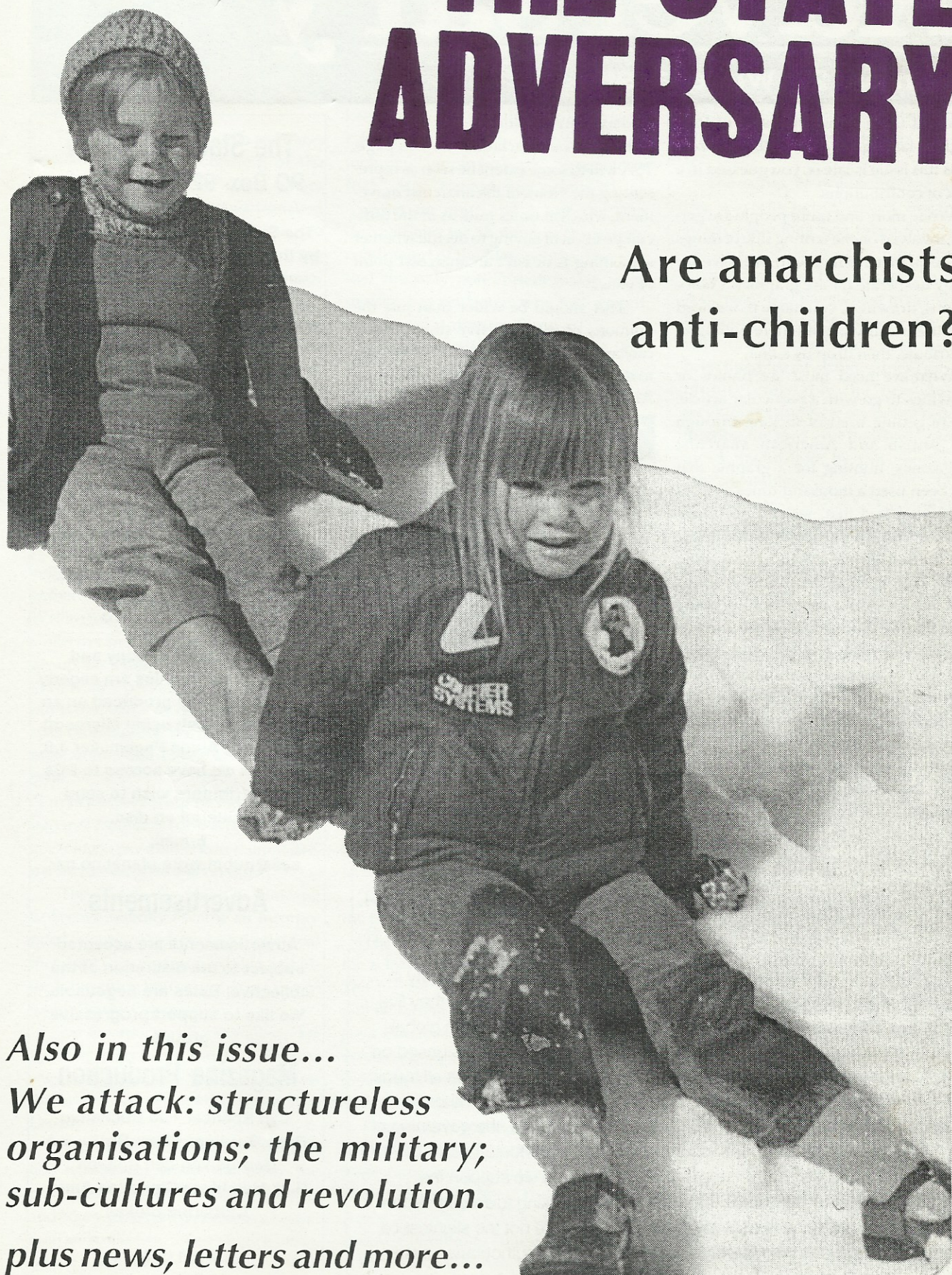


Number 27 Winter 1996

THE STATE ADVERSARY

Are anarchists
anti-children?



Also in this issue...

*We attack: structureless
organisations; the military;
sub-cultures and revolution.*

plus news, letters and more...

The State Adversary



Number 27, Winter 1996

WELCOME to another issue of TSA, slightly late again. One of the key reasons this issue is late is, you guessed it, a lack of contributions.

While more and more people are getting involved on the writing side of things (more on that in a moment), what we are really desperate for are graphics. Photographs, drawings, you name it, we need it. If there is anyone out there willing to contribute, then drop us a line.

What we need most are photos or drawings to go with a particular article. We're getting tired of flicking through old British and American anarchist magazines, hunting for a graphic that has been used a thousand times over.

Having said that, we still need articles for TSA, in particular news items. We try to keep the standard of writing fairly high around here, and it seems that we've gotten a reputation for being intimidating about it, but please don't be put off. Our main concern is to ensure that TSA maintains a reputation for accurate reporting and clear thinking. Often anarchist publications do not clearly differentiate between opinion, fact, and, in some cases, unsubstantiated rumour, which makes them impossible to take seriously.

For news stories, all you need to do is drop us the basics: who, what, when, where, and if at all possible, why. Include a contact address/phone number, and we'll get back to you if

we have any questions.

Despite our disclaimer on this page, TSA will to some extent be seen as representing the views of the anarchist movement, which at times puts us in the difficult position of having to decide whether something is or isn't an anarchist point of view.

TSA should be wider than just the opinions of the collective (though that can be fairly wide at times). We're trying to represent anarchist ideas from around Aotearoa, so get involved!

Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa Contacts

Christchurch

ARM - PO Box 22-301, Christchurch.

Motueka

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

Wellington

C.E.C./Katipo Collective/Hags,
PO Box 14-156, Wellington.

TSA, Freedom Shop
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.



*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 4.0, although we have access to PCs if contributors wish to send material on disc.

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Advertisements

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

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Catherine Stokes

ISSN 0113-5074

Homophobes get a clear message

On Sunday April 21, the Potters House Church (fundamentalist 'Christians') held a showing of an anti gay film called "AIDS - What you haven't been told". The film has been condemned as out of date, inaccurate and homophobic by the NZ AIDS Foundation.

The Potters House Church were also involved in the gatecrashing of the Wellington Devotion Parade where they threw rotten fruit and punched several Parade participants, so we thought that their showing of a crap film was not going to go smoothly for them.

The first upset was when the owner of the hall they had hired for the film showing found out about the controversy and cancelled their booking, forcing them to find another venue just two days before the film.

About fifty people turned up for the protest outside the New Testament Church in Brighton on a cold wet Sunday night to shout and bang on the windows of the church until the police moved us back onto the road. We had to keep shouting and banging drums to keep warm so it was the noisiest protest I'd been to for quite a while! Chants included "bigots fuck off", "freedom to fuck", and "tongues and vulvas"!!

After an hour and a half the film finished and we shouted at the people coming out of the film, only to discover that the only non-Potters inside were undercover protesters who had started an argument after the film.

It was a really good demo, the Potters found out how unpopular their bigoted message was and we all had a really good time.

- Mark E. Poo

Anarchist Housing Project

A GROUP of anarchists and ecologically/collectively-oriented folks have got together with the aim of buying a house in Wellington.

Collective member Louise May says the group has a number of aims.

"We want a permanent, secure base for our work, and a focus for our political/social community. We also want to promote an environmentally sustainable lifestyle.

"I'm sick of seeing our money disappear into evil landlords bank accounts. If we are going to pay money to live anywhere, it may as well go to a good cause."

The Poneke Community Housing Collective recently became an Incorporated Society, which protects individual members from financial liability and affords the group tax free status as a recognised Charity Organisation.

"An Incorporated Society allows for working collectively and for collective responsibility which is why we chose this option over becoming a Trust", says Louise.

"We've also worked out a Constitution type thingy which lays down the principles by which the Society operates and how we intend to operate as a household and collective. So we've got it pretty sussed."

The collective envisage having work and meeting space, a veggie garden, and space for children in the house. One aim is to encourage people to take up collective and sustainable living, using this project as an example. The group hope to acquire more houses, property, and land over time.

"This is a chance for people to start living closer to their principles, for growth and greater stability for anarchist and like minded activists, and for the creation of better communities," says Catherine Amey, another member of the collective.

"It also offers hope to those caught in the poverty trap."

The next step will be to get approval for a loan and to start house hunting. The biggest challenge the group faces will be raising enough money for a deposit. Fundraising is already well underway and people are invited to consider donating or lending money to the collective.

If you are interested, can provide help with renovations etc., or want to find out more about the project, you can phone Louise May at (04)389 1231 or Catherine Amey at (04)385 9263 or write to The Poneke Community Housing Collective at PO Box 9263, Te Aro, Wellington.

Colour-blind cops in bizarre activist hunt

A Wellington activist says he will be lodging a complaint with the Police Complaints Authority after his flat was searched by police using a warrant issued over another matter.

The series of events leading to the warrant being issued began when a handbag was taken from a car in Kilbirnie in early July by a man described as having green hair. A warrant was then issued to search the house of Chris Shaw, who, along with his partner Sarah Kerr, had been fined for jay walking by a community constable the previous week. Shaw and Kerr say police conducting the raid said they had been given the address by the community constable.

However, Shaw, who has bright blue hair, says police didn't look in his room during the raid, but instead a detective searched the room of his flatmate, Ben Griffiths, who was in Christchurch facing charges for an anti-blood sports action (see page 4).

Kerr says police should not have got a warrant merely because of Shaw's coloured hair.

"Its not a very valid reason for getting a warrant. Chris didn't even have green hair."

Constable Tony Milner of the Kilbirnie police agrees that Shaw did not fit the description of the offender.

"We eliminated him as soon as we saw him," he says.

Milner also says he did not know the identity of the detective who searched Griffiths' room.

"He was just some guy who came along for the ride," he says.

Griffiths believes the detective took the opportunity to search his room due to his political activities. He says Christchurch police had told him his arrest file had been sent to Wellington, but they did not give any explanation why this had been done.

