

Number 23, Spring 1994

# The State Adversary



## The BIG Squeeze

GATT • Bosnia • NAFTA • Zapatismo • ABC

# The State Adversary

Number 23, Spring 1994.



At last, a new issue of TSA! No doubt this will have a few of you surprised, and even more of you wondering why it has taken so long. After all, the last issue was in April 1993.

At the National Anarchist Meeting held in Wellington in April it was decided that TSA be transferred to Wellington with input into its production coming from around the country. With the revival of TSA have come a few changes, one of the most obvious being layout. Many people have commented that the type was too small and the layout too compact. With access to a computer with all the necessary software for magazine production we hope to be able to experiment with different layouts to keep things from stagnating.

Another change is with content. We hope to be able to go into more depth on topics we feel are important, giving a critical anarchist analysis of relevant issues. Emphasis will be placed on how an anarchist approach can be used to effect change. For this to be done effectively we are counting on our readership for two things:

## 1. Subscriptions

Previously TSA relied on donations to keep it going, supplemented by the occasional fund-raising event. We wanted TSA to be a quarterly magazine, but with money lacking this did not happen. This made production more difficult as some content had to be dropped when it became outdated, creating a cycle that was hard to break out of. This was part of the reason TSA went into

relapse. From now on TSA is available through mail by subscription only. Enclosed with this issue is a subscription form. If you do not return it then you will receive no further issues of TSA. We have done our best to note which of our readers have their subscription covered by a previous donation. Subscribers will receive stickers or a poster with each issue. We will continue trading with other magazines as usual and will give free subscriptions to prisoners.

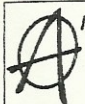
## 2. Written contributions:

We need articles, letters and graphics. These can be on any relevant topic. While we can not give a guarantee that we will print anything and everything that we receive, if it is well written or drawn then it is more likely to be included. Tentative dates for publication will be: March, June, September and December. Deadline for each issue is the 10th of the month previous to publication.

We welcome feedback on this issue. Tell us what you like or don't like, or what you would like to see more of. If you can help with distribution then get in touch for wholesale rates.

As for the back cover, we are reluctant to enter into the squabbling prevalent amongst minor leftist groups, but decided to indulge in some parody of the self-important poison pens of the partyliners. Will this provoke pages of pertinent analysis of the debates between Bakunin and Marx in the socialist papers? Don't be too surprised!

—The TSA Collective.



**A**narchism is the political philosophy of people seeking a society in which all individuals have the greatest choice in the way they live their lives. Therefore we work towards the creation of a global network of communities formed by voluntary agreements based on co-operation and respect for the freedom of others. We oppose all forms of oppression including sexism, racism, religious intolerance, discrimination on the basis of sexuality, class structures, the governing of one person by another and any other form of authoritarianism or hierarchy that might happen along. Therefore we support the empowerment of individuals and communities working towards freedom, we support genuine resistance to authority. We are not the slightest bit interested in those who merely seek to replace one authoritarian system with another. Some of us like olives, some of us don't.



**The State Adversary**  
PO Box 9263 Wellington

The State Adversary is produced by the State Adversary Collective, an independent, autonomous collective based in Wellington and open to interested anarchists and supporters.

Opinions expressed in this magazine do not necessarily represent the views of the collective or of any member of the collective or any other organisation.

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## Contributions

Contributions of copy and photographs/graphics are eagerly accepted. TSA is produced on an Apple Macintosh using Microsoft Word 5 and Aldus Pagemaker 4.0, although we have access to PC's and Wordperfect if contributors wish to send material on disc.

## Advertisements

Advertisements are accepted subject to the discretion of the collective. Rates are negotiable. We like to support progressive groups.

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# McDonald's Sues Activists

AS REPORTED in previous issues of TSA, Helen Steel and Dave Morris of the anarchist environmental group Greenpeace (London) are being sued for libel by the McDonald's corporation over an allegedly libellous leaflet titled "What's wrong with McDonald's? - Everything they don't want you to know", which was distributed by the group. After three and a half years of pre-trial hearings (27 in all, some of which were 5 days long) the actual trial began on June 27. The case is being heard without a jury as Richard Rampton QC, McDonald's lawyer (and one of Britain's most expensive lawyers), argued that the case would be too complex for a jury to understand. All up the trial is expected to last 3-4 months, with a one month break



## Critical Mass

CRITICAL MASS started in San Francisco in 1991 with 50 people riding their bikes home from work. The idea was to demonstrate an eco-friendlier method of commuting than auto-transport. It soon caught on, involving several hundred people each Friday afternoon, and spread to other US cities (and even to Poznan in Poland!). As it grew it began to disrupt vehicle traffic, culminating in a bicycle blockade of a four-lane motorway. Mass arrests followed with one rider being framed with Felony Assault on a police officer with a deadly weapon - namely a bicycle.

Local cop Lieutenant Lopes claimed that Critical Mass riders are '...nothing more than self-proclaimed anarchists and local activists who have adopted innovative tactics to create civil disorder and attempt to carry out the anarchist revolution.' If only it were that easy.

—From Contra Flow.

in August. So far the pre-trial hearings have cost McDonald's millions of dollars in legal costs, and the trial is expected to cost them millions more.

Greenpeace (London) called for an international day of demonstrations outside McDonald's outlets on June 25 to show support for Morris and Steel. A demo in Wellington received coverage in several newspapers.

One of the major aspects of the case is the allegation that McDonald's uses beef from rainforest lands. McDonald's denied this initially, but has later said that it does not use beef from "recently deforested" rainforest land. During the first weeks of the trial, McDonald's lawyer was overruled in his attempt to block the presentation of video evidence from a UK Channel 4 TV programme linking McDonald's with the use of beef from Costa Rica.

Before the trial began, McDonald's distributed a leaflet in all their UK branches called "Why McDonald's is going to court." The leaflet says that Morris and Steel had deliberately spread lies about McDonald's. This has led the two defendants to lodge a counter-claim against McDonald's for libel.

A McLibel support campaign branch has been set up in Wellington, as an anarchist here has submitted written evidence for the defendants. If you would like updates or more background material on the case send either a donation of cash or some 45c stamps to cover postage and photocopying to: McLibel Support Campaign (NZ), PO Box 14-156, Kilbirnie, Wellington. We will have a report on how the trial went in the next TSA.

-Ross

## God and Anarchists vs. the War Machine

On the anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, August 6th 1994, Moana Cole and Ciaran O'Reilly, two christian anarchists from the Catholic Worker Community, entered the Harewood US airforce base at Christchurch airport. The two hung photos of Hiroshima and of nuclear blast victims, and spray painted silhouettes of the vaporized victims of the bombing before being discovered and arrested for trespass.

The base at Harewood is used to support US operations in Antarctica and to service *Starlifter* flights en route to and from the CIA and NSA (National Security Agency) electronic intelligence gathering bases at Pine Gap and Nurrangar in Australia. Intelligence information is shipped out to the US and supplies brought in aboard these flights, which are exempted from checks under NZ's anti-nuclear legislation.

The trial is set for October 18th at the Christchurch District Court. Further vigils and actions are planned. For more information contact Catholic Worker, 8a Cotterill St. Addington, Christchurch, Phone 03-338 7105.

## Visions of Freedom

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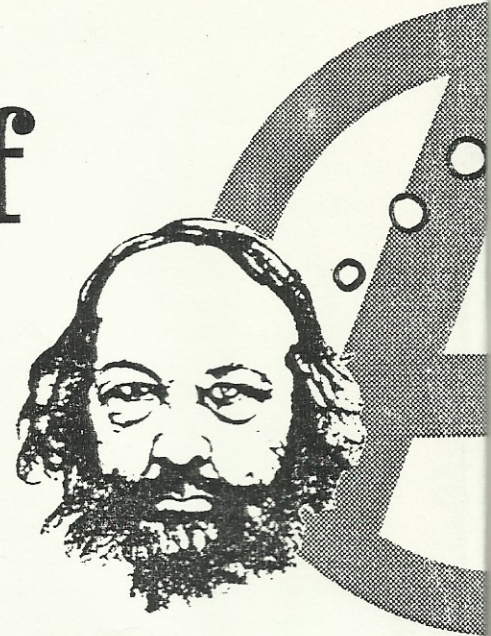
c/o 110 Crystal St., Petersham, 2049 Sydney, Australia.

