot of women are going to grasp it with any vigour. With the number of women in the workforce increasing, economic independence is that little bit closer. There may be some room for Marxist feminism in contemporary women's liberation.

Marxism wasn't that successful and even Karl Marx stated he wasn't a Marxist. Marxist feminist theories are interesting and add dimension to contemporary feminism. I question the implementation of these theories in reality, and this includes Anarcha-feminist ones. Both aim for such radical change, both are daunting struggles. The important thing is that they both have a similar goal for a human world and a human society.

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AN ANGEL AND HER FABLE



This interview is the first of what will hopefully be a regular feature. We plan to do a sort of herstory report on women who are doing wonderful things.

This issue we asked Gwenyth Wright to appear. Gwenyth has recently become a friend of the Katipo Collective. As a journalist she has written reports of Anarchist Conferences for 'City Voice', and through the Women's Loan Fund ('The Angel Bank') has lent us money to put on our November Conference.



Sekhmet: Could you tell us something about your childhood and schooling?

GW: Well, I was born in Canterbury in a village just south of Christchurch. Because we lived in a rural area I had to attend Boarding School and I feel this lead to my feelings that I could look after myself.

Sekhmet: You mentioned sometime ago that you have an Anarchist background. Could you tell us about that?

GW: Well, myself or my family are not so much Anarchists, but I was sort of Anarchic in the way I reacted to things growing up. Like not fitting in at Boarding School. They had to pass me onto another one. They never realised what they had! In fact they did, they knew I would never fit into that system.

Sekhmet: After Boarding School what did you go on to do?

GW: I went back to live with my father on the farm, then later I moved to Christchurch to go to University. I majored in English and did journalism as well.

The University then was very small, just one city block. It was a good size then. I think they are too big now.

I didn't complete my MA in English. My mother had died and I had my younger sister and brother living with me at the boarding house in Wellington.

I didn't get my first journalism job until I was 50.

I had a job in the Department of Trade and Industry and somebody said would you like to work on a paper. The position was vacant while somebody was overseas for 3 months. They said 'but you haven't got any experience' so I said I'd get it. So I got hold of a friend of mine who was the editor of the 'Hawera Star'. I said how long will it take me to get experience working on a paper, and he said oh a couple of days, so I went up and worked with him for a while. Came back to Wellington and said now I have experience and started working on the Federated Farmers paper 'Straight Furrow'. When the other person came back they let me stay on. I had a great time doing the thing I always wanted to do. Then while I was there I did a survey on the amount of work that women do on farms. I ran it in the paper and thought I'll get a trickle of replies, just enough to make a story, but I got a flood of replies. It seemed women had been waiting for the chance to be recognised for the hard work they did. They were the invisible farmers. Whenever someone came to the farm to speak to the farmer and a woman responded, they would say no I want to speak to you husband, the farmer. Although women were legal co-owners of the farm, the farmers husbands usually saw this only as a tax advantage.

Federated Farmers were very unhappy about the survey and subsequent report, so was the Women's Division of Federated Farmers as they felt it reflected badly on the services they were giving. Women wanted to be recognised as full partners. The husbands were also unhappy as they didn't like to hear that their wives were not totally content.

So I resigned from 'Straight Furrow' before I lost my job!

Soon after the 'Straight Furrow' report I was involved in setting up WAG (Women in Agriculture). Women farmers went around to each others farms and networked to improve their skills. Women taught each other to back trailers on a tractor, electric fencing and other farming skills. We also produced a magazine called WAG MAG which went from 1981-83, when it was taken over by Women's Affairs.

Sekhmet: Can you tell us about 'The Angel Bank'?

GW: Well, it was an idea that came mostly from Francis Denz. I responded to it remembering that I had been advocating a Women's Bank when I was working with rural women years ago. So the idea was not so much new as being revived. Then we involved Barbara Lewis who was working in the Community Employment Group, a chief area for working at community level. So we started talking about how we could do this, and we gathered women around us who might be able to help, and people were getting very enthusiastic and talking in millions. We did some computer modelling, how much we will have to get from women in order to be taken seriously by the big boys. Well, in the course of this exercise we discovered that a group of high powered women had done this in Wellington not so long ago. They had got together a wonderful scheme, and a few thousand dollars and then they had advertised it to women. They had done all the dreaming and the nice bits and then when they went looking for clients they couldn't find any. So we thought we won't make that mistake, we'll just put \$20 each in the bank and give ourselves a name and we're in business.

