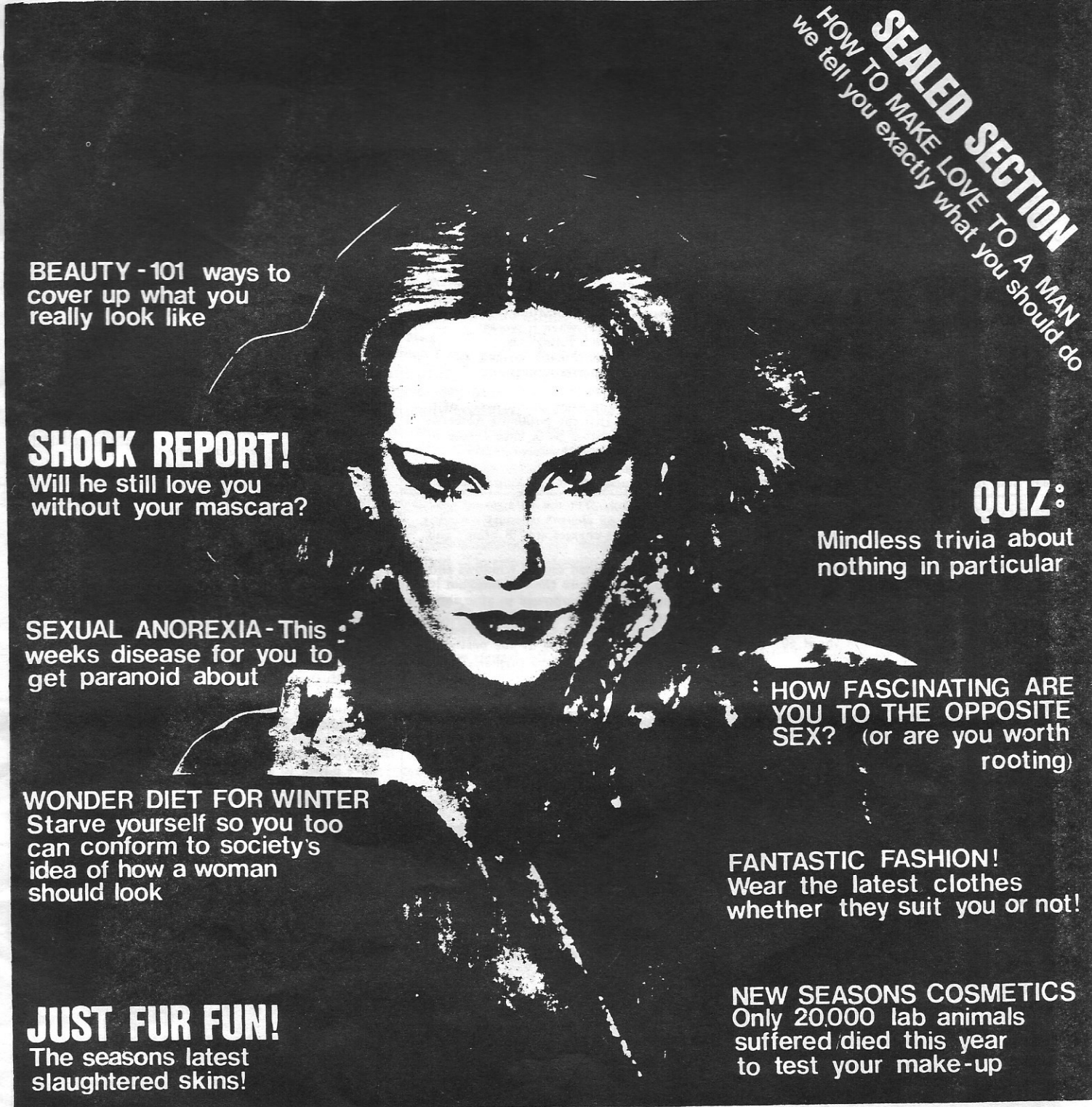


if free speech offends you,  
Contents include explicit  
words and sentences that  
may disturb.



## Anarchism & Feminism

— *Breaking sexual stereotypes*



**BEAUTY - 101** ways to cover up what you really look like

### SHOCK REPORT!

Will he still love you without your mascara?

**SEXUAL ANOREXIA** - This weeks disease for you to get paranoid about

### WONDER DIET FOR WINTER

Starve yourself so you too can conform to society's idea of how a woman should look

### JUST FUR FUN!

The seasons latest slaughtered skins!

**SEALED SECTION**  
HOW TO MAKE LOVE TO A MAN  
we tell you exactly what you should do

### QUIZ:

Mindless trivia about nothing in particular

**HOW FASCINATING ARE YOU TO THE OPPOSITE SEX?** (or are you worth rooting)

**FANTASTIC FASHION!**  
Wear the latest clothes whether they suit you or not!

**NEW SEASONS COSMETICS**  
Only 20,000 lab animals suffered/died this year to test your make-up

# "Kiwicard" analysed

## "Community Workforce"

One of the latests things the National Party are doing to give the impression that they are doing something about the issue of unemployment is a re-hash of what other governments have tried (and failed with) - the work-for-dole scheme. This time round it's called "Community Workforce".

Although some of the work that will be done by "Community Workforce" will be beneficial to the community, such as the planting of native trees on large areas of land, the more you look into how the whole scheme is run, the more rotten it becomes.



"Community Workforce" will do nothing in the creation of real jobs, in fact, they are likely to have the opposite effect. If the (G)Nats are really committed to reducing unemployment like they pay lip-service to, then wouldn't it make more sense to employ people full-time with award wages and conditions rather than pay unemployed people \$5 a day extra on top of their dole for three days a week. Work-for-dole schemes just use unemployed people as a cheap pool of labour. [Continued next column]

→ The use of such subsidised labour can threaten workers in full-time, fully-paid employment. Local and City Council workers realise that their jobs could be threatened by "Community Workforce", with subsidised labour pushing them out of their jobs. This has already happened in Christchurch where eleven people employed by the Works Corporation lost their jobs at the Lyttelton Road Tunnel. Works Corporation lost the contract for the tunnel operation to Track Engineering, who use subsidised labour from the long-term unemployed register. While in this case the jobs were not lost due to a "Community Workforce" scheme, it serves as a good example of what will happen once the schemes have been running for a while. ★

## Anarchy the Solution!

I was the oldest in attendance at the 1991 Anarchist Conference in Wellington on April 25; and possibly the most moderate - at least I thought I was, until it came to working out our guiding principles and I found myself on the 'extremist' side over land-ownership. (I would remind comrades that the favourable 'Webster' dictionary definition of Anarchism includes "land and other resources being common property.") Whatever, I feel strongly that even if much of what is built on the land can continue to be privately owned, and first (temporary) right of land-use respected, the idea of privately owning the land itself, or adjacent waters, is an obscenity. It is one of the two great obscenities of civilization. The other is government itself, when it works regressively toward a ruling class, authoritarian entrenchment, instead of toward its own superfluosity and abolition.

As well as doing some serious work of clarification, so that the public of Aotearoa will no longer confuse us or have excuse to confuse us with swastika-decorated or ignorant users of the @-sign, the Conference was a happy occasion for kicking ideas →

around, making new friends and planning the fun-and-games that goes with taking the mickey out of the 'Establishment'. All credit to those in the Wellington CEC and helpers who set up this happening so well, even to the provision of an excellent lunch.

Strange to get sent the May No. 7 1991 *People's Voice* - a Stalinist magazine - with all that guff about anarchism and our April Conference. A good effort, well worth reading. The whole approach is similar to that of an Australian ex-Communist far-right author, Geoff McDonald, who tends to present his opponents' views in a more convincing way than his own, only to dogmatically dismiss them. It is as if his being left unmoved despite the fairness of opponents' ideas somehow guaranteed the wrongness of those ideas!

It amuses me that we anarchists are accused by the Marxists of being outside the working class revolutionary orbit. In my (unpublished) book on anarchism, *The Black Notebook*, I make a similar accusation against Marxists. Communism is not revolutionary. It represents a transposition of tendencies already extant in capitalism - a new boss-class of politicians, administrators and technocrats replacing the old estate-owning and merchant gentry (8.3).

Marxists work for change from the basis of class, the so-called toiling masses being the agents and opposed by the historically dominant classes, in particular the capital-controlling upper class (with whom we can group a good part of the middle, who have no real decision-making power but gain materially by directly 'servicing' the dominant capitalist). Anarchism, on the other hand, works for change from the basis of the individual. "The emancipation of the masses is impossible until the individual is emancipated" Stalin's essay says, and quite rightly. What is an individual? Here is one. I can touch it, hug it, hit it, talk to it, work with it.

So anarchists certainly begin with something very real indeed, on which to work to effect a change to socialism and universal well-being. Now, what about the classes - lower, middle and upper? Are they real? Is the lower class - the masses - really something you can touch and love and share conversation, workbench, bed and board with? Of course not, and so it can't be changed. Only the individuals in the class can change, and who among them would consider any changes in him/her self to be somehow infused in her/him due to some compelling abstraction called a class? That is not to say that the division of individuals into classes is not a useful abstraction representing a structuring of relationships that has great power over individuals. But it is the Communists who are being metaphysical if they believe that the abstracted components of the structure have power to change or resist change in the whole. Only individuals in their real, separate bodies can opt for a different structure and use their real, separate brain-power and hand-power to will it and build it together. Likewise, only individuals can, and will, resist that. Therefore, it is individuals, not some abstract "upper class", that must be targetted and shamed into the realisation of the imperative of change. Their clinging to hierarchic, privilege-bestowing structures that are destroying the natural environment and the human spirit is a choice made by them as individuals, not something taken out of their hands ethically by membership of some class. The so-called masses, too, can only as individuals decide whether to support or attempt to overthrow the existing order, and those who make no conscious, individual, activating decision have made the defaulters 'choice' to support it. They become what Marx referred to as 'lumpen', from which nothing can be expected. When is going to dawn on some modern Marxists that the modern retreat from individuality into cultural and religious fanaticism and crass materialism has slumped their whole cause into a human dough-mass of 'lumpen-ness', which only anarchism can inspire to rise?