## Wellington Anarchist Happenings

A generally low public profile, but lots of happenings behind the scenes lately; the big news is the opening of our new office in the Wellington Peace and Environment Centre at 264 Cuba Street. The office will provide a base for CEC, TSA and Katipo Collective and will hopefully generate lots of activity and raise our profile heaps, come up and see us sometime. We need shelves and bits and pieces of office junk, if anyone has any lying around. Social evenings and a building open day are planned for the future. We have a new banner in dayglo orange, white and purple, so no more hiding in the shadows! The Katipo

Collective (Wellington Anarcha-Feminists) have been busy with a new issue of *Sekhmet*, participation in a Palmerston North Women's festival, and organising for the Wellington Random Trollops gig. Our 'Survival Guide' programme - handy hints for those on low incomes - has been running on Access Radio for the last few months. The East Timor Action Group have held a couple of good demos against Indonesia's continuing occupation of East Timor and the New Zealand Government's complicity, otherwise things have been quiet on the demo front.

# The Arrow of Anarchism



Where should the Aotearoa Anarchist movement be going? Brian Lilburn argues for greater intellectual dissidence.

[THE NATIONAL ANARCHIST Meeting] unfortunately confirms the misgivings I began to have at the last conference. I don't know if any good can come of writing rather pessimistically like this, but 'oldies' like me tend to be a bit burnt out, one gets isolated, and the world passes one by. Although I'd like to aim to attend the big conference planned for 1995 (if I'm welcome to), in the meantime I don't think I'll be setting aside the time and energies to be very much involved. Perhaps I'd like to wait until some of the dust clears; having done more than most radicals in my lifetime to bring about populist changes, from radical student days, forming a society to oppose bigoted evangelism, organising against the Vietnam war (smuggling Vietnamese student conscripts to Sweden), publicising the peace movement, demos against the Springbok tour, battling to pull Shirtcliff down a peg, and so on. I mention these things to ensure that nobody can get away with saying that this critique is just the product of a do nothing armchair theorist.

The way things are going I would judge the @-movement in Aotearoa/NZ to be on the way down hill to fragmentation and oblivion. Quite apart from what's going on or not going on within it, the national climate has worsened. People, including myself, are adopting a more

fortress mentality. The institutional violence of the State and its minions is reflected back at 'Establishment' people in domestic, racial, youth and organised-criminal violence. They are happy to tolerate a lot of violence, so long as they can keep the public in a state of confusion about it.

Many people react most violently, not to broken heads and penetrated bodies, but to, say, a man streaking in front of a bunch of kids - that is, to what does violence to their value-system-disguises of atavistic sexual fears and guilts. That certainly suits the 'Establishment', most effectively drawing attention away from their structural violence. But the degree of head breaking and penis jabbing lately has them worried. Their response is to clamp down (with lashings of indignation and maudlin sentimentality) on whatever disturbs their spirit-smothering cloak of blandness and liberal-conservative orthodoxy. The new catch word for nastiness, the new scapegoat, is extremism. It's probable that the public were becoming more tolerant towards modern anarchism, realising the extent to which it is non-violent. But that progress is likely to disappear if the media-masters can create a general groundswell against 'extremism'.

In tricks like this, the establishment

can outdo opponents all down the line. They have limitless clever lackeys' time and energy, and finances. They thrive on the pitiful little token disruptions that any protesters can put up against them. But what really frightens them is the very thing that I fear many of our Anarchist comrades have a tendency to belittle: thought-subversion or loose-cannon intellectualism. For a canny group to be well enough organised to expose the greed motive, hypocrisy and absurdity of their pseudo-values, policies and justifications of them - that is their greatest fear. Trying to do it as an individual soon has you suppressed and ignored in one way or another. But if groups and networks were united and smart enough to do it effectively...?

Making a fuss outside offices of administrators, employers or outside MacDonalds- what does it achieve? At best, the media just treat it as a few shitstirrers doing their slightly sensational thing, nothing more. But I wouldn't say that sort of thing should never be done. What I am saying is that, if it is done, there should be a philosophical/intellectual/theoretical background to it, coming through to the public in a punchy, easy to understand dramatic way. Unless comrades build up that background, frontal action will get nowhere. The difficulty of doing this is partly a peculiarly Kiwi problem. Russians, and even Swedes respect intelligensia in a way which Kiwis would find hard to understand. My Russian son-in-law, just a sailor from a squid boat crew, respects intellectuals without expecting them to be rich and successful on "Establishment" terms. We Kiwis on the other hand, seem to be brought up with scorn for the backroom philosopher, ideologist or socio-political theorist. That's

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Hmmm...

Mikhail Bakunin, so-called Granddaddy of modern anarchism, in pensive mood.

a hopeless attitude for Kiwi Anarchists to have, and yet it seems to come through in the National Anarchist Meeting report [minutes of the National Meeting, available from the CEC].

"...Conference tends towards theory,..." "DO something real." "...fuck-shit-up..." (don't terms like that just reinforce the prevailing bad scene of all non-'Readers Digest'-sex associated with filth and violence?) "...scared of theory/intellectualism?"

A lot of anarchists themselves claim to be non-ideological, and with some reason, but the claim itself is a sort of ideology. Unless a form of ideology informs and inspires action, efforts will be fruitless. You can not counter bad ideology with no ideology. The ideological agenda of the 'Establishment' is its achilles heel. Assisted by misguided liberals they call it a post-ideological age, to keep their own ideology as an unexamined secret. It is ugly to have it exposed, and if we do, people may first react negatively. But they will be drawn into thinking thoughts that they never dared to think before, and cracks will appear. To get this process going seems to me to be the prime task of Anarchists and their friends and where their energies should first be going, before too much concentration on all sorts of activist, practical schemes. It's what underpins the success of those schemes, making them mean something more than the satisfying of restless desires to lead or be seen to be doing something. Besides which, there's so little money around for most of these National Anarchist Meeting suggested schemes; while self-education and education of others during everyday contacts costs next to nothing. If one is simply to go overboard on 'deeds' one risks being seen as no different from

## Autonomy, Anarchy and Collectivism

The last couple of years has seen a push by some anarchists to develop a national anarchist network, via the national conferences and, this year, a national anarchist meeting. The meeting organisers (the Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation, a general Wellington based anarchist group) were criticised by some anarchists who felt alienated by the decision making processes used to organise the meeting. These critics charged that national consultation should precede national activities, people were feeling left out, other groups (the McGillicuddies, with an overlapping membership and competing events) were not consulted. The same people criticised the group reviving TSA for similar failure to consult.

These problems indicate a need to clarify the anarchist movement's structure.

New Zealand anarchists need to create a structure under which they can work, a structure which is understood by those within and on the fringes of the anarchist movement. I suggest that autonomous collectives are the only workable and acceptable structure for an anarchist movement. Regionally based collectives have always been the basis for anarchist movements, large and small, because they allow direct democracy on a day-to-day level. Once these collectives are working (and in this country most anarchists are not working in functioning collectives) they can then determine for themselves how to relate to other collectives, whether a national structure is desirable or useful.

Along these lines, the Wellington

based TSA collective decided that it could not denote TSA as a 'National Anarchist Magazine' as this would imply that we are reflecting a national structure that does not exist. Without a national structure (and decision making process, grievance procedure, criteria for membership/recognition etc.) the title would be meaningless and simply create unreal expectations of the magazine's role.

Formalising a collective structure may seem off-putting to some anarchists—who wants more meetings? But what other decision making process can anarchists embrace which does not mystify or exclude newcomers, entrench the old hacks or allow individuals to impose their own agendas? Too often anarchist groups in New Zealand have failed to outgrow the social groups in which they began. A simple structure of meetings, a current contact list and a clear record of decisions avoids many hassles which beset groups. The collectives can remain open and consult outside of the group whenever possible, but group autonomy should be maintained and defended.