- Sam Buchanan

Big piss-up for Albert

ALBERT MELTZER one the most important figures in British Anarchism, died as the result of a stroke, on May 7, 1996. He was 76 years old. Among his achievements were support for resistance movements in Spain after the end of the Civil War, his role as a founder of the Anarchist Black Cross prisoner support network in the UK, and also of *Black Flag*, one of the best, if most irregular anarchist publications in the UK today. In addition to his other achievements he also defended boxing to Emma Goldmann at the first Anarchist meeting he attended in 1935. The *Guardian* newspaper in London printed an obituary, written by long time friend and fellow anarchist, Stuart Christie. Meltzer said shortly before his death that when he had become an anarchist he had been "a young man in a movement of old people". Before he died he said he was a "old man in a movement of young people". Meltzer's passing was mourned by anarchist groups and individuals such as the CNT and Anarchist/former Black Panther Lorenzo Kombo Ervin.

Meltzer's autobiography *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels* was published late last year by AK Press, and was highly contentious for its depiction of many figures in the British anarchist movement, especially those around London's Freedom Press, a group

he had had disagreements with since the Spanish Civil War. In his autobiography he also left specific instructions for his funeral.

"Personally, I want to die in dignity but my passing celebrated with jollity. I've told my executors that I want a stand-up comedian in the pulpit telling amusing anecdotes, and the coffin to slide into the incinerator to the sound of Marlene Dietrich. If the booze-up can begin right away, so much the better, and with a bit of luck the crematorium will never be gloomy again. Any-one mourning should be denounced as the representative of a credit card company and thrown out on their ear. Snowballs if in season (tomatoes if not) can be thrown at anyone uttering even worthy cliches like "the struggle goes on" and should anyone of a religious mind offer pieces of abstract consolation they should be prepared to dodge pieces of concrete confrontation.

"If I have miscalculated, as a worthy clerical friend assures me I have, and there really is a God, I'd like to feel if he's got any sense of humour or feeling for humanity there's nobody he would sooner have in heaven than people like me, and if he hasn't, who wants in?"

At his funeral, his instructions were followed to the letter, with approximately 200 people in attendance.

International Briefs

Greek Anarchist murdered

A Greek anarchist was murdered by Police Special Forces in July while in custody. Christoforos Marinos, 29, has been a prime police target since October, 1987, and had almost died due to a hunger strike to protest prison conditions. In Greece they say "Blood is trickling, asking for revenge..." (from *The Anarchy List*)

Canadian Anarchists arrested

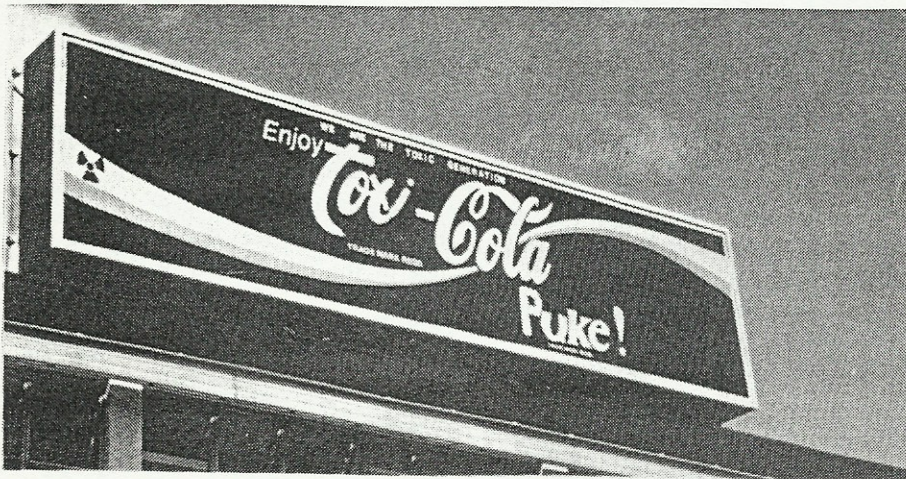
Members of Québec Food not Bombs (an anarchist-influenced group that feeds the hungry) have been arrested in a police crackdown following riots in Québec City. Charges were laid after marijuana plants were found in their homes during police raids. Several members of the collective producing the radical newspaper *Démarchie Express* have also been questioned. The judge presiding over the trial of the Food not Bombs activists said: "I could not live with myself if I let anarchist philosophers go free". (from *Arm the Spirit*)

Anarchist charged

Jason Moreland, 18, of Atlanta, Georgia turned himself into police on, July 28, after a warrant was issued for his arrest on charges of "Advocating the overthrow of the US Government".

Moreland allegedly produced and distributed an anarchist leaflet, that contained anti-police slogans and a picture of a Molotov cocktail. Three days later, Moreland was still in prison as no one had posted the US\$50,000 bond necessary for his release.

Although police had been interested in Moreland since July 8, a warrant was only issued after the Olympic Games pipe bomb attack on July 27 - despite the fact that police do not believe that Moreland was connected to the bombing. Police Lieutenant Larry Gibson said: "Whatever he was up to, we just wanted to nip it in the bud." The charge carries a fine of up to US\$20,000 and/or a jail term of one to 20 years. (from *Arm the Spirit*)



READERS of *The State Adversary* may be aware that this is one of those years when boardings and hoardings pop up amongst our communities and workplaces calling attention to the ambitions of various political candidates and their parties, often as not wifuly ignoring their dubious reputations and shady pasts.

While we would not of course encourage the defacement, disfiguring, spraypainting, detourning, bombing, vandalism, editing, appropriation or obscuring of private property, especially that which seeks to inform citizens of the breadth of choice available to them in their responsible exercising of their democratic rights, we will offer a full can of dayglo aerosol paint to the sender of the photograph of the most witty, clever or erudite addition to any of these messages.

Photos should ideally be clear and have good contrast. Please enclose a s.a.e. if you want your photo returned. Please state whether or not you want your name published.

Blood sports, bigots and broken windows

IN EARLY JUNE a friend and I decided to do a protest against blood sports. A few weeks earlier the duck shooting season had begun and thousands of ducks all over the country had been killed and maimed in the name of sport.

Last year, both of us had protested by going out to Lake Wairarapa at five in the morning with fifteen other people and spent several hours knee deep in mud, standing between the shooters and the ducks. This was reasonably successful with several shooters packing up and leaving as soon as they saw us coming. We also convinced one shooter to go home after arguing with him for an hour, when we found him preparing to sneak up on some ducks.

This year, the two of us decided to target one of the shops which helps promote duck shooting and makes a lot of money from this sick 'sport'. We had read an Animal Liberation Front pamphlet which described how any group of vegetarians or vegans could get together and do non-violent property damage to animal abuse establishments — so we did. At 3.30 am on June 7th we painted anti-hunting slogans on the walls of Gun City and the Complete Angler, a fishing shop next door. Then we put superglue in the door locks which, as well as costing them money for new locks, would delay the opening of the shop by a few hours the next day. Finally, we used slingshots to shoot engineering nuts through two large plate glass windows. Unfortunately for us, this set off an alarm and a passing security guard saw us running down a nearby street. A few minutes later a cop was pointing a gun in our faces. We still had slingshots and spray cans in our bags. (Important lesson: never have a slingshot in your bag if you think you might be talking to a police person soon) and so off we went to a police station.

We both knew that the risk of arrest when involved with illegal direct action was low. We also knew if we did get arrested the likely penalty would be nothing compared to getting blown to bits by a shooter, which is what happens to ducks every day during the shooting season. When we thought of all the animals suffering and dying every day in factory farms, laboratories and slaughterhouses all over the world, the risk of arrest, and even im-

prisonment, seems quite insignificant in comparison. Unfortunately for us, we were arrested, but we have no regrets about what we did.

We will still be campaigning for animal rights (legally, of course) and we will continue to support the Animal Liberation Front. As we are now known to the police we will not be breaking any laws or windows in the future, but we fully support and understand other people who use illegal non-violent methods to damage the profits and property of those who exploit animals, the environment or people.

We were originally charged with the more serious offence of possession of offensive weapons (slingshots and a knife), but the police agreed to drop the weapons charges if we pleaded guilty to the damage. The evidence the police had was pretty convincing so we agreed to plead guilty to wilful damage.

While we were waiting to be sentenced we got a chance to see "justice" in action. All it takes is a few hours watching the various court appearances to confirm that the legal system in this country exists to protect the privileged position of the rich and powerful. The racism, sexism, oppression and violence of the state is most obvious in the courtroom. The judge, court staff and the police treat everyone before the courts with utter contempt. Anyone who doesn't speak the language of rich, white, males in suits hasn't got a chance.

On the days we were in court, we saw a woman who was arrested for pinching a few pairs of socks from a

department store get remanded in prison for two weeks until trial. Another woman stole sandwiches worth \$10 because she couldn't afford to feed her kids and was fined \$250. She won't be able to afford that either, so will end up in prison too. One woman in court the same day as us had previously been ordered by the court to reside at her home address until her trial. Her partner had beaten her, so she ran away. The court convicted her for breach of bail conditions! The judge refused to listen to her explanation.

During the two mornings we spent in court, we saw dozens of people sent to prison, most for minor non-violent offences such as shoplifting, unpaid fines, etc. Most were Maori and most couldn't afford legal representation.

We were convicted and ordered to pay reparation to the owner of the angling and shooting shop and sentenced to do 100 hours of community service each. During our sentencing the judge told us we "didn't have respect for other people's rights". This is quite an amazing statement coming, as it did, from a bigoted upper-class fuckhead who had happily spent the morning sending poor people to jail for shoplifting!

We don't have any respect for a system that encourages racism and violence, and protects the privilege of the few at the expense of many. And we won't ever respect a system that says people who kill animals for fun are respectable citizens, while non-violent vegans who damage property of animal abusers are criminals.

— Mark Eden

Dunedin convention

The eco-anarchist conference in Dunedin, held in Mojo's Cafe on May 1, bought out a group of committed anarchists to a series of interesting and informative workshops.

Workshops ranged from the introduction on the origins of May Day, (from a IWW and celtic ritual perspective) to a discussion on anarchism as ecology, speciesism, the history of anarchism, green dollars schemes in Otago, eco-feminism and a brief discussion on the situation of anarchists in Christchurch and Wellington. The commonsense approach and the en-

thusiasm demonstrated by those involved — about 15 to 20 people — was encouraging, especially as future ideas were discussed at the end of the day, i.e. Volco Park, a tree replanting scheme, green dollars set-ups, the distribution of anarchist info, and the encouragement of new ideas.