Then we began to spread the word around that we had a few Angels who were prepared to lend money.

We were able only to give small loans of \$500 and in one case stood behind a group of women as guarantors until they built up their finances.

Sekhmet: Does the Women's Loan Fund charge interest?

GW: No we don't, but people who borrow join the club. If they are on the benefit it costs \$10. If they are in business it costs \$20. A larger sum can cost more again.

We have been keeping it very local because it's a personal sort of service and you can't keep a personal service going if the people are all over the country.

Sekhmet: Perhaps women in other areas could set up their own.

GW: Yes and people have been doing that. I have been as far as Kaikohe to talk to groups who are interested.

Sekhmet: It seems like the kind of project that would work better locally.

GW: Yes because you do have to keep in touch with the women. One of the things women used to say to us when we were investigating the possibilities of starting up was that they would like a

friendly service. They also liked the idea of having a supportive group of women behind them who also gives them advice on business and management and, later on, on investment.

It's a great fun thought if women get enough money behind them from their own savings, and their own work, for investment. Then think about women investing in things that women believe in, it would influence the whole economic direction of the country. I can't wait to see women with that sort of investment power so that they will invest in hospitals, schools, alternative health, co-operatives, collectives and not in things that destroy the environment.

Sekhmet: What other projects are you involved in apart from The Women's Loan Fund?

GW: I work with a group of people who are trying to protect this wonderful Ngaio Gorge. They are reforesting the area, taking out rubbish, and non-native plants, making a few tracks for people to enjoy and trying to purify the stream so that fish can live there.

The stream that runs through the gorge is the last remaining stream that runs into this side of the harbour without being put through a pipe.

They were thinking of putting

the new Interisland Ferry terminal at the mouth of it! We are much more in favour of a Penguin Shelter being set aside for the Penguins that come in from the sea and up the stream. My voice on it is saying don't tidy it up too much, don't make a park, be careful how far you go because we have parks elsewhere but this is a wilderness and don't invite too many people in, don't keep drawing attention to it.

Don't exclude people but just don't let them trample in because if you do it will be over exploited in no time and what you are trying to protect will be lost.

Bring back stilettos



A pair of trim ankles?

Sir, I shudder every time I see attractive young women clumping round our city streets in heavy-soled boots, laced above the ankle.