## National Party HQ Ten

The Auckland Unemployed Workers' Rights Centre held a protest march against the benefit cuts on May 30. During the march, 10 people held a successful occupation of the National Party Auckland HQ. About 200 people from the march ran to support them outside when the occupation was announced, with about 60 police with PR24 batons forming a line across the road in front of the Nat HQ. A TVNZ camera operator was assaulted by a cop each time he tried to film the front entrance of the building. Eventually the 10 people were removed and placed in paddy wagons.

To gain access to the building, the 10 people had gone through the front doors, with one of the window panes getting cracked. A barricade of desks was pushed

against the door. Yet the 10 arrested now face a total of 80 charges in court! Among the more serious charges are "Rioting" and "Burglary".

The police smashed several windows and a door to gain entry to the building, but when the media were allowed in after the protestors were arrested, the police and National Party officials gave the impression that the damage was done by the protestors.

As the march dispersed, a further six were arrested outside the Civic Theatre; one for "Inciting disorder" and the rest for obstruction. The man charged with "Inciting disorder" had his charges dismissed in court, as did one other person. One was convicted without sentence and the rest received suspended sentences. The 10 people who occupied the Nat HQ are awaiting a trial by jury, with no date being set as we go to press. ★



# OPINION

## Beware 'Red' Journalists!

I was dismayed to read recently a series of articles on anarchism in that strange paper, *The People's Voice*. Good for a laugh sometimes.

But there they were. Three @s being interviewed. Didn't their parents ever tell them not to talk to policepersons? Perhaps we could say it was just inexperience.

They don't realise how red fascists manipulate and use people for their own ends. Oh yes, anarchism is "a very individualistic thing", but surely they didn't expect the PV to explain what they really meant. That in working and doing things together with others, the individual becomes strong and confident - solidarity I think it's called. Oh yes, and that class perspective. Yes, let's not be too myopic. Middle class people obviously have a place within the @ movement (let's be patronising, condescending perhaps?) but I hope I wasn't staring at three transient rich kids with 'tickets out' in their back pockets.

- Myopic Ron, Kolkis.

## Free Mail

I have a brilliant idea for people who can't afford to post mail all the time! The envelopes social welfare or friends write to you can easily be reused! Wot, you say? Well, open the envelope carefully and read it, write back and address it to your friend again (if it has a clear window) - put "has moved to" with their address, and put it back in the post. Believe me, it will save you a bit of money - I've been doing it for years!!

- Norelle, Mapua.

## Brisbane scene

Things seem to be coming together over here - we have a press & enclosed is a leaflet done for Mayday. Anarchists are involved in public radio 4ZZZ newsroom, food co-ops, & green groups, as well as other things. There's a blockade against forestry logging on Frazer Island, north of Brisbane. The blockade has been going on since April last year, with some success (and some failure). Over 500 people involved over that time - not as big as the Franklin, & this a little disappointing, but still a lot of networking went on,

There are still fractures in the @ "movement" in Brisbane, but some attempts are being made towards co-operation. I believe there is a conference planned soon, though I'm not really sure where (or even if it is going to be at all.) How did your conference go? Personally I've never been to a really good @ conference - other than in just a social sense!

- Paul, Brisbane.

West End @ Group, P.O. Box 332, North Quay, Qld., Australia 4002.

## Fascist threat

This is a letter to all anarchists, or anyone who believes life is worth living.

Not many of us will remember the Second World War, but all of us have heard the stories, seen the pictures, and seen the hate which ruined the lives of so many millions of innocent human beings. History. You reckon? Stop and take a good look at yourself, your mates, your flatmates and the people you know. We've all seen them raise their arms in salute and yell "Seig heil" in greeting. We've all seen our mates lace their Docs', pick up a weapon, and leave for an evening of "nigger-bashing", or seen them piss off to rip off someone's property. If you can't say you've ever seen it, you've heard of it, listened to them talk. Some of us have even done it ourselves. Have you ever really considered what you're doing? This kind of bullshit would make any nazi proud. How many of us have slammed to the music of Skrewdriver, No Remorse, Brutal Attack, Vengeance, Sudden Impact, and The Afflicted, without thinking about what you're supporting? In a fascist, or Nazi State, there's no room for anarchy, of any description. There's no freedom of speech, no Bill of Rights, no say in anything that happens to you, or those around you, and most important for a lot of us...No dole! There'd be no benefits of any description, and if you're pissed off at the governments "work for the dole" schemes that are being considered at the moment, I doubt you'd prefer the "work all your life for sweet F.A being told what to do by a bastard with a gun" scheme any Nazi government would enforce!

How could we expect to survive, if the Neo-Nazi's, Boot boys, Hitler Youth, Ku Klux Klan or National Front were to rise to power, as they did before? Their slogan is...**"THIS TIME, THE WORLD"**.

I remind you, "THE WORLD" is every stupid fucker who lets this happen. I do realise that the whole point of anarchy is freedom of speech and the right to do as you want, with who you want, when you want, but everything the Nazi, or any Fascist government stands for is totally the opposite to these opinions. Every left-winger, peace activist, homosexual, drug user, punk, surfer or religious type, not to mention anyone with a skin colour other than white; we'd be the first poor bastard in one of those trucks to camp. You would not escape if you are white. Hitler's Final Solution was the destruction of the whole of Germany.....imagine that in Aotearoa! We'd have no help from the super-powers,

whole new meaning.

The pathetic, easy, fun, @ and "Punk" of the 1970s may have been fun, but it died along with Sid. Skinheads are here, in force, following in the footsteps of Nicci Crane and the like. These guys possess power not many could believe exists, and the numbers are alarmingly high.

We can't ask any "authorities" to help: they don't know shit, and would not believe it anyway. Start NOW, stop this bullshit getting out of hand, and don't get involved in any of this crap unless you know what you're dealing with. And dis-associate yourself from those who do. It could be the difference between living and dying.

- Jane, Wellington.

P.S. This is only an attack on Nazis, no-one else.

• We totally agree with your anti-nazi views Jane, although in your sixth sentence, we assume that you are referring to right-wingers or ex-right-wingers by "we". While many of the more 'traditional' right-wing gangs such as the Nationalist Workers Party have faded into obscurity during the 1970s and 80s, nazi skinheads are making a comeback. This is not to say that every skinhead is a nazi, but many are. There have been cases of them intimidating Maori and Indian people (particularly in the South Island) as well as many instances of violent behaviour. Let these shit-heads know what you think of them! - @@@



Stamp out Nazis.

## More police thuggery

The Kiwi pigs are currently "trailing" their new weapon, to replace the infamous PR-24 Long Baton. This new thing appears to be a rubber whip, with lumps of iron imbedded in it! If a cop attacks you with it, even if you raise an arm to protect yourself, it will still whip down and hit your head. I witnessed a pig attacking a middle-aged man in Khyber Pass with one of these recently. The poor guy got hit at least 10 times round his head with the weapon, and each hit, teeth and blood went flying everywhere. I asked the local community plod near where I work about it, who told me that he had heard that such a new weapon was being trialled round Auckland. Comrades should investigate defences against this latest piece of brutality, which violates UN covenants and our human rights. The victim I saw had his face like pulp, no nose left, few teeth, and was almost dead when the pig had finished a dozen strokes!

## Kiwicard - What they aren't telling you

The latest surprise from Ruth(less) Richardson's box-of-tricks is the introduction of the Kiwicard. The regime defends the Kiwicard by saying that it is only voluntary and is necessary to prevent abuse of Social Welfare benefits. While it will stop some abuse, the card will be far from voluntary; if you don't have one and you have to go to hospital for any reason, you'll end up with a huge bill. You won't be able to get a Social Welfare benefit without a Kiwicard, and if you visit a doctor without one you have to pay extra, likewise for prescription charges.

So in effect the Kiwicard is voluntary if you are rich, if you're not it may as well be compulsory because very few people will be able to manage without it.

The potential for State abuse of the card is enormous. Like an automatic bank teller card, it will have a magnetic strip to store information that Government Departments will be able to record without the holder being able to tell exactly what information is stored on it.



Placard spotted on the March Against the National Party Budget, Auckland 2/8/91.

An interesting point to note is that when Labour announced that it planned to introduce a similar card just before the last elections, the National Party deplored the idea, saying that they would never undertake such a move if they became the new regime.

- @@@

## Iraqi uprisings

A leaflet titled *Ten Days That Shook Iraq*, produced by revolutionaries from Iraq and Britain, gives a very different view on the uprisings that occurred after Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War to that portrayed by the Western media. Far from being solely religious or nationalist insurrections, they were mass worker and peasant uprisings. In the north during the early stages, Ba'athist officials and secret police were executed, police files were destroyed and the prisons stormed. People were openly hostile to the policies of the middle class Kurdish nationalists.

The uprisings presented a problem to the UN coalition forces. It must be remembered that the nations that make up the coalition have all been involved with Saddam Hussein's regime by trading goods and weapons with him right up until he ordered the invasion of Kuwait. When he turned 'nasty' to them, they merely wanted to remove him from power and keep the Ba'athist Party as it is. The uprisings presented a serious threat to this plan.

The last thing the UN coalition forces wanted was to be drawn into a lengthy occupation of Iraq to ensure that things stayed as they wanted them, so when the Iraqi Army began to mutiny and flee back into Iraq where they had a very good chance of making the uprisings become more forceful and widespread, the US Airforce carpet-bombed the highway to Basra. It is estimated that 100,000 or more died along this stretch of road. Civilians and

soldiers alike who fled off the road and into the desert were hunted down by aircraft and gunned down.

Copies of *Ten Days That Shook Iraq* are available from @@@ on receipt of a donation.

- Source: *Ten Days That Shook Iraq*

## Employment Contracts Act

The proposed general strike against the introduction of the Employment Contracts Bill never took place, with Council of Trade Unions President Ken Douglas saying that such workers' direct action wouldn't do any good. In spite of this, threats of strikes and boycotts by individual unions has left many employers a bit reluctant to take full advantage of the exploitation possible now that the Bill has now become an Act.