Comments I heard in the South lately bemoan the fact that Wellington is seen as the only stable anarchist base in Aotearoa. From this conference, I felt an air of determination, and hope that Dunedin will prove that idea is false.

— George

Time to trash the Military?

Space cadet SAM BUCHANAN says getting rid of the armed forces isn't such a way out idea...

FEW ANARCHISTS would disagree that the complete and permanent abolition of the New Zealand military is a worthwhile goal. However, many would see this as a task for the distant future rather than a realistic option in the short term. I disagree. I see no reason why an effective campaign to get rid of the military shouldn't see at least partial success within a few years.

Since Vietnam, war has become increasingly unpopular, but the military and its supporters have made considerable public relations gains in recent years. By promoting the military's role in "peace keeping" operations, disaster relief and aid operations the New Zealand military now has a better public image now than at any time in the past 30 years.

It would be silly to suggest that the military do nothing useful. However, there is nothing useful they do that could not be done by a civilian agency, and there are many unpleasant things the military are doing, have done or could well do in the future, that a civilian agency would be incapable of.

As a first step (ie. a prelude to the complete dismantling of all state structures and the organising of society on an anarchist basis), the military should be replaced with an organisation that includes an effective coastguard, which would replace the useful functions of the navy, a civil defence organisation, which would carry out disaster relief, international relief efforts and search and rescue and a small group of specialists in "grass-roots diplomacy" who could actively promote the peaceful resolution of conflicts, here and overseas.

Such an organisation would perform all the worthwhile activities which are currently the province of the military for a lot less cost. However, it is important not to concentrate purely on the economic factor. The major reason for getting shot of the military is the danger of allowing the state to control a body whose main duty is furthering the government's political goals by means of violence.

The wars against Vietnam and Iraq



have provided clear examples of the sort of things the military is used for internationally. To cut a long story short, they support the US-led push for world domination by western capitalist nations, and very nasty methods are used to this end.

Another danger is the ever present threat of the military acting as an agent of internal repression. The military is used to try and break strikes and to back up the police, and conducts exercises in dealing with "civil disorder". Who knows what nasty things they may get up to in the future. The government will of course, protest their innocence. "Oh no, we'd never dream of using the military to oppress the population," they will say. "Fine," we respond, "If you aren't going to use the armed forces, you won't be needing them then, will you?"

In recent years supporters of the armed forces have been hard-pressed to justify the existence of the military as a force for New Zealand's defence. This is not surprising as no threat exists. Neither has collective defence been a strong argument given that it would be counter-productive for backers of the armed forces to try and justify New Zealand's military by suggesting they may be needed to fight a future war in South East Asia. Such wars

have proved unpopular in the past. The Australian government has concluded that the only possible threat to its security comes from Indonesia, to whom both New Zealand and Australia provide military training.

The South Pacific is an area in which the military could potentially be used for defence - if there was an external threat, which there isn't. The only real threat to the people of the South Pacific, New Zealand included, is the possibility of repressive regimes coming to power. It could be suggested that armed forces are needed to guard against this, but the historical record shows they are more likely to support repressive regimes than prevent them. The military continues to train their Indonesian and Papua New Guinean counterparts, despite the well-documented human rights violations by the military of these countries. The New Zealand government did nothing to defend Fijian democracy after the military coups in 1987 and have since resumed training the forces that scuppered the elected government.

Indeed, the section of the budget titled "Objectives for Vote Defence Force" doesn't mention any threats or

enemies at all. The basis for the military is called "self-reliance in partnership" and is defined as "a Defence Force that is capable and credible in the eyes of current and potential *allies*" (my italics). It appears the reason for maintaining a defence force is not to defend anyone - just to reassure our allies that we are doing our bit.

Therefore, supporters of the military do not promote it to the public as a defence force, but for its secondary activities.

Much of the military's time and energy is spent carrying out activities that show off its better side. The fact that its core business is using or threatening violence is never highlighted. The airforce cannot justify the expense of its bombers and anti-submarine aircraft and seldom bother to try. Instead, aid missions flown by transport aircraft and occasional search and rescue (SAR) flights are well publicised. These activities could equally well be carried out by a civil defence force.

The government claims that peace-keeping will be a future priority for the military. Peace keeping has been a wonderful PR tool for the army, and they appear to do the job well. A distinction must be drawn here between peace keeping and peace enforcement. Peace enforcement, as in Bosnia, may prevent violence in the short term, by using or threatening stronger violence, but in the long term it glamourises the military, promotes military means as the only solution to conflict, and does nothing to resolve the cause of conflict. To a large extent, "Peace keeping" has been little more than a public relations term used to make war acceptable to the population at home.

On the other hand promoting dialogue between parties who are committed to ending conflicts is a worthy occupation. Providing facilities and trained mediators in these situations should be made a high priority. That's not to say all conflicts are solvable. Many of capitalism's conflicts can only be solved by its replacement with an anarchist society where the people are the bosses, etc. etc., but for the sake of the poor bastards caught up in the cross-fire, we should have a crack at getting the casualty rate down a bit in the meantime.

It should also be noted that while peace keeping operations are highly publicised, they are a low priority for the Government in spending terms. In the 1995/96 budget, spending on "Peace Support Operations"

The military - what's hot and what's not

THE AIRFORCE'S strike wing - the Skyhawk attack aircraft - and the Aeramacchi jet trainers that are required to turn out pilots for the Skyhawks are a useless waste of money and should go. However, the Hercules and Andover transport aircraft have flown well-publicised aid missions in Somalia and Rwanda and could be put to good use doing disaster relief and similar operations.

The costly Orion anti-submarine aircraft are justified by the military for their occasional use on Search and Rescue (SAR) missions and Economic Zone surveillance flights (looking for boats illegally fishing in New Zealand's waters and so forth). Both these missions are a tiny part of the Orion's duties. In 1994 Orions spent 220 flying hours on SAR duties, and carried out 24 patrols of New Zealand's economic zone "in conjunction with other reconnaissance and surveillance tasks". Their major role for is a carry-over from the cold war - looking for non-existent Soviet submarines on behalf of the United States.

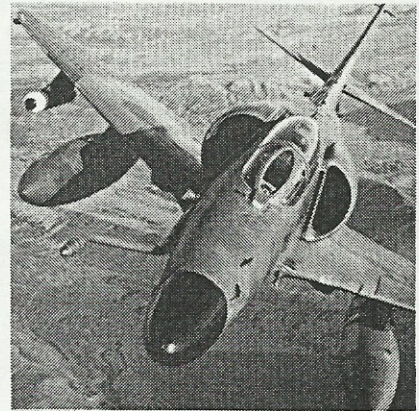
SAR and economic surveillance could be equally effectively carried out by far cheaper aircraft as is becoming the standard practice overseas. Smaller aircraft such as Fokker Friendships or executive jets can do the job perfectly well, South Africa has even relegated the job of maritime surveillance to modernised DC-3 Dakotas which date from the 'thirties.

The Iroquois helicopters are another example of an aircraft whose SAR and disaster relief role could be played by something much cheaper. Military helicopters are far more costly than their civilian equivalent, and their technological complexity means they suffer frequent breakdowns.

The uselessness of the Navy's frigates

amounted to \$26 million (plus GST), in contrast \$50 million was spent on Oceanographic and Hydrographic research by the Navy, and \$346 million on "capabilities to conduct 'direct' combat operations", for the army alone (excluding artillery and transport and other support services).

New Zealand spends about \$1600 mil-



lion has been much discussed, so I won't bother to go into the matter here. Suffice to say that any necessary patrol and SAR work can be carried out by a civilian coastguard operating cheaper ships.

One move in the right direction on the part of the Navy is the recent purchase of the HMNZS Charles Upham, a transport ship which is just the sort of thing a Civil Defence force needs for disaster relief operations around the Pacific.

Disaster relief is another activity the army has a role to play in. While one would be hard pressed to justify the existence of the infantry, the medical services and engineers could be easily incorporated into a civil defence force. The army's engineers have carried out what is probably one of the most useful activity of the military - teaching land mine clearance techniques in Cambodia, Angola and Mozambique - and by all accounts have done it very well. Engineers have also been involved in bridge building and other construction jobs, both here and overseas.

The army also has a role to play in SAR duties and such things as rescuing stranded motorists on the Desert Road. However, maintaining a fleet of armoured personnel carriers for tasks like this is a bit of an overkill.

lion a year on the armed forces, much of this is spent on the acquisition of useless, not to mention dangerous, gizmos. A good deal is spent on keeping up the privileged lifestyle of the higher ranks of the military - officer's messes, fancy dress uniforms, parades and other ceremonies and so forth.

Why do we bother?



Tino Rangatiratanga the anarchist challenge

Tino Rangatiratanga is an awkward issue for many anarchists. Most agree with it in principle, but when it comes to practical action, are only prepared to give token support. Even discussion of the issues tends to be very constrained.

To date, *The State Adversary* has barely covered Maori self-determination at all. Partly this is due to the fear that Pakeha have no right to discuss Maori self-determination. Too easily this becomes an excuse for doing nothing, and withdrawing our support from the strongest movement currently challenging the New Zealand government and state.

Other anarchists do not support Tino Rangatiratanga for ideological reasons. They fear that the realization of Tino Rangatiratanga may involve

authoritarian and oppressive structures, albeit Maori ones. They do not support Maori sovereignty as they reject all forms of sovereignty. They argue that Tino Rangatiratanga is not necessarily incompatible with capitalism.

These concerns are important and need to be dealt with. To do this, we need to further analyse the meaning of Tino Rangatiratanga.

The word "Rangatiratanga" derives from "rangatira", which is most often translated as "chief". "Rangatiratanga" approximates to oversight, responsibility, or sovereignty. It is the word used in the Lord's Prayer for kingdom. Thus Rangatiratanga has a spiritual and ethical significance, rather than defining a

centralized, authoritarian state. The word "tino" is an intensifier or superlative – Tino Rangatiratanga can have a meaning close to "complete responsibility" for one's destiny, a definition which does not seem to far away from anarchism.

There are many interpretations of Tino Rangatiratanga within Maoridom today. Some activists focus mainly on cultural aims – fostering Maori language and arts and crafts.¹ Others seek constitutional reform of the government of Aotearoa, without dismantling capitalism and the state. Variations on this theme include Maori/Pakeha partnership within government, partition, Maori veto, and federalism.² Most anarchists could not support these options. They are also hard to implement, and unlikely to deliver any real self-determination for Maori. As Moana Jackson puts it, "The term 'constitutional reform' implies that things are OK as they are, they just need tutuing around with."

