

The State Adversary

Number 24, Summer 1995.

"It won't be an elite group of hit and split activists who will realise revolution but a spirit of responsibility and community sweeping away the apathy and alienation of this death culture."

— Ciaran O'Reilly

The State Adversary

Number 24, Summer 1995.



Ah TSA! A little late but bursting with goodness. Thanks to all those who responded to our call and sent subscriptions in. If you didn't and have got hold of this elsewhere please think about subscribing. Subscriptions give us confidence and support to keep on working on TSA. We think we are reasonably unique and are striving to keep TSA improving in quality and content. Keeping TSA appearing regularly also requires articles. We try and contact people we know who can write for us but nothing gives us greater pleasure than receiving interesting copy out of the blue. If you want to write and just need ideas or guidance, get in touch, we're here to help. Letters would be great - we feel a bit isolated in Wellington and more feedback would really be helpful.

Lastly we need sales. TSA sells quite well in the few shops that can be persuaded to take it, and we have had great success selling at meetings, demos (even to a member of the local constabulary!) and events. If you know of outlets please put us in touch. We'll all be at the Anarchist convention in Wellington this Easter. This promises to be one of the larger Anarchist happenings for some time and should be stimulating and enjoyable. Write to the Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation at PO Box 14-156, Kilbirnie, Wellington for further

details.

TSA and the CEC operate out of the Wellington Anarchist office, along with the Katipo Collective (the Wellington Anarcha-feminist group) and the Hags theatre troop and Sekhmet, the Anarcha-feminist 'zine. The office is on the 2nd floor of the Sharp building, 264 Upper Cuba Street, if you're in Wellington drop in, the office is fairly regularly staffed in the afternoons and has a library, PlaNet terminal, and masses of information. The floor also houses various activist groups including Peace Movement Aotearoa, ECO, Save Animals from Exploitation, the Vegetarian Society, CORSO, Rainforest Action Group and Campaign for a better City. If you want to help keep all this activity going you might like to send a donation to the CEC office fund or even better, fill in an automatic payment form to make regular donations and keep things going.

—The TSA Collective.

Why not subscribe to Sekhmet?

Anarcha-Feminist magazine

\$10 for four issues, \$5 for two issues, back issues \$1.

Sekhmet/Katipo collective
Anarcha-Feminist Federation of
Aotearoa

PO Box 14-156 • Kilbirnie • Wellington
Please make cheques out to A.F.F.A.



*n*archism 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.

Material published in this magazine may be reproduced freely, although we would appreciate acknowledgement.

Contributions

Contributions of copy and photographs/graphics are eagerly accepted. TSA is produced on an Apple Macintosh using Microsoft Word 5 and Aldus Pagemaker 5.0, although we have access to IBM PCs if contributors wish to send material on disc.

E-mail:

aaa@numb.wgtn.planet.co.nz

Advertisements

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

Magazine Production

Joe Buchanan • Lyn Spencer
Ross Gardiner • Sam Buchanan
Mark E Poo • Nick Melchior
Sian Robinson

Thanks to:

Peace Movement Aotearoa

ISSN 0113-5074

Nelson Anarchist Conference

WHILST I ENJOYED the anarchist conference over Labour Weekend in Nelson, I feel that if I had gone to it expecting it to be much more than a series of informal workshops and social events, then I would have been a bit disappointed. Not that I found it a waste of time but I think that the anarchist movement has gotten to the stage where if we don't look beyond just holding workshops and feeling the support/solidarity of being with lots of like-minded people, then we run the risk of going nowhere. For this to happen we need to look more at developing strategies, starting with where we are at, what our resources are and the best way we can hope to reach new people and put forward our ideas.

Again, for this to happen, we have to

put our noses to the grindstone and actually do what we say we will do. Too much time and effort has been wasted by people keenly getting involved in projects only to very quickly drop out once the work starts. I get the feeling that the Nelson Conference may have been an example of this. A number of people seemed keen to organise the Labour Weekend conference at the April planning meeting in Wellington, yet when it came to the organising and running of it all, K8 was the person doing most of the work on her own. Full marks (not marx!) to her for her efforts.

The workshops were very enjoyable, if a little frustrating when things were running late. A number of topics were covered, including: dealing with the Police

Complaints Authority, which dealt with the procedures you go through to lodge a complaint against the Police; McLibel Trial, covering the background to the trial and the New Zealand involvement in it; an introduction to anarchy-feminism and a session on mud brick making. One workshop which attracted a large turnout was entitled 'How an Anarchist New Zealand may look'. This examined the services that need to be provided by society, ie. services such as water supply, sewerage and maintenance of transport routes that need to be organised by the community and cannot be left to individual action. Due to lack of time, we didn't get much beyond listing them, and having a brief discussion as to how a few of them could be organised in an anarchist manner. Thinking about such things helps get us out of the 'opposition group' mindset and into seeing ourselves as a movement that hopes to make positive changes in the way society operates. Hopefully, we will get into this topic more deeply at future gatherings.

I left the conference feeling good for having gone. Socially and on a general activist level it was good fun, but I would have liked a bit more of the "here and now" planning. Hopefully the Easter conference will deliver a bit more on this.

—Sam and Ross

Critical Mass hits Wellington

CRITICAL MASS, the monthly mass bike ride started in San Francisco just over two years ago (see TSA #23) has spread to Wellington.

Started by the Creative Action Group of the No Motorway Campaign, the first ride was held on November 4th. A proposed extension to the motorway into Wellington is planned which will cut across the bottom end of the city centre, destroying 120 residential and commercial properties. A number of initiatives have been undertaken to stop this "development" such as lobbying, pickets, posterage etc. and Critical Mass was launched in part to campaign for increased use of bicycles as an alternative to auto commuting.

About 50 cyclists came to the first ride, which departed from the carpark outside the Peace and Environment Centre in upper Cuba Street. Heading along Cuba Street it turned into Vivian Street which leads into the on-ramp at the end of the motorway. When we arrived at the on-ramp a group of people on foot blocked the intersection with a large "No Motorway" banner as the ride passed by. Leaflets explaining Critical Mass were handed out. The action was repeated at Ghuznee Street, the motorway off-ramp. Riding as part of a large group means that although we were travelling in rush hour traffic we were very visible and felt less vulnerable. And to avoid the group spreading out or getting broken up traffic lights changing to red as we passed through were ignored. Marshals on bikes held up signs in the

middle of intersections with messages like "Thanks for waiting" so that the ride could pass safely through.

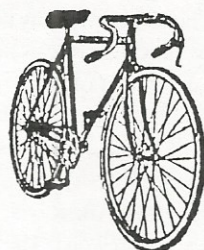
From the central city the ride headed south and finished in Newtown.

A second ride was held on the first Friday of December, with about 40 participants. It followed a similar route though traffic clogged up by the closing of roads for the annual street car race. Future rides are planned along different routes.

The San Francisco Critical Mass ride has now grown to 1500 participants each time. Powerless to stop the ride, the police have had to block intersections to traffic to allow the ride to pass.

Across the bay from San Francisco, the Berkeley Critical Mass is a bit more radical. Along the route participants target buildings of plastic consumer culture, such as fast food restaurants such as Burger King, McDonald's etc., riding in huge circles around the buildings or through the drive-in. The sheer weight of numbers stops potential customers entering, bringing business to a standstill.

— Ross Gardiner



Reclaim the roads!

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.
TSA, PO Box 9263, Wellington.

Hamilton

The Residents, 56 Memorial Drive,
Hamilton.

Auckland

ARM, 27 Newbond Street, Kingsland,
Auckland.

Books from the Black Lagoon/Random
Trollops, 5 College Hill, Auckland.

Auckland section of the Anarchist
Alliance of Aotearoa, PO Box 78-104,
Grey Lynn, Auckland.

Christian Anarchism

Catholic anarchists Moana Cole and Ciaron O'Reilly attended the anarchist conference in Nelson last year. They became known as committed radical activists in this country for their attack on a United States B52 bomber during the Gulf War in 1991, for which they served terms of imprisonment in US jails. We are reproducing an article by Ciaron from the Brisbane *Anarchist* describing an act of solidarity with East Timor, with an article by Moana describing their appearance in a Christchurch court following their arrest for trespass at the US Air Force base at Harewood and an interview with Moana.

IN OCTOBER 1975, five Australian journalists were tortured and slain in East Timor by a raiding party of Indonesian troops. In the invasion of East Timor that followed over 200 000 Timorese have been massacred by Indonesian forces. These forces were armed and financed by the United States and Britain, some of them were trained in Australia.

The oil reserves in the Timor Sea have been divided between Indonesian and Australian governments and drilling corporations. One of these corporations is Petroz NL, headquartered on the 23rd floor of the Colonial Mutual building, 300 Queen St, Brisbane.

The Timorese have never accepted this invasion, genocide and theft. On November 12, 1991, a funeral procession in Dili for a slain student activist was attacked by Indonesian forces. Over 200 unarmed Timorese were massacred in this incident.