The anarchist movement in this country may be small and transient, but it only takes one or two committed individuals to maintain a collective and a handful of others, even if only irregularly active, to create something worthwhile, be it a magazine, cafe, demonstrations or propaganda and ideas. Learning to work collectively is a challenge in itself and is a threat to authoritarians who claim that collectives can never work.

Jo Buchanan

a member of a critical-minded but Christian do-gooding action group. Perhaps there's not so much wrong with that; but I don't think there is much of a future in it for anyone who wants this planet to have a future. The consuming 'monster' will live on. A unifying intellectual vision and critique of potential of human nature is

the "head of the arrow that will open the way into the vital organs of the monster. The shaft of the arrow is the many community-action schemes proposed (or something like them). Without the head, the shaft cannot penetrate. Without the following shaft, the head won't fly straight."

# ¡Viva Zapatismo!

THE UPRISING of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) began on the evening of December 31st, 1993, and several towns and cities in the southern state of Chiapas, the most impoverished state in Mexico, were quickly seized.

The EZLN take their name from Emiliano Zapata, a prominent figure in the 1910-18 Mexican revolution. Although not declaring himself an anarchist, Zapata was influenced by anarchist ideas and theory. Zapata was born of peasant Indian parents, and had spent many years working through legal channels to have ancestral lands returned to the Indians, who had used it for subsistence agriculture until it was stolen by the conquistadors and their descendants, who claimed the fertile valleys for cattle ranches and coffee plantations.

An anarchist uprising in 1910 sent the dictator Porfirio Diaz scuttling off to Europe. Limited reforms took place before General Victoriano Huerta had the President murdered and dictatorship arose anew. In response rebellions broke out in several provinces. Zapata introduced the ideas of revolutionary anarchism to the people of his province, ideas he had learned while studying Spanish. The various rebel armies formed an alliance and eventually took Mexico City, and hoped to be able to regain their land and win greater freedom, aims reflected in their slogan 'land and liberty'.

Despite attempts by the government to buy Zapata off with bribes of cattle ranches and offers of power, the Zapatistas, as they had become known, were confident of having achieved their aims and returned home. But the gap in political power was filled by a General named Carranza, who connived with the USA to defeat the army of Zapata's ally, Pancho Villa. Zapata was then murdered when he showed up for peace talks with the government. The oxymoronic Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) then took power and halted land reforms.

Seventy-five years later the PRI are still in power, an achievement attained by widespread corruption and rigged

elections (ballot boxes stuffed with PRI votes are placed in polling booths *before* voting even begins). The indigenous peoples are still dispossessed of their ancestral lands, and live by growing cash crops such as coffee in the mountains, then carrying them for several days to markets in the cities.

The implications of the NAFTA agreement was of great significance for the timing of the EZLN uprising. Critics of NAFTA say Mexico is now flooded with surplus U.S. agricultural products, undermining local production. For the peasant farmers this is a disaster. It has been predicted that up to 1.5 million people will leave the land for city shanty towns.

During the ten day Chiapas uprising, official documents were taken from municipal buildings and destroyed, over 230 prisoners were freed from four jails, a radio station was taken over, and food warehouses were opened to the public. According to official reports 107 people were killed, but the area was completely closed off to the news media when the army went in. The EZLN say that helicopters given to Mexico by the U.S. government for use in the 'war on drugs' have been fitted with machine guns and bombs and used against the civilian population in San Cristobal, Ocosingo, Altamarino and Las Margaritas.

The uprising forced the government to agree to two weeks of negotiations, where the EZLN presented a list of 34 demands dealing with land reform, human rights, political freedom and equal distribution of wealth and resources (35% of Chiapas homes have no electricity, even though the state produces 20% of Mexico's electricity). The PRI declared that it would meet some of these demands, but once again resorted to ballot rigging to win the August elections.

What differentiates the EZLN from other Latin American guerilla armies is not just an absence of Marxist dogma, but also their lack of desire for political power. 'Subcommandante Marcos', the EZLN frontperson, told anarchist journalist Bill Weinberg, "The federal government does

not represent us. We want to follow our own Mexican way to democracy and liberty and justice... We are not a cliché of Cuban socialism or Castroism or Sendero Luminoso [the Peruvian Maoists, known for their tendency to kill innocent civilians]. If you want to call it Mexican socialism or the Mexican way to liberty, then that's a good name for it."

The anarchist ideas of Flores Magon had a great impact on the Mexican revolution and continue to do so today, Weinberg asked 'Marcos' about the influence of Magonismo, the Mexican anarchist tradition; "Basically all of our thought about the workers and campesinos and the revolution are taken from Flores Magon, Francisco [Pancho] Villa and Emiliano Zapata. Their ideas about the farm workers, the workers in the cities, their hopes of liberty are our inspiration for this movement."

Now that it is clear that the PRI have no intention of acting on the EZLN's demands, it is time for the EZLN to consider their next move. They had spent ten years preparing for the New Years uprising, and are unlikely to settle for ten days of fighting and two weeks of talks that produce nothing. It is also unlikely that they thought they could achieve much through armed uprising except to bring attention to their plight. It is day to day activity and support that will bring real change. They do have support; 100 000 people in Mexico City marched in solidarity with the EZLN on April 10, the 75th anniversary of Zapata's murder, whether they can match the might of NAFTA in their efforts to win change we shall have to wait to see.

- Ross Gardiner

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# To McGSP or not to McGSP?



## Are the McGillicuddies just another tick in the box or anarchistic fellow travellers? Uncle Graeme gives his views.

One may well wonder what a conservative, monarchist movement that spends a fair amount of its time and energy running for parliament has in common with anarchism in Aotearoa. And yet there is a significant overlap of ideas and individuals between these apparently contradictory movements.

So how can an idea that proclaims that a change of leaders is the joy of fools agree with a party vying for votes? Anarchism has watched many people of good intentions attempt to change the system from within and the best of them have managed only a little window dressing, perhaps a slightly redesigned velvet glove for the iron fist of capital. Reformism at best deforms the system, bends in slightly to deflect the winds of change, but when the wind weakens the system pops back into shape, because nothing fundamental has altered. But just how reformist is a

party that states that if elected to power it will put the Beehive on the bonfire? Can capitalism cope with a return to the Middle Ages, opting out of the consumer society, the abolition of money, dismantling of all factories, mills and power stations etcetera? Somehow I think not.

The anarchist position on voting is venerable, even sacrosanct, but I feel we are in danger of telling people something they already know. (Here I must point out that in this era of anarchism being a fringe idea essentially unknown by the population at large, the 'people' I am referring to are the conscious minority). This is fatal for a political movement as once you start preaching the obvious you obviously have little to offer. Many people today feel as do anarchists that voting changes nothing. To tell them only that, tells them nothing. Whereas the McGSP policies are simultaneously a subtle and intelligent appraisal of the state of our society, whilst

being a highly amusing and damning satire of parliamentary pork barrel politics.

With regressionism, the Great Leap Backwards, the contrast with anarcho-syndicalism is strong - though there remain many points of contact with anarcho-communism with both systems being centered on self sufficient communities. The Great Leap Backwards is a far more revolutionary concept than the Great Leap Forwards which by dint of great sacrifice on behalf of the peasants and workers of China, achieved nothing but an increase in the efficiency of state capital. The GLB asserts that technology is not some juggernaut destined only to be merely the device of Capital attempting to gain complete control over the productive process. Technology is not a tool but a weapon, a weapon where we all have our fingers on the trigger. Regressionism is also based on the modern fear of a global collapse, something that classical anarchism did not (apart from the Malthusian population crisis doctrine) have to consider. In this facet, the McGSP doctrine is of a post-collapse society, echoing what many prophets in the wilderness have been howling: that we face an ecological collapse, perhaps triggered by falling world temperatures (recently scientifically corroborated) causing a drastic reduction in food production resulting in famine and war. Is this the hidden agenda in tooling up the police force and axing the supportive aspects of the state?