However, some Maori activists seem to hold ideas closer to anarchism, and envisage Tino Rangatiratanga as involving a society based on networks of self-determining communities. These include groups such as Te Ahi Kaa, who in 1994 and 1995 organized hui all over Aotearoa. Participants planned the kind of government they wanted, the nature of the education system, the economy, and all the factors that constitute self-determination for Maori people. People were involved from the ground up.³ Other Maori work towards a future in which "those who worked the land could share in the development, production and profits. Existing and new Marae would flourish. This initiative would not exclude non-Maori, many people in Aotearoa could participate in partnership with tangata whenua."⁴ Activist Mike Smith sees a future in which Aotearoa 'will move from being a Western consumer society based on greed and exploitation... it will be a society based on collective responsibility and sharing wealth.'⁵ As one Maori activist from Te Kawa Maaroo said to me, 'We are the original anarchists.'

Recently an increasing number of Maori groups have initiated protests and occupations that have a strongly anarchist character. Their actions are community based, and involved direct action. Maori activists

often refuse to recognize the authority of the Crown and the Pakeha legal system since it represents a foreign, hostile power. From this it is a short step to denying the authority of the state altogether. Such protests can act as models of community action for anarchists. Supporting Maori groups who are working towards Tino Rangatiratanga can be an effective pathway for anarchist groups to work against the state. Anarchists can also learn from Maori systems of consensus decision-making and community justice.

Anarchism may offer useful insights, by providing a critique of capitalist and statist models of Maori self-determination. This is not to say that anarchists should tell Maori activists what to do! Anarchists can, however, offer ideas and support if these are requested. Anarchists can point out that both Maori and non-Maori need to be liberated from domination by big business and multinational corporations. They can also note that removing the centralized government and state simplifies any problems of dividing up the government and legislative apparatus between Pakeha and Maori. This is also compatible with Maori culture, which is traditionally highly decentralized.

Many Pakeha, maybe a third of the population, are highly racist. Anarchists can educate other Pakeha about the issue of Tino Rangatiratanga. By setting up non-hierarchical organizations that respect Tino Rangatiratanga, anarchists can provide a model for other Pakeha groups to create structures that are compatible with, and will help realize, Maori self-determination. Anarchists can provide a broader perspective and range of support that the single-issue Pakeha groups who support Maori self-determination.

There's also the problem that Pakeha tend to lack a conception of themselves as a distinct cultural and ethnic group. They therefore find the debate over Maori cultural identity and self-determination deeply threatening, leading to the formation of organizations such as the One New Zealand Foundation. It's unlikely that such a marginalized group as anarchists can affect such movements much, but they can still have a positive effect by extending the parameters of the debate within Pakeha society.

Tuhoe Embassy Opened

I AM STIRRED into consciousness by the barely audible chant of karakia...

I open my eyes to see the Mana Motuhake O Tuhoe flag ascending its Manuka flagpole. A pause. In this still, dark morning, a haka shatters the silence.

Despite over 150 years of warfare, land confiscations, the importation of diseases, the church and state legislating assimilation, "Ka Ora! Ka Ora!" (I'm Alive! I'm Alive!) permeates the air. I lean back in the comfort of the van, close my eyes and a memory stirs... A memory of an exact same start to a New Year's morning in 1991. I am shaken awake at 3am to walk wearily to a waiting van. Two hours later, Ciaron, Sue, Bill and I are dropped off at the perimeter fence of Griffiss Air Force Base where the most deadly array of weaponry ever known is assembled. We make our way to the B52 bomber to begin the very real task of dismantling such atrocities. A prayer, an action and despite a history of imprisonment and blacklistings for such action, we are, at that moment free, fully human.

From a world that is notorious for its lack of imagination, the question of significance is central. On reason for this may be that the raising of the Mana Motuhake O Tuhoe flag and the subsequent opening of its embassy is indicative of a vision and practise that is beyond the perimeters of the status quo. As such, it becomes one of the few places where one may engage in a discussion of non-market values. This reality is powerful in that it symbolises a concept hijacked by the academics, Rangatiratanga.

If Rangatiratanga can also be understood as the communal practise of eco-

nomie, social and political self determination, it cannot be properly understood without being put into practise. Thus the Tuhoe embassy is the symbol of that Rangatiratanga in practise.

Neither should Rangatiratanga be understood by Tauwiwi as a practise for Maori while we try to create good kawanatanga. Rather, Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga are models of governances, that is, two possible styles of arranging society politically, economically and socially. Most of us grow up under the Kawanatanga governance, a capitalist system whose concept of freedom is the choice between KFC and McDonalds, Bendon and Berlei.

For those of us who dream about communities and societies based on the principles of co-operation rather than competition, restorative justice rather than retributive justice, self management rather than wage slavery, a decentralisation of power rather than the current political set up, the Tuhoe Embassy's assertion of Mana Motuhake give us a practical forum in which to visualise such an alternative. Thus the significance of the embassy for us will be determined by how much we allow ourselves to be evangelised by the assertion of Tuhoe's Mana Motuhake.

As Manuhiri, I can sit back and enjoy the hospitality and entertainment which is in abundance. However, there is the principle of reciprocity that needs to be addressed.

A reciprocity which demands not merely words, but practise to give honour to what I have experienced this New Years Day.

— Moana Cole

There's a strong tradition of anarchist involvement in indigenous self-determination movements. One of the most important things we can do is to continue to educate ourselves, and to educate other Pakeha about Maori self-determination. Anarchists have the resources to publish and distribute information which counteracts the images of Maori activism available in the media, and extends the boundaries of public knowledge.

We also need to realize that to be, critical is important, but that to be too ideologically pure can be self-destructive. It is easy to reject Tino Rangatiratanga because it contains

some aspects which are not totally compatible with anarchism, or at least with our version of anarchism. However, many of the movements Anarchists have been involved in over the years are not purist anarchism either (e.g. solidarity with East Timor). By coming in with an anarchist perspective, we can offer our own insights to such movements.

The question is, to what extent we shall do so?

¹ *Treaty Times*, April 1995.

² *Treaty Times*, April 1994.

³ *Treaty Times*, February 1995.

⁴ Ben Thompson, *The Net Working*, June 1991.

⁵ Hineanai Melbourne, *Maori Sovereignty: the Maori perspective*, Auckland: Hodder, 1995.

700 COOL

How anarchist big nuclear

THIS IS A RANT born of my frustration, some of these views are personal – no apologies.

It seems anarchists in general consider that children suck and people who have them are boring dickheads. It is quite acceptable in anarchist circles to slag off children in a way that would be condemned if it were any other group. Jokes about mutilating babies generally find favour. So do jibes about who people choose to stay home with children “not having a life” or “selling out”. Comments such as “Oh God, I would never have children” are delivered with a scoffing snideness. I’m sure most readers are in amused agreement about my observations so far. Before you get too comfortable I have a few revelations about the origin and implications of the anti-child view.

Firstly, being anti-children and anti-parenthood is not rebellious or unique. It seems many anarchists express these views as part of a rejection of their parents values.

By Billie Clayton

Just because you can’t understand *your* parents doesn’t mean the values of any person choosing to become a parent are incomprehensible. As anarchists we have many criticisms of mainstream society, including such concepts as “family values”. However, dismissing children and parents all together is throwing out the baby with the bath water.

There is nothing unique about having no respect for children or parents. This is not only the attitude of many anarchists, but of New Zealand capitalist society. Children, like any other unwanted minority, are institutionalised - in their case in schools. There is no place for children and babies in capitalist society. Buses and public transport are difficult to use with babies and children. Cities and buildings are designed for adults, children are seldom considered. Many people object to women breast feeding in public. Babies and chil-

dren are not welcome in workplaces. What’s more, babies take women out of the workforce, where capitalism wants them, because women are cheap to employ. Women also look nice around the office and besides, who else would do some of the work women do?

Mainstream views on children and parenthood have changed since the ‘fifties. The world is now considered overpopulated and the need to reproduce the workforce has diminished. Industry can now depend on third world and immigrant labour. Pressure is put on young people in our society not to settle down and have children, but to “succeed”. Young women who want to be mothers are looked down upon, young women who want to be lawyers are applauded. Rather than challenge these values, anarchists have swallowed them hook, line and sinker. The disdain for children and parents expressed by many anarchists is typical of the individualist grab-what-you-can-and-fuck-everyone-else values fostered by capitalism today. Good one Generation X.

While the anti-children view is *not* rebellious or unique, it *is* bigoted and oppressive.

I define bigotry as the belief that someone is inferior to you simply because they are different. Many of you will have experienced bigotry as vegetarians, punks, queers, feminists, Maori, anarchists, women and as many other things. Bigotry against children is no different.

When you discriminate against children, you also discriminate against the people who care for those children, mothers, fathers and other caregivers. This again is nothing new. Anarchists are repeating the exact dynamic which patriarchy uses to discriminate against women, who are more likely to be primary caregivers. Children and parents are so underrated by main-



What are you going to be when you grow up? Anarchist Kalya Sowden in younger days (plus first boyfriend, Andrew).

FOR KIDS

gotry supports the family

stream society that they are pushed out of public places, into dormitory suburbs or sub-standard urban housing. Many, as punishment for procreating, live on, or just below, the breadline. Women (and some men) who fall victim to the stress of raising children with no money, no support, and no recognition of the value of their work, are written off as "hormonally unstable" and treated for "post natal depression".

Yes, the nuclear family sucks, I'm sure almost all anarchists agree. But the nuclear family does not exist because people who want children prefer to live that way. The nuclear family exists because children and parents have been pushed into a corner by industrialisation. Post-industrial western society has been divided into public (work) and private (home) worlds. Work done in the private sphere is not recognised, financially or otherwise.

The last thing you need when you are trying to raise children in this environment is to be scoffed at by the I-want-to-be-a-rebel-and-get-in-the-paper young people with too much leisure time on their hands to appreciate the reality of working class existence.

Now that I've got that out of my system, I want to offer some suggestions of the implications for the anarchist movement of these anti-child views, and some ideas of how a change of attitude might be beneficial.