In Brisbane on the eve of the anniversary of the Dili massacre, four radical Christians rode the elevator to the 23rd floor of the Colonial Mutual Building. As the lift doors opened my brother engaged the Petroz secretary in conversation about Timor while the rest of us strode past and into the boardroom. We had brought with us containers of human blood which we had donated to the action. We poured this blood over the boardroom table and Petroz logo to symbolise the Timorese blood that had been spilt as a result of the corporate decisions that had been made around this table. We pasted the office walls and exploration maps with photos of Timorese slain, starving and wounded. We then carried out a rite of deliverance, or exorcism, naming the spirits of Petroz for what they are - spillers of blood, reapers of profit, destroyers of villages, homes and lives. We cast out any control Petroz and its agents of state and law have over our behaviour,

any hopes they maintain for our silence and complicity in the face of 200 000 Timorese dead. We then knelt in prayer.

As the police arrived, I welcomed them with a greeting, "Officers, officers, we're so glad you're here! There's been an armed robbery. Petroz is stealing oil from the Timor Strait at gun point. Over 200 000 Timorese and five Australians have been murdered. We've got to do something!" Unfortunately the police stepped over 19 years of genocide and 200 000 dead and ordered us to vacate the building. Lisa Bridle, seven months pregnant stood up and was escorted out. Jim Dowling and I refused to move. We were handcuffed tightly behind our backs, pressure holds to our backs and

"We believe that Christianity has roots of a pacifist disposition to violence and an anarchist orientation toward the state."

wristlocks to both wrists were applied to get us to walk. We continued to refuse and let our bodies fall limp, it was a painful exit. We were finally loaded into a police van, taken to the watchhouse, charged with willful damage and hindering police.

Jim Dowling and I met in the watchhouse sixteen years ago. Since then our experiments with radical Christianity have brought us to many sites like Petroz in a spirit of non-violent resistance... Watsonia, Nurrungar, Pine Gap, Roxby Downs, Cabarlah, The Pentagon, Griffiss Air Force Base (Syracuse - USA), Canungra, USS New Jersey, HMS Ark Royal, USS Hoel, USS Texas and Harewood. The word "radical" has Latin roots meaning "returning to the roots". We believe that Christianity has

roots of a pacifist disposition to violence and an anarchist orientation toward the state. We look back to the first 300 years of Christians when it was illegal to be a Christian in the Roman empire and no Christians would join the military. We know that with the conversion of Constantine the situation changed from it being illegal to be a Christian in Rome to it being illegal not to be one. It went from no Christians joining the imperial military to where you had to be a Christian in order to enlist. We believe a compromise with the principles of pacifism and anarchy leaves Christianity merely decorative to empire and its high crimes. There has always been a subversive remnant of Christians who realise the anarchist and pacifist implications of their discipleship, from the Diggers to the Amish to the activist Catholic Worker and Ploughshares movements with which we have come to identify.

A definition of theology is faith seeking understanding". We realise that for our brothers and sisters in Timor, the Philippines, El Salvador and other parts of the Third World a major theme of their theology will be one of liberation. For those disciples who find themselves dwelling at the heart of the locus imperii ("situation of the empire") the theme of repentance and resistance will be central to our journey back to being authentically humans. As Hiroshima (see Gulf massacre) and low intensity conflict (see Timor, Bougainville, the Philippines etc.) have become the means of taking life to maintain the economic arrangements of empire, we have had to move from merely conscientious objection to direct non-violent resistance to engage the capital intensified and franchised war machine. The experiments of Daniel and Phillip Berrigan, and the theology of Ched Meyers, have been very helpful to radical Christians in making this transition.

In jail and out we have tapped into the subversive story of the gospels - of non-violent confrontation of empire and celebration of community. We refuse to surrender the sacraments of radical community to co-opted church bureaucrats and the power of exorcism in Hollywood. Radical is a term as unfashionable today as it was trendy in the 1960s, we refuse to concede it to

nostalgia. As Gore Vidal says, "if you want to get to the root of anything you must be radical. It is no accident that the word has been totally demonised by our masters, and no one in politics dares to use the word favorably, much less track any problem to its root."

We stay on site and stick with the action because we wish to be responsible for it. We believe that it won't be an elite group of hit and split activists who will realise revolution but a spirit of responsibility and community sweeping away the apathy and alienation of this death culture.

We kneel as a symbol of our own complicity in theft and robbery of the Timorese. Such a sense of complicity and humility is basic to the practice of non-violence.

We pray an act of radical disillusionment with the culture that demands the genocide of Timorese and our accompanying silence. As Meyers points out, "It is (in Marks Gospel) instructive that Jesus invites his disciples to prayer on just two occasions. One is after his dramatic repudiation of the Temple as a "house of thieves"(11:17). There Jesus urges his disciples to envision a different world in which the exploitative Temple State is overthrown and replaced by the community practice of

reconciliation (11:24). The other instance occurs just before Jesus is about to be seized by the same State's security forces, where he summons his followers to prayers as a way of "staying awake" (14:32-42). Markan prayer, then is clearly more than a private exercise in piety or meditation. It seems to be a way of engaging the Powers in the apocalyptic struggle over history; that is why it is the site of tested loyalty, from the wilderness to Gethsemane (Meyers: Who Will Roll Away the Stone? Orbis 1994)".

We go to court to speak truth to power. To expose that our accusers don't believe in their own law- they won't address the high crime of armed robbery by Petroz and the Australian and Indonesian governments, they won't recognise UN decrees or international law, they won't recognise a necessity defence or the scripture that decorates their court. We announce that we don't believe in their law based on the sanctity of property - not life, the history of genocide and its connection with the institutional violence and vengeance of the prison system.

We will go to jail in solidarity with those imprisoned in Timor and those first world resisters doing time. We go to jail to learn more about our own society from those at

the bottom of the Australian heap - the indigenous and disenfranchised.

Radical Christianity remains a strong tendency in anarchist movements - strong intellectually with its experiments with alternative communities and institutions. It is up to other parts of the anarchist movement to choose to cling to retarded caricatures of Christianity (very similar to ones held by Church bureaucrats) or to enter into a relationship of mutual respect and solidarity.

Since the recent anniversary of the Dili massacre, Petroz has closed access to the 23rd floor of the Colonial Mutual Building, the Indonesian and Australian navies have commenced joint patrols of the Timor Sea and hundreds more Timorese have been detained.

- Ciaron O'Reilly

On 3 January 1995, in the Magistrates Court, Brisbane, Ciaron O'Reilly was described as a first offender by the police prosecutor (three pages are missing somewhere in the police department files) and was fined \$130. He will spend five days in jail rather than pay the state. Jim Dowling successfully won the right to stand trial by jury in the District Court Brisbane.

Harewood Sentencing

On August 6th, the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, Moana Cole and Ciaron O'Reilly were arrested for trespass after entering the United States Air Force base at Harewood in Christchurch to pray and post posters of the victims of the USAF bombings. Moana reports from the courtroom.

"Exposure is disabling to the Demonic."

—William Stringfellow

From our acts of resistance to the preparation for war, we have come to understand that there are three stages. One is the action itself, the second - trial and the third - punishment.

We enter the courtroom understanding that the Holy Mother State protects such preparations for war and punishes those who attempt to speak the truth. We have never experienced otherwise.

For praying outside the hangar doors of the US Air Force Air Mobility Command on the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, by resisting the Starlifters role in the continual preparation for aerial bombardment, Ciaron and myself were charged with trespass.

The trial is a battleground where the State with its language of criminal action, vandalism, property damages and punishment clashes with the pleas on behalf of humanity, speaking truth and non-violence.

Our first strategy was to make the court accountable to a law which recognises the legitimacy of occupying a space if trying to protect people or property (Section 3ii of the trespass act with which we were charged). The court continually rejected attempts to present evidence we believed would prove that we were doing just that. Once the court had been exposed as not accountable to its own law, we spoke of our own convictions of repenting of our own complicity which enable us to resist continual preparations for the horror of nuclear and conventional war.

The most pathetic figure of the trial turned out to be Major De Marco, the occupier. His sheepish looks to the judge after being asked questions, his refusal to "neither confirm or deny" whether the Air Mobility Command were responsible for carrying nuclear weapons, and his cultivated ignorance of not knowing the destinations of the flights he is responsible for is indicative of the assembly line mentality so pervasive amongst

those who prepare for war.

Warren Thompson was able to bring the truth of the role of Starlifter flights and the role of Pine Gap and Nurrungar into the light.

Although we were found guilty and fined \$400 each plus \$95 court costs, the truth was out.

Friends performed powerful street theatre in front of the institutions of power in this town, friends returned to the scene of the real activity- the US Air Force hanger, friends vigiled outside the courtroom until our appearance. The court audience included a survivor of the holocaust, a former British Naval Commander, WWII COs, German Peace Activists, students, lecturers, Christians, atheists, bearded patriarchs, beardless matriarchs. To the above and those who called or wrote in support, we thank you.

And to Ciaron, who must be the only activist in the country who has threatened the judge with a hangin'. He could have come as a tourist, but initiated actions at Harewood for the first time in years. Thank-you, dear brother, for your steadfastness and your gift to all New Zealanders, recognised or not.