One may think that the institution of a monarch would surely be a sticking point with anarchists, but a head of state where there is no state, a ruler with no wealth or formal power is perhaps not such a threat! The McGSP also has its leaders but I think for anarchists the problem is not leaders as such but followers of the uncritical compulsive variety. The McGSP is not rich in these but here lurks a danger of the tyranny of structurelessness with its with its informal elites, in-groups and out-groups, commanders and camera fodder.

The McGSP has achieved an aggregation of creative and committed individuals, perhaps one of the largest street theatre groups in the world who are in the process of building a counter culture. This is a major accomplishment. It is the revolution of everyday life that retribalisation implies that is the most significant component of McGillicuddyism. All power to the imagination! This is revolution, or rather devolution for the fun of it.

—Uncle Graeme

# GATT

## and the New World Odour

**C**apital is no longer fixed to one place. It can take up its plant and walk to wherever labour is cheap and captive; invariably in the Third World. It can move from free trade zone to free trade zone in Malaysia, Taiwan, Brazil, Sri Lanka etc., from one pool of cheap labour to another extracting maximum profit and dumping each when done. The countries of the Third World are forced into an auction to offer multinational corporations cheaper and cheaper labour — de-unionised, captive labour, right-less, lower paid female and child labour; tax incentives; unencumbered land and mineral rights and access to raw material.

Military regimes or parliamentary dictatorships are installed and maintained in Third World countries by Western powers. The labour is kept cheap and captive, the land taken away from the peasants and handed it over to agribusiness, the natural resources are gifted to mining companies.

Trade no longer follows the flag, the flag follows trade. Capital has broken its national bonds. And the governments of the West follow in capital's wake to set up the political and social orders within which capital can safely and profitably operate. No longer just by force of arms, but with the force of economic logic as preached by the World Bank, sustained by the International Monetary Fund, imposed by Structural Adjustment Programmes, and mediated by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

After World War II, the USA (specifically the Council of Foreign Relations, which had been working alongside a Rockefeller funded think-tank since 1939) became the architect of a new global economy. The complex mixture of related institutions which were created: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), along with the United Nations, constructed and oversaw the conditions for the rise of the multinationals to their current position of controlling in excess of 70% of world trade. This has been achieved principally through the subjection of Third World countries to Structural Adjustment Programmes, or Re-structuring. The specific structural changes are usually dictated by the IMF, and include 1) Opening all markets to outside investment and trade, 2) Eliminating all tariff barriers, 3) Severely reducing government spending, especially in areas of services to the poor, 4) Converting small-scale, self-sufficient food farming to high-tech agribusiness, in order to produce export commodities such as coffee and cattle, and 5) Demonstrating an unwavering dedication to clearing the last forests, mining the last minerals, diverting and damming the last rivers, road building for military and commercial access, and getting native peoples off their land by any means

necessary.

All of these 'adjustments' have pulled local economies into line with what has become the New World Order.

### GATT/Uruguay Round

Seven years ago the representatives of the 117 GATT countries sat around at the opening meeting in a casino at Punta del Este on the Uruguay coast. It's not hard to imagine the kind of jokes that were doing the rounds amongst the rich G7 representatives. The location must have seemed the choice of a particularly sick sense of humour for the Third World countries who had been dragged into the negotiations through misinformation, bribery and blackmail ever since the USA proposed this round in 1982.

The Uruguay Round of GATT originated from a US request for a world-wide deregulation of environmental and health/safety provisions along with the expansion of GATT jurisdiction to cover not only trade in goods, but also banking, insurance, foreign investment, communication, television and intellectual property.

GATT appears to be an attempt at a 'lodestone' in the New World Order. It wasn't for nothing that the world's three most powerful monetary officials (Preston, Sutherland

and Camdessus - heads of the World Bank, GATT and IMF respectively) in closing the IMF press conference in September 1993 issued a joint statement referring to the then still unagreed GATT saying "With so much at stake, political hesitations and vested interests must be put aside."

The London Financial Times referred to the global restructuring which GATT will impose as "A new imperial age" and is widely being touted in the establishment media as a potential \$400 billion annual boost to world trade. Along with the World Bank, IMF and G7, GATT is part of a de-facto world government serving the interests of the major multinational corporations, banks and investment firms. Implicit in the GATT agreement is the creation of a bureaucracy which will act as the "ringmaster" of global trade probably going under the name of Multilateral Trading Organisation (MTO).

A feature of all these bodies not mentioned in our wonderful 'free press' is their immunity from popular influence. GATT will prohibit 'democratically elected' bodies (parliamentary dictatorships) North, South, East and West, from enacting measures deemed inconsistent with the provisions of the agreement, including those on the environment, workers rights and health/safety as 'unfair restraints on trade'.

Initially, Third World governments will be reduced to their police/military function defending the interests of multinationals and global capital on pain of sanctions imposed by the Multilateral Trading Organisation (which in many cases will mean little change).

**IN RESPONSE TO NAFTA, the Zapatist Mexican Indian revolutionary Emiliano Zapata (1910-1918 revolution) staged an uprising (short-lived, and with subsequent negotiations lasting too much longer) it certainly took will flood Mexico with cheap US agricultural million peasant farmers out of business urban shanty towns. Several months prior to the Revolution in Mexico's largest bottling company. Revolution!" on their bottles. The Zapatist**



# The Trojan Pigs

THE NEW RIGHT ASSAULT on the New Zealand economy really began with the election of Muldoon in 1976. Similar operations destroyed the local economies of the socialist government of Chile and of the Australian Labor party.

With the aid of Muldoon's World Bank handlers the New Zealand economy went from being a protected 'home' economy with a reasonable percentage of wealth staying within the country, and being comparatively well distributed, to being a collapsing wreck crippled with unmanageable debt. This was standard World Bank policy as applied to third world countries: to load up countries with lavish loans that were beyond their capability to repay (often as part of a package deal with covert aid to military coups), increasing the World Bank's direct control over those economies. For example, when third world countries began to default on these loans in the 1980s extensions were granted on condition of accepting World Bank 'advice', which was to cut social welfare spending (in line with the war on the poor, ie. genocide) and export raw materials. As this advice was given to all countries concerned, the market was flooded with raw materials and prices plummeted. Thus third world countries that markedly increased their productivity continued to go deeper into debt. The increase in social unrest caused by this structural impoverishment increased sales of weaponry and counter-insurgency assistance.

Enter the United States as the Rent-a-Cop of the world. In New Zealand the 'Think Pig' policy was nothing more than a mechanism for putting the local economy in hock while providing a subsidy for international business. Major contracts such as Marsden 2 which could have been handled locally were farmed out overseas. This channelling of New Zealand capital overseas constricted the local economy, forcing some out of business and preventing others from keeping up with technological development. This form of 'entryism' also went unchecked in other areas. P & O managed to gain control of the Union Steamship Board of Directors. Their executives then partied away the profits and made every stupid decision possible, so scuttling New Zealand's only independent shipping line. When the extent of New Zealand's debt was discovered by the

public in 1981, Muldoon was hurled from office and it was time for the next little piggy to go to market.

This little piggy - Roger Douglas - had been worming his way through the Labour Party with his middle-class accomplices, and having eaten its heart out, turned it into another Trojan Pig to be granted the keys to the economy by an unsuspecting populace. Aided by the media and our small-town parochialism, 'Rogernomics' was hailed as a Kiwi invention when it was actually textbook political economics of big business. The only original idea Douglas ever had was to suck and he never stopped doing it. His 'new right' policy was merely to act as an agent in the takeover of the New Zealand economy. Douglas teamed up with Michael Fay to destroy the BNZ. At Douglas' instigation, the Labour government told the bank to lend money to entrepreneurs dealing in overseas properties 'to give New Zealand a high business profile'. Not a particularly socialist policy, but Fay did his best by hiring a shady character (who had actually been fingered for falsifying bank records on behalf of the Nugan-Hand bank) to deal with the loans. Loan policy then became: well if you want a home loan fuck off, but if you are my mate then how many million do you want? About a billion was dispersed in unsecured loans that, strangely enough, all went bad and swallowed the last 20 years of BNZ (read depositors') profits. The BNZ response was to sack everybody it could, retrench those it couldn't, close every branch it was able to, and fall gently into the hands of the vultures waiting below.