I see anarchist ideas as a haven and anarchist activities as the first building blocks of a new society based on cooperation and egalitarianism. I believe anarchists should be able to offer alternatives to institutions that are oppressive and alienating, such as the nuclear family. Anarchists further entrench the nuclear family in their attitudes and in practice. Anarchist ideology offers a new vision of work, love and sexuality, education and revolution. Yet, there is no

new vision of family and what family might mean in an anarchist society.

The reality is that people have children, and that having children today is a difficult task. Parents and children do not deserve to be discriminated against. Discriminating against children and parents alienates people who may potentially be involved in the movement.

Anarchists can avoid discriminating against parents and children and further the idea of collective responsibility in the following ways:

- If you choose to be childless, remember this is a personal choice that should be valued and respected as much as choosing to have children. When you voice your preference try to do it without denigrating other peoples choices. The choice not to have children is as influenced by socialisation and mainstream ideology as the choice to have children.

- Start seeing yourself as responsible for children around you. If a child is doing something dangerous or disruptive at a gathering don't just expect the parents to deal with it. Be involved, offer to help.

- If you are planning an anarchist gathering consider the needs of children and parents as you would any other group.

Provide a creche if necessary, toys and a quiet place for parents and children. Offer pregnant and breastfeeding women the comfortable seats. When there is food, offer to hold babies or mind children while parents or caregivers eat. People with babies have to wait to eat most nights, you could wait for your meal once in a while too.

- Be prepared to have children present at any anarchist event including meetings. Remember, excluding children, means parents are also excluded. Children and babies are often noisy - tough shit - their parents have a right to be there and anarchists should learn to cope with children. If a child is proving too disruptive to a meeting offer to look after them while the parent or caregiver attends.

Most importantly, anarchists need to understand and appreciate the work of parents and caregivers. If looking after children was valued by society, more men would be involved with the children they are happy to help conceive, but not take responsibility for, and more people would take on support person and co-parent roles for children in their community. This would be the most effective way to break down the nuclear family.

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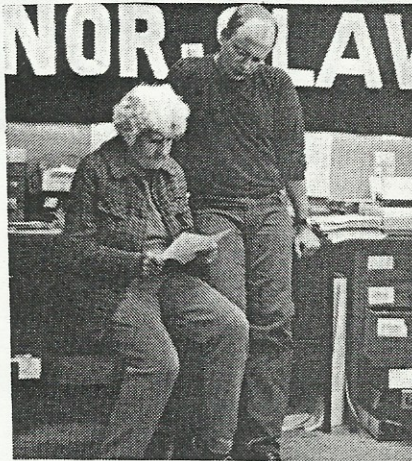
Subcultures: elitist ghettos

WITHIN THE WIDER anarchist scene, there are various subcultures whose members sometimes claim to be anarchists by their very nature of being members of a subculture. I remember a story told to me by an older anarchist about a time he asked a young woman why she had a mohawk.

"Because I'm an Anarchist," she replied.

Not surprisingly, this didn't fill my friend with the greatest respect for punks. A recent letter in TSA proclaimed the wearing of kilts to be "an anarchistic statement" because this action "identifies the wearer as a member of a different subculture."

Subcultures, such as those of the punks and hippies, claim to provide a haven for those who don't fit into everyday society, but tend to be exclusionary and elitist. Despite their claims to the contrary, subcultures are not revolutionary in the slightest. Instead of providing fuel for wide ranging liberation struggles, subcultures leach talent and energy from the Anarchist movement, with otherwise useful people wasting time worrying about their hair, or their record collection, and calling it revolutionary. Within these subcultures, the ideas behind anarchism are often promoted. Bands sing about destroying capi-



Not all anarchists have mohawks.

talism and the state, and creating freedom for all. However, far too often, this is where the ideas and activity stop. People seem to believe that wearing that t-shirt emblazoned with a circle A, or wearing some "Off the Pigs" patch will make others stop and think "How could I have been so wrong? Of course the Anarchists are right! I'll just pop off and have myself a politician for breakfast." Nothing could be further from the truth.

In addition, the elitist attitudes of many members of these subcultures does far more to damage anarchism's prospects of becoming a mass movement than almost anything else. The number of times I have

seen non-Punks criticised, even in a joking manner, by punks for their dress sense or hair cut is disgusting. While many punk 'zines and bands have penned eloquent statements in support of anarchist ideas and principles, far more punks have been seen lying in the gutter yelling about "ANARCHY".

Even a subculture based around activism would be damaging. Every subculture views itself as "enlightened" to a certain degree. This elitism puts others off, preventing them from getting involved. The more anarchists participate in wider society, the more we will be in touch with the desires and concerns of the everyday people we claim to represent. We must reject any claims to be better than or separate from the average Joe or Jill or Tamati or whoever else on the street.

Many punks and hippies have made valuable contributions to anarchism, and will continue to do so. It is not punk or hippie culture per se that I'm attacking here. But the perception that the anarchist movement is the natural domain of punks, hippies or any other elitist group is damaging, as it creates a barrier between anarchists and society at large. We are marginalised enough, we cannot afford to make the situation worse for ourselves.

— Nick Melchior

A quick rant on immigration

WINSTON PETER'S statement that immigration rates are too high gave his political opponents lots of opportunities to brand him a racist and draw parallels between him and Hitler. Sadly, the level of debate never rose above this level.

As a matter of fact, while Peters is awful creepy, I don't see anything particularly racist in his recent comments. He is a nationalist, and may be aware that there is a rich vein of anti-Asian racism in New Zealand that can be tapped to bolster his political career, but chucking the term "racist" at him is just a meaningless piece of abuse from politicians feeling a mite threatened by his party's strong showing in the opinion polls.

The real debate about immigration is not one of race, but one of class. I couldn't care less about the race of immigrants coming to this country, but I don't like the fact that our immigration system is designed to let in rich bastards looking

for a good place to make money, when there are a whole bunch of poor bastards looking for a better place to live.

New Zealand consistently fails to live up to the obligations it has made to the UN with regard to the number of refugees it allows to settle here, and those that do get in are pretty much dumped here with negligible support. In particular there is a complete lack of language tuition available except for those who can pay for it, or the small amount offered by voluntary groups. Meanwhile, the rich can buy their way in by proving to the immigration authorities they have large sums of money to invest here.

Barriers to immigration are a relatively recent concept - border controls hardly existed before the twentieth century. They have come into being as growing economic inequalities and increasingly destructive wars have forced large numbers of people to up and leave areas where they, and their

ancestors, have lived happily for centuries. This has led rich countries to "defend themselves" by denying access to their territories to the victims of the conditions the same rich countries have created. If you are going to exploit other people's countries it's necessary to make sure the people are forced to stay there and be exploited.

The old style colonialism had a few problems with this. It was hard to justify keeping people out of the country you were trying to claim was their friend and protector. Neo-colonialism has no such problems, the exploitation is carried out by corporations with little loyalty to any particular country. To governments, the activities of such corporations are "plausibly deniable". However, governments enact the necessary provisions to ensure the exploited stay where they are, while the exploiters are welcomed with open arms into any nation they choose.

— Sam Buchanan

Against revolution!

Those who talk about revolution are part of the counter revolution!

What is "revolution"? Ask a "revolutionary" and either they start talking about armed overthrow of the state or capitalism or insurrection, they say it is a period of accelerated social change. So why talk about revolution instead of social change? Because "revolution" can be controlled by these revolutionaries, it carries a mystique and fosters their delusions of self importance.

The term "revolution" was created to ensure radical social change would never happen. What the Marxists (and those who use Marxist language) call revolution - sudden acceleration of social change, is merely social change that has become *undeniable* - the sudden *appearance* of change to those too isolated, or too frightened, to realise that it has been happening all along.

The term "revolution" is a means to deny and to control peoples' history. It is convenient to the new rulers to call the uprising which brought them to power a "revolution", they can then sideline the activists who built the conditions for insurrection, give recognition only to the "revolutionaries" and so justify their newly acquired authority. The winners write the history and the revolution becomes a mandate for the actions of these new rulers. So the Bolsheviks called their 1917 coup a revolution and then set about wiping out radicals in the name of "revolution."

In response to the Marxist advocacy of revolution, anarchists tried to go one better by adopting the term "social revolution", to distinguish their aims from the political revolution of the Marxists. But in contemporary Western society talk of a social revolution is at best misleading, and at worst it is empty posturing. There are real differences between modern society and the societies which attempted the anarchist social revolutions of the past. Mexico and Spain were societies where the state and capitalism had not so thoroughly infiltrated society. The state has spent the last 100 years making itself indispensable to the population - with a fair degree of success. The snide comment that it is difficult to take seriously those who rail against the state with a black flag in

one hand and a dole cheque in the other says more about the nature of modern society than about the hypocrisy of modern anarchists. The last century has seen capital and the state destroying or, more often, co-opting, most of the libraries, friendly societies, trade unions, international agreements and other examples of mutual aid that Kropotkin and the anarchists of the late nineteenth century found so promising. The task of modern anarchists is to build a society that has the potential for anarchism.

What we need is not an armed uprising, but social change to create a new society. Then we need to defend this new society from those who try to deny its existence and are trying either to reimpose the previous social order (which social change has destroyed) or a newer stronger tyranny.

This is not merely a question of language. Anarchists need to say what they mean and understand what they say. And while the Marxist left has most frequently abused the term, anarchists are not immune to using the label "revolutionary" to denote integrity, commitment and credibility and this risks creating a revolutionist vanguard.

The danger of the revolutionist ideology was starkly demonstrated by the cult of the guerilla in Cuba and Bolivia. When Fidel Castro's guerillas seized power in Cuba in 1959, they declared that the guerillas were the vanguard of the revolution, undermined or destroyed the popular movements that had brought them to

power, and deified the "revolution" - and themselves as revolutionaries. From this self deception, Castro's comrade Che Guevara determined that it was unnecessary to build a revolutionary situation in a country because "the existence of a guerilla movement could by itself create a revolutionary situation". He then tried to put this theory into effect in Bolivia and ended up dying at the head of a small group of unsuccessful guerillas.

Revolutionism is mystification. The term implies something more, something somehow greater than social change, but rather than make the process of social change more clear, "revolution" obscures things. It is a neat little trick to avoid the difficult bits. At least Marx used revolution to attempt to explain the ultimate consequences of the contradictions in a capitalist system. Contemporary anarchists seem to fall back on revolution as a desperate hope when the possibility of change seems all too distant.