On a slightly different note, Kentucky Fried Chicken are rumoured to be bringing in advisors on union-busting. Anyone with further details please get in touch with us.

## Out at last!

Earlier this year the Birmingham Six were released from prison, after doing 15 years for a crime they didn't do. The release of the Six worried the British State so much that they lied in court, covered evidence up and "lost" documents.

Disgustingly, after their release, Lord Denning, a judge, went so far to say "If they'd been hanged we wouldn't have all this fuss". That's "justice" for you!

- Source: *Class War*.

## Moscow @s Jailed

Two young Moscow Anarchists, A. Rodionov and A. Kuznetsov, have been behind bars for about three months on trumped-up charges of "bandit armed action" framed by the KGB and MVD. Both were attending a peaceful demonstration near the HQ of the Soviet Secret Police, the KGB, on March 12 when unidentified men in civilian clothes suddenly started beating them up. Both anarchists fought back, cutting the jacket of one and scratching the face of the other, but now they face being imprisoned for seven years for defending themselves from this unprovoked attack.

The Moscow Union of Anarchists asks for protest actions outside Soviet embassies and consulates to put as much pressure on Soviet authorities as possible to release the two men.

Source: Moscow Union of Anarchists



## Poll Tax death throes

Although the scrapping of the Poll Tax has been announced, it looks as though it will continue for at least another two years until its replacement, the Council Tax, is phased in.

British PM John Major has said that 18.7 million people have not paid the Poll Tax! Both Tory and Labour local Councils are using bailiffs and sheriff officers to harrass and seize furniture etc off non-payers for auction to pay their Poll Tax with. Well-organised Anti-Poll Tax Groups have organised many successful pickets and blockades to stop this happening. Some bailiff firms have cancelled their contracts because of the level of resistance they have encountered.



Local kids in Moredun, Edinburgh, let the sheriff officers know what they think of them.

The Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign Prisoner Support Group is still issuing 4-page updates of people jailed for "offences" committed during the huge riot against the Poll Tax in London last year. Copies are available upon receipt of a donation from @@@. TSDCSG are also raising funds to help them in their work to defend people who are still to appear in court.

They can be contacted at: c/o Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, Room 205, 38 Mount Pleasant, London, WC1X OAP, England.

## Taxes fund torture

In El Salvador, 73,000 people have been murdered by state-run death squads and the military. Among the victims were six Jesuit priests and two women, murdered on 16th November 1989. Half the goons that are responsible for this massacre were graduates of the School of the Americas (SOA) at Fort Benning, Georgia; whose biggest customer since 1983 has been the Salvadorean junta.

People at the SOA are trained in such "American values" as low intensity warfare and - under the terms of the International Military Education and Training programme - taught at the US taxpayers expense.

This school for sadists has been the target of anti-imperialist protest since it opened. On the first anniversary of the November 16 massacre, three US veterans were arrested for Swords Into Ploughshares (an anti-militarist direct action group) style civil disobedience after they poured human blood over the floor and walls of the SOA Headquarters building. Last word we received was that they were facing the prospect of ten years inside and a (US) \$10,000 fine.

- Source: *Green Anarchist*.

## Lest we forget

With Saddam Hussein branded "the worst dictator since Hitler", the West seems to be suffering from collective amnesia when it comes to 'friendly' tin-pot dictators.

Darling of the CIA, General Pinochet of Chile, won't however, be so readily forgotten by his own people. Several months ago he was cleared of fraud charges against him, by the Chilean judiciary, in the name of 'harmony'.

If the people of Chile catch up with him, his friends in the Pentagon will be hard-pushed to provide him with adequate protection.

- Source: *Class War*.

## Land Rights

In June, eight people were arrested and police were pelted with eggs and stones as 200 Aboriginal people protested for land rights in what the media described as "Queensland's most violent demonstration in recent years." The protestors had tried to storm Parliament House in Brisbane.

The Opposition Leader, Mr Cooper, said that the Aborigines should be prosecuted for

"Desecrating" the Australian flag. They were also criticised for "Jewish behaviour". What about the "Jewish behaviour" Aboriginal people have been subjected to since the day Europeans arrived in Australia in the form of theft of their land, attempted genocide and racist legislation?

-Info from: Rebel Worker.

## Rainforest murders

On February 2nd another rural activist in Brazil was killed by hired gunmen. His name was Expedito Ribeiro, and was an active campaigner against the destruction of the rainforests and the extreme poverty imposed on the peasants. The gunpeople were hired by wealthy landowners who profit from the deforestation.

The "rent-a-killer" agencies charge \$600 for a peasant, \$2,000 for a priest and \$4,000 for an elected official.

Since 1980, no assassin has ever been tried in court despite the fact that there have been 173 activists killed in the province Ribeiro was killed in.

However, exports of Brazilian rainforest timber are down 15%, with a regime spokesperson saying it is because "importers do not want to participate in the destruction of the Amazon". In Peru, guerrillas have blocked rainforest timber export routes through the Andes.

- Source: Green Anarchist.

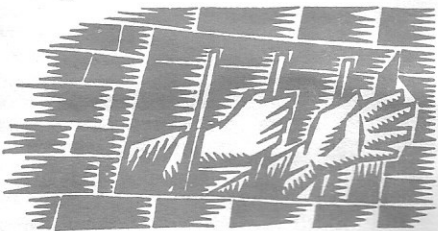
## A Victory for Perotti

On the 42nd day of his latest hungerstrike against being incarcerated in the sensory-deprivation 'hole' of Lebanon Prison in Ohio, the prisoncrats conceded and transferred John Perotti to Mansfield Prison. Although still being held in isolation, as he has been for most of nine years, John says: "I feel 100% better here. No more daily harassment or experimentation and I'm with a lot of my comrades now".

Characteristically, within days of his transfer, John, jailhouse lawyer and organiser with the Industrial Workers of the World union, had filed and won a grievance suit against the use of chains on isolation prisoners and had visits increased.

John, now 36, was jailed at the age of 19 for the non-violent theft of \$7, and had time continuously added to his sentence due to his activism. His case has been covered in issues No. 14 and No 16 of TSA. His new address is: John Perotti, M.A.N.I. no. A167-712, POB 788, Ohio 44901, USA.

- Source: Counter Information.



## Clause 25

The attack on lesbians and gay men in the UK called Clause 28, is now followed by another attack. This time discreetly tagged onto the Criminal Justice Bill as Clause 25.

If two men show any affection in public, even kissing or holding hands, they are guilty of "indecentcy". To be guilty of soliciting, two men need only exchange telephone numbers.

Allowing two men to sleep together in your house would make you guilty of "procuring".

Ridiculous you might think, but the Bill is currently before Parliament.

In the last four years there has been a 51% increase in the number of gay men convicted of minor sexual 'offences' because of their sexual preference.

Is consenting sex between two people of the same sex a crime? Homosexuals enjoy less freedom than heterosexuals. There are campaigns against Clause 25 all over Europe.

- Source: Counter Information.



This year's World Day for Laboratory Animals march in Wellington.

Photo: Mobilise!

## 500 Years of Oppression

1992 is the year white USA is celebrating the quincentennial of the European colonial invasion of the Americas, and the US regime is spending millions of dollars to help stage the event. The celebrations will gloss over the fact that the European invaders massacred countless American Indians upon their arrival and have continued to do so up until the present.

Today, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and affiliate organisations are targets of the neo-European colonial regime's attacks. In South Dakota from 1974-1979, over 200 AIM members were mysteriously murdered without investigation by any "law enforcement" agency. At the same time, the FBI had the highest level of Agency/person ratio in the US on the Pine Ridge Reservation where the murders occurred. Recently, in North Carolina, 19 activists have been killed with little or no investigations made.

American Indian women are also victims of appalling treatment: 24% face sterilisation without their consent. The Indian Health Service, exempted from Food and Drug Administration regulation, prescribes the carcinogenic drug Depo-Provera for Indian women with menstrual problems. The drug can also cause sterilization.

Environmental regulations are often waived for the benefit of the energy industry on Indian Reservations with the result being the strip-mining of land and radioactive uranium tailings being left behind in piles.

AIM and its affiliates plan to demonstrate at the various "celebrations" wherever they occur during the three years they will be held over.

- Source: Bayou La Rose.

## A.L.F. & Anti-Vivisection news

Early on the morning of May 4, a butcher shop on Auckland's North Shore was gutted in a petrol bomb attack. A message on a brick thrown through the window attributed the attack to animal liberationists, and it followed a series of attacks on North Shore butcher shops in previous weeks.

Just over a week later, police raided the house of a TSA editor, claiming that he was the "main suspect", with the only base for their accusations being that he had been arrested 7 months previous for spray-painting anti-fur messages on a furrers. Several copies of TSA were taken, and several days later they raided the house of another TSA editor in relation to the petrol-bombing. This time they took the TSA mailing list for several days.

Neither person was involved in the petrol-bombing, but police constantly questioned them about the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and went to ridiculous lengths like claiming that some vegetarian stickers one of them had were evidence of ALF connections.

The New Zealand Anti-Vivisection Society held a march against the medical and scientific invalidity of vivisection on April 24, and also to protest against the shoddy treatment they received over their Petition to Abolish Vivisection. Despite having a huge amount of evidence of the damage products and pharmaceuticals that have been developed or 'safety tested' on animals have done to humans, (some of which was covered in TSA # 15) the Primary Production Committee hearing the evidence was rude, insulting and time-wasting; not entirely surprising as Ross Meurant was the chairperson of the committee.

In the UK, the ALF have been very active in saving animals from vivisection labs. On 16 March 1990, activists liberated 82 beagle puppies and 26 rabbits from Interfauna Breeders, who breed animals specially for labs. Four people were caught and charged with burglary and another two with handling "Stolen goods" (i.e. the animals.)

Six beagles were rescued from Boots Labs at Thurgarton near Nottingham on 3 November "on behalf of all the other ones". Boots, who own the "Boots the Chemist" chain claim to be 'cruelty-free' but have been proved otherwise. They are also one of the main customers of Interfauna.