Moana Cole - Catholic Worker



"CATHOLIC WORKER was founded in 1933 by Dorothy Day, a secular anarchist who converted to Catholicism, and a French peasant, Peter Maurin. He introduced Dorothy to the French personalist movement and to anarchists such as Kropotkin. So there is a very rich intellectual tradition to the movement. Anarcho-communism was very influential. Personalism was a reaction to fascism, instead of using institutions to do the work, instead of creating bureaucracies and mass movements, you'd go out there and do it yourself. You'd create counter-cultures and communities that would live in a climate of radical vision, and that would act on radical vision.

"Dorothy Day started the newspaper called the Catholic Worker. She lived and worked in the Bowery, a very poor area of New York City during the depression, people started coming to her door looking for food and shelter, so a kind of open home was created in response to that need. She was very involved in the workers movement she worked for socialist newspapers, she would join picket lines, and she was active in the early suffragette movement and spent time in jail.

"In the Catholic Worker movement people are called to communities, the first call of the gospel was a call to community, people come to live in very intentional communities of faith together. We see that as a very relevant response these days to individualism, isolation and selfishness of the first world lifestyle. We live in poor neighbourhoods. Catholic Worker people are usually very white-middle-class, we're into downward mobility, trying to relinquish our power and our privilege. Opening our homes is very basic to the anarchic vision, we don't own resources, and it's a response to building massive institutions for the homeless. Also central to the Anarchic and Christian vision of Catholic Worker cooperative work is the idea of workers owning the means of production. We try to make only

"We see the state as demanding total sovereignty, which is in contradiction to God. To worship God you cannot worship the state as well. You can't have faith and have a relationship with the state. We believe Jesus Christ to be a radical anarchist figure. Our anarchism is not an anarchist position for the sake of being anarchist, we see it as inherent into Christianity."

TSA asked Moana Cole about the Catholic Worker movement. Her following reply explains the movements relationship with Anarchism and Christianity.

what people need, in Australia we made soap, bread and candles, mainly soap, in Philadelphia we made candles, in Christchurch we made bread each week and began making coffins very cheaply, meeting basic needs. Cooperative work frees us from dependence on the church or state for funding, we try to avoid the dole because whoever pays tends to take control, and it frees us up to do resistance work. We can get arrested and do jail time and others can take over the work - its very practical. We experiment with holding our money in a common purse, and of course resistance is very central.

"We tend to think of our resistance less as activism or action, but more in terms of public liturgy. We go out into the streets and take our Christian symbols and liturgy with us, which is very rich if you're a Catholic, and perform them in a public way. So in acts like our ploughshares action, we name a weapon for what it is, because we live in an age of double speak where bombers are called peacekeepers, and we go out and disarm this weapon. For us these acts are acts of public liturgy, of worship, we don't see worship as a private irrelevant ritual.

"Traditionally we have focused on the military because the military is the lynchpin in maintaining the empire, the new world order, the current economic arrangement. So if you're a peasant cooperative strug-

gling in the Philippines you become an immediate threat to hegemony, to the whole basic ideology, and they might send a death squad to try and kill you, if that doesn't work there's a whole range of escalation from low intensity conflict to nuclear weapons.

"These acts of worship and liturgy are inherently very radical. I think the Catholic church has the potential to be the greatest counter-cultural movement, but instead as an institution, it has been co-opted. It's the same with any kind of movement, look at the socialist movement, look at Russia, but there will always be a subversive memory, there will always be those who struggle to get back to the original ideas, that's what we identify with.

"I see my Catholicism as quite relevant in a culture where what it regards with nostalgia is say, disco music, its pretty shallow, built on a lot of myths. Industrialism has really ripped people from their roots and what its replaced them with is the worship of materialist consumerism, with individualism. I quite like that McGillicuddy notion of the Great Leap Backwards - in a way Catholic Worker is very conservative. We believe technology is out of control. Technology should not exist for the sake of itself, but should exist for people. We look back to a pre-industrialist age in terms of people still having a connection with the

Continued on page fourteen.

Using the Scriptures

"USING THE SCRIPTURES we use the model of context-text-context. So it's first understanding the context in which they were written. So when we look at Mark's gospel, we're understanding where Mark was when he was writing, the community that Mark wrote in, who he was writing for, what were the issues facing the community. And we find out that Mark was not so much writing about the life of Jesus, but coming to a basic understanding, or coming up with questions that were relevant to when Mark was writing, 60 years after the death of Christ. And there are styles of writing, prophetic passages have a certain style in dealing with certain things often very symbolic. Then you go to the text and come to some understanding in the light of their context, and finally you come to your context, and invariably more questions than answers come out of it. Our approach to scripture is not so much to find answers as to find which are the right questions to ask. Your context, where you read from, will always determine how you respond to text. So you have radical differences between a third world base Christian community's response to the Bible and a fundamentalist from the first world's prosperity doctrine which seeks to justify their position of wealth and privilege in the world. The scriptures are inspired by God, written by inspired people. They're not written by God, not written in stone. The deeper we go into it the more radical the gospels become, they are a very inspired understanding of how the world operates. And its very interesting that most of the new testament was written in the context of prison. It's interesting to know what kind of struggle these early Christians were engaged in."

Gay Oakes - imprisoned for defending herself

IN AUGUST LAST YEAR, Gay Oakes was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder after she killed her de-facto husband, Doug Gardner. The 'justice' system decided to ignore the history of constant abuse Gay and her six children suffered at the hands of Doug Gardner.

In fear of her own life and the lives of her children, Gay put pills in Doug's coffee. He died and she buried him in the garden.

Gay's doctor and Women's Refuge gave evidence of eleven years of physical and emotional abuse the family suffered, and police had on record five non-molestation orders that Gay had taken out against Doug and a long list of various domestic violence complaints. The courts ruled against Gay's

plea of provocation and she was found guilty of murder, not manslaughter.

There are many examples where males have successfully used provocation by the victim as a defence. Juries have accepted that a female victim's rejection of an ex-lover or comments on the accused's virility, for example, are sufficient grounds for provocation. This has not worked in reverse when a woman accused has used provocation as a defence, even when she has been in an abusive relationship.

Charges were also laid against members of the Christchurch West Women's refuge who helped Gay Oakes bury the body.

You can write to: Gay Oakes, Paparua Prison, Christchurch, and Gay Oakes Support Group, PO Box 10 191, Wellington.

Fourteen years for animal rights activist

ENGLISH ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVIST Keith Mann was sentenced to fourteen years prison in December after pleading guilty to attempted arson, damaging three trucks, possession of explosive materials (weedkiller), incitement, and escaping from custody. Fourteen years is the longest sentence ever received for animal rights activities. Keith says that peace breaking out in Northern Ireland may be one of the reasons why he received such a heavy sentence. "The Security forces are well aware that without a terrorist threat, there will be job cuts".

If you would like more information on supporting animal rights prisoners write to ANIMAL INFO, PO Box 22459, Christchurch.

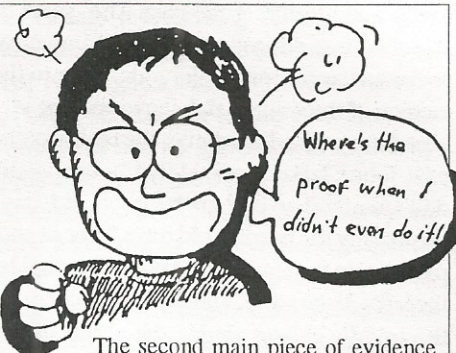
Anarchist Black Cross

Katsuhisa Omori

KATSUHISA OMORI'S political career was short lived. While he was studying to become a teacher of mathematics, Omori got involved in the fight for equal rights for Koreans living in Japan. Another issue close to his heart was the plight of the Ainu people. Hokkaido Island, where the Ainu live, was invaded by Japan in 1868 and brutally colonised. Omori felt it necessary to decolonise Hokkaido by removing all Japanese influence from the island.

When two bombs went off in a police station and a government office in the capital of Hokkaido in July 1975 and March 1976, Omori was arrested as the main suspect. Omori has denied doing the bombings, which were in fact later claimed by a group called "East Asian Anti-Japan Armed Front" in solidarity with the Ainu people.

Despite a complete lack of evidence against him, Omori has been in prison since 1976, and is under a death sentence. The prosecution evidence is based on one witness, a Mr. Fujii, who claims he saw Omori and another man outside the government building on the morning of the bombing. Photo-fit pictures of the suspects made by police directly from Fujii's description do not resemble Omori.



The second main piece of evidence involves three hand-written symbols that appeared on the communique after the bombing. Authorities claim that these symbols match similar designs written on some of Omori's books. Witnesses who studied both sets of symbols could not agree on whether Omori had written them. Judge Mitsunori Shojima also claims that the fact that Omori's apartment didn't have a fire extinguisher shows that it must have been used to make a bomb(!) saying Omori had committed an "anti-social act" and sentenced him to death.

Omori appealed the verdict in 1988 but lost. In June 1994, oral proceedings on the adjudication of the Hokkaido Prefectural bombing started at the Supreme Court in Tokyo.

Please send messages of support to: P.O. Box 57, Sakyo, Kyoto 606, Japan. E-Mail: arpresist@igc.apc.org.

Do Letter Writing Campaigns Work?

ONE PRACTICAL STEP those wanting to support/campaign for anarchist and political prisoners is as simple as writing a letter or postcard. Whether it is to the prisoner directly, or to the governor of the jail or a politician, it can have an effect, however futile it may seem. In the case of the prisoner, writing to them lets them know that people on the outside are aware of them. You may not get an answer (it depends on how much mail they receive, how much they are allowed to send etc.) but they will appreciate getting letters.

Writing to prison governors, politicians etc. lets them know that we on the outside are aware of what is happening on the inside. Letter writing campaigns have gotten prisoners out of solitary confinement, stopped regular beatings and generally eased conditions of prisoners marked as "troublemakers". It doesn't always work, but the alternative is doing nothing.

Sometimes campaigns can secure release for prisoners or permission for dissidents to leave a country. Last year Moldavian anarchists Tamara Burdenko, Igor Gergenreder and their daughter were allowed to leave the country after an international campaign for them. Quoting the Department of the Interior of Moldavia, speaking to Igor when they gave him permission to leave, "You must have a lot of international friends...!".

It should encourage us to continue our work and particularly our international support campaigns with full strength. Enclosed in this issue of TSA are two postcards supporting imprisoned Chinese independent trade unionists. Fill them in and send them off!

Nostalgia is a mild form of depression. Unhappy with the present, fearful of the future, we cling to the past.

—Abbie Hoffman

Nostalgia

AND THE

left

Jo Buchanan argues that the liberal left's reliance on the concept of the paternal state has required the left to devise an ideological reconstruction of history, based on nostalgia for the past. This has isolated the left from people who remember the reality of the past and has allowed the right to dominate the political debate.

One of the preoccupations of the left is to continually reinvent reasons to support the state. Every time the state lets them down the left searches for a new reason. Different groups come up with different rationales: a Marxist group might support Labour for its "historical accessibility to the working class", the liberal left picks up a single millennial issue: "nuclear disarmament is so important that everything else can wait" or exaggerates the significance of any changes: "MMP means more democracy."

The left is presently in a dither because in the last few years the state has begun to cast off its caring face. While the Marxist left remains in the same doldrums in which it has languished for decades, the liberal left has responded by becoming increasingly nostalgic - the New Labour party has even promoted itself as the party that Labour once was. The left has been traumatised by its losses over the last two decades and is searching for an acceptable model of the paternalistic state.

This nostalgia is a consequence of the left's attempt to deny history. The left can't accept that the growth of the right is part of history, passing it off as a terrible accident or conspiracy. During the years of the old right under Muldoon the left focused on Muldoon's character and never explored the basis of his authoritarianism. During the rise of the new right the left concentrated on the conspiratorial nature of the Business Round Table and the overseas origin of its ideology rather than exploring the reasons for the right's success and the failure of its opposition.

Meanwhile the right claims to be above history, or even to represent "the end of history" in the thesis that free market capitalism and elective democracy represent the ultimate stage in human development. Much of the right's appeal lies in its claim to be free from history and ideology and in its success in presenting itself as something new. Rather than admit the right has historical roots, the left has bolstered these claims. With wide-

spread cynicism amongst a marginalised populace, the right has imposed its agenda under the public relations ploy of pretending it hasn't got one. Market forces, free trade, self reliance and other simplistic little dogmas are widely accepted as inevitable, not because of any validity in the concepts or strength of argument, but because the opposition is based on nostalgia for the 'good old days' of social democracy.

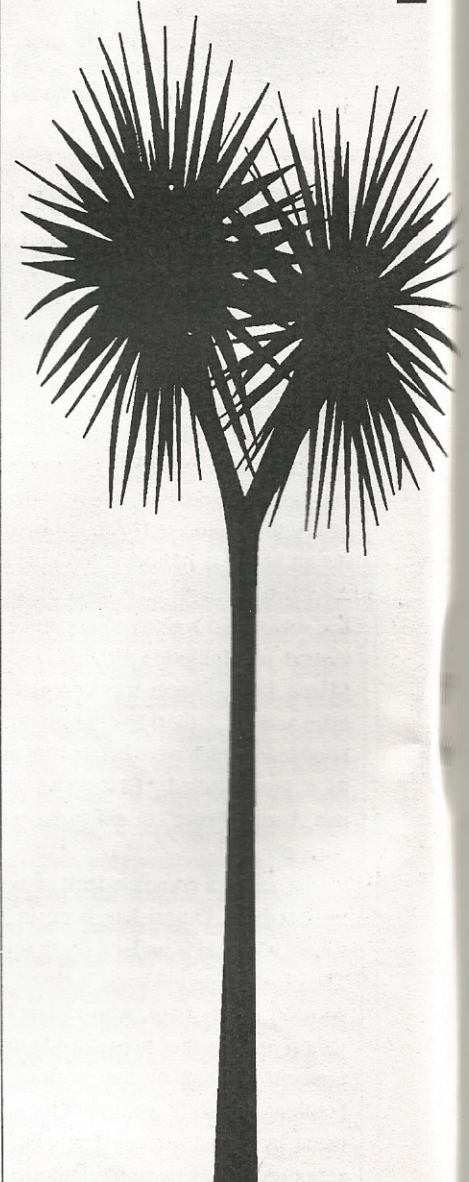
The lack of left analysis of the events of the last two decades is astonishing. There isn't even much attempt to describe the events. Instead the left has taken to bemoaning its losses and glorifying the past. The years of so-called free education, so-called universal social welfare, strong unions etc. prior to the erosion of the welfare state have become idealised in a way which denies the reality of the past. John Clarke once said that "what people don't remember is that the good old days were really the horrible old days." Those people who do remember are being alienated by the left's dishonesty. The period of plenty for the middle classes under the social democratic governments of the 1960s and 70s was a period of marginalisation for others. There were still marginalised groups, depressed communities and individuals who fought back in different ways, but this period is being portrayed as a kiwitopia to which we should return. The left talks about reclaiming, rebuilding and resurrecting, instead of analysing recent history and the present and working from what really exists.

Constructing a nostalgic past fills the role that the Soviet Union, China, or Cuba used to play for lots of lefties, an imaginary, idealised utopia that is sufficiently distant from the experience of your average Jo Citizen to escape the challenge of reality. Clinging to the idea of a paternalistic state denies the role of social democratic government in disempowering the community.

New Zealand's period of relative prosperity led to the growth of paternal government

and paternal unions and bureaucracies which effectively kept power out of the hands of the people. The right seized the moment and rendered any left aligned leadership ineffective by letting them scramble to maintain their privileges. To do this meant keeping their members in line, something they were already adept at doing. Opposition to the implementation of the right's policies failed

Next Step



because it tried to work through the old organisations which had already been co-opted into the right-ward shift. The Labour party was so compromised it was used to spearhead the new right policies, and the union movement, under the CTU, tried to make the best of labour "reforms" and adapted to the Employment Contracts Act rather than fighting it.

Instead of examining the reasons for their failures in the 1980s and '90s the left dreams of the good old days, ignoring their complicity in the new right's successes. The right's gains in the 1980s followed directly from the statist left's successes in the 1970s. Progressive organisations had become dependent on the state - the opposition unions, educationists, anti-nuclear groups all tried to achieve their aims through the state. When the state shut them out they fell into disarray and settled into fighting over the reduced crumbs

of power that the state let fall.

In the 1980s, the only progressive group to make any sort of gains were Maori activists. As Maori had been marginalised for decades, and were shut out of the state structure, their response was to build grassroots movements and organise without nostalgia for some mythical past, but with a real understanding of their history. The state had to make concessions because Maori activists were prepared to work outside of the state "democratic" structure. The state made real, if limited, concessions (it began to settle some Treaty claims under the Waitangi Tribunal recommendations, and gave the odd bit of funding for some projects) to get Maori back into the state-controlled processes.

When the middle-class left base their resistance on nostalgia they are denying the reality of other people's memory. Those who were socially or economically marginalised

in the past are now abandoned by the left. Now that ideology has become unfashionable the left is trying to avoid it. But remnants of former ideologies remain and without discussion go unchallenged. Most important is its belief in the paternal state, and without a theoretical justification for the state the left is reduced to a nostalgic one. Most people prefer reality to ideology and can tell the difference. The left can't - instead of using theory to understand reality the left is using ideology to deny it. The left takes pride in embodying the past. It is unwilling to accept the fact that the paternal state failed - as soon as it was challenged it collapsed like a pack of cards. It collapsed because most people had seen enough of it to know it wasn't worth fighting for. It now remains to be seen if the anarchist movement can rise to challenge the right or simply follow the left into obscurity.

new democracy or old mistakes?

NEXT STEP is an activist organisation that grew largely out of the campaign for MMP. Next Step aims to use the Citizens Initiated Referenda Bill (introduced before MMP with, according to MMP supporters, the aim of undermining the MMP advocates by providing a minor addition to electoral democracy) to influence government policy with a package of six referenda questions aiming to "define the values New Zealanders want our societies future to be built upon." Citizens Initiated Referenda (CIR) compel the government to conduct a referendum on any question supported by a petition signed by at least 10% (that is 235 000) of registered voters. The six questions ask for:

- A government funded health service.
- A government funded education service.
- Full employment to be the priority of government economic policy.
- Income support and benefits to be based on the cost of living.
- Energy conservation and environmentally sustainable electricity generation.
- Halving New Zealand's military budget.