All social change is incremental, it may become widespread, it may become undeniable, but distinguishing a "revolution" is meaningless.

At its most vulgar, revolution is a millennialist dream. A future utopia for those people who cannot see the potential for building anarchism from within existing society.

Anarchists like to adopt a revolutionary stance ("I'm more radical than you - I'm a revolutionary!"). Literally, revolution just means going round in circles. Anyone talking revolution is a liar, anyone proclaiming it is doing so to appropriate it. The real struggle is the struggle for social change. If its happening you'll know it because you're changing too. If you think it's not happening, it's too slow or it's too boring then you're probably just another revolutionary.

I believe there will come a time when confrontation, perhaps armed struggle, against the forces of the state will be necessary, but this is a small part of a large task. Ascribing this event with huge political and social meaning opens the door to authoritarianism, vanguardism and ideological stupidity.

— Joe Buchanan



the Luther Blissett project - an introduction

anyone

Luther Blissett is a multiple name concept. anyone/everyone can become Luther Blissett simply by declaring themselves to be a part of the project and adopting the name. capitalism masters the world by manipulating those objects it wishes to manipulate. by invalidating their own identity, those who become Luther Blissett destroy the central control mechanism of bourgeois logic.

the purpose is to create a situation¹ for which no one in particular is responsible, and to **practically examine western philosophical notions of identity, individuality, originality, value and truth.** Luther Blissett can be strategically adopted for a series of actions, interventions, exhibitions, texts, etc.

however in personal relationships, where one has a personal history other than the acts undertaken by a series of people using the name Luther Blissett, it does not make sense to use the name.

anywhere

Luther Blissett was materialised, rather than born, as an open context in march, 1995, bologna, italy. various groups all over europe like the bologna psychogeographical association, london psychogeographical association, autonomous astronauts association (great britain, italy), etc., the Luther Blissett situationautic theatre (italy) use this context to appear unexpectedly at congresses, exhibitions, operas, in demonstrations and riots, at a roman lecture on cyberspace, etc.

context or an introduction to the psychic war

in a post-modern capitalist society life can present itself as a general psychic war. **everything that moved away into representation is (to be) directly fought.**

"...in the case where the self is merely represented and ideally presented (vorgestellt), there it is not actual: where it is by proxy, it is not." (Hegel, Phenomenology of Mind)

the psychic war in general, as the concrete inversion of the spectacle², is the autonomous movement of the living. Luther Blissett can rifle through their files, stealing anything s/he can use to embarrass or blackmail the bosses. each day brings new areas under the control of Luther Blissett. each day a new victory is reported. each day neoist transmanic psychowarriors discover new forms of organisation. Luther Blissett just touched the bare rocks which elsewhere are still hidden by the decomposing strata of cultural humus.

the Luther Blissett situationautic theatre

Luther Blissett routs Stanislavky and Strasberg: a subversive method of theatre-torture is going to make the bunkers of the elite indefensible and terrorise the exclusive neighbourhood. today, we are no longer stupid enough to imagine that what we do is new, or even that such an assertion does not imply a progression - and hence a certain amount of "originality". it's just the same old story: **TODAY YOUR ART, TOMORROW YOUR LIFE.**

we choose the city sites where bodies, spectacles, data, police control and social contradictions are condensed. we stir up a theatrical riot by representations without spectacle, i.e. forms of theatrical communication (even if it's clear we're not talking about theatre) in which the situationauts - individually or gathered in knots - can provoke various events as everyone tries to extend her/his playground over the asphalt. vocal and physical events, without pre-established symbolic

SOCIETY of the SPECTACLE

Guy Debord

1

IN SOCIETIES WHERE modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into representation.

2

The images detached from every aspect of life fuse in a common stream in which the unity of this life can no longer be re-established. Reality considered partially unfolds, in its own general unity, as a pseudo-world apart, an object of mere contemplation. The specialisation of images of the world is completed in the world of the autonomous image, where the liar has lied to himself. The spectacle in general, as the concrete inversion of life, is the autonomous movement of the non-living.

3

The spectacle presents itself simultaneously as all of society, as part of society, and as instrument of unification. As a part of society, it is specifically the sector which concentrates all gazing and all consciousness. Due to the very fact that this sector is separate, it is the common ground of the deceived gaze and of false consciousness, and the unification it achieves is nothing but an official language of generalised separation.

4

The spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images.

5

The spectacle cannot be understood as an abuse of the word of vision, as a product of the techniques of mass dissemination of images. It is rather, a Weltanschauung which has become actual, materially translated. It is a world vision which has become objectified.

6

The spectacle, grasped in its totality, is both the result and the project of the existing mode of production. It is not a supplement to the real world or an additional decoration. It is the heart of the unrealism of the real society. In all its specific forms, as information or propaganda, as advertisement or direct entertainment consumption, the spectacle is the present model of socially dominant life. It is the omnipresent affirmation of the choice already made in production and its corollary consumption. The spectacle's form and content are identically the total justification of the existing system's conditions and goals. The spectacle is also the permanent presence of this justification, since it occupies the main part of the time lived outside of modern production.

7

Separation is itself part of the unity of the world, of the global social praxis split up into reality and image. The social practice which the autonomous spectacle confronts is also the real totality which contains the spectacle. But the split within this totally mutilates it to the point of making the spectacle appear as its goal. The language of the spectacle consists of signs of the ruling production, which at the same time are the ultimate goal of this production.

references but a tangible spatial density. there are sound-tracks and other choreographic elements. the passers-by aren't told of any moral or content: they just bump into the performing machines at work, and they're involved. now the choice is unavoidable: join in the desegregated chorale, or run away. it's up to Luther Blissett, as soon as the passers-by are involved, to raise the panic rapture to paroxysm and forecast the possible total loss of control. at this point the likely intervention of the cops (or of some talent-scouts) brings us to a crucial moment: the entropic energies which have crumbled the urban spectacle have to be canalised to an insurrection of bodies.

the association of autonomous astronauts

technology is developed by the military and intelligence agencies as a means of controlling their monopoly on space exploration: economic austerity is manufactured by the state to prevent the working class building their own space ships. governments are incapable of organising successful space exploration programs. what we need today is an independent space exploration program, one that is not restricted by military, scientific or corporate interests. an independent space exploration program represents the struggle for emancipatory applications of technology. a five year plan for establishing local, community-based aaa groups around the world, dedicated to building their own space ships, is part of the aaa's independent space exploration program, which has been launched on april 23rd, 1995, near windsor castle. we have chosen this site because it was here that king George III supervised the first balloon experiments in england. the aaa has released balloons into the air at 3 pm (GMT).

luther blissett 3-sided football league

the 19th century class war is no longer bipolar. it is thrilling and unpredictable, fractal and catastrophic, situlogic and trialectic. the 3-sided football (in USA: 3-sided soccer) is a way of conveying this notion, and a game of skill, persuasion and psychogeography. the pitch is hexagonal, two of the teams can temporarily cooperate to break the opposite defence, there is no referee to mimic the false "neutrality" of the state and the media.

1 Stewart Home, *The Assault on Culture*, p.29
 2 Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*
 for further information and discussion write to Luther Blissett c/o East London AAA, Box 15, 138 Kingsland High Street, London, E8 2NS, UK.

The consciousness of desire and the desire for consciousness are identically the project which, in its negative form, seeks the abolition of classes, the workers' direct possession of every aspect of their activity. Its opposite is the society of the spectacle, where the commodity contemplates itself in a world it has created.

Capitalist production has unified space, which is no longer bounded by external societies. This unification is at the same time an extensive and intensive process of banalisation. The accumulation of commodities produced in mass for the abstract space of the market, which had to break down all regional and legal barriers and all the corporative restrictions of the Middle Ages that preserved the quality of places. This power of homogenisation is the heavy artillery which brought down all Chinese walls.

Tourism, human circulation considered as consumption, a by-product of the circulation of commodities, is fundamentally nothing more than the leisure of going to see what has become banal. The economic organisation of visits to different places is already in itself the guarantee of their equivalence. The same modernisation that removed time from teh voyage also removed from it the reality of space.

The loss of the language of communication is positively expressed by the modern movement of decomposition of all art, its formal annihilation. This movement expresses negatively the fact that a common language must be rediscovered - no longer in the unilateral conclusion which, in the art of the historical society, always arrived too late, speaking to others about what was lived without real dialogue, and admitting this deficiency of life - but it must be rediscovered in praxis, which unifies direct activity and its language. The problem is to actually possess the community of dialogue and the game with time which have been represented by poetico-artistic works.

The capitalist need which is satisfied by urbanism in the form of a visible freezing of life can be expressed Hegelian terms as the absolute predominance of "the peaceful coexistence of space" over "the restless becoming in the passage of time."



TSA

ADVERSARIAL OPINIONS

Write to us • P O Box 9263 • Te Aro • Wellington

Body image

Dear TSA,
Louise May's article in TSA 27 'On beauty, body image, and anarchist men and women' makes a lot of important points about the reality of people's actions and perceptions about body image within the anarchist movement. However, I'd like to add my 2 cents worth! The prejudices associated with body image impact just as much on the 'waif-like' as on the more rounded woman. Women are naturally a range of sizes. Women who happen to be thinner can be accused of being suckers for the beauty myth, somewhat traitorous to other women, anorexic, or neurotic. If the woman really has an eating disorder, being criticized like this can be really harmful as anorexia and bulimia which are often associated with low self-esteem and depression.

So what am I trying to say? I guess it's that we should be critical of all stereotypes of body image, and that we should question in a way that is loving and respectful of each other.

lots of luv

*Catherine
Wellington*

Cars

Dear TSA

In reply to Catherine's critique of my article "Beyond the Motorcar" in TSA 25.

I guess it did sound like I was supporting the Te Aro motorway - believe me, this was only a lack of clarity on my part. I do believe that cars belong only on motorways and highways. They are best suited to travel between or around cities, but not through them. Motorways should link cities and skirt their boundaries. They obviously should not be built through cities because that defeats the purpose. So, as a member of the Te Aro community, I have voiced my opposition to the proposed Te Aro motorway.