On New Year's Eve, over 60 cats were taken from Oxford University's breeding centre. The previous New Year's Eve, the ALF liberated 43 beagles from the university's Park Farm. An activist was quoted as saying "It's something of a tradition".

ALF activists drilled through doors and walls to free over 200 cats, rabbits and guinea pigs from Oxford University's Witney breeding centre on February 2, 1991, and Sussex ALF drilled their way into Harlan Porcellus Biological Supplies breeder near Waldron, Heathfield on 23-24 March to free 100 guinea pigs and raided Carpenters Barn factory-farm outside Hastings to free 50 battery hens that were in bad condition.

- Source: North Shore Times and Green Anarchist.

## On the lighter side of the newz...

### In Norway...

Last Northern Spring the nationalist Fatherlands Party had their official foundation in Bergen, Norway.

The people behind this party are a gang of frustrated old men attached to a local racist radio show personality and the National Democrats. But plans did not go as they had expected: about 100 joyful anti-racists showed up! Suddenly they comprised the majority in the hall and naturally they elected a new committee, who immediately decided that a series of anti-racist songs be sung. Afterwards an anti-racist action programme was resolute and from now on the name of the party is The National Betrayers Party. Of course the old men called the police, who could do nothing as the whole event had taken place legally and in good manners. The old men left the hall empty-handed while the heroes of the day sang another couple of songs.

- Source: Newsletter 2 from Blitz.

### ... and in France

Recently a voluminous dossier began to circulate in France, sent out by a group called Os Cangaceiros. The dossier included stolen prison plans and documents outlining Os Cangaceiros's campaign of sabotage against the new prisons capable of holding 13,000 prisoners that began construction in 1989.

One of the most simple yet effective acts they undertook was to enter different sites at night to add sugar to the cement mix. Added at a rate of about 1-2 kilos of sugar per ton of cement mix, this effectively stops the cement from hardening!

- Source: Bayou La Rose.

# Anarchism & Feminism -- the Connection

What exactly is anarchism? The most commonly held misconception about anarchism is that it stands for disorder, confusion and violence. Anarchists are typically portrayed as vile and dangerous people out to destroy everything and everybody in their path. They conjure up fear and loathing, so are dismissed. Anarchism is also accused of being impractical and abstract, completely out of touch with reality and therefore an impossible dream.

Anarchism stems from the conviction that the purpose of society is to increase individual opportunities, to free the individual from the constraints laid upon that individual by coercive institutions. Anarchism is about questioning the concepts of authority, hierarchy, and poverty; about questioning practices which regulate inequality, liberty, self determination and consciousness of life; and about questioning all modes of dominance and exploitation (racism, sexism, capitalism and imperialism).

We exist in a society where our lives are subject to sexual, economic, and political subjugation based on authority — the illegitimate exercise of power and our obedience to it. Authority of this kind fosters manipulation and passivity. Living is thus reduced to alienation, activity to consumption and thought to contemplation. All aspects of our lives, from the cradle to the grave, are conditioned to bring about our submission. Anarchism is about rejecting all hierarchical and dominating forms of relationships that oppress the individual's freedom and replacing them by co-operative and collective organisations.

"Anarchism, then really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the domination of religion; the liberation of the human body from the domination of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of Government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real wealth, an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations".

— Emma Goldman "Anarchism: What it really stands for" *Red Emma Speaks* (Vintage Books, 1972).



Emma Goldman in 1919, shortly before she was deported to Russia.

An anarchist society would be based on the concept of autonomy and free association; the individual would be free to act in accordance with her/his own desires as long as they didn't impose on the freedom of others. All institutions and authoritarian/hierarchical forms of organisation would be rendered obsolete and would be superseded by the creation of co-operative and anti-authoritarian structures, where organisation would come from below not above, and from within rather than from without. These structures would be fluid — small-scale participatory democracy in conjunction with large-scale collective co-operation and co-ordination. Organisations would be created as needed and discarded when no longer useful; this would provide room for spontaneous action within the context of a specific situation and would enable society to respond to individual initiative and collective reaction, not by a single institution of authority imposing its will.

With the abolition of the State would be the abolition of all coercive institutions that go with it — money, economy, wages system, the military and police, bureaucrats, slavery, prisons, patriarchy, matriarchy and concepts of religion and property in their present form. This would free us from inequality and exploitation, leaving a society based

on production for need and not for profit. Wasted labour (products of labour are accumulated by privileged elite not by society as a whole) would be eliminated freeing people to work in socially productive areas and fields best suited to them, and for their gain. There would be more time for the individual to pursue happiness and interests, and to help those in need.

Crimes are created in the minds of the ruling elite. Many so-called crimes actually harm no-one, — a good deal of arrests are crimes against private property (inequality and unequal distribution of wealth accumulated from exploitation). With equal distribution of wealth and abolition of capitalism, crimes against private property would diminish. Irrational crimes of violence such as assault, rape, murder and theft of personal property are caused by the frustrations and alienation of a repressive society. Freedom would eliminate the fundamental causes of these problems and would therefore decrease the occurrence of crimes of violence; dehumanisation would not be a problem.

What is the feminist connection to anarchism? The revolutionary feminist perspective is essentially anarchist. Feminism actually puts into practice anarchist beliefs. Feminists could honestly claim to be practising anarchists although many would not admit to it.



The most fundamental of all oppression is patriarchy — the domination of men and subordination of women. It is expressed in all aspects of our lives. From birth we are sex-role typed, being taught passivity and domesticity to crush our real selves into wives and mothers. We marry into the nuclear family, the economic unit of capitalism and socialisation, becoming the property of men to be a subject of absolute power and economically dependent. The institutionalised roles within the family mirror the basic power structure of the State: man as the master, wife as the servant, and children as the property. Women become the sexual property of the man rather than a person in their own right.

Feminism is women fighting together against the male dominated capitalist society that thrives on their exploitation. In fighting against patriarchy, feminism is fighting all hierarchy, all leadership, all government and the very idea of authority.

"Feminism has been since its inception anarchist. We now need to be consciously aware of the connections between feminism and anarchism".

— Peggy Kornegger, "Anarchism: the Feminist Connection" in *Second Wave*, 1975).

Women have come closest to anarchism in their organisation and spontaneous action; forming independent groups, functioning without structure and leaders and creating independently. Feminists work under the emphasis on small groups with the belief that decisions should be collective and committed to action. They focus on everyday life and the need to be supportive with love and trust.

We want nothing less than complete freedom — sexual-social revolution. The creative destruction of the triple domination of patriarchy, State and capital.

"What we ask is nothing less than total revolution, revolution whose forms invent a future untainted by inequality, domination or disrespect for individual variation — in short, feminist-anarchist revolution. I believe that women have known all along how to move in the direction of human liberation; we only need to shake off lingering male political forms and dictums and focus on our own anarchist female analysis".

— Peggy Kornegger.

## MARRIAGE AND CHILD-BEARING

"The modern family is founded on the open or concealed slavery of the wife...Within the family he is the bourgeois and his wife represents the proletariat".

— Friedrich Engels *The Origin of the Family*, 1943).

"Love from its very nature must be transitory. To seek for a secret that would render it constant would be as wild a search as for the philosopher's stone or the grand panacea: and the discovery would be equally useless, or rather pernicious to mankind. The most holy band of society is friendship".

— Mary Wollstonecraft *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792).

In their lifetime, women are expected to fulfill certain roles, most of which are fundamentally harmful to individual development. The patriarchy (supported by the State) needs women to comply with its demands in order to retain the *status quo*. Women are forced into existing sex-role stereotype even before birth (a horrifying technological 'advancement' is the ability to distinguish the sex of an unborn child, thus enabling these stereotypes to begin even at this stage of development): their role is to be *wife* and *mother* to the man who has chosen her by falling in love. It is then her duty to bear and rear *his* children: self-sacrifice in the name of both.

In controlling women through marriage and motherhood, there is little time to address these inequalities. With each pregnancy, women are handicapped, at least until the children are old enough to begin their own lives. A woman who bears no children is often seen as *unfortunate* and *unblessed*. The sole aim of womanhood is seen as reproduction.

Marriage automatically creates a subservient role for the woman. She marries into financial dependence, domesticity, and enforced passivity. For other men it means that she is no longer available for sexual relationships, she is effectively withdrawn from society. She replaces her husband's own mother as cook, cleaner, and mother. The marriage ceremony itself symbolises a transfer of property from father to husband; there can be no female independence for fear of the loss of patriarchal dominance. No matter how liberal the ceremony or the children's upbringing, the failings are still the same: loss of the wife and mother's individual freedom in order to cater for the needs of others.

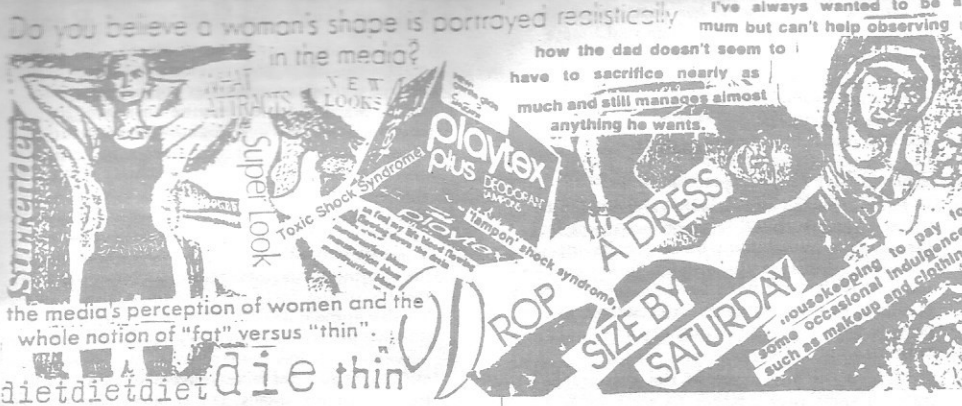
Inner label of a record put out by Anarchist band Crass, parodying the sanctity of marriage. Despite its obvious sarcasm, the single was given away free by a duped "teen" magazine called *Loving*, as part of their special "Brides" issue.