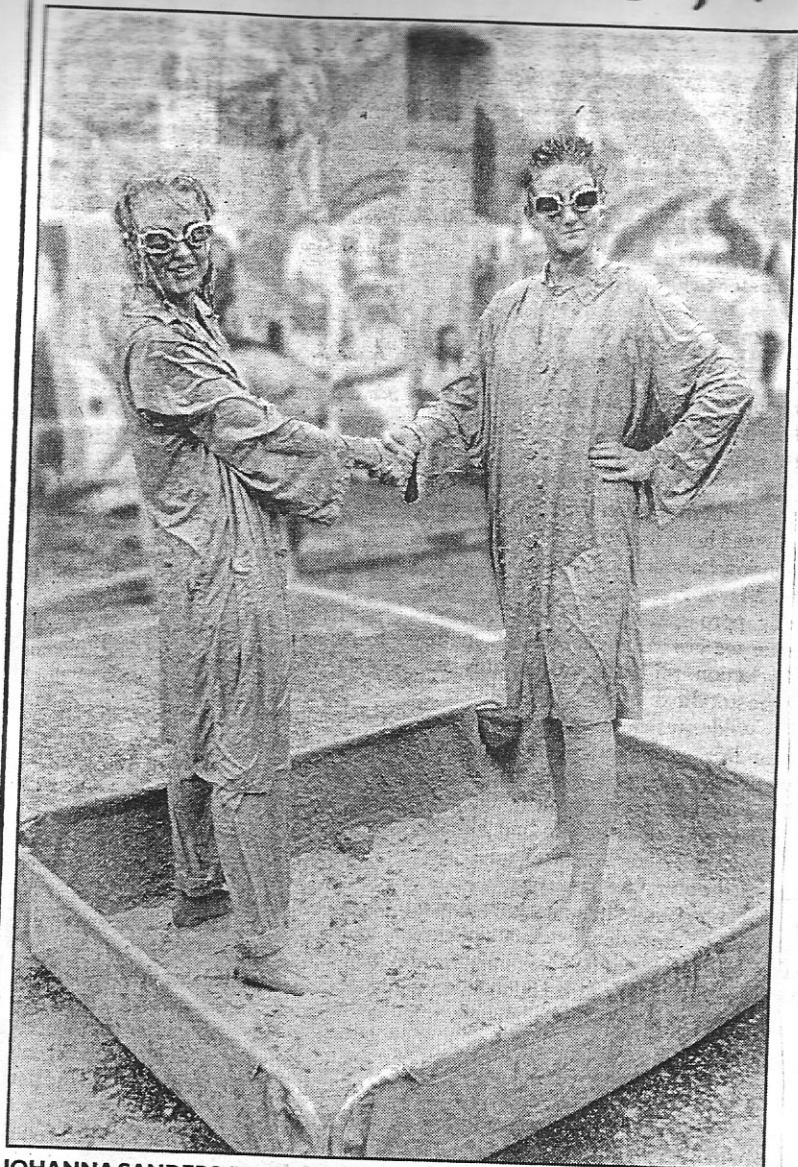
How can they choose such ugly footwear? Where are the foot-deforming sexy stilettos and pointed toes of the past, or even the classic courts? Don't women want to display trim ankles any more?

When I was at school, one of the worst insults anyone could hurl was, "Ya muvver wears army boots!" No one quite knew what it meant, but the implication was clear.

And now, lackaday, they're wearing them even before they become mothers! What is the world coming to?



HAGS, SLAGS, MUTS, SLUTS..



The Hags are the second Anarcha-Feminist performance troupe to form in Aotearoa, the first, of course, being the Random Trollops in Auckland. Our aims are to educate the people of Wellington on anarchis and feminist issues and to have a groovy time being wicked wimmin entertaining and/or shocking those who watch our Performances.

The mud wrestling skit, seen here, was performed at the No Motorway Street Festival - spot the connection?! The funist piece was designed to introduce The Hags to Wellingtonians (where ever they were) so about eight anarcha-femmes/hags accompanied the wrestlers with finely tuned instruments. Our second major performance will happen some time soon at Women's Night (fridays) at the Euro Bar in Garrett Street.



JOHANNA SANDERS (left) and Val Smith chose the day the weather turned cold on Saturday to wrestle in mud to celebrate Transit New Zealand's decision not to fund a motorway through Upper Cuba St. The pair have formed an anarcho-feminist performance troupe, The Hags, and collected mud from the disused Black Power marae, Kensington St, to "reclaim mud wrestling and make it a fun thing to do, taking away the exploitative nature of it." The Hags, ph 384 1364.

CityVoice 24 MARCH 1994

THE RANDOM TROLLOPS GIG GUIDE.

LATE FEBRUARY
 Hero Parade
 -gay and lesbian pride parade (described in letters pages).

EARLY MARCH
 Dance Party
 warehouse gig venue.

MID MARCH
 Gluepot
 Techno He11 3
 -massive dance party.



BACKSTAGE WITH THE TROLLOPS.

WICKED

WICKED WOMAN
 LIVING OFF
 THE STATE
 not a man
 She is sitting, legs
 Spread apart
 Taking up
 Space



Perfect

You shall be perfect by
 -being thin
 yet not anorexic for
 that is failure
 -being intelligent
 yet not too learned
 for that isolates
 -being attractive
 but don't spread these
 legs

Slut

So the mirror stares back at
 me
 in the morning
 having risen
 out of the bath

Like Botticelli's Venus
 A MUSE
 OR A GODDESS

POETRY

BY
 CATHERINE
 MAY



Wake-up

The bottles are
 growing up the
 sides of this
 house

So it looks
 all glass and
 peeling paint on
 the Kiwi suburban
 dream

Observe the
 freshly-killed idea
 that our country would
 reach
 some middle-class
 ideal (?) state