I also agree with Catherine's vision of major social change "resulting in a culture of mutual cooperation and respect". Even when the private motorcar is re-

placed by a pool of community owned cars, I reckon most inner city and suburban streets will be car-free. The street is the heart of the community and the motorcar has no place in it. But today, in the present neo-fascist, hierarchical culture, we have to do things differently, ie. appeal to city councils. OK, maybe "ban" is too harsh a word, but what about the creation of more malls? Places without traffic where pedestrians can wander the streets safely and street culture can flourish. And not just in retail zones, but also in residential areas.

Finally, yes, cars are evil in themselves. A car doesn't exist in isolation (ie. neutral), and we then use it rightly or wrongly. As I noted, a car is a product of industrial culture, is shaped by capitalist values and is promoted as such. There are huge vested interests in the continuation of car culture. An anarchist society lacks the hierarchical structure necessary to mine for minerals and to mould and assemble cars. So we would have to trade for them. At the moment only 10 percent of the world can afford to buy cars. Anarchist cultures could not afford cars either. Anarchist transport alternatives would be significantly different to capitalist-industrial transportation.

Even though focusing on cars runs the risk of being single issue, they are an interesting metaphor for industrial culture. They are also very real and very obnoxious today, which was why I was wondering about their future.

In fun,

*Greg Smith
Wellington*

Libertarians

Dear TSA

When contemplating the difference between the right-wing so-called Libertarians, it strikes me that these troglodytes are at about the same stage of development that some anarchists were a hundred years ago - advocating political change without social change. Over the years anarchists have realised that the state has permeated society to such an extent that we need to work for social change if we are ever to get rid of the

state. But the pseudo-libertarians want to maintain their privileged positions in the current set up, they don't want social change.

Instead, they advocate keeping a few bits of the state (the military, police and courts) to maintain the present inequalities which serve them very nicely.

Regards

*Joe Buchanan
Wellington*

Dear TSA

Catherine Amey's article on the ACT NZ was good, but I feel that there was one glaring omission. I'm against both Government and the State, but I'm also very much against Capitalism. And that's the part of ACT's policy that makes them stand out from the crowd of electoral parties.

In addition, I've never heard any of the groups Catherine mentioned call themselves anarchists, especially not extremely centre orientated United or the right wings of either National or Labour. Even the most 'libertarian' types such as the magazine Free Radical distance themselves from Anarchism, as shown by Lindsay Periego's article on the subject in a recent issue. Instead, they propose a limited government that would be restricted to policing and other such activities.

Catherine asks the question "How can these neo-liberals call themselves anarchists?" The simple fact is that no one who can be seriously considered to speak for the party does consider themselves anarchists. ACT is a threat, but lets keep all this in perspective shall we? It is their unrestrained Capitalism that makes them a threat, not their clinging to limited Government. Sometimes anarchists tend to forget the part that capitalism plays in the modern state.

Regards

*Nick Melchior
Wellington*

McGillicuddies again

Dear Enemies of the State,

Over the last four issues there have been no less than five entries in the "are Anarchism and McGillicuddy appropriate fellow travellers?" debate. Here's a sixth...

The debate centres on whether the McGillicuddies' silliness is an effective medium for a subversive message or not. This is a problem for Anarchists and not McGillicuddies. It is understandable that

some in the Anarchist movement in Aotearoa are becoming a little distressed by their friends expending some of their precious revolutionary zeal in an activity that not only may not work, but may actually contradict the actual goals of Anarchism.

It is important to keep in mind that, despite Uncle Graham (in TSA 23) and Greg Smith's (TSA 25) reasoned justifications for viewing McGillicuddy and Anarchism as compatible, the real reason that the two networks have overlapped in recent years has been largely the product of a social process, rather than a conscious political development. Some Anarchists think that the McGillicuddy Serious Party is a potentially useful medium for a subversive message. Most of the people that have got involved in both groups however have done so as part of a sort of social package deal which can also include getting tattooed and/or pierced, becoming a vegan and/or bisexual, going on long visits to far away flats and generally having an out of it time as much as possible. Not that there is necessarily anything wrong with that.

Throughout most of its history, people in the Clan have justified their activities as being enjoyable because they were silly or creative or gave more spiritual meaning to their lives. These attitudes do not prevent those who hold

them from being able to use their public presence to express their points of view. Only since the Anarchist-McGillicuddy crossover began in 1991 have numerous people justified doing McGillicuddy stuff *primarily* because it might be useful in pushing political messages into the group mind of society.

So Joe Buchanan (TSA 24 & 26) and Sam Lee (TSA 26) may well be right in saying that McGillicuddy is not particularly subversive, or that it might even be... shudder...wrong! Silliness is maybe only... silly. You may only change the world by being serious. Only the Clan of Anarcho-McGillicuddies would really need to argue the point. Meanwhile the rest of the Clan will be enjoying themselves, whether busy making use of a medium for their art, or in ritualising their lives or in simply playing and being silly. The world might change if everyone just did those three things. Who knows?

Long live the Prince

*Mark Servian
Thane of Gordonton*

Dear Folksies

The McGillicuddy Serious Party is not anarchist, despite Greg Smith's illusions (TSA 25). "The wearing of a kilt is an anarchist statement in itself because it identifies the wearer as a member of a different (sub)culture," he says. Ho ho

ho, you must be joking! Is shaving my head and wearing boots and a swastika armband also an anarchist statement then?

However, McGillicuddies have been responsible for some effective satire. Jo(e) Buchanan may deride them for their "insistence on retaining their mock scottishness and silliness" (TSA 24), but it is precisely this that allows them to access an audience that "serious" politicians are denied. Audiences who would ignore a identifiable radical - even a funny one - respond positively to a McGillicuddy spouting radical social criticism laced with humour.

I'm not suggesting spreading a radical message is the aim of most McGillicuddies - for many it is purely a funny thing to do. This is one of the reasons the McGillicuddy Serious Party is only occasionally effective.

As a McGillicuddy, keeping people guessing as to whether I'm serious or not has allowed me to get media coverage, speak at schools and conferences, and have people organise meetings for me who would run a mile if they knew I was an anarchist. Perhaps some of the message is lost by the "silliness", but the alternative may be no message at all.

*Sam Buchanan,
Wellington.*

The cancerous tumour of our times

ECONOMIC CONVULSIONS are born from the forced co-existence of two forms of organisation with different purposes and perspectives - society and the state.

The fundamental form of organisation in human life is the society. It is created from the natural necessity to satisfy human needs. The state is different. It is a form of artificial intruder inside society, exactly like a cancerous tumour in a healthy organism. The purpose of the state is to use the wealth of society for the benefit of those who represent and use the state.

Today society as a whole is dominated by the state. Control does not belong to the producers, it is in the hands of the elite parasites.

That is how catastrophic crises for the state, and also society, are born.

Because here society uses its quiet weapon in the economic and political

arena. Here society stops to produce, and, tragically, becomes accustomed to the presence of the state, it volunteers to be disabled, just as a cripple gets used to their crutches. It is fighting against the moral and material misery in the state, but never against the state which is the cause of it all. Society is fighting against bureaucracy, but never against the state which creates it. In the end it is fighting for freedom, liberty and mutual happiness, but never against the state which is taking these things further and further from its grasp.

In this long perpetual fight society should have discovered by now that its thrusts have not been effective because they have not been directed at the actual cancer - the state. That is why crises like wars and the national catastrophes have become like needs to today's civilisation and states - chronic diseases. The ideological and philosophical sys-

tems which describe states are only garnishes, meant for easy consumption and acceptance of this murderous system.

There is no federalism and capitalism; there is no fascism and socialism, there is only the state. All of these systems are only ways the state is forming or developing in different stages.

Dear economists and financiers, and all the political and theological prostitutes of the state machine and the elite, you had better start to face your death - your state society is impossible without crisis - it is only an illusion. If you are genuine in all this you better know and find the truth - the only truth which you all know very well. Its name is anarcho-communism. In other words, society without crises can only be a stateless, free society based on humanitarian principles - solidarity, freedom and mutual aid.

- Zlatko "Jim" Zlatkoff

««««« POLICE FIVE »»»»»

A regular column on policing and how to avoid it.

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW of the police and intelligence agencies, the threat of terrorism is a wonderful thing for increasing their job security. During public hearings over the new Security Intelligence Agencies Act, Jim Bolger brought up the subject of terrorism whenever it was suggested that the intelligence agencies could be done away with.

Terrorism is frequently used as an excuse to give the authorities more powers, to suspend civil liberties and to increase the funding for security forces. In Europe, fascist groups elaborated this process into the "Strategy of Tension", a political strategy in which fascists posing as leftists would commit acts of terrorism in the hope of persuading the population to accept increasingly authoritarian government, and ultimately, a fascist coup.

Police seem to have a hard time figuring out the difference between legitimate political activity and criminal acts, and sometimes seem to think political activity is the first step on the road to terrorism in the same way they think marijuana leads to hard drugs. Ho Ho.

An example of the police's misguided approach to terrorism is the exercise held in Petone last February. The exercise involved about one hundred officers from the Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch special tactics groups as well as Wellington Armed Offenders Squad. Details of the fictional scenario used in the exercise, obtained by *The State Adversary* under the Official Information Act, highlight the police's skewed thinking on the subject. Accord-



ing to the summary provided:

"Two violent extremists, based in the United Kingdom, came to New Zealand to commit an act of sabotage against an international oil company... They also had (notional) links to groups such as the Provisional IRA and animal rights extremists... They were assisted by two other offenders - an Australian and a New Zealander."

Police took pains to point out that the scenario "was not based on any real people, groups or events" and that the nature of the offenders cause is largely irrelevant to the purpose of the exercise. However, it would be strange if the police used a scenario they considered utterly unlikely. The police seem to be following the lead of overseas cops in regarding environmentalists as potential terrorists. They also see the threat as an international conspiracy. While linking the "totally fictitious group" with the

IRA and "animal rights extremists" may seem ridiculous, police in Britain have frequently speculated about links between the IRA and the Animal Liberation Front in an attempt to discredit the latter.

Police seem to believe their own propaganda - people committing illegal political acts aren't really interested in the cause, they are just doing so for the hell of it, therefore they will naturally hang out with other "violent extremists". Actually, this is probably a logical deduction from the police point of view, after all they seem to be willing to hang out with some pretty unpleasant company.