The myth of love is a way in which the patriarchy can begin to control women. With the creation of the one undying love, men can convince a woman of the beauty of marriage (and hence social and political slavery). Very few people view it in these terms, but judge for yourself by counting the number of relationships which are already, or will end in marriage. There is *no* room for any deviation (even the labels stigmatise with their negative connotation). Unfortunately all women have accepted this as *natural* to at least some degree. As usual the media (in its role as voice of the state) is integral in its involvement in creating and maintaining these *standards*.

The state reinforces male oppression in such ways as creating laws which allow a man to *legally* rape his wife (a large number of rapes occur within marriage yet most are not recognised as rape). Any other woman he may rape or otherwise abuse is subjected to the humiliation in the legal system: in court the abuse is systematically replayed for all to see. Women soon begin to accept their place in society, by learning the humiliation they would have to suffer were they to rebel against it.

The *nuclear family* is the accepted social measuring unit. This unit is so firmly



an expensive lifestyle he is more likely to get the prize of a woman. Women are sexually attainable commodities if you have the cash.

### Woman the Consumer

In contemporary society, the very act of consumption has become somewhat of a drug. The act of consumption has become a tangible excitement available to anybody who has the money. With various credit schemes, even this requirement is becoming unnecessary, at least in the first instance. With the help of the State, through the media (its increasingly efficient manipulation, marketing, and selling machine) everybody is constantly encouraged to "Shop now, pay later!". Society is becoming increasingly and frighteningly proficient at encouraging consumption. Almost everybody is a victim of this contemporary consumer mentality. Women, more than anyone else, are urged incessantly to buy products which are unnecessary such as make-up and perfume. Consumption has become a substitute for leisure time, continually alienating society from itself, aiding the quest (however subliminally) toward total State control of individual will and action.

entrenched that again there is no room for any deviation. There is no acceptance of relationships between two people of the same sex, more than two people relating in an intimate way, more than two parents in one family, or even two parents of the same sex in the one family. The nuclear family is a fundamental reflection of the power structure of the state, and is thus state approved and desired. State propaganda makes good use of the family unit, denying equal rights to those who differ from this *accepted norm* in any way. The family unit is so central to our very society that very few escape this as their destiny.

In order to realise our individual potential, all love must be free. Women must be free to love who they choose, whenever and however they choose. All women must struggle to win freedom for those who are persecuted and restricted by these state controlled standards.

"Lovers who are free to go when they are restless can always come back; lovers who are free to change remain interesting" (Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, 1971).

"A lover who comes to your bed of their own accord is more likely to sleep with their arms around you all night than a lover who has nowhere else to sleep" (Ibid).

### Women in Advertising (Woman the Commodity)

"...The woman in the advert, the woman in your dreams, just another product, not another human being..."

Traditional male politics reduces humans to object status, then dominates and manipulates them to achieve abstract goals (power, wealth, position etc). In the patriarchal society authority is the prerogative of men, while women and children are dehumanised to a status lower than human, becoming mere objects and even property.

The area where the viewing of women as objects/property is most apparent is in the field of visual advertising. Advertising reflects and magnifies the prevalent image of women and makes it very clear how limiting and oppressive their roles are. In all the images used, women are a sight; while men 'act' or 'do', women 'appear'. Advertising supports and exploits women's subordination. In all daily advertising we are bombarded with and can't escape from these messages (in tv, magazines, newspapers) we are constantly reminded of women's place in society - the role of women is laid before our eyes in such a way as to reinforce these roles. It is also a reminder to men and women about how women should look

and behave. The way women are used and portrayed in advertisements has a purpose that is therefore twofold; reinforcement of certain role stereotypes and selling products which are often linked with abstract goals such as illusions and promises of more.

Role stereotyping can be seen in all adverts and is especially obvious in those selling household cleaning agents and gadgets and also in those advertising careers. In the first category women are shown as the happy, dumb housewife, at home all day with nothing to do except make the house nice for her husband (who works all day to support her). In TV adverts the voice-over is either a man (the voice of authority) expounding 'scientific' values of the product, or a woman excitedly explaining why she goes into ecstatic raptures over the product. The product usually serves to please her husband.

In the second category, women are shown to lack any degree of intelligence or talent, so can therefore do only menial tasks. Men are shown to hold positions of responsibility and power, while women are in positions of subordination - they appear as extras in the background.

The way men like their women (and all women) is dictated for both men and women. The model and ideal body is displayed in such a way as to say this is how women must look, and if you don't match up you had better work on it. The "beauties in the adverts teach women their role in society, they teach that women are articles of conspicuous consumption in the male market, to be looked at, and that females achieve success in the world by being looked at" (Eds. V. Gornick and B. Movin, *Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, Mentor Books, 1971).

The complete woman as portrayed in the realm of advertising is a combination of sex object, wife and mother. She achieves fulfillment by looking beautiful and alluring for men, while at the same time cleaning, cooking, washing and polishing for her family. She is not bright, she is submissive and subservient and is probably unemployed (or at least receives no payment or acknowledgement of her work). If she does work she is most likely in the service industry or does some form of menial work. What she does is unimportant since her chief aim in life is the 'male reward' she is promised for looking good and behaving correctly.

This is a classic example of the unbalanced power in relationships that exists and is perpetuated in the patriarchal society; the unequal distribution of power with women coming second best to men. It is these power relationships that are addressed and questioned by anarchism and feminism alike.

Publicity increasingly uses sexuality to sell products. This sexuality is never free in itself; it is used in such a way that it becomes a symbol of the good life. It offers something a little bit more than just the product. Sex sells promises of guaranteed wealth. In many adverts women are portrayed using their sexuality to achieve a glamorous lifestyle. By making herself sexually attractive and attainable she can buy an expensive lifestyle. A rich man will sweep her off her feet and offer her more than her dreams.

On the other hand, to be able to buy is to

Women are being constantly manipulated to conform to the current ideal, set by patriarchal bureaucracy. The list of products that women can consume is endless. The personal requirements needed for any woman to appear presentable are ludicrous: make-up, clothing, jewellery, skin-care products, shoes, hair-care products, bags etc. Some women spend their entire life striving to fulfill this male fantasy, becoming objects of ridicule when they fail, and being utterly miserable in any case, and disassociating from each other in the competition for male rewards. Those who succeed are given the prize of love: a devoted handsome and intelligent husband and beautiful and successful children. What more could a woman want, apart from her own life? For women who have become the property of their husband, these hopes of freedom can be only private dreams that may never be realised. They cannot have the experience of a fairy-tale love, but they can pretend - by conforming. The media freely exploits this fact by producing advertisements with promises of love, devotion, allure and sex. Many women believe that by purchasing these products which use sex appeal as their selling point (most advertisers blatantly exploit a woman's body in this sense) they too can be sexually appealing.

The State bureaucracy stands to make a lot of money (and therefore power over society) by creating impractical stereotypes which they

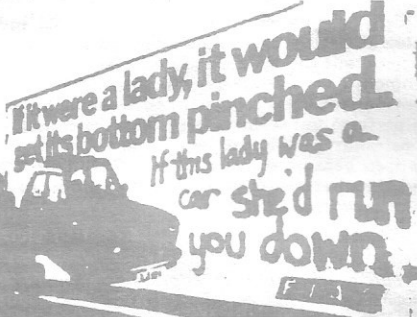
ARE YOU HAPPY WITH YOUR LOOKS?



THE SURGICAL ADVISORY SERVICE

know people will pay dearly to try to achieve and maintain. For example, women pay millions of dollars every year to lose weight so they may look like the models shown to them in the media, and hence be a 'normal' member of society. The media constantly reinforces the message that to be overweight is to be unhealthy and undesirable. By creating and marketing information (that frighteningly few question) the State has achieved a coup against society, by creating a standard that individuals must meet or they run the risk of being seen as abnormal. It undermines the natural differences between individuals, artificially creating an inequality between those who are 'normal' and those who are natural.

Women are constantly encouraged to buy products so that they can find their place in this alienating reality called everyday life. They have become so distanced from their own real needs that they accept substitutes for real satisfaction. Stereotypes created by state and media are accepted blindly. Don't accept this. Demand the truth. Don't be manipulated. Question constantly.



(Continued from Page 7)

## Violence Against Women (Or Sexual Politics)

Violence against women (rape, pornography) is only one expression of an attitude held and enforced by society against women. It has become a weapon of force by which women are kept subservient to men. This attitude is dependent on sexism - the belief that males and females are different biologically and are also humanly unequal. In our society it is the male who claims superiority - they construct social arrangements which secure and perpetuate their belief and through which they can legitimise and act out their 'superiority' so as to control and invade the liberty of females. It enables them to commit social harms against women.

Males support their superiority by defining and forcing females into roles of passivity and emotionality, into obedience, financial dependency and isolation from the workforce. This results in the complete subordination of women to men - they are now conceived as objects to be exploited and used, and are open to abuse.



Marriage is one method of control - a tactic by which men can sequester women to control their sexuality and guard them from the attentions of other men and therefore guard themselves against the risk of infidelity. The women are now designated as property to be traded, swapped and used as status ornaments.

Another channel for the expression of superiority is violence against women in the form of rape. The threat of rape is used to instil fear in women so they can be controlled. It is the ultimate power relationship in a society based on hierarchical authority and domination over subordinates. Not all men are rapists, but all men benefit from the rape. This could be termed the "male protection racket". Women alone are made to feel vulnerable and open to rape; they are made to feel in constant danger - in the streets at night and even alone in their homes. Therefore she needs a man to provide protection and security from other men. The need of men in women is thus reinforced, each man holds 'his' woman by giving her the threat of what will happen in his absence. Women then become passive and reliant on men for security and in turn they are 'raped' to reinforce their needs and subordination.

Rape can be seen as a political crime of violence, an act of power and domination which can be termed 'sexual politics'.

The way the media and other institutions handles violence against women is a response that reveals the structure in which 'social harms' thrive. In the courts the victim is made to feel responsible for her victimization. If she was alone then she was asking for it; if she was unable to extricate herself from the situation it is assumed she was in some degree complicit in the assault. She is made to feel guilty for being a woman. Her case is proven/unproven on the worth of her word, her character, her

dress, the chasteness of her past sexual life, and her general behavior. The real blame (society) is never mentioned.