Grass showing where
 the cracks in the driveway grow
 while children
 drink T.V. and beer dregs
 for afternoon tea

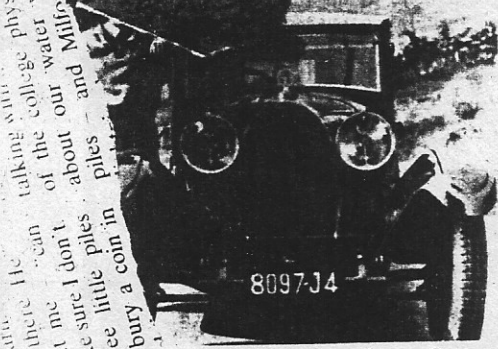
(Now weave stars through the
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 hair. Paint Egyptian eyes
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cars. He knew that Bugatti was such
a perfectionist that he made his own
screws, nuts and bolts. That his en-
gines were designed and made in
France and incorporated into the
chassis and bodywork in a way that
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the pioneer Ettore Bugatti's son, Jean,
with the 1929 coupé Fiacre

the rear axle weighing only six-
ty-four being discarded in the
Bugatti's cars were among
the most advanced with hydraulic brakes.
Bugatti could visualize every
part of his cars in detail. The
designer had won many small-car
competitions in the early 1920s
with his designs for camshaft and 16-
valve cylinder.

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Witch Netford Centre

BY NOEL PERRIN

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was his and dreamed of pickin-

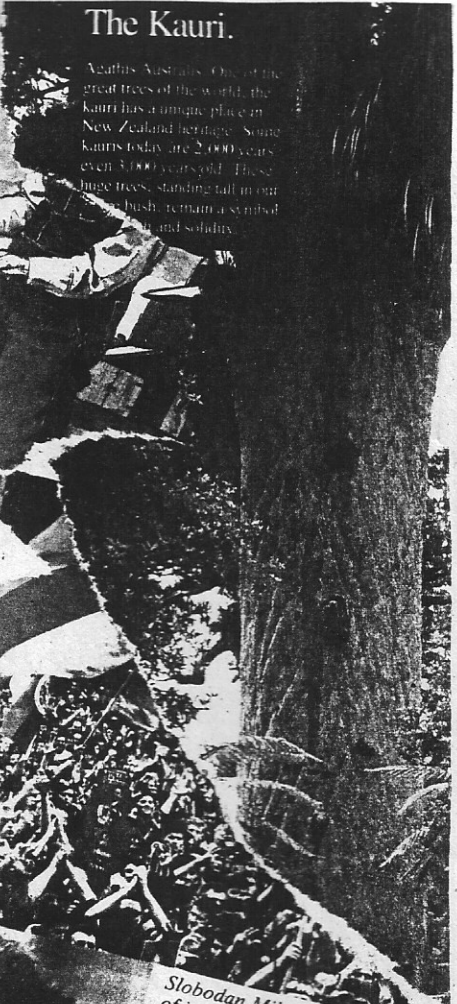
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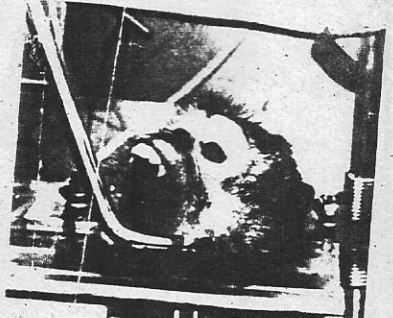
The Kauri.

Agathis Australis. One of the
great trees of the world, the
kauri has a unique place in
New Zealand heritage. Some
kauris today are 2,000 years
even 3,000 years old. These
huge trees, standing tall in our
forests, remain a symbol
of strength and solidity.



Slobodan Milosevic, advocate
of iron-fisted nationalism for Serbs
and Serbian nationalists at a rally in
Belgrade in May last year

us. Because if we don't know
work well, at least we
to fight well," he thundered
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