In their response to the Official Information Act, police note "this country has already experienced at least two homicides through acts of terrorism", presumably the homicides referred to are the Rainbow Warrior and Trades Hall bombings. In both these cases police should note that members of the "left" political movements have been the victims, not the perpetrators, of terrorism.

The military also play at combating "terrorism". In the year covered by the Defence Force's 1994 Annual Report, the army conducted five independent counter-terrorist exercises and one joint exercise together with the police. More frighteningly, army personnel spent a total of 2,250 days training in "riot control and crowd dispersal". This training is listed in the report under the title "countering terrorism."

— Sam Buchanan

Museifushugi A Brief History of Anarchism in Pre War Japan

By Matthew Turner, reviewed by Nick Melchior

PRIOR TO READING this book, my main impression of Japanese Anarchism was seeing pictures of Japanese Punks parading through Tokyo with banners emblazoned with the logo of the English punk band Doom. The only other thing I had ever seen from Japan was, perhaps not surprisingly, in Japanese, and I couldn't read it.

It was with great interest then that I found this small, locally produced pamphlet. It's well written, concentrating on specific individuals as opposed to the larger movements they were involved with. However, I had a few prob-

lems with the authors approach.

I found the outlook of the author to be extremely Eurocentric in outlook. In his introduction, Turner rejects the native "libertarian tradition", that of the rural villages, in favour of looking at "the anarchist movement", by which he means the impact of various European thinkers and movements upon Japan. The future of Anarchism in Aotearoa, and indeed everywhere outside of Europe, will be in looking at the common ideas that Europeans share with Maori, Asians, and all other peoples in Aotearoa, not by expecting them to take up Kropotkin. Anar-

chists and Anarchism have had very little to do with most of the great libertarian communal uprisings in the world, and have often proved to be more of a hindrance than a help.

The other problem with this book is that it is too short, as this limits the scope. However, it did spark my interest in the history of Japanese Anarchism, and made me think about the place of Anarchism in relation to non-European culture. Over all, this book is worth getting hold of, as a good introduction to the subject, and in order to support anarchist publishing in Aotearoa.

Structureless Organisation

A Dead End for Anarchists

THIS ARTICLE is in response to negative and self-destructive processes appearing amongst @narchists in Aotearoa. I have heard many different points of view about the lack of organisation in many centres – particularly Christchurch. Comments such as “it’s the town” or “I don’t know what it is, but it all seems so hopeless”, point to the fact that some supposedly @narchist organisations are not working. From my own perspective, there seem to be some simple reasons for this, in particular the lack of a coherent @narchist structure in collectives.

Anarchism is the grassroots organisation of society by groups formed by free association and by other non-hierarchical methods. Processes are developed by the community as a whole. This ensures that resources are wisely used, as decisions about their use are made by those who need them. Basically, people won’t cut their own throats if there is a structure of direct democracy operating to ensure all decisions are made by those directly affected, with an open acceptance of new ideas and availability of information to all. Why then is such a sensible process not working in some current Anarchist groups?

Whilst in Christchurch, I met many individuals with a burning desire to do something about the state of Aotearoa, but when I mentioned @narchist groups, they told me they didn’t want anything to do with “all that personality crap” and “dictatorial bullshit”. They were describing supposed ‘@narchists’ and ‘@narchist collectives’.

Perhaps an answer to what is going on is that there is a lack of a collective structure. Firstly, at meetings, there is no facilitator, no agenda being passed around before the meeting starts, no information supplied by the ‘main’ people, and a sense of being scared to speak up, and contradict the ‘bosses’.

Secondly, when an idea is voiced by a member of the group, it is systematically dumped on if it doesn’t coincide with the ideas of the ‘main’ people – if agreed with, it is taken over by a clique of individuals that believe only they can do the work properly. The saddest thing is that the people doing these destructive actions actually mean well, strange as it

may seem. They may feel forced into a situation of dictatorship to develop things – just like the communist ‘vanguard’ – because others appear uninterested in helping. Not too surprising, really.

Where is all this coming from? Well, for a start, without a commitment to a collective structure, people have the ability to manipulate at the inception of an @narchist organisation to create an organisation around their particular whims, as we have seen in various failed grassroots activist groups throughout the world. The fault lies not only with the dictatorial ideas of these cliques and individuals, but in the collective as a whole – in the lack of a process whereby dictators cannot take power.

This scenario has led to the alienation and disillusionment of collective members, as ‘collectives’ become arenas for personality battles/bickering and backstabbing. There is a lack of honest self-assessment and no place for the questioning of assumptions. People vote with their feet, and when members leave, the clique controlling the ‘collective’ will look to every excuse as a reason – except that of the collective structure itself and how their personal behaviour and ways of relating to people have destroyed any semblance of direct democracy in it.

This seems to be unnecessarily negative, because there are examples of working @narchist collectives in Aotearoa, that are based on a simple structure with set goals, a constitution, and – yes – rules. The idea that you can have an @narchist structure seems abhorrent to some, which is strange, as @narchism relies on strong organisation at the grass roots level, not on childish, nihilistic individualism.

In collectives I have been a part of, the organisational problems just mentioned have been at least recognised, with a set structure in meetings (facilitator/shared agenda/info sharing), and this carries on to the structure of the collective itself, encouraging new ideas and projects, with meetings at least once a month and with information widely distributed. It is true that some members of collectives have a greater knowledge and are in positions such as general administrator, editor, etc., but they are directly answerable to the collective at all times. The knowledge to

be able to take over their role is known by members of the collective, and if particular members decide to go on a break, even for months, the collective does not break down. The tasks they performed are taken on by others. There are troubles, but they are at least recognised and dealt with in an open manner.

The reason cooperatives get off the ground and succeed is due to them having a cooperative structure, with direct democracy being the foundation of the group, creating an organisation without factions and personality fights, with disagreements being sorted out with honesty, and regarding disagreements as a strength – achieving right answers to problems by having different perspectives on how to solve them, and having the guts to admit when you are wrong. There is also the ability to remove collective members that are being destructive to the collective as a whole. This creates a situation in which those interested in collectives will become part of them, not those that are only interested in their own political bandwagon, or are interested only in personality conflicts and power-trips.

The effect of having a @narchist collective structure tends to be cumulative – those involved formalise their roles in the collective, (roles taken being dependent on the individual’s particular expertise/interest) and know that they have the full support of the collective as they are directly supported by them. The confidence that inspires inside the collective builds a culture of mutual aid, an atmosphere of togetherness and cooperation for all – which is, after all, the idea of the collective, isn’t it? This I have experienced personally, and have gained strength and confidence from it.

There are many @narchists in Aotearoa with great ideas and skills, wishing to have a space where they are respected as individuals and are able to have space to be creative and to work with others in mutual respect. If this is not happening, it is due to a large extent to those that are trying to work in organisations without a collective structure. If there is a lack of interest in supposedly Anarchist projects, there may be more reasons than apathy.

– George van den Hoeven

10 ways to kill off an activist movement

Some guidelines to correct behaviour for those thinking of getting involved in the activist movement.

1. Panic!

The world is coming to an end. If not today, then certainly by next week. Anybody who isn't running around like a chicken with its head cut off just isn't pulling their weight. Of course, there's no time for proper planning or democracy or things like that in times of crisis, so, for the sake of the planet, shut up and get to work.

2. Know your elders and betters

Look, we appreciate your ideas, but we've been doing this sort of thing for a long time. There are certain ways of doing things and that's just the way things are. When you've had a few years experience working in groups that never get anywhere, maybe we'll be prepared to listen to you, until then, just do as you're told...

3. Play it safe

Don't demand anything too radical. Remember, most of the population aren't nice, educated liberals like us. Don't alienate them by demanding anything that goes further than a Labour Party policy document. In fact, just to be on the safe side, ensure your demands are limited to keeping things the way they already are. That'll bring in public support for sure.

4. Fear the public

Most people out there are racist, sexist, right-wing rednecks. Don't trust anybody outside the movement. Remember everyone hates communist stirrers like us, so keep your head down. The best thing is to keep your activism confined to the university campus where you can be sure most people are middle class. Of course, it also means most of the population won't know your group exists, but, hey, you can't have everything.

5. Never, ever, let a group set out its political agenda clearly

Look, we all know why we are here, don't we? There's no need to waste time putting it down on paper, besides, we're all united on these issues and nobody's going to trample over anyone else are they? Heh, heh, heh...

6. Talk a lot about consensus and democracy, but for heaven's sake, don't practice it

Never forget that you have everything figured out and other people are just trying to stuff things up. Avoid meetings, make decisions by yourself, or when it's just you and a few mates around. If meetings are inevitable, dominate them. Talk loudly and don't let other people get a word in. If criticised for this,

look hurt and talk (at length) about how much these issues mean to you.

Offer to facilitate, then use the position to push your own views forward. If you look likely to lose a point, cut debate short by pointing out that time is getting on and move on to the next agenda item.

Leave the meeting early (promote your carefully contrived image as a martyr to the cause by mentioning that you have two other meetings to go to that night) and never help to clear up the coffee cups.

7. Criticise the group for everything it isn't doing

Continually point out the group's insensitivity to issues it isn't concerned with. Get people to work on every issue you can think of at the same time, while continually predicting doom and gloom. Once everyone realises how hopeless everything is, they will, of course, redouble their efforts.

8. Appoint a paid coordinator (or two or three)

Ideally, this will result in one poorly paid person being expected to cope with the work previously done by a large group of volunteers, while at the same time wasting most of their time coping with the sort of useless people that wander into the offices of activist groups wanting to rave for hours about their paranoid conspiracy theories, make personal attacks on the coordinator for not having saved the world yet, or demanding help with some photocopying. In the longer term, a paid elite can create a rift between themselves and the volunteers expected to work for nothing.

9. Spend most of your time lobbying MPs

Even if parliament does decide to put a watered down version of your demands into law, you can be sure that the MPs concerned will grab all the credit and point to it as an example of our free and democratic system. Your group's support will vanish as everyone thinks the job has been done, even when the changes are mostly cosmetic. Regardless of whether you win or lose, none of the activists involved will feel any sense of empowerment, so no lasting changes in society will take place.

10. Make everyone else feel guilty

Any criticism directed at your policies can be countered by getting really upset. These people are out to destroy your movement - the movement that you have sweated blood to build out of nothing. Some don't even appreciate your dedication...