The media sensationalises, rendering the events into some sort of lurid novel and making it seem less believable. The public are handed out a few details - they are horrified but are conveniently blind to the prevalent attitude that perpetuates the crime.

Each reported rape acts as a reminder to women that it could be them next - it is a threat, or a punishment for not behaving correctly. Because these daily 'news' articles can and do appear with such frequency shows that it is not simply male involvement in the perpetration of rape, but an institutionalized authoritarian concept.

"It's to the advantage of the patriarchal state to encourage citizens to see rape as a perverted form of sexual pleasure because that helps to contaminate the whole concept of sexuality as nasty, thus reinforcing the idea of the body as something that has to be controlled and legislated by the state. When the state calls rape a crime it distracts people from realising that implicitly through advertising, frustration inducement, and the concept of the righteousness of power of the stronger over the weaker this society in fact promotes rape". (K. Kurin, Zero Collective; P. Kornegger, *Anarchism and Feminism*, Brickburner Press, 1981).

Sexism and its concurrent social harms is a mode of and reflection of the ideas of dominance, hierarchy, authority and competition.

Rape is not an isolated act and cannot be removed from patriarchy without ending patriarchy itself. The same men and power structures who victimize women are also in the process of 'raping' the whole earth. Rape is an act of domination where the emotions of hatred and contempt break and violate personality. It's the symbolic expression of male hierarchy and will increase in frequency if our lives become more dominated and invaded by the state with all its trappings. We need to change our existing beliefs and values that define the social order of our lives.



"The way to stop the state is to develop self-sustaining forms of social organisation based upon direct action, mutual aid and voluntary association. The way for anarchists to help stop rape without police or judicial intervention is to educate everyone to the true nature and extent of rape..... Anarchists should join forces with men and women already engaged in this struggle, and thereby strengthen the numerous libertarian aspects already present in the anti-rape (and women's) movements. This in turn will reinforce the anarchic prospects of a social revolution, as well as finding the most anti-authoritarian solution that is presently available for ending rape". (L. Tift and D. Sullivan *The Struggle to be Human: Crime, Criminology and Anarchism*, Cienfuegos Press, 1980).

We need liberation from concepts, values and ideas that constrict and invade our lives. We need to organize our lives on freedom, liberty, justice and especially equality of men and women alike. Only then will the power relationships of domination and subordination diminish therefore ending the struggle to be human.



## Anarchist Society: the Reality

Anarchist societies have been realised at numerous times and places in history. What would a modern anarchist society really be like? Many people describe an anarchist society as a destructive and violent creation. Many fear a community where rape, murder and theft are common. Anarchists feel that this is the norm at present. As Emma Goldman, a famous woman anarchist once said: "A society gets all the criminals it deserves". These fears people have of anarchy are based on common misconceptions widely circulated; mostly in the form of state propaganda (which can be applied very subliminally, at times imperceptible to the conscious mind.) A state power which has control over any society will automatically perceive anarchists as a direct threat to their status, for an anarchist society is diametrically opposed to their power and greed-based system.



Descriptions can only guess at the actual structure of a modern anarchist society. Some believe that people would return to a life-style working the land. This society would make little use of modern technology, instead returning to a simpler life-style, leaving behind the consumer and power-greed based patriarchal social structures of today. Alternatively, others believe that an anarchist society would make use of the technology which has in the past been helpful, in order to perform the jobs that no human should ever be required to do (the mind-numbing, repetitive and soul destroying jobs). Both routes lead to the goal of self-sufficiency.

Anarchists seek to end the triple oppression of patriarchy, capitalism and state: to increase individual opportunities, and to free the individual from the constraints laid upon them by coercive institutions. At present there are many obstacles in place which stand in the way of women being free and equal members of society. Many are in soul destroying jobs, trying desperately to earn money in order to survive. Their lives are reduced to their simplest elements: work, consume, be silent, die. Their lives are validated by state propaganda: constantly portraying their lives as meaningful; seeking to force women into fulfilling their roles of wife and mother.



Only when women are seen as an equal and integral (rather than exploitable) part of society will the violence against them cease. Women will move freely into situations previously denied to them, and will not have to perform under any particular behavioural constraints. No longer will women feel trapped because of their status. Only then will they become free and equal members of a truly democratic society.

- Black Stocking Sisters, Auckland.

This article originally appeared in feminist magazine *Broadsheet*, but as it was considered to be too radical, part of it was left out. The above is the complete original article.



# OPINION

## Anarchist co-operatives in Spain

Some time ago, I was impressed by @ architects John Turner: *Housing by People*, plus Colin Ward: *Tenants take over*. I'm also very impressed with the writings of Peter Kropotkin: *Mutual Aid*, and *Fields, Factories, & Workshops Tomorrow*, and note on the basement floor of Auckland University library is a fine collection of "classic" anarchist literature.

Have bought several copies of *A Hard Won Freedom* (second-hand) and distributed to those interested in "intentional communities". I'm expressing interest in a study group of the CNT - the @ co-operatives of the Spanish civil war.

Although I am a christian, I'm fond of Kropotkin, Josiah Warren, Tolstoy, Proudhon, and Charles Fourier - the mutualist-syndicate concept and utopian socialism, rather than nihilist bomb throwing. Have read George Woodcock's study of @ and am rather impressed by classical Greek philosophy. Socrates & Plato were people of a view that where men loved one another as friends, then justice need not be institutionalised, but in the state where not all are friends, then justice is the bond of peace. Love is better, but justice makes a diverse society tolerable. Nobody likes injustice at the receiving end. My view is towards individual "self-government" as the more personal and family self-regulating regulating interpersonal government, the less need of a coercive state if people are true to one another. Nevertheless society may protect itself against tyranny or law breakers who are a threat to life & property. The state ought to confine itself to the defence of the realm, the enforcement of voluntarily-agreed contracts, and upholding of justice and freedom of the press, for newspapers without government (interference) may be better than government without newspapers. Sharing the ground that all humans have a personal and a unique value in themselves simply as human beings -

- Julius, Grey Lynn.

## A Tale of Two Cows

Can I have permission to copy it?

- Romolo, New York.

■ Go for it comrade - no problem!  
Copyright is a capitalist concept to restrict the spread of information UNLESS you pay. @s have no need of this. Anything

published by the @@@ may be freely reproduced by any comrades using any medium - such as photocopiers. - @@@

## Thoughts on Actions

Here are some thoughts on anarchist actions:

When doing an action it's important to know why and how. Relevant information should be discussed. Here are some important questions to consider before doing an action...

Is the action offensive or defensive? Are you trying to squat a building for people to live in or trying to stop a neighbourhood bully or a cop or a gang or crack dealers? Will the target retaliate and expand their forces?

How much do you want to risk? Do you have enough power to carry out the action with confidence? Are members of the community involved and will they support the action? How will the community respond? Are there forces which will try to isolate and destroy what you are doing? Is it a volatile issue? And will it spark other people into action?

Does the action include or disclude people? If the goal is defined in the right way, the action can include different ways of getting the same thing done. For example, in an action to stop a factory from operating [such as one producing hazardous waste] some people will use civil disobedience, others may want to lock or weld the gates shut or put up barricades the night before without getting caught. The end result is the same, the means is a little different to accommodate for different people. This action includes people.

How do you document what happened? Who do you want to know about it or not know about it? Will you leave it to the straight press to distort the meaning and intention of the action? Do you know of any reporters from the alternative scene who can get it into a paper quickly?

It's a good idea to consider the thoughts of people who have done similar actions. Don't let these thoughts make or break your action. Ultimately, you have to make the decisions for yourself and live with the consequences.

- Karen, Madison.

## Positive @ctions

I like to get TSA: a different viewpoint can only broaden the mind.

Interesting how John Banks [Minister of Pigs] keeps getting threats & has to keep increasing the security surrounding him - a popular vote eh?

Although the info on lock-gluing etc is cute, it is not positive. What about the following ways of instigating thought amongst people:

- Newsheet Distribution;
- Postering;
- Graffiti;
- Talk - to everyone you meet (and

also LISTEN.)

- Gifts - meaningful ones, not commercial tack;
- Letters - to M.P.s, newspapers, friends;
- Money - to movements YOU support;
- Meetings - go & put your view;
- Lifestyle - do you buy processed shit or take the time to cook decent food (which costs less anyway)?

- Michele, Whangarei.

## Technology

We've spent most of humankind's existence trying to construct products and tools to make life easier, from the humble club to the most advanced telecommunications and transport that we have ever known. We have produced all sorts of machines to make life easier. We have made all these products to increase our leisure time. They wonder why so many are unemployed, when most of the jobs are being done by machines! We're still expected to work the same hours each week, when these machines were created to give us more time to relax and enjoy life!!!!

I've decided to stop drinking alcohol - except for the odd glass of beer or wine here and there. I'd just rather spend my cash on books. I'd be more into buying a book than a record. Anyway too much money can be spent on alcohol, and I just can't be bothered wasting my money and sometimes my time.

The picnic went well on Saturday didn't it? Everyone was happy and playing around, being loose and doing silly things just for fun, not all this boring stuff, like at recent picnics. People were doing what they wanted. It was the best I've ever been to!! "Be exactly who you want to be, do what you want to do" - CRASS. One simple line that influenced me a great deal. It can be incorporated into about everything you want to do.

- Damon, Grafton.

## How to calculate the alcohol percentage in home-brew beer

You need a hydrometer, available from home-brew supply shops for about \$9, for this little exercise.

Take a hydrometer reading of the brew when you first put it down to ferment. Record this original reading, then at the time of bottling, take a further reading. (Never bottle till it is below 1006 anyway!) Subtract the final reading from the original reading, and divide the answer by 7.36. The answer is % alcohol to volume.

- Inyotef, Auckland.