These are the Trojan Pigs, chest thumping nationalistic blimps whose hidden agenda is to sell us down the river. In New Zealand Piggy Muldoon set the pace with jackals like Douglas, Fay etc, picking up the scraps. In Aussie Bond and Elliot stand out for having filched huge amounts of local capital and sent it offshore. Anarchists and their allies may not feel that they have much in common with the small investors that were the main targets of this shake down but what we are witnessing is the recolonisation of New Zealand and Australia, the destruction of our local economy and integration into the new world order.

—Alexi Pharmic

Governments will no longer be able to require that multinationals use a minimum local content in production, to impose an export obligation upon them, or to take on a local partner. The trade in services is equally clear: foreign service enterprises must be treated on an equal basis with domestic enterprises. This is calculated to benefit advanced countries in capital intensive areas like banking, insurance and communications. GATT's ruling on Intellectual Property will create a global patents system which will dramatically alter the use of such basics as seeds, plants, animals and pharmaceutical's. For example: a farmer using patented seeds will not be permitted to replant seeds from his or her own field without paying a royalty to the patent holder. A dairy farmer will find that a calf born to their hybrid cow is the property of the company holding the patent.

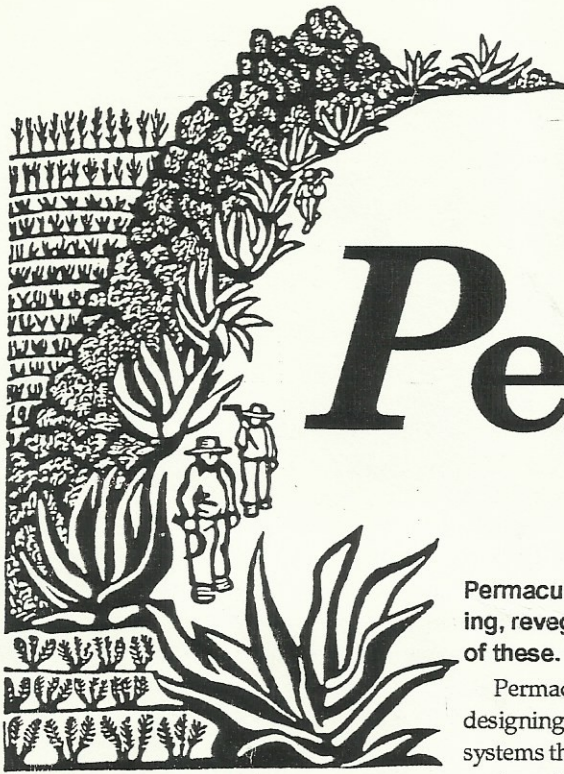
In meetings of such organisations as the UN and the Non-Aligned Countries the ruling classes of the world used to feel the need to at least express rhetoric about the human catastrophe that is the North-South divide. Now GATT, which will lead to the increased emiseration of the majority of the world's people is being hailed as salvation. 'The club of rich white men' which during the Cold War used to wring their hands in public over atrocities they called the 'price of democracy' (and which liberals dubbed pathetically 'the unacceptable face of capitalism') have nothing left to hide behind but their money. The 'kick-start' GATT is intended to deliver to these capitalists, who have been looking for a way out of their decline in profit since the 1970s, will take place through the implicit removal of that 'democracy'.

BKKeayla, convener of the India National Working Group on Patent Laws concisely summed up GATT saying "It is blackmail, they are seeking to do through economic rules what formerly the powerful did through armies of invasion and occupation. In the name of 'free trade' they are actually destroying the theoretical basis of their own system."

Nothing fulfils the definition of economics as 'war by other means' than GATT.

—from *ContraFlow*

National Liberation Army (named after Guevara, who played a leading role in the revolution on January 1st, 1994. Although only negotiations with the Mexican government not many by surprise. The NAFTA agreement on natural products, forcing upwards of one billion to join the drift to the already massive debt previously, Coca Cola invested (US)\$200 million with the accompanying slogan "It's what you obviously wanted "the real thing".



Where culture, agriculture and permanence coincide...

# Perma culture

Permaculture has been confused with standard organic gardening, banqueting, revegetation and radical veganism. In reality it may, or may not, include all of these. Nándor Tanczos takes a look.

THE TERM 'PERMACULTURE' was coined by David Holmgren and Bill Mollison in 1974. The word originally came from *permanent agriculture*, but today is seen more as meaning 'permanent culture'. This shows the increasing concern with issues of power and community in modern society.

Permaculture, says Bill Mollison (*Permaculture Designers Manual*, 1992) is the 'Conscious design and maintenance of agriculturally productive ecosystems which have the diversity, stability and resilience of natural ecosystems. It is the harmonious integration of landscape and people, providing their food, energy, shelter and other material and non-material needs in a sustainable way. The philosophy behind permaculture is one of working with, rather than against, nature; of protracted and thoughtful observation, rather than protracted and thoughtless action; of looking at systems in all their functions, rather than asking only one yield of them; and of allowing systems to demonstrate their own evolutions'.

It is worth analysing this statement in detail, because it contains the seed of the entire 600 page manual.

Permaculture sees that how we do agriculture is fundamental to our survival as a culture and species. We are on the brink of ecological disaster due to our stupidity and lack of responsibility to life. Conventional farming has turned countries like Aotearoa into green deserts, where erosion, eutrophication of waterways and loss of biodiversity are rampant.

Permaculture seeks to address this by designing and maintaining production systems that are modelled on natural ecosystems. Instead of gardens we have foraging areas. Instead of orchards we have fruit forests. Systems consist of mutually beneficial associations of plants and animals - for example fruit trees might grow alongside herbs which repel pests or attract insects that predate on pests, plants that are deep rooting and mine minerals from where trees roots do not grow, plants that fix nitrogen, plants that emit gasses that aid fruit ripening and plants that cultivate soil or provide lots of mulch. Animals such as chickens could be introduced to keep insect populations down, fertilise and weed the ground and provide various yields (eggs, feathers, heat etc.).

Advantages of such an approach include the minimisation of energy input requirements from people, and the establishment of complex systems that are stable and resilient. Permaculture is based on a human viewpoint that takes human survival and thrival as a goal. It places people within the landscape and seeks to create an environment that meets people's needs in a sustainable way - thus a permaculture system is concerned not just with food (annual veges, herbs, fruits, nuts, meat and dairy) but also with other material needs such as timber, firewood, craft materials, shelter etc. It looks at social relations and is based on a principle of co-operation as the basis of existing and future life systems.

But wait, did someone say meat? Oh horror!

One of the most important factors in permaculture is energy accounting. A truism of permaculture is that food should

be grown where it is consumed, so as to minimise the need for fossil fuels etc. Many of the grains and pulses that the urban vegetarian depends on are incredibly energy intensive to grow, transport and cook - the soy bean being a good example. Soy beans are also one of the foods owned (100% of patent rights) by a few multinationals. In 1982 they caused more deforestation in the USA and Brazil (where we normally import them from) than any other crop.\*

Vegetarian diets are very efficient, providing they are based on easily cooked crops grown in the home garden, and all wastes (including human wastes) are returned to the land. However many permaculturalists believe that an omnivorous diet makes the best use of complex natural systems, and that people should eat from all levels of the food web. Primarily carnivorous diets have a place in special ecologies, such as where it is very cold, where kai moana is plentiful, or where animals are able to convert otherwise inedible plants into food fit for people (e.g. deserts).

My own opinion is that when buying food, vegetarianism is generally the least ecologically destructive diet. I recognise, however, that sustainable production systems may make animal flesh more acceptable as food. But a more important consideration is to grow your own food as much as possible, or get it from local growers.

Permaculture designs are often based on a zone analysis. Zone one is the area visited many times a day, and so is closest to human activity, a herb and salad vege garden might begin at the kitchen door, with less frequented veges placed

—Continued opposite

# Green Action

**G**reen Action first formed in response to some environmental issues that some Christchurch people were concerned about. Our debut was the opening of the Clyde dam in March when 5 vehicles and 20 people attended with "Green Action" and 'conserve energy - burn a bureaucrat' banners. After enjoying the Clyde demo our next project was to reveal our existence to an unsuspecting public of Christchurch through a media stunt to raise awareness of environmental issues. We chose a fairly low profile and thankless task, cleaning a section of a well known and picturesque central Christchurch drain known as the Avon River, from Fitzgerald Avenue to

Barbados Street. After contacting the Christchurch City Council about our intentions we were provided with 5 pairs of brand new neoprene wading suits and lots of rubber gloves (which we had to give back) and some plastic recycling bins we were allowed to keep (Hooray!).

Saturday the 18th of June was the day we chose and the weather was ideal. Only one media rep turned up and stayed about 15 minutes. The river cleaners paddled and waded upstream from Fitzgerald Avenue towing the blue bins behind them; none of us were really aware of the state of the river and the depth of the mud was quite a surprise, making movement in some parts very difficult.

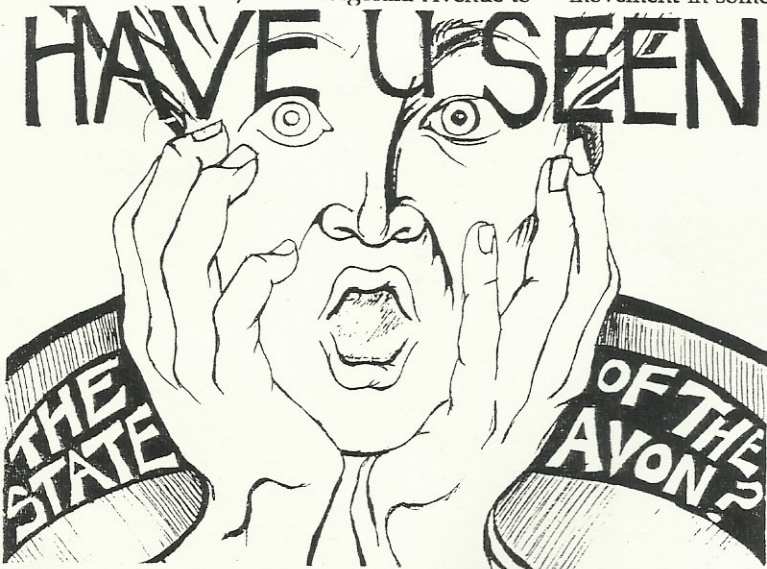
Still we made progress and after about 4 or 5 hours we had finished outside the Star and Garter tavern with very cold hands and a large amount of rubbish. Huge amounts of glass including lots of very

old bottles, tons of beer cans, lots of cutlery and bits of rusty metal, several rubber ducks, bits of marble, and other various macabre items. We separated the rubbish and took it to a CCC landfill (out of sight out of mind) since there was little else we could do with it. The council is yet to refund us for the trailer and tip fees, but it was still an enjoyable experience despite not really getting any publicity for the group.

Green Action's shadowy presence continues in Christchurch, with many more projects in the pipeline: more river clean-ups possibly, potential to provide a community environmental education centre as a Taskforce Green project, assisting some existing reforestation projects, and initiating action if necessary to protect the Waitutu forest in Southland from logging by a Christchurch timber company. Any South Islanders who would like to help out or anyone with advice ideas or comments can write to Green Action, PO Box 22-301, High Street, Otautahi.

The river clean up team, just for the record, was Tom and Jo, Fraser, Dave, Hamish, Helen, Olly and Alastair. Tim did council and media liaison and Richard took photos. Helen made the poster and Dave wrote the article. Till next time, kia kaha, arohanui

—Green Action



## Permaculture (continued)...

further away. A chicken house may lie at the edge of zones one and two, with the chickens ranging through zone two. Zone two would be an intensive home orchard. Zone three consists of the area of commercial activity and of staple crops such as potato, kumara, pumpkin etc. Zone four is foraging, with trees that need minimal maintenance and are visited a few times a year such as nuts. Zone five is wilderness, where we go to observe, contemplate and learn, but not to fiddle. This is where we learn how things work.

Thus ends a brief and totally inadequate lesson on permaculture. However it is worth investigating further, as I believe anarchy must begin with smashing our own dependence on the State and multinational capital.

\* Typesetter's note: 1985 figures show that 95% of the world soya crop was used as animal feed - 12 kilos soya beans = 1 kilo beef. Only 1.5% was eaten directly by humans, with the remaining 3.5% being 'lost' in wastage, mainly in transporting and storage. See also GATT article in this issue for more on seed and bio-patenting.

## Long Boring Political Tracts...



...are almost entirely absent from the Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation's booklist. Instead we have really on to it pamphlets ranging from new titles such as Claudia's *Love Lies Bleeding* (\$2.00), a provocative critique of contemporary feminism, popular titles like *The Dissident Agenda* (\$2.00), an interview with leading U.S. brainworker Noam Chomsky in which he lucidly discusses Anarchism, Marxism, the media and everything, to old favourite *Buffo!* (\$1.50), an anthology of anarchic buffoonery and political pranks. Not to mention nice, user-friendly intro's *Everything You Ever Wanted To Know About Anarchism But Were Afraid To Ask* (\$2.00), *Revolutionary Self-Theory* (\$1.50) and *Anarchism and Feminism* (\$2.50). All make great Christmas gifts. Write with money and a stamp or two for any of the above, or just send a stamped, self-addressed envelope for the full list to:

Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation  
P.O. Box 14-156  
Kilbirnie  
Wellington

# UN peace-keeping, Bosnia and the Left...

**T**he NZ government's decision to send its largest active-service military unit since Vietnam to the former Yugoslavia, would, one would expect, raise a few eyebrows amongst peaceniks and those in solidarity groups, but there has been little debate so far. After three and a half years of war; ignorance of the situation still prevails. And hence the government position is virtually unchallenged, save by a few dogmatic Marxist groups who trot out their usual 'One size fits all' analyses.

Prior to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and the subsequent mass bombing of Iraq, most of the left seemed to have few problems with participation in the normally low-key peace-keeping and monitoring operations of the UN, but since 1990 the UN has clearly been used as a tool in the interests of US and Western European domination of the world, and doesn't look like one of the good guys any more.

However, in such places as Cambodia and Lebanon, the UN presence has probably helped reduce the body count a bit.

Relatively speaking, the NZ military has a good reputation for its peace-keeping work and as a result there is probably an argument in favour of the participation of the NZ military in such operations if there are clear aims and objectives and a real chance of success.

The deployment to Bosnia doesn't fit the bill at all, aims are vague, chances of success seem slim, and there appears to be little commitment to ending the war on behalf of the various governments in the region. Indeed, the Bosnian government's position is that the provision of UN troops is second best to the provision of arms, and the Serbian government has precious little control over its military anyhow. That's not to say that military solutions have the support of the people of the area, just that the institutions that support the war are

currently powerful, while those opposed are not.

Before peace-keeping forces are committed, it would be useful to generate some peace to keep. International support for the large, but seldom reported, anti-war movement in Serbia and the rest of the former Yugoslavia may be of more use than sending troops to join in the war. The anti-war movement in the former Yugoslavia is comprised of a wide range of people from anarchists to liberal peaceniks, from the Zagreb Anarcho-Pacifist Organization to the 100,000 strong



Serbian trade union *Nezavisnost*, and survives despite government harassment, demonisation and censorship. Perhaps what is needed in these days of global military skullduggery is something of the internationalism of the early trade union movement. If you actually want to stop a war it would seem logical to support people who oppose it, but not surprisingly most politicians ignore this sort of clear thinking.

When the war began, about 80% of those Yugoslavs eligible to be drafted fled the country or went into hiding. If European governments were to offer asylum to draft resisters the war may well grind to a halt for lack of cannon fodder, but as most European states enforce military service themselves, supporting each other's ability to make war is sacrosanct. Any attempt to undermine another country's ability to make war is 'unwarranted

interference in the affairs of a sovereign country', but bombing the hell out of each other's population is easily legitimised, the logic of this escapes me for the moment.

Given that the NZ government's capability to provide troops is limited compared with the demand for peace-keeping forces, it would be expected that some form of 'cost benefit analysis' would have taken place, but that doesn't seem to have been the case. Participation of New Zealand forces has been minimal in the case of Cambodia, Lebanon and the Sinai, and action to resolve conflicts in the Pacific region - East Timor, Bougainville, Kanaky, Fiji, etc. - half-hearted or non-existent. Other chances for conflict resolution are ignored. The Lebanese Civil War, for instance, had serious effects on the people of both Lebanon and the surrounding region. But despite the surprising success of the peace process there, very little outside support was forthcoming, when for once it may have delivered considerable results.

The government should not get away with presenting the deployment of troops as the only way of helping out. At present the is military probably the only arm of the state with the ability to react to international conflicts and other disasters, but it doesn't have to be. There is no reason the government shouldn't put the megabucks it now spends on the military into the establishment of a civil defence type of organisation. But then who would protect the State against unrest and kill gooks when the need arises? So currently peace-keeping and 'aid' missions provide welcome PR exercises for the armed forces in between the real jobs.

In short, the reaction of the NZ government to the crisis in Bosnia is to try to patch things up a little. Real opposition to war is too dangerous to encourage — it spreads.

—Sam Buchanan, August 1994

# What is the Anarchist Black Cross?

By Ross Gardiner

**T**HE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS (ABC) is an international network of autonomous groups of anarchists who work to ensure that activists who are imprisoned or under threat of imprisonment or other form of legal punishment aren't forgotten.

The origins of the Anarchist Black Cross date back prior to the Russian Revolution. An Anarchist Red Cross was formed in Tsarist Russia to organise aid for political prisoners and their families, and for self-defence against political raids by the Cossack Army.

During the Russian Civil War, the organisation changed its name to the Black Cross in order to avoid confusion with the Red Cross who were organising relief in the country. After the Bolsheviks seized power, the Black Cross was moved to Berlin where it continued to aid prisoners of the Bolshevik regime, as well as victims of Italian fascism and others. Despite the increasing demand for its services, the Black Cross folded in the 1940s due to a decline in finances.

In the late 1960s the organisation resurfaced in Britain, where it initially worked to aid prisoners of the Spanish resistance to Franco's fascist regime. In the 1980s the ABC expanded and now has groups in many different parts of the world.

## Working Towards Liberation

We believe that prisons preserve the current ruling classes. We believe that a free society must find alternative, effective ways of dealing with anti-social crime. But a decrease in anti-social crime is not likely to happen (and therefore prison abolition can only be a realistic option) without a dramatic change in our economic, social and political systems. These conditions lie at the root of both anti-social crime and the reasons for a prison system. (This subject will be covered in more detail in a future issue of TSA). Our primary goal is to make these fundamental changes. We work for a stateless, co-

operative, classless society free from privilege or domination based on race or gender etc.

But it's not enough to build the grassroots movements which can bring about these changes in society, we must also be able to defend them. The ABC defends those who are imprisoned for acts of resistance (eg riots) or persecuted while in prison (as jailhouse lawyers are).

## Support for Imprisoned Activists.

The ABC aims to recognise, expose and support the struggles of prisoners in general, and of political prisoners and prisoners of war in particular. The form our solidarity takes depends on each individual's situation. To some we send financial or material aid. With others, we keep in contact through mail, make visits, provide literature, and discuss strategy and tactics. We do whatever we can to prevent prisoners becoming isolated from the rest of the movement. We fundraise on behalf of prisoners or their defence committees for legal cases or other needs, and organise demonstrations or public campaigns of solidarity with prisoners we support. We regard prisoners as an active part of our movement and seek to maintain their past and potential contributions by acting as a link back to the continuing struggle. Increased communication between activists both inside and outside prison inspires resistance on both sides of prison walls. We hope that we can encourage other activists by providing assurance that even if you are persecuted for your activities, the movement will not abandon you: we will take care of our own. Through the ABC, we are building organisational support for resistance.

## Defending Resistance

Outside of prisoner support work, the ABC is committed to the wider resistance in which many of these prisoners are engaged. We see a need to be highly organised if we are to effectively meet

the organised repression of the State. When power is challenged, be it in Nigeria, Peru, occupied Palestine or Northern Ireland, it inevitably turns to violent repression and political imprisonment to maintain itself.

In 1989, the U.S. ABC set up an Emergency Response Network (ERN) to respond to political raids, crackdowns, death sentences, hungerstrikes, torture or killings of members of (or prisoners from) groups and communities they work with. An ERN mobilisation means ABC groups around the world send telegrams and phone calls and organise demonstrations or other actions within 48 hours of the network being alerted. For instance, two Greek anarchist prisoners, reported to be held incommunicado and subject to torture, were released from solitary confinement and allowed access to lawyers after the ERN's first mobilisation brought demonstrations, calls, faxes and telegrams to Greek embassies around the world. The ABCs international network plays the one trump card grassroots movements have in our deck: solidarity.

The New Zealand Anarchist Black Cross will be publicising the cases of anarchist prisoners, particularly those where action may be required. In past issues of TSA the case of John Perotti, jailhouse lawyer and Industrial Workers of the World activist has been covered. In the future we will cover the cases of anarchist prisoners in Nigeria and Peru.

## John Perotti Update

John Perotti lost his appeal against the additional 12-15 years but is re-appealing the decision. The additional sentence stems from a frame-up by prison guards, who claim John stabbed another prisoner, even though John was locked in his cell and a third prisoner admitted the stabbing in court.

John is now busy doing legal work for those facing charges over a riot at Lucasville prison and has issued a writ against overcrowding and degrading treatment in the jail he is in (Mansfield).

Why not send John a letter or a colourful postcard as he has been held in solitary confinement for years — do not expect a reply, but mail will keep his spirits up and let the prison authorities know his plight is known to the outside world. His address: John Perotti, #167712, P O Box 1368, Mansfield, Ohio, U.S.A.

# POLICE FIVE

A regular column on policing and how to avoid it.

THE POLICE COMPLAINTS AUTHORITY (P.C.A.) is a body set up to investigate complaints regarding the actions of the police, and to recommend action to be taken against the police found to have acted unreasonably. In the 12 months up to June 1993 it received 1,347 complaints, of which 107 were considered to be frivolous and not investigated, in 547 cases the police were exonerated, and in 192 cases the authority found the police to be at fault (the others were still being investigated). The P.C.A. seldom recommends any effective action be taken, even when it does find the police to have been at fault. Usually police get off with a warning or 'counselling', occasionally a cop gets a blackmark on their record. The P.C.A. has never recommended the laying of criminal charges against a member of the police. So the P.C.A. is widely regarded as something of a paper tiger.

Given this, it would seem to be a waste of time laying complaints with the authority, but I don't believe this is the case. For one thing, the more justified complaints that are brought against the police, the more likely it is that the P.C.A. will be given more funds and powers (although frivolous complaints tend to undermine this). Probably more important, however, is the hassle for the police caused by investigations ordered by the authority. If police know that they are likely to have their actions investigated, they are less likely to casually break their own rules and otherwise engage in unjustifiable harassment of people, especially if they think it may hurt their career prospects. So while you are unlikely to get any real justice out of the authority, you may well prevent similar abuses of police powers in the future, at least for a little while. In the long term there is probably nothing more we can do to get the police off our backs until we reach a higher level of civilisation in which such institutions no longer exist.

Complaints may be made in written or oral form, to any member of the police (if you can get them to listen), to the police commissioner, or to the P.C.A. (write to PO Box 5025, Wellington, or phone 499 2050). Give as much information as you can regarding the reason for the complaint, the circumstances of the incident, and, in particular, the identity of the po-

lice concerned. Often the Official Information Act is a useful means of getting information out of the police. There is no hurry, you have 12 months from the date of the incident to make a complaint. In fact, I recommend holding off for a couple of months before doing so, as the police have a habit of covering their backs by arresting people who make, or are considered likely to make complaints, but if they leave you alone for two or three months then suddenly arrest you after making a complaint, it looks a bit too dodgy to be coincidental. You should, however, write down everything as soon as possible after an incident, as memories get confused with time. Keep all letters and other relevant papers carefully filed, you never know what may be needed at a later date.

After a complaint is received, the usual process is for the P.C.A. to refer the matter back to the police for investigation. They can investigate the matter for themselves, but seldom do, for one thing, they are kept underfunded, which prevents them from being a serious check on police activities, even if they were inclined to be so. The police then investigate themselves, interviewing the officers involved, and



interviewing those who made the complaint, if further information is deemed necessary. Usually they will ask you to come to a police station to be interviewed, but if you prefer not to, you can ask for arrangements to be made to be interviewed elsewhere. You also entitled to have your lawyer, or a friend or relative present (the same goes if you choose to make your original complaint in person). The P.C.A. will eventually write to you, telling you what decision they have come to, and what action, if any, they intend to take. If you are seriously unhappy with the conclusions of the authority, you can appeal the Ombudsman for further investigation.

—Sam Buchanan

## 'Politically Correct?'

The Term "politically correct", once a quip used against dogmatic party leftists has become a label thrown on any generally progressive political or social action, replacing the 'Red Menace' scare tactics used in the Cold War era. Now that the Soviet Union is no longer perceived as a threat to most North Americans something else had to be created as a scapegoat. Enter the stereotyped 'politically correct' activists.

Make no doubt about it, there is a backlash against anyone involved in working for change. And the 'P.C.' label with all it entails is a convenient media tool that serves to alienate everyday people from political activity and makes them weary of attempting any change in their own or others' lives.

Try to do anything as an activist and you will be confronted with a set of preconceived notions of what's on your agenda, of what you're "really all about."

("What? You're against pornography? You're just one of those frigid 'P.C.' types that hates sex, that's all.")

And the whole 'P.C.' thing is a pretty convenient excuse for people not to stop the oppression they themselves are committing or benefiting from. It's used to enforce a reactionary, often racist position of unfair privilege and to resist or stall any attempt to change that situation. This mindset can be seen in many of the attacks on affirmative action and civil rights programs.

Some of the preconceptions associated with politically-correctness have become sort of 'urban legends'; often repeated oh-so-clever witticisms. ("I read somewhere that this PC bunch of lawyers in the States are trying to make an airline hire some blind guy as a pilot. Hyuck, Hyuck!")

—From P.C. magazine, P O Box 664, Stn C, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6J 3S1

## Graffiti

Graffiti (remember it?) is effectively sited at intersections and points with a lot of traffic flow. How about a return of this creative art attack? Graffiti is effective. Political graffiti is needed now more than ever.

Graffiti is perceived by a section of society as a measure of dissent and public feeling towards the government's general and economic policies. I believe that those most influenced by graffiti are, ironically, managerial people, who 'keep an eye on dissent (and politics)' to keep a tab on the stability for business and business expansion. The business community keep an eye on stability pointers as standard practice. More graffiti will be noticed as a stability pointer.

Graffiti should be placed on the basis of effect (how many people will regularly see it) and the safety and ease that it can be done with. The more arrests for graffiti, the more attention is drawn to 'anarchists' and sub-culture elements who are perceived as degenerate, a crime base, anti-stability and as having a social revolutionary agenda - particularly by the police. Arrests will fuel the response against the sub-culture. There are increased police patrols on the streets (it is

cheaper than caring for people) so take care, for yourself, and for others.

Well sited graffiti can reach thousands of people easily and add to the growing unease and doubt the business community has regarding an open environment for making money, and add to the political instability and flux.

I believe anarchists can be effective through the media — newspapers, radio, TV, computer bulletin boards, e-mail etc. We should occupy the media as much as possible.

—Richard Simmons

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## Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa Contacts

### Christchurch

ARM - PO Box 22-301, Christchurch.

### Motueka

C/- Alan Cave, Central Rd, RD2  
Upper Moutere, Nelson.

### Nelson

Nelson Anarchists, C/- Karl Hewlett,  
C/- Rainbow Flight Kite Shop,  
Hardy Street, Nelson.

### Wellington

C.E.C./Katipo Collective/Hags,  
PO Box 14-156, Wellington.  
Screenprinting Collective  
PO Box 11-503, Manners Street,  
Wellington.  
TSA, PO Box 9263, Wellington.

### Hamilton

The Residents, 56 Memorial Drive,  
Hamilton.

### Auckland

ARM, 27 Newbond Street,  
Kingsland, Hamilton.  
Books from the Black Lagoon/  
Random Trollops, 5 College Hill,  
Auckland.  
Auckland section of the Anarchist  
Alliance of Aotearoa, PO Box 78-  
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# Support the Cause!!!

What cause? Our cause! Any cause! We support any cause through which we may increase our membership!

## OCCUPY the Universities!

The only way forward for the students is occupation, with the correct supervision of the vanguard of the working class. But, you may ask, wasn't it the Compost Party of NZ who only until recently dismissed the university campus as being "predominantly filled with middle class students"? Well yes, but seeing as at the time we were looking for a way to condemn anarchists because one had told us he and some others were students, it suited us to do so. Besides, it only took us decades to realise that Stalin wasn't quite the cheery chap we wanted people to think he was, so therefore this other about turn just isn't an issue, so there! Could it be something to do with our aligning with the Infernal Socialist Organisation. Hell, after years of Trot-slagging we're even friends with the Socialist Wankers Party of Britain. But don't despair, this won't lead us to becoming the butt of our own dogma; well only if your attention span is that of a goldfish. But then again, what do you expect from a party that changes its dogma as often as its underpants?

## EMPLOYMENT Contracts Act

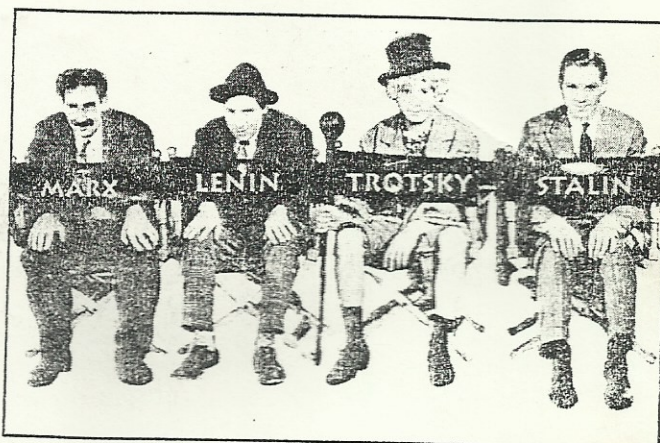
"What's the best way for workers to defeat the Employment

Contracts Act?" is a question often asked of Central Committee members by themselves. It is a very serious question, and as part of our answer the Central Committee of the Compost Party of NZ suggests the bold but ridiculous strategy of handing out "many, many dozens" of red flags on demos so that we can report that the march "bristled with red flags". We're hoping for an event similar to the 1988 March Against Unemployment that went half the length of the country so that we can repeat this spectacle and gleefully report that "The red flag flew over [insert small town name here]" at least 10 times each issue. What fun!

## STOP the Tour!

In response to the 1981 Springbok Tour, the Central Committee devised for the workers the slogan "Save the whales". This stood in stark contrast to the individualistic anti-worker bourgeois middle class sloganising of the Wellington-based Trotskyist Perceived Reality Group, who show their contempt for political struggle by silly sloganising such as:

End your articles with slogans!  
Two are better than one!  
Three are even better!!  
Exclamation marks are good!!!



The theoretical and political founders of Communism, in a rare photo together before factionism and sectarianism seperated their paths forever.

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talk of "enjoyment" and "everyday life" as if these things can equate to a sound knowledge of Marxist theory.

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## Old Mate...



...to purge is human, to forgive is a matter for the Central Committee.

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