Next Step recognises that the widespread cynicism with party politics is a turn off and shun any connection with political parties. However their campaign is virtually party politics in disguise. Their stated aim is to influence the agenda of political parties as they enter the first MMP election. Rather than join the Alliance, whose policies are in line with the Next Step agenda, the Next Steppers are content to support from the outside, backed by unions, student associations, environmental

groups etc. A cynic described Next Step as a "plausibly deniable" wing of the Alliance and it is not difficult to imagine Next Step expressing support for the Alliance as the party most closely representing their views. The initiators of Next Step were centrally involved in the No Frigates campaign which naively supported the Labour in the 1987 elections (only for the Labour government to end up supporting the frigate deal).

Claiming to be building participatory democracy in order to "set the political agenda for the next election" by entering into the framework of state reliance is dishonest, and repeats mistakes the left has made time and time again. The lesson of history is that democracy and the state are incompatible. Next Step ignores these lessons.

The central question is whether working through referenda will empower people and communities or disempower them? Despite the Next Step claim that the CIR legislation gives petitions more "teeth", petitioning is hardly an empowering process when the process, time-frame and other parameters are controlled by legislation. The questions must be accepted by the Clerk of the House and signatures gathered within a year. Overly complex questions must be rephrased. Using citizens initiated referenda means there are three chances to lose: by failing to get the petition numbers, by failing to get votes at the polls, or by failing to get the referendum decision enacted (CIR referenda decisions are not binding on governments). Some of Next Step's questions are sufficiently vague that they

could be supported by almost any political party (for example the present government may claim that keeping interest rates down is the best way to stimulate the economy and so create full employment).

This doesn't strike me as being an empowering process. More like a diversion, drawing activists into a long, difficult process. Referenda will disempower people in the same way that elections disempower them, in the same way that politicians acting as "representatives" disempower them and in the same way that trade or student union "representatives" disempower them.

For an organisation that calls itself the "new democracy" movement, Next Step doesn't appear to embrace internal democracy at all. The self appointed core group was established by invitation only, and granted itself the power to determine the final wording of referenda questions and set the number and nature of the questions. The time frame for the campaign was determined before Next Step went public. This is not meant to imply a conspiracy or power grab, but simply that the people involved were trying to build a national organisation the easy way: determine its nature in a small group and then sell it to the public, rather than go through the long, painful process of building grassroots democracy. Like government and the political parties, Next Step are subjugating democracy to a public relations exercise. Is this the "new democracy" that people need?

Jo Buchanan

Beyond Monogamy

Nándor Táncoz examines the politics of relationships and the exercise of choice.

Non-monogamy, I have discovered, isn't really about doing lots of fucking. (Curiously in fact, the more non-monogamous I become, the less fucking I seem to do. I think this is partly because my female friends discovered Dworkin and a lot of my male friends are anal retentive.) Actually I think that non-monogamy is only really about sex insofar as at some level *everything* is about sex.

Sex has a lot to do with anarchy. If our aim as anarchists is to change how we relate to each other - to remove unequal power relations, end objectification of people, and to be honest with each other - we have to look at how our sexuality has been regulated and repressed.

Sexuality is a fundamental and primary energy. Because it is so powerful, it has become a perfect tool for social manipulation. Narrowly restricting how this energy may be expressed has led to distorted sexuality. We become fixated on objects and attributes. This fetishism can be seen in the eroticisation of power. Racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of *economic ex-*

ploitation have been mythologised, to become sources of sexual anxiety and tension. Oppression is sexy - observe how people's sexual fantasies often reflect power imbalances.

Sexual restriction also explains why sex is used in so many forms of advertising to sell totally unrelated products. Consumers are led by the nose by marketing which promises what we all want so badly (don't we?) and can't get, as long as we are good consumers, and by extension, gainfully employed.

To heal our relationships with each other we have to work through our sexual anxieties. Many of us are turned on by fetishistic objects (hair colour, class, colour, domineering or submissive personality etc.). When we begin to explore this we may go through guilt and shame - these are not useful emotions. As I see it, as anarchists we are trying to become conscious of what motivates us so we can take power back and make choices over our lives. If spanking your lover's bottom turns you on, find yourself a lover who shares your kink. What

is important is that you are honest with yourself about it, so that guilt or subliminal urges don't make you act against your self. Being conscious of your sexual tensions makes you able to take account of factors which would otherwise get in the way of true communication.

To bring all this back to real stuff, I know that the way I relate to other people is inhibited by a number of subliminal factors. These feelings of guilt, anger, insecurity, fear of betrayal, isolation and rejection all have a sexual tension knotted at the core of them. Often just being sexually attracted to someone is a cause of anxiety for me. The fact that I feel some kind of attraction to a whole heap of people means that I can become really inhibited in trying to relate to them, because of the negative emotions I associate with sexual attraction.

I'm not saying I want to fuck all my friends. (Sorry, engage in non-penetrative sexual activity). In reality a lot of the feelings that I perceive as sexual, and lock up inside me, appear much more fearsome than they are. They may actually be no more than a desire to develop an intimate relationship with that person. This might mean being able to speak freely about my feelings for them, to be able to hug and touch, to open up about those things we hide inside. Maybe do the snuggly thing. Too often these kinds of behaviors are confined to lovers.

It is true that things are changing and that people who are not lovers are becoming more and more willing to be like this outside of their sexual relationships. I see this as a good thing and can only try to be so myself. Still, all too often being intimate with people carries a lot of bullshit along with it.

The nuclear family - that recent invention that has served capitalism so well, with its socially isolated, highly mobile labour producing unit, with associated domestic service at no cost to the bosses - is still here, after all. While more and more people abandon this unsustainable model of so-



The Author (foreground with flag) with some of his mates.

cial organisation, the selling of the romantic ideal goes on. Unspoken expectations and miscommunication often create relationships by default, while attempts to behave openly and intimately with people can lead to suspicion and confusion.

(This comes back to what I was talking about before, which is the anxiety associated with sex. The negative emotion that had been bound up with our sexuality because of the sexually repressive society in which we live interferes with us being able to communicate, even in non-sexual ways.)

So there is often a confusion between the desire for intimacy and the desire for sex. Quite often in an intimate relationship I feel that sex isn't something I would rule out, but that it is of secondary importance. The sexual energy that flows in me can be really intense, and it can be gentle. Because it can be expressed in an infinite number of ways I feel that it is a mistake to fixate on sexual acts.

The point is that, as I've said, non-monogamy isn't really about fucking. To define relationships by whether I have sex with people or not seems a bit irrelevant. Basically, the expectation that because I've had sex with someone I should be making them the centre of my life and not being intimate with other people seems bizarre.

The whole sex thing creates real distortions. I can have really intense moments with people - for example go parachuting, give massages, co-counsel each other, watch them have babies, save a life - without unreasonable expectations. Yet having sex with someone on an on-going basis is often taken to mean that I have to limit how I relate with other people. Why?

What is really at issue is the quality of my relationships. Non-monogamy is about valuing friendships. I have people who have been friends for many years and remain important in my life. I meet new people all the time that I would like to get to know more. Relating to people requires that I try to balance the wish to maintain friendships with the desire to create new ones. I would feel pretty stink if I neglected old friends just because of a new infatuation. Ditto if my old friends laid guilt trips on me for wanting to make new ones. Yet somehow both of these actions seem acceptable for lovers.

I am not trying to say that being monogamous is inherently unhealthy. If two people make a conscious agreement to not have sex with other people, good on them. Monogamy is one option among many for how to relate with people. The point is that usually monogamy isn't a choice - it happens by default.

Hierarchical society has created a situation where the natural state - total free choice - is seen as aberrant, while the unnatural state - that web of arrangements by which we order society - is seen as natural. Politically we have to agree to an arrangement for it to be truly legitimate, otherwise it is an imposition. Sexually also, the default choice should be non-monogamy.

We are born with unregulated sexuality that expresses itself as it will. It is society that orders our sexual relationships. That doesn't mean that sexuality would be unordered in a perfect anarchist society, anymore than it means we would be socially or economically unorganised. What it does mean is that it would be regulated on the basis of voluntary agreement. Monogamy is one agreement among many that people can make with each other. Too often it is an attempt to exert control over another persons life. This is a result of sexual distortion.

In exploring non-monogamy I am often confronted with my own jealousy. I used to double my anguish by getting down on myself for feeling jealous - an emotion I didn't think I had a right to feel! The reality is that everyone has a right to their emotions. It may be true that if I was psychologically whole I wouldn't feel jealousy, but I'm not. I certainly wouldn't think I was being a bastard for having a physical imbalance like a cold, so why do I do it with emotion imbalance?

I think it is important to allow myself to fully feel what I'm feeling. I can use this to try and understand why I feel it - do I feel

insecure, afraid of being abandoned, angry at not being the centre of attention? This allows me to begin looking at what I need to do to regain wholeness.

It allows me to understand what I need from a lover - assurances that they still love me? time set aside to spend together? to know what's going on? to not know what's going on? I no longer believe in *trying* to have healthy relationships - this implies

someone knows what healthy is, which I don't believe is the case in this world. I believe in negotiating over what I need right now,

and what I am prepared to accept.

If my lover is starting a relationship with someone else I think the most important thing in terms of my jealousy is communication. Communication with my lover so I am clear that our relationship is not going out the window (this requires some consideration from my lover to make sure we still spend time together), and communication with the new person, so our relationship is normalised and we don't see each other as rivals. In a truly non-monogamous situation, I would also have other people I could go to, to spend time with, so I didn't feel I was unattractive, boring etc. It is the unwillingness to share love that makes us isolated and leads to so much of our self-esteem centering around one person.

So no, non-monogamy is not really about who you fuck. It's about not making one person the centre of your being. It's about being true to yourself, being open and valuing friendships.

Anyone fancy a quick one?

"As anarchists we are trying to become conscious of what motivates us so we can take power back and make choices over our lives"

Subscribe to The State Adversary

We need your sub to keep going. Help us keep TSA healthy and regular.

Subscribe to TSA

TSA relies on Subscriptions and donations. Subs are \$10 for four issues, trade enquiries welcome and wholesale reductions available.

Help keep Anarchy alive in Aotearoa.

- YES! I want to end all state tyranny, here's ten bucks.
 I'm in a hurry to end state tyranny here's \$ donation.



Name: _____

Address: _____

Please make cheques out to "The State Adversary" and send to:

The State Adversary • PO Box 9263 • Te Aro • Wellington • Aotearoa/NZ

Overseas Subscriptions:

Anywhere - Economy Post : NZ\$ 11.00

Australia and Pacific - Airmail: NZ\$ 12.00

China, Japan, South East Asia, Canada and USA - Airmail : NZ\$ 14.00

Elsewhere - Airmail : NZ\$ 15.00

Zapatismo continues!

ANGERED (but most likely not all that surprised) by the governments lack of action in meeting even the least of their demands, along with claims of widespread fraud in last years general elections, The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) declared its ceasefire with the government invalid and on Monday the 19th of December made its first major move in almost a year.

Trees were felled across highways and barricades were built in towns. Whilst many were dressed in the Zapatistas trademark brown fatigues, bandannas and ski masks, at least 600 more activists (according to Mexican government figures) were indian peasants with no obvious direct affiliation to the EZLN.

"In this free and rebel territory, we prohibit the entrance of military personnel, of public security, judicial police... or any person from the government" read a banner across the road leading from San Cristobel de las Casas, the city the EZLN seized on January 1st 1994.

Three huge banners on the highway to the state capital, Tuxtla Gutierrez, read: "Welcome to Zapatista Territory."

"Subcommandante Marcos", the EZLN frontperson for the media said that between December 11th and 14th 1994, Zapatistas had slipped out of the Chiapas jungle and entered communities that support them. He said they decided to take action because the thousands (estimates range from 8 000 to 40 000) of government troops surrounding their mountain stronghold bordering Guatemala appeared ready to attack.

Unlike many "Liberation" armies of Central and South America, the EZLN have widespread support within the communities they want to liberate. Movements of various Marxist orientations in El Salvador and Peru on the other hand, have often left indigenous Indian populations who make up a large section of the peasants to face brutal repression by the army, or in the case of Peru's Maoist Sendero Luminoso ("Shining Path") have actually attacked and terrorised the people they claim to be helping.

This community support is a very important thing for the Zapatistas; their hopes of defeating the Mexican Army at this stage are very unlikely, yet the thousands of EZLN troops seem to be able to appear and then vanish within the vil-

lages, towns and cities without leaving a trace.

On a somewhat disturbing note, following the early 1994 uprising, several mass graves of Zapatista fighters have been uncovered. Seven rebels had been found shot in the back of the head with their hands tied behind their backs. The nylon rope was removed before journalists were allowed to take photos. A mass grave was uncovered near Ocosingo, a small town that had seen heavy fighting. The six bodies pulled from the grave were wrapped in sheets from a government hospital and bound with rope. At least three more bodies were in the pit.

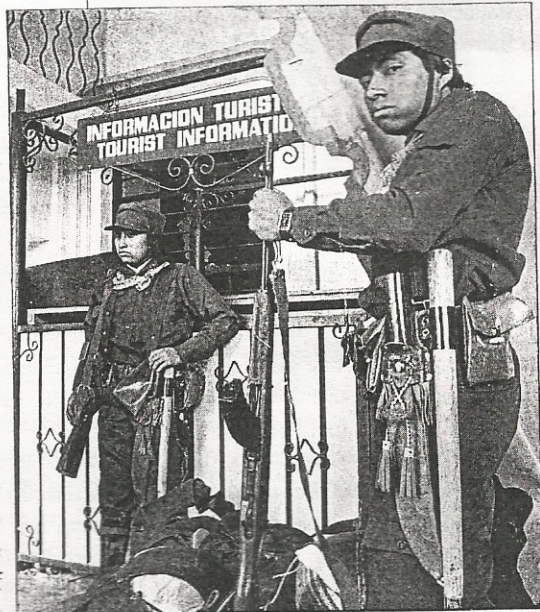
At 6pm, February 9th, Mexican President Zedillo went on television and announced that they had discovered EZLN arms caches in Veracruz City and Mexico City. No evidence has been produced but this "find" has been used as an excuse for the latest crackdown. Thousands of troops and armoured vehicles

have begun entering rebel territory.

A call has gone out for international demonstrations against the Mexican governments actions. A demo is planned for Wellington on Friday February 24th.

—Ross Gardiner

There is an EZLN support group set up in Spain. They have postcards, photos, a video and books for sale. Money raised is sent to the Chiapas. The address is: CSRZ, C/o El Lokal, Carrer La Cera I Bis, 08001 Barcelona, Spain.



Wellington Anarcha-feminists - Katipo Collective and Hags

THE KATIPO COLLECTIVE is an anarcha-feminist group based in Wellington, the Hags are an anarcha-feminist theatre group.

Some women from the Katipo collective were involved in organising a reclaim the night march in Wellington in November which was attended by 300 women. The march finished in Civic Square and several speakers addressed the crowd from groups including Women Against Pornography, The Prostitutes Collective, Women's Refuge etc. The night ended with a fiery performance from the Hags.

One of the key aims of the march was to launch the "Thursdays in Black" campaign in Wellington. This is an international movement in which women wear black or a "Thursdays in Black" badge every Thursday, as a protest against the rape and trauma women suffer in war, and is also a plea to end violence against women everywhere at all times, not just in wartime.

Other things that Anarcha-feminists have been up to include the Hags performing on World Lesbian Day, at the Open Day of the Peace and Environment Centre, and at

Devotion which all received a positive responses. Anarcha-feminists in Wellington also put out a magazine called 'Sekhmet', and would like to encourage women to contribute to it by submitting an article or a letter. The Katipo Collective has just organised the Third Annual Anarcha-Feminist Conference which was held from the 19th-22nd of February. Workshops included: Introductory and advanced Anarcha-Feminism, Sexuality, Public Speaking and Street Theatre, Community Justice for Rapists and Abusers, Homophobia, Eco-feminism, Collective decision making, Fiscal Envelope Discussion, Self Defence, Focus of Anarcha-Feminism, Education and more.

Katipo Collective meet weekly at 264 Cuba St., in the Anarchist office, 2nd floor. We are keen to meet women who want to come along and get involved, or just to check us out. If you would like to write to Katipo Collective / Hags / Sekhmet you can do so at: PO Box 14-156, Kilbirnie, Wellington.

- Lyn

POLICE FIVE

A regular column on policing and how to avoid it.

THE OFFICIAL INFORMATION

Act is an essential means of getting access to information when dealing with legal matters or researching the activities of government bodies. The Act covers nearly all state bodies from the various Ministries to the New Zealand Potato Board and requires such bodies to provide information to people requesting it. However as may be expected from legislation that replaced the 1951 Official Secrets Act, much of the text of the Act details reasons for refusing to supply information and other let outs. You can't get anything that is judged 'prejudicial to New Zealand's security', information that has been entrusted to the New Zealand government in confidence by another Government or international organisation, information that may prejudice the maintenance of law and order, or that may seriously damage the New Zealand economy by premature disclosure of government policies etc. etc. But don't let this put you off, you can still get a lot of useful stuff.

In the legal field, for instance, you should always make an Official Information Act request when arrested to obtain evidence against you held by the police. This allows you to get copies of the police 'briefs of evidence' (the reports they write to remind themselves what to say about you in court), and any other reports they may have written about you. You can also get copies of photos or videotapes they intend to use as evidence. Thus you have a major headstart in preparing your defence: you know beforehand roughly what the cops are going to say. Another area of interest is the Police Manual of General Instructions. This is the police's basic guide to how they are supposed to carry out their duties. It is about a thousand pages long and covers everything from the use of batons to the reporting of unidentified submarines and the handling of bits of spacecraft they may happen across. The police like to think they are not actually bound by the rules in this manual, they regard it as a set of guidelines only. However Section 30 of the Police Act states that these instructions must be followed by the police, thus making them a part of law. Obviously a knowledge of the rules the police are



supposed to follow is very useful if you are trying to bring them into line or make complaints about their behaviour. It may also be a useful document if you are trying to prove in court that a member of the police was not acting in the line of duty. This can be important if you are charged with offences such as Assault on Police or Obstructing Police as these and some other charges can only be made if the cop involved was acting in accordance with their duty at the time. If you can prove that they weren't you must be acquitted. (If you are interested in finding out what is in the manual, copies of the contents pages of the Police General Instructions are available from The State Adversary for \$5. You can then make requests to the police for the instructions that interest you.)

To make an Official Information Act request all you have to do is write to the relevant organisation stating that under the terms of the Official Information Act

you are requesting such and such information. Sometimes it is hard to figure who to write to in the organisation, but if you write to the top dog, whoever they may be, they will usually pass it on or write back to you telling you who to go to. Be as specific as possible if you know exactly what it is you want. If on the other hand you are trying to find out what information exists, you may want to ask in very general terms, eg. "the entirety of the file concerning my arrest on June 18, and all reports, notes, statements, transcripts of interviews, video or audio recordings, and photographs or other material concerning this incident", ie. ask for anything you can possibly think of that has even the remotest possibility of existing. That way they can't slip out of giving you what you want. The organisation holding the information then has 20 working days to tell you if they are going to give you this information or not, and if so, how much it is going to cost you. Material judged to be personal information is free, charges apply to other stuff. According to Justice Department guidelines the first 20 A4 pages and the first hour of staff time should be free, after that charges are 20 cents per page for photocopying and \$28 per half hour of staff time. Extra charges can be made for specialised staff time or for copying of videos, maps, audio tapes etc. If costs are excessive you may need to reapply asking for more specific information.

Sam Buchanan

Police Violence

The Police Complaints Authority's annual report for the year ending June 1994 notes that complaints against the police are up 20% over the previous year. The Authority explains that this is due to greater public awareness of the complaints system. What they find difficult to explain is why complaints dealing specifically with instances of police violence have risen by over 50% in the same period.

An activist in Christchurch is attempting to compile information on police violence and abuse of power, and to identify who the dodgy cops are and what action (or lack of action) has been taken against them.

If you have experienced or witnessed police abuse of power you can help by sending statements, details of court cases, copies of correspondence with the Police Complaints Authority and anything else useful to:

Su She, Human Rights Project, P O Box 22-301, High Street, Christchurch.

TSA

ADVERSARIAL OPINIONS

Write to us • P O Box 9523 • Te Aro • Wellington

McGillicuddies

Dear TSA

While I appreciate and commend the thrust of Graeme's article on the Anarchist movement's relationship to the McGillicuddies; that its not enough just to say don't vote, I have to question whether the McGillicuddies as they stand are effective in communicating a subversive message. Unfortunately every piece of satire, every stab at society that the McGillicuddies come up with gets watered down by their insistence on retaining their mock scottishness and silliness. Satirise someone while wearing a clown suit or kilt and claymore and you've already lost your punch. You've sunk your message under a surface distraction, an irrelevancy that simply provides an easy escape for your target. So in the last election Jim Bolger could trivialise the McGillicuddies by smiling at the costumes and ignoring the thrust the McGillicuddies threw at him. There is space for serious satire in this society, we no longer need to hide behind a mask (unlike the fools in the past who employed silliness to keep their heads on their necks), so why pretend?

The McGillicuddies seem about as subversive as Monty Python did in the seventies, at best they'll end up as alternative lifestylers, fine for them but hardly a force to change society.

Jo Buchanan, Wellington.

Arrows

Dear TSA,

Great to see punk rock shock slogans still having an impact! The criticism of the direct action term "fuck shit up" (TSA #23) as "just reinforcing the prevailing bad scene of all non -Readers Digest" - sex associated with filth and violence," would have been more appropriate on your "Whining Voice" commie piss-take page (excuse the urine association).

The same "Arrow of Anarchism" article asks "Making a fuss outside Macdonald's - what does it achieve?" The answer is a hell (excuse the religious association) of a lot more than another hundred years philosophising and statements that "the anarchist movement in Aotearoa/NZ is on the way down hill to

fragmentation and oblivion."

Despite this, I've enclosed my \$10 sub, though if I want to read put downs of anarchists, protesters and punks I'll stick to the daily paper.

Simon "Throttle" Cottle, Wellington.

Vanguardism?

Dear TSA,

Congratulations on issue #23. I found it an enjoyable read although I have some criticisms of the article 'the Arrow of Anarchism.'

It seems that instead of arguing for greater intellectual dissidence the writer took to maligning the anarchist movement. Criticism can be valuable, but judging the anarchist movement to be "on the way downhill to fragmentation and oblivion" is not constructive however you look at it. Reading these kind of comments in an anarchist publication is really disheartening.

I disagree that the anarchist movement is threatened by lack of theory. Anarchists have been theorising for decades. How many ways do we have to say what we want and how often?

The writers conviction that the anarchist movement needs a spearhead of intellectuals smacks of vanguardism. To be part of such a spearhead means assuming that your intellectual superiority gives you the right to say what's best for the rest. The problem with a vanguard is that it quickly becomes an elite and an elite is generally going to be out of touch. I believe the supposed Kiwi 'lack of respect' for intellectuals is healthy. Not all of us have the luxury of being back-room philosophers (this requires time and education). Many people find intellectualism alienating.

I don't see the point of Brian's call to theory. If a true social revolution is to happen step by step our final destination could not be predecided.

'A unifying vision of anarchy' is impossible to achieve, because each of us has a different vision of anarchy. Rather than more theorizing it would be better to start taking the first steps to creating a free society where each of us can realize our own vision.

Billie, Wellington.

Christian Anarchism

from page six.

land, people living in communities, people producing according to what they needed. It didn't mean it wasn't unjust, unjust structures were still in place, but people were less alienated. For me Catholicism was identifying with a culture that I think is very counter cultural, with a radical vision. Catholicism always emphasized community, its always been very organic, back-to-the-landish type of religion, as opposed to Protestantism which is associated with the rise of individualism. I don't see Catholic Worker as left or right, parts of it are very conservative.

"Spirituality is really important to understanding concepts in the world because spirituality does exist. The biggest misunderstanding you can have is that it doesn't exist because you then deny the power that exists in so many bad ways in our society. There's spirituality in consumerism that possesses us. We are possessed by our culture of violence and exploitation. Trying to come to terms with the nature of our possession by the capitalist culture means understanding that there is a spirituality that is very very evil - and is ultimately death producing - behind some things, whether they be first strike nuclear weapons or an electric chair. I think all of us are very possessed by our capitalist lifestyle, all of us are capitalist. Even if you try to live an alternative lifestyle you're still possessed with the spirit of consumerism, the spirit of domination, the spirit of racism, sexism whatever. The struggle is to find what gives life, and whether you term it spirituality or not doesn't make any difference. There is something there that cannot be explained, that is beyond rational thought, that is not despite it or in contrast to it - it is not irrational, but spirituality cannot be reduced to rational thought.

"Even if we struggle with an alternative lifestyle, and I've been living in communities and doing resistance for the past five or six years, the more I live it the more I realise how selfish I am. How violent I am. The more I realise how individualistic I am. How greedy I am. I realise I am possessed by all these things.

"So in order to try and confront the beast of empire we have to come up with something that's worthier. I don't think mass movements cut it, I don't think media coverage cuts it. The people that appeal to me most are people like Dorothy Day, who I think was a lot more radical than Emma Goldman. The basic thing I admire about them is that they were people with a few ideas which they lived by. When you do something like that it says something meaningful to the world, its more than a big march back in 1987 or something."

McLibel Support Campaign
PO Box 14-156, Kilbirnie, Wellington, Aotearoa/NZ



Merchandise and Info

Cheques payable to "R Gardiner"

T-shirts

McShit _____ \$18

Corporate Deathburger _____ \$20

(5 colour front with Ronald with a knife and a cow in a bun, 1 colour print on back)

McLibel trial information \$1

Send \$5 and receive regular trial updates

Aotearoa Youth Network

Monthly journal of radical news and views
Eclectic, topical information for activists in Aotearoa
\$10 for 12 issues

Send subscriptions and contributions to:
The Web Resource Centre • 111 Moray Place • Dunedin

**W O R K
C O N S U M E
W A T C H T V
L I F E**

**B E G I N S W I T H
R E V O L T**

And the revolt starts here! Over Easter Weekend, April 14-17, anarchists from all over Aotearoa will be gathering in Wellington to learn, teach and organise. So be a part of it, and join the fight for real freedom.

**COMMITTEE FOR THE
ESTABLISHMENT
OF CIVILISATION**

PO Box 14-156, Kilbirnie, Wellington or phone Sam Buchanan on 389-1231
E-mail aaa@nubm.wgtn.planet.co.nz

Palestine: new state of oppression

ONE OF THE GREAT THINGS about being an anarchist is the headstart that an understanding of anarchist theory gives you when trying to make head or tail of complex international political upheavals. To make sense of the situation in Palestine first apply some basic principles of anarchist thought: nation states are nasty; governments of any shade are bad. The state is an institution which uses, or threatens, organised violence against its opponents; people are corrupted by political power. The sophistication of these theories is demonstrated by the accuracy with which these principles illuminate the recent history of Palestine.

Before last years agreement with Israel (the Oslo Accords) which saw the establishment of a fledgling (some would say stillborn) Palestinian state, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) was a fairly democratic, progressive grouping of the main Palestinian political bodies in exile. In recent years its status as the only genuine representative body for the Palestinians began to be

challenged by the leadership of the popular uprising, the Intifada, and by the emerging islamist groups, most notably Hamas. It was this challenge that forced Arafat, as leader of the mainstream PLO, and the Israeli government, to the negotiating table; Arafat in an attempt to head off the threat to his own power, and the Israelis by the threat of a lengthy and expensive conflict with Hamas. The Accords saw the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), a supposedly autonomous Palestinian administration covering the Gaza strip and the West Bank town of Jericho. In practice the PNA is completely under the thumb of the Israeli government, whose major concern is that it should take over the job of policing Hamas, a policy firmly backed by the US government. So far the PNA has performed admirably from the Israeli government's point of view, with frequent crackdowns on Hamas supporters by the new Palestinian police force, culminating in the deaths of 13 Hamas supporters when police opened fire on a demo last November. In fact, except for its police force and intelligence services, the PNA is little

more than a shadow of a state. A small bureaucracy of Arafat's mates run a police force with 7,200 personnel and three intelligence agencies totalling 500 personnel, which make up about 1% of the population in the area it controls. Instead of tackling the considerable social and economic problems in the area, the Authority appears obsessed with the old Israeli obsession - achieving 'security'. To this end the PNA has banned all political meetings held without Arafat's written permission, closed an opposition newspaper, and detained and harrassed journalists. Not bad going for a state that has only existed for a little over a year.

The quest for statehood by oppressed groups such as the Palestinians may seem a worthy task, and to some extent they have few other choices in today's world, but the creation of a state is the joy for fools. The only gain for the Palestinians will be the right to be oppressed by people of their own nationality. History has proved again and again that the concept of a 'revolutionary state' is a fantasy. Let's stop living in a dreamworld and start on the real task - the creation of a stateless world.

Sam Buchanan

Gemstone file update - The Penguin Papers

What Greenpeace International isn't telling you.

The following article is an overview compiled from most of the Penguin Papers. It would be near impossible to amass a complete set of the Penguin Papers (PPS) but this article outlines the events chronicled fully in the PPS.

1911 - Scott expedition ends in disaster, sabotaged from the inside by Titus Oates a long-time collaborator who "died" and reappeared as a lecturer in the CIA financed Georgetown university in the 1940's. The failures of Shackleton's expedition and others during the "heroic" age of Antarctic exploration can invariably be traced to causes other than mere accidents or freaks of the weather. (Antarctic weather, as can be easily determined by studying photos in any Greenpeace calendar, is generally sunny and mild).

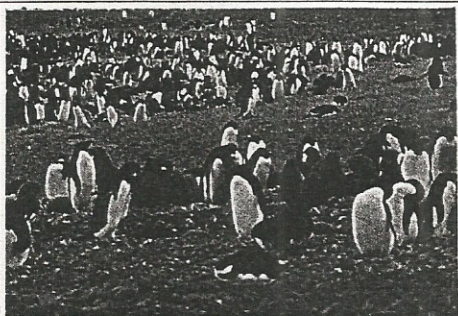
1930s - Factory whaling ships introduced. Whaling operations range extended greatly.

1945 - Nazi submarines loaded with supplies intercepted in sub-antarctic waters by the Allies in the closing stages of the war.

1947 - Admiral Byrd (=Bird) leads large and inexplicable military expedition to Antarctica. Expedition fails due to a series of mysterious aircraft crashes. (Probably low altitude bird strikes).

1950s - As commercial whaling continues in earnest penguin populations begin exponential growth as krill supply increases with the elimination of the penguins cetacean competition. These blubbery behemoths prove no match for the sinister collective intelligence of 50 000 Emperor penguin colonies backed up by the explosive harpoons of their two-legged human proxies.

1961 - Photographs from Dallas, Texas clearly show a penguin in the second car of the motorcade (source of the bullets which actually hit Kennedy). The penguin is removed from later photos, just as feathers are removed from Bobby's car at Chappaquiddick by a member of the Massachusetts Highway Patrol, and later stolen from police headquarters by a youthful anti-Castro Cuban Rafael 'Chi-Chi' (not in fact Spanish, actually a common Ross Sea appellation) Quintero, posing as a plumber.



The sort of nightmare scenario that awaits us all unless these feathered fascists are exposed.

1963 - The renowned marine ornithologist Dr Rockwell Hopper is expelled from the World Bird Watchers Federation after controversy involving the refusal to hear Hopper's paper "The Mass Psychology of the Penguin Colony" (the first "Penguin Paper") at their Antwerp conference. Hopper's paper is refused by all ornithological and scientific journals and is finally distributed as a samizdat edition in Eastern Europe.

1965 - Following an attempt on Hoppers life, he went to ground and continues to distribute PPS from his hide.

1979 - Air New Zealand DC10 crashes into Mt Erebus (the only active volcano in Antarctica, a "coincidence" ignored by investigators although the odds are 12,666:1 against). Penguin war whoops from within the flight deck are recorded on the 'black box' flight recorder. Justice Mahon fails to restrict his inquiry to the expected parameters. After describing Air New Zealand executives as presenting an "orchestrated litany of lies" he began to talk penguin to friends. His inquiry is overruled by a Royal Commission called by the Muldoon government, which exonerated Air New Zealand. Justice Mahon is found dead soon after, in his own living room.



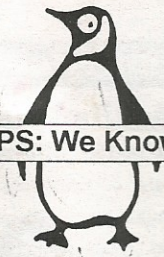
Whose money is it really? Penguins have infiltrated the world economic system as this New Zealand banknote clearly shows.

1982 - Western nation's Antarctic programmes are now thoroughly co-opted. Attention turns to developing interest by third world states. Independent Latin American interests in Antarctica are stymied by the British reasserting their control over South Georgia and the Falklands and the subsequent militarisation of the area. Westward, in the Pacific, military control by the ITT backed Chilean government reaching to Rapanui (Easter Island) ensures the area is closed to prying eyes. (The Chilean regime used its contacts with Right-wing terrorists such as Stefano Delle Chiaie, a confidant of Klaus Barbie, to murder opponents such as Orlando Letelier).

1980s - New Zealand becomes the open flank but is neutralised by a strong (and centrally controlled) "environmental" movement. USAF operations continue at Harewood Base in the South Island, despite a supposed ban on US military co-operation. Baby octopus, calamari (squid) and other revolting seafood is promoted by fashionable restaurants.

Mid 1980s - The proposal for 'World Park Antarctica', supported by most state governments and supposedly independent environmentalists becomes a model for the imposition of World Government. Plans laid in colonies (think tanks) and organised through puppet bodies such as the UN, World Bank, IMF and the Trilateral Commission, are well advanced and are beginning to hatch. This has necessitated a clampdown on their opponents which is ensured by almost complete pen-

PPS: We Know!



guin control of the media and ornithological groups.

1985 - Hopper's hide is discovered. He is kidnapped, shot full of fluoride and incarcerated in McMurdo sound. Further PPS appear under the name of his sister-in-law Adelle.

1991 - Soviet Union breaks apart due to instabilities engineered in response to the expansion of the Soviet Krill fishing fleet in Antarctica in the southern oceans. All commercial operations in Antarctica are now eliminated save for a few so called "cruise ships," mostly operated by subsidiaries of the Onassis shipping empire. (Onassis acts as errand boy for the 'Seven Sisters' Oil conglomerates. His "private yacht" Christina is in fact a converted frigate complete with flying boat and iced water). This marks the final stage of the process of complete world domination by the black and white flipper brigade.

1992 - Massive global pro-penguin PR campaign. Penguins begin to appear in advertisements, wildlife "documentaries" and banal quiz shows. Massive modelling fees are channelled into arms purchases via Aghanistani Mujahadeen groups who buy from Pakistani ISI security services bankrolled by the CIA.

1994 - Fox and Tasman glaciers begin to advance rapidly after years of retreat.

1995 - Marshmallow Eskimos (Inuit) loved by generations of New Zealand children are replaced by "marshmallow" penguins.

The future - Colonies of penguins (with protected species status) continue to meet and plan in large numbers in remote locations, closed to the media. Penguins who can survive in the harshest conditions are ideally suited for world domination. Ask the 'wrong' questions and you will no doubt meet with walls of silence, cultivated ignorance or derisive laughter. As the final moves are made for penguin global domination the need for secrecy diminishes and the consensus of denial amongst politicians, ornithologists and captains of industry is superseded by open obsequiousness.



The media has attempted to whitewash the penguin threat by portraying penguins as benign, cute and even comical. The public would be less impressed if goose-stepping Nazis were given the same treatment as these waddling despots.