# RECORDS

## Śmierć Kliniczna 7" single

I don't know what it is about Poland that so many good bands come from there, and this is one of the better ones I've heard! While this 7" will appeal mainly to people with musical tastes leaning to punk, the music on this record is played in such a refreshing and original style that it will be of interest to a wider range of people; anyway, who can resist a record with song titles like ASP and Jestem ziarnkeim piasku.

\$6 post-paid from *Social Dis-Ease*, P.O. Box 14-156, Kilbirnie, Wellington.

# BOOKS

## The ABC of Anarchism (by Alexander Berkman)

This book is the first publishing project of the Random Print Co-op: a reprint of a book written by Alexander Berkman. While the book was originally written some decades ago, its theme still remains as relevant today as it was when it was first penned. It serves as a general introduction to anarchist ideas and theories, without being too vague whilst avoiding complex language. \$2 post-paid from: Random Print Co-op, P.O. Box 78-104, Grey Lynn, Auckland.

# ZINES

## Direct Action #2 (August 1991)

This is a new quarterly anarchist zine produced by the Direct Action group from Christchurch. Contains articles on the closure of Christchurch Womens Hospital, the relabelling and selling of Russian jam (possibly from the Chernobyl region) in Christchurch, asbestos victims, local and international news, some history of anarchism in Aotearoa and updates on various demos. Available for \$1 post-paid from Direct Action, P.O. Box 35-020, Christchurch.

## Taranaki Underground #21

20 pages of A5. This issue has interviews with Henry Rollins and New Plymouth band Das Unter Mensch, along with a sexual abuse survivor, comix, along with a rave on what's been happening band-wise since the last issue came out. Brett also promises that the next issue which is due out soon will be of a larger format than this one. \$2 post-paid from: P.O. Box 39, Oakura, Taranaki.

## Resistance #14

16 pages of A3. This zine comes from Canada, and although several months old now, it is still worth reading. Contains a good article on the Mohawk blockade in Canada with information you are unlikely to encounter in the mainstream press, and another good one on biotechnology as practiced by Shell Petrochemicals in Europe, which also documents attacks made on companies connected with this disturbing field of "science". Some good extracts from this article: "Shell creates a world market in which all of its products are tied to each other in one way or another. This company can use its knowledge in the field of biotechnology both in the agricultural and in the energy sector." "With the production of hybrid seeds, of which it is said to have a large production, it is being made more and more difficult for farmers to remain self-sufficient." Available for \$2 from Taranaki Underground, P.O. Box 39, Oakura, Taranaki.

## Mobilise! #30 (August 1991)

28 pages of A4. This is the magazine of

and includes a full report on the crap treatment given to NZAVS regarding its Petition to Abolish Vivisection, as covered on the Newz page of this TSA. Also inside is a report on the World Day for Laboratory Animals march on April 24th, the NZAVS rescue of hundreds of fish from ending up in batter at take-aways after the McArthur Park Seaquarium in Wellington went bankrupt, and several smaller articles. If you're not already a member, send a donation for a copy to: NZAVS, P.O. Box 2065, Wellington.

## Open Road #25 (Winter 1990)

16 pages of A3. This is unfortunately the last issue of this zine from Canada. The people putting together this zine have decided to call it quits, so this final issue finishes off over 13 years of Open Road. In this issue: news articles from all over the world (almost) and articles on "The Greening of a Neighbourhood" Feminism and humanism, indigenous rights and more. Available for \$3 from Lancaster Publishing, P.O. Box 78-104, Grey Lynn, Auckland.

## Profane Existence #10 (1991)

20 pages of A3. Loads of comments on the Gulf Oil War, reports on mining on Amerikan Indian land, Waihopai Spy Satellite base, letters, 'Page 3 Punk', interviews with Asbestosdeath and The Ex, and lots more. Available for \$3 post-paid from Random Print Co-op, P.O. Box 78-104, Grey Lynn, Auckland.

## Mean Times #12 (August-Sept. 1991)

16 pages of A4. Brightly-printed in several colours by offset, this zine of the Auckland Unemployed Workers' Rights Centre documents recent actions carried out by the Centre, including the anti-Budget march and pickets of politician-bludgers who visited Auckland. Other articles cover the betrayal to the elderly represented by the cancelling of Guaranteed Retirement Income, victory in the courts for 3 accused activists, the Kiwicard analysed, the Budget analysed, benefits attacked again, medical centre report, kai kolumn, and more. \$1 + 45c stamp from A.U.W.R.C., P.O. Box 3813, Auckland.

## Class War #45

16 pages of A3. This issue includes reports on the Gulf War (a bosses' war for control of oil in a vital part of the planet; a soldier's viewpoint as distinct from the toffee-generals who are so featured by the mainstream media); a real-life superhero, Super Barrio, fights landlords and politician scum in Mexico City ("The left has always been so serious, so lacking in humour. They say these are important matters and that class warfare is never a laughing matter." For the anonymous caped crusader, fighting to stop evictions, end harassment, and supported by the masses, humour is an important weapon. "People in power hate to look ridiculous. They sit behind huge mahogany desks, surrounded by deep pile carpets, and then they get a visit from SuperBarrio!"); and lots more. CW are organising a week-long conference in London from 23rd-28th September 1991 to be the birthplace of a new international class struggle organisation - beyond Marxism, Syndicalism, Nationalism, and Separatism. Details and zines from Class War, P.O. Box 467, London, E8 3QXX, England.

## Schadenfreude & Cosgni #1 (April 1991)

20 pages of A4. This issue includes interviews with Skapa, Ultimate, and Sticky Filth; update on the 'cashless society'; McLibel support campaign; religious wars (which must be the third greatest obscenity on the planet!); music reviews; hot gossip; and more. Donation, from

## Rebel Worker #84 (August 1991)

20 pages of A4. This issue includes regime clampdown in Northern Territory; Plowshares for Peace (about the trial of activists in the U.S. for an attack on a B-52 bomber at Griffis Air Base near New York in January as the U.S.A. prepared for its latest testing of it's brutal military hardware: the trial dragged over 3 weeks!); the super-union racket; raiders of the left ark; work-place childcare; bio-regionalism; and more. 50c + stamp from @narcho-Syndicalist Federation, P.O. Box 92, Broadway, NSW, Australia 2007.

## The State Adversary faces being gobbled up by the Money Monster



Anarcha-Austral struggling in the jaws of the Capitalist Behemoth.

Once again we are asking for help from you to help keep TSA going. This help can come in several forms: Contributions in the form of letters for the Opinion pages and articles for the Newz pages (quote the source and try to keep them brief) through to longer articles ranging in size from 1 column in length (or shorter if you like) to more in-depth articles of several pages in length. Please supply appropriate graphics if possible. We can't promise to print everything we receive, especially if contributions become out of date or irrelevant.

Just as importantly we need financial support. While this may seem quite ironic for an @narchist zine, without financial support we simply won't be able to afford to publish TSA. We do not have a subscription system, instead relying on donations, street and shop sales. We are doing our best to promote and present an anarchist point of view and can only continue with support from you. Donations of cash and 45c stamps are greatly appreciated. If you would like to order copies to sell yourself, wholesale rates are \$1.20c each. If you know of any bookshops interested in stocking TSA, please give them our address.

As we go to press, our costs for 1,200 copies of this issue are:

Printing: \$350.  
Postage: \$230 (approximately).

On top of this we have other costs such as envelopes, stationery and postage costs for other correspondence related to @@@. At the time of writing this we have enough money to cover printing costs alone, with some postage costs likely to be covered by the people who help produce TSA.

# CONFERENCE

The 1991 Kiwi Anarchist Conference took place in Wellington on April 25. The date was chosen because a lot of people were going to Wellington for the World Day for Lab Animals march on the 24th; but despite the fact that the organisation was a bit rushed, about 60 people attended.

Basically, the Conference was based around a series of workshops, with time in-between sessions to discuss what we had learned/decided with the rest of the group. The workshops that spring to mind were: "Working with other (non-anarchist) Groups" "Direct Action" "Anarcha-Feminism" and "Aims of the Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa". Most of these were simply discussions on personal ethics and ideals. The Anarcha-Feminism discussion led to the formation of two groups; one in Wellington and one in Auckland. Both groups appear to have organised themselves quite well.

Also at the Conference was a very good selection of literature for sale, ranging from deep intellectual debates on anarchism to general introductions and even the anarchist Tintin comic book.

All in all, I found the Conference quite enjoyable and an excellent chance to meet people with the same ideals and beliefs from a variety of places. On the downside, most people present were from Auckland and Wellington, but it is likely that if more advance notice was available, more people from smaller provincial towns would have attended, but that's a problem that can only be helped with communication and publicity. Appreciation is given to those who put the effort into the organisation, notably the people from the Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation.

I look forward to the next time.  
- Scott, Auckland.

Some important developments have come out of the Kiwi Anarchist Conference, the first being a move to set up the Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa as an anarchist group with affiliates in towns and cities around the country to help spread anarchist ideas and build a movement without any central organisation or committee.

The Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa started off as a contact address on posters, and when interested people began writing in. *The State Adversary* came into being, with the first issue appearing in June 1987. Since then it has grown rapidly, but with the Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa holding no formal membership.

The first major step to realise the goal of establishing a nation-wide anarchist federation was undertaken at the 1991 Anarchist Conference with the drawing-up of a list of Aims and Objectives for the @@@. Printed below, it is not intended as a set of rules but merely as 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 in general (be they left or right wing).

## Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa Aims and Principles

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 cannot 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.

## Anarcha-Feminist Federation of Aotearoa Aims and Principles

1. Target advertisements and boycott companies that encourage women to be seen as a stereotypical object.
2. Support group for women. Supply information and contacts of other womens support groups.
3. Getting more women involved in the Anarchist movement and help create a network of Anarcha-Feminists.
4. Help each other get more confident in ourselves and break down conditioning.
5. To break down prejudices from people towards homosexual women.

As we go to press, groups affiliated to the Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa include:  
Anarcha-Feminist Federation of Aotearoa  
PO Box 876 Auckland PO Box 318 Wellington

Both of these groups hold meetings and are working on doing a zine as well. Get in touch with them for more details.

Anarchy Organisation  
PO Box 14-156  
Kilbirnie  
Wellington

Simon produces the anarcho-punk zine *Social Dis-Ease*, available for \$3 from the above address.

Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation  
PO Box 318  
Wellington

Hold meetings and have a booklist of anarchist books available for a 45c SAE.

Random Print Co-operative  
PO Box 78-104  
Grey Lynn  
Auckland

Produce a range of stickers and intend to publish some anarchist books. Send a donation for samples of stickers.

S' Anarchy  
PO Box 7100  
Wanganui

Produce leaflets on a range of topics, samples available on receipt of a 45c SAE.

If there are any other groups that wish to affiliate, please get in touch. The idea of affiliation, as stated earlier, is to improve contacts and strengthen the anarchist movement.

A non-affiliated group worth checking out are:

Direct Action  
PO Box 35-020  
Christchurch

Produce the excellent new anarchist quarterly *Direct Action*, (see reviews page) and are currently compiling a book on the history of anarchism in Aotearoa. If you have any information on the subject that will be of use to them then send it to their address. *Direct Action* are also distributing

*Freedom* - an anarchist fortnightly from the UK, and will be bringing in other anarchist publications such as *Black Flag*, *Rebel Worker*, *Direct Action* (UK) and *Industrial Worker*. *Freedom* is available for \$2, but as yet we don't know prices for the other zines.

# GATHERINGS

16th October - World Anti-McDonald's Day. Make use of the enclosed leaflet or take any other appropriate form of action, or join the demos on...

19th October - Anti-McDeath's demos: Auckland, outside Queen Street outlet, 11am. Wellington, outside Manners Mall outlet, 11am.

26th - 28th October - Pacifist Warfare weekend campaign in Auckland. For more details on the Campaign and Pacifist Warfare Warfare send a 45c SAE to: Groucho-Marxists, P.O. Box 78-104, Grey Lynn, Auckland.

17th November - Neil Roberts memorial picnic, to be held one day early to make it easier for people to attend. Meet in the park opposite the Wanganui Computer Centre by the Wanganui river, 12pm. There will be books and zines on sale too.



Some of the people at last year's Neil Roberts day memorial picnic.

# COLOPHON

The State Adversary

September 1991. I.S.S.N. 0113-5074.  
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Ross Gardiner, Bruce Grenville.

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Collating, stapling & despatching:

Lyn, Ross, Bruce, Leon, Willie, Aaron, and Emma, Zane, Asphodel, & other people whose names we don't know yet.

Special thanks to all who have contributed to this zine, both financially and literally. TSA is available to @narchists by mail: send a request with a donation to:

@narchist @lliance of @otearoa,  
P. O. Box 78-104, Grey Lynn, Auckland.

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TSA is published by the @narchist @lliance of @otearoa, though contributions printed here do not necessarily represent @@@ views or policy.



UTOPIA

# SOCIALISM IS DEAD

These days, one of the easiest ways to wind up a lefty is to ask them how they feel now that Socialism is dead.

For much of this century, many believed that Socialism was the only cure for Capitalism. The latter, as any Amazonian tree frog will tell you, has mortgaged all the resources of the planet and is busy turning them into highly desirable, reasonably priced fashionable junk.

Is Socialism truly dead? And was it any use in the first place?

As it turns out, Socialism has probably been the cause of as much misery, and made a far more mess than Capitalism. Whatever happened to the promise of freedom? All the Soviets follow the US example and just use it to sell expensive cars and cheap lager in their new market economies?

Since Glasnost ("Openness") of Russian intellectuals have been allowed to trot around in the entails of their body politic, to try and suss out how and when the rot set in. For some time, they have accepted that Stalin's USSR was a horror show equal to the living nightmare of Nazi Germany.

Recently, criticism has also been levelled at Lenin, a man still regarded as a virtual god. Lenin, with his tight hand man Trotsky, led the Bolshevik Socialists to victory in the October revolution in 1917. Once you deconstruct the myth of Lenin, you open a very funky can of worms...

## Long Live the Revolution

In February 1917 there was a popular uprising in the Russian Empire. The Tsar abdicated and the principal political parties, most of them Socialists, began to set up crude parliamentary democracy, led by the Mensheviks. But Russia was a big, bleak, backward old empire that sprawled across five time zones, communication was bad; the uprisings continued. Radicals were released from prison, students returned from exile, and ordinary people became increasingly aware of the possibilities of communal power. Peasants chased out the landowners, workers took over factories and many organised themselves democratically through regular local mass meetings - Soviets.

Freedom was in the air. Much of the population had tasted it or at least had a whiff of it. It seemed to be theirs for the taking. There was nothing to fear but the fear of freedom.

Lenin (of the minority Bolsheviks) was one of the first politicians to sense the mood of the people. He realised that by adopting the popular slogans of the masses - "Land to the Peasants" "Workers Control" and "All Power to the Soviets" the Bolsheviks could seize power and move to the next phase of the Marxist revolution - The dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the months that followed, Lenin persuaded the Bolsheviks that his scam was a runner and they concentrated their efforts on gaining influence in the Soviets and in the army.

Don't you know the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the working class themselves?

No, but if you hum a few bars, I'll try and fake it.



The October Revolution of 1917 was a spontaneous affair, the Bolsheviks simply pushed through the crowd shouting "Stand

quarantined and strictly rationed. Soon, with the Bolshevik Secret Police, the Cheka quietly overseeing the running of the Soviets and the Trade Unions, freedom had disappeared.

## Anarchy in the Ukraine

During the uprisings and reaction that followed the October Revolution, the fertile earth of the Southern Ukraine was trampled under the boots of at least four advancing and retreating armies. Various at war with each other faced with a strong spirit of independence amongst the local insurgent peasants, none of these forces conquered the region or stayed long enough to set up any form of government.

Official historians have failed to record the military genius of Nestor Makhno and the heroic deeds of his comrades in the "Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army" of the Ukraine. If the "Makhnovists" as they became known, are mentioned at all, they are referred to as "Bandits" or (rather bizarrely) as part of the local right-wing "Kulak" movement. But if Truth is the first casualty of war, then the history of war must be a pack of lies.

Makhno was of poor peasant stock, an anarchist who had spent many years in prison for "terrorist activities" against the Tsar. He had been released in the February amnesty, and by October was in the thick of it - redistributing the land and resources.

The Bolshevik Party found it difficult to recruit or organise in the Ukraine, so Lenin decided to use the republic as a bargaining chip with Germany in Russia's withdrawal from the First World War.

Threatened by powerful enemies on all sides, Makhno and thousands of his fellow peasants launched a campaign of armed resistance, so wild and imaginative that it became the stuff of instant legend. Theatrical hit-and-run attacks disguised as enemy officers, daring assassinations, robbing the rich, giving to the poor, it all read like the further adventures of Robin Hood, and Makhno, though only 28, was honoured with the title of *Batko* ("Little father") as he was 5'4".

The Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army soon became a fully operational volunteer army numbering 50,000 and for three years, the million of so peasants of the Ukraine learned how to live in a lawless society under fire. A society based on co-operation with no state power, no politicians, no landowners and consequently no concept of property - in effect, a state of Anarchy.

The Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army liberated several northern cities from the Ukrainian Nationalists. They threw open the prisons, blew up police stations, wasted the bosses and returned power directly to the workers. They ignored the local Bolsheviks and other socialist authoritarians.

1918 saw Germany's defeat in the First World War and the Bolsheviks turned their attention once more to the Ukraine. They established a political foothold in the northern cities and then moved south with the Red Army, ostensibly to defend the revolution against the Tsarist "Whites" and the Nationalists.

Fighting under the black flag of Anarchy, the Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army were renowned for their bravery, moreover they were respected for their honour and revolutionary ethics - they elected their own commanders, were self-disciplined and owed their allegiance solely to the insurgent peasants. Their military alliance with the "Reds" was fraught with political differences and ended when the Bolsheviks started interfering with the politics of the local free communes.

Respect for the Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army's idealism led thousands of Red Army soldiers to defect to them. Trotsky, the Bolshevik Commissar for war, soon replaced troops with Chinese and Lettish soldiers who spoke different

Elsewhere in Russia, idealists began to offer their services to Makhno and the movement grew, developing an education and cultural wing publishing newspapers and propaganda.



By 1920, Trotsky's tactics had become ugly. He ordered the assassination of thousands of villagers loyal to the Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army and he withdrew Red Army troops from the front and allowed the Tsarist Cossacks to overrun the Southern Ukraine. The Makhnovists retreated, a growing caravan of their supporters and refugees trailing behind them, until eventually this vast, nomadic village was boxed on all sides by a variety of enemy armies. The Red Army waited.

In a brilliant stroke, the Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army attacked their enemies where they were strongest, turned their weapons against them, and went on to liberate the Southern Ukraine one more time. Trotsky again offered a military deal. Makhno agreed, subject to the release of all Anarchist prisoners throughout Russia and was once again betrayed. On the 26th November 1920, the Makhnovist commanders were invited to a joint conference - they were met by a firing squad.

Makhno, ever the romantic hero, eluded capture and continued to fight on, but the Bolsheviks had weakened his grass roots support and the war-weary Ukrainian peasants were slow to pick up the pieces.

Their brief flirtation with freedom was over.

We have all flirted with freedom and, deep inside, all of us have the urge to make it a serious relationship.

The Anarchist values of individual freedom, grass roots democracy, and the decentralisation of all forms of power are, if anything, more pertinent today than ever.

See you on the barricades. - Tony Allen, September, 1990.

- Taken from Crisis.

The remainder of the Revolutionary Insurrectionist Army managed to fight their way to Romania where they dispersed to lives of exile in various other lands. A few remained to organise and fight in the Ukraine. In response to the wholesale massacres of anarchists once the RIA was defeated, the Communist Party HQ in Moscow was blown up in retaliation in September 1921.

Like other anarchist armies and militias that have existed during other revolutions and the Second World War, the "commanders" held no privileges over other members - they gave orders in the heat of battle as it would be impossible to make a collective decision under fire, and if the order given was clearly stupid or suicidal, it did not have to be obeyed.

@@@ Two books on life during and after the Russian Revolution worth reading are: