

THE STATE ADVERSARY

Number 28 Summer 1997



Inside: Native forests trashed, Nigeria, censorship, court news, views, reviews and more stories from the wild world of anarchist activism...

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Number 28, Summer 1997

FIRST THING THAT has to be said this issue is thanks for all the letters that we've been getting. TSA needs more discussion of what is said within its pages. We know that some articles are the basis of discussions in other places, but until recently we've very rarely received any feedback. Keep it up people. One of the things we feel the old TSA had, and the new one has lacked, is reader feedback.

That said, we still need more in the way of photos and local news. We can't tell the country what people have been up to outside of Wellington unless people tell us. Also, all and any graphic artists should get in touch. We would love some new graphics.

1997 will see another anarchist conference in Wellington. We didn't organise one last year as the CEC was feeling like concentrating on other projects. This year we're back on top and stronger than ever, so we hope to see you all down here over ANZAC weekend.

One more thing: write and tell us

Savage State

*Riot-supporting, Nazi-hating,
100% two-fingers-in-the-air
punk rock!!*

Issue four \$2 post paid from
P O Box 6387, Te Aro, Wellington.

what you like and don't like about TSA. We need more feedback on the magazine as a whole, so send it in.

Our next issue will be something of a 'back to basics' issue: What anarchism is and isn't. We need opinion pieces from all areas on this issue, so start writing them now. Get in touch if you want some guidelines on length and the like.

The deadline for the next issue is a secret as we would much prefer people to send us stuff as soon as they can, rather than leaving it to the last minute. Enjoy.

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

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

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Contributions

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


Advertisements

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

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 *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.

20 arrests at Waihopai demonstration

PROTESTERS SANG the Star-Spangled Banner as the US flag was raised over the Waihopai satellite communications interception base at the annual demonstration in mid-January.

About 50 people gathered to participate in the weekend of action.

Twenty people were arrested on trespass charges after crossing a fence and moving on to land surrounding the base. Negotiations with police lead to the release of arrestees in time for a public meeting in Blenheim.

At the meeting *New Statesman* journalist Duncan Campbell enlightened the audience on the role of the international network of which the Waihopai base is a part. Campbell drew particular attention to the US intelligence bases in the UK. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, such bases are increasingly being used to gather commercial information for the benefit of US companies.

The protest and meeting were organised by the Anti-Bases Campaign, P.O. Box 2258, Christchurch.

— Katherine Stokes

Chogm cases come to court

FIFTEEN MONTHS after the event, almost all those facing charges following demonstrations at the Commonwealth Heads Of Government Meeting have been through court.

About 70 charges were laid during the meeting, mostly for obstructing police or footpaths.

In the latest round of court appearances, 26 people appeared in the Auckland District Court on February 10. Most pleaded guilty and were discharged without conviction. Three people were convicted and discharged and one man received a \$295 fine.

Bill of rights defences to the obstruction charges were rejected in earlier trials. It remains to be explained how one can exercise one's right to protest when standing on a road or footpath is deemed obstruction.

— Sam Buchanan

Anti-voting campaign

WELLINGTON ANARCHISTS are gleeful about the small Don't Vote campaign held in the run-up to October's general election.

Posters and leaflets aimed to communicate some of the basic ideas of anarchism in addition to directly critiquing parliamentary elections.

While anti-voting posters have been a feature of election campaigns for some years, this was the first time a serious attempt has been made to interest the capitalist media in the anarchist viewpoint. Local newspaper *City Voice* published two articles by anarchists on elections and the Rupert Murdoch-linked daily *The Evening Post* solicited an 800-word opinion piece from the local collective which was published the day before the election.

Anarchist spokespeople were also interviewed on local TV and student radio.

— Sam Buchanan

Green group back in action

CHRISTCHURCH ANARCHISTS have resurrected the Green Action group to fill a perceived need for a new, outward-looking anarchist group in the city.

Green Action first emerged in 1994 to protest the opening of the Clyde Dam. Since then Green Action has gone through many transformations: at times all Green Action has consisted of is a banner used to mark anarchist participation in events.

The principles of Green Action are to provide abroad, anarchistically-structured group to address and support the diverse range of interests and needs within our community, and to strengthen our sense of community. A loose collective has been established to provide an environment where people feel comfortable and supported in discussing their ideas and views. Membership is by participation.

The group operates on a legal basis. We consider pickets, demonstrations and civil disobedience to be legitimate, and condone and support such actions.

Green Action is community-based and focuses on practical politics, especially involving social and environmental issues which affect our inner city community. Examples of issues we are concerned with are food, clothing, housing, rights, and childcare. With this in mind we are keen to connect with and support other groups and individuals operating in the inner city with the idea of establishing a network of cooperative activity within the urban environment. There are plans for squats, community gardens, a foodbank, a free shop, creches, workshops and a creative space.

Recently we have been involved in demonstrations, gigs, performances and an art gallery for unemployed craftspeople which saw a lot of support.

For three months now we have been operating a weekly vegan soup kitchen un-

der the 'Food Not Bombs' banner.

Green Action meets on the last Tuesday of every month to discuss issues and share information and resources. Often a subgroup will form to explore ideas or carry out a particular activity and report back to the group. We encourage people to join in projects and come to meetings, and we try to keep lots of people up to date with what's going on. We may produce a newsletter as more people become interested.

It is really good to see lots of people so busy in the middle of winter, the time of the year when people tend to stay in their little groups or hole up until the sun shines again. There are a myriad of good things happening in the city at the moment, of which Green Action is just one.

Our direction and structure has not been cemented and I hope that more and varied people get involved.

— Emily



**FOOD
NOT
BOMBS**

FREE FOOD

**Latimer Square
Tuesdays 12 pm**

No one in a country as rich as ours should have to go without food. People not products feed the need of human beings. Green action are trying to bypass the laws of the market to bring you hot food every week.

CONTACT GREEN ACTION, PO BOX 22301, CHCH.

Judge raps cops over arrests

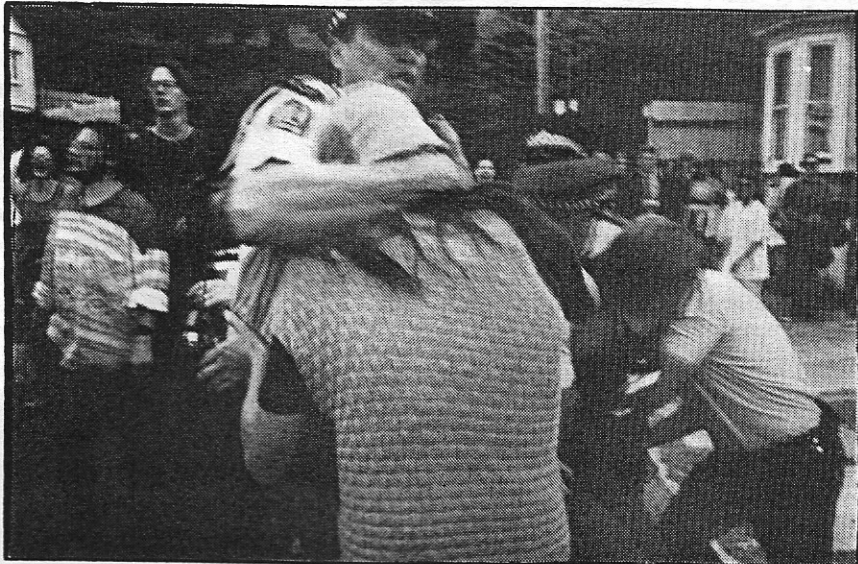
ACTIVISTS HAVE been acquitted of all but one of the charges laid against them as a result of a confrontation with the police at a demo in Wellington on Waitangi Day last year (see TSA #26).

Judge R L Watson, in a decision delivered shortly before Christmas, came down heavily on the police concerned, saying the force used in arresting Amy Ross, an action which sparked a confrontation and further arrests, was "unreasonable, unnecessary and excessive."

The judge singled out Sergeant Paul Kennedy, top dog in the police's Strategic Response Group for criticism, saying "if Sergeant Kennedy had not acted in the manner he did towards Amy Ross, and had elected to follow the basic Guidelines and Procedures for Police at Demonstrations as issued to police officers in October 1994 none of that which happened at the end of this protest between the Police and protesters would have occurred at all."

Seven people were arrested and eight charges laid on the day of the demo. One charge of obstruction was dropped soon after. Another obstruction charge against Jody Anderson was dropped after television footage of the demonstration, viewed by police officers investigating complaints, clearly showed the arresting officer's version of events to be at odds with reality.

An obstruction charge against Alia



Police make arrests at last year's Waitangi Day demonstration in Wellington.

Photo: David Fleming

Levine was thrown out by the judge when a police officer admitted he could not remember why he made the arrest.

Duncan Thomason, accused of tripping a police sergeant, was acquitted due to doubts as to whether he was responsible, whether the act was deliberate and whether the cop in question may have tripped himself up.

Amy Ross was acquitted of obstruction, and also of resisting arrest, with the judge saying "there was not a scrap of evidence" to support the charge.

The judge acquitted Mark Eden of obstructing Amy Ross' arrest, ruling that he

was entitled to intervene as police were not acting in accordance with their duty at the time.

Graeme Howell was convicted and discharged without penalty after the judge reduced his charge from obstructing a policeman to obstructing a roadway.

Judge Watson also expressed concern over the failure of the police to inform the defendants of the reason for their arrest, to read them their rights and to allow a lawyer access to them while in detention.

Several defendants are taking legal action against the police over the matter.

- Sam Buchanan

'Activism in Aotearoa' conference a buzz

A BUNCH OF mostly young people got together out in the back blocks of Wainuiomata at the end of January for a conference on activist issues.

Workshop subjects included Tino Rangatiratanga, activism and spirituality, international solidarity and policing. Lots of good discussion, networking, singing and swimming. Well worth attending, let's see more anarchists there next year.

About sixty people attended the conference, which was organised by Voice, a group formed to encourage activism among young people.

- Sam Buchanan

Wellington anarchist groups find new home

THE OFFICE HOUSING the Wellington anarchist collectives grouped around the C.E.C. (Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation) has moved. The top floor of the building in Cuba Street was leased by the Wellington Peace and Environment Trust and housed other activist groups alongside the anarchists.

With the ending of the lease, the groups have reluctantly split up, with Peace Movement Aotearoa and ECO (Environment and Conservation Organisations) moving in to Trades Hall at 126 Vivian Street.

The anarchist and other groups have moved to the top floor of the Embassy Flooring Building at 264 Taranaki Street, nicely located opposite the old museum and Wellington High School. This space now houses the Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation, The State Adversary Collective and The Freedom Shop Collective. Also at the new centre are CORSO, Wellington Animal Action, Campaign for a Better City, Wellington Vegetarian Society, Beech Forest Action, East Timor Action, Wellington Rainforest Information and an organic vegetable cooperative. A hotbed of social unrest indeed!

Visitors are welcome to drop in at the centre, although things will probably be fairly quiet over summer. To contact the centre phone (04) 385-6728.

- By Lyn Spencer

Bonehead violence rears its ugly head

SKINHEADS injured several people after being kicked out of a punk gig in Christchurch recently.

On the January 18, punk band SMUT played a gig in Christchurch as part of their tour with Melbourne band H-Block. During the gig a group of skinheads were kicked out for harassing people. The skins were let into the gig as they didn't look like they were of right-wing disposition. Once thrown out, they hit one person on the head with a hammer, then drove at a group of people, hitting three, one of whom suffered a fractured skull.

Police attending the scene seemed less concerned than the ambulance crew, and despite having been given the names of one or two of the offenders, haven't done anything. This isn't altogether surprising for Christchurch cops. Last year the police tried to ban a memorial service at the scene of a racist murder by fascist skinheads, saying that it would create further violence. The service went ahead regardless.

The general police attitude tends to be that it is 'gang violence', not racist or fascist violence. It is only when racist violence gets to be more of a general 'law and order' situation that the police tend to do anything, such as when an Asian tourist was badly beaten up a couple of years ago. There was a bit of a police crackdown on skins wearing white power-type t-shirts after that incident.

The situation shows the need for tighter security at gigs, especially in cities where right-wing violence is a problem.

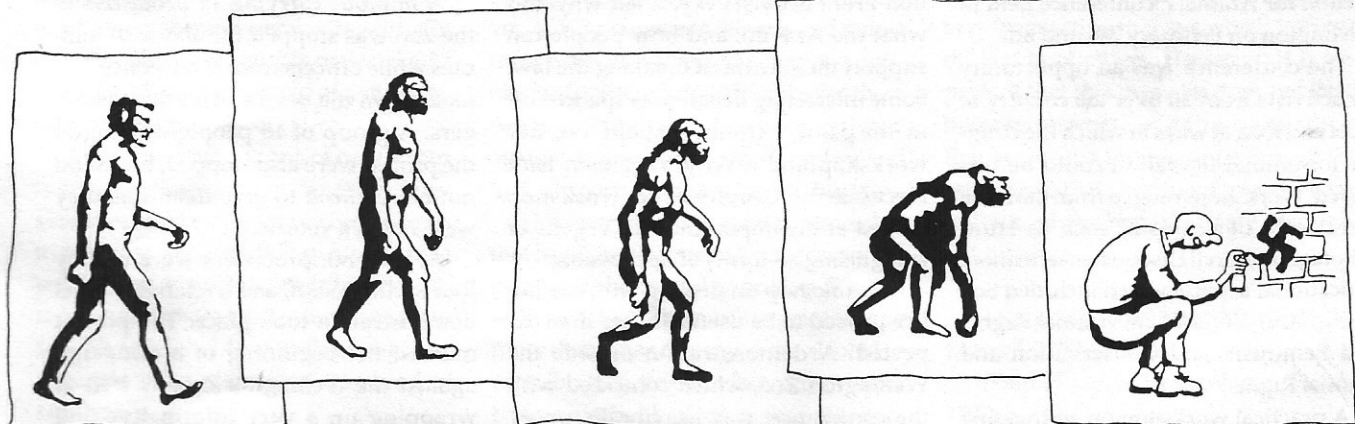
In the days following the gig, punks were attacked on two occasions by fascists.

Racist violence in Christchurch tends to be carried out by Nazi skinhead and white biker gangs. There is also some crossover between the two groups.

The violence is not always one-sided. In late January two Nazi skinheads were beaten nearly to death, apparently by two Maori youths. In what may be a retaliation attack up to seven men believed to be associated with the Highway 61 biker gang beat and stabbed two Black Power members.

A meeting was held between Black Power and Highway 61 leaders to try to defuse the situation, but as racist violence in Christchurch ebbs and flows it's difficult to say whether the situation will escalate or die down.

- Ian Stuart's mechanic.



THE BACKWARD EVOLUTION OF MAN...

International Briefs

THREE HUNDRED carabinieri raided anarchists houses in Italy during one night in September.

Twenty people were arrested on charges ranged from membership of a subversive organisation to making weapons and murder. A press release from the carabinieri tried to link social and autonomous centres with a mythical paramilitary organisation.

Many of those arrested were involved in solidarity work with four anarchists jailed earlier this year for two bank robberies which they did not commit.

The raids were orchestrated by Judge Marini who stated "I want to arrest some terrorists before I retire."

FIVE ENGLISH activists are facing up to 10 years in prison if convicted of conspiracy charges in what has become known as the GANDALF (Green Anarchist and ALF) trial.

Four editors of *Green Anarchist Magazine* and the former editor of the *Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter* are jointly charged with conspiracy to incite unknown people to commit criminal damage. Police claim that by publishing news of ALF fire bomb attacks, the activists were inciting further actions, despite the fact that the attacks were also reported in the capitalist media.

A sixth activist, ALF Press Officer Robin Webb, had his charges dropped at a pre-trial hearing in December after the court found he had already been acquitted on two previous conspiracy charges based on the evidence police were presenting. The three previous ALF press officers have all been imprisoned for conspiracy.

Waitangi Day quiet this year

WAITANGI DAY passed quietly this year with protests at both Waitangi and outside the official celebrations in Wellington passing with few incidents.

In Wellington about 90 people gathered outside the Governor-General's residence to protest 157 years of broken promises and criminal actions by the NZ government.

Police were fairly well behaved and no complaints have been laid.

- Sam Buchanan

The un-zipped house – the flux-people house

THE POLITICS of a culture are reflected in every aspect of society. Control and exploitation by political and economic powers are manifested in the commodities which are produced/consumed, in the utilisation of land, land ownership, architecture, advertising, employment, art, social relationships, dress codes, eating habits etc.

Dominant culture manifests itself over and over in the media, reproduced and strengthened and too often different thoughts are quashed or marginalised. Subcultures have always, and continue to, produce a critique of society exposing this difference. It's important to us to connect the theoretical critique with the practical critique which takes steps towards the collective construction of everyday live.

The un-zipped house – the flux-people house project – is a practical critique of mainstream culture. We have deconstructed and detoured* an old ruined house in Golden Bay to provide space for flux-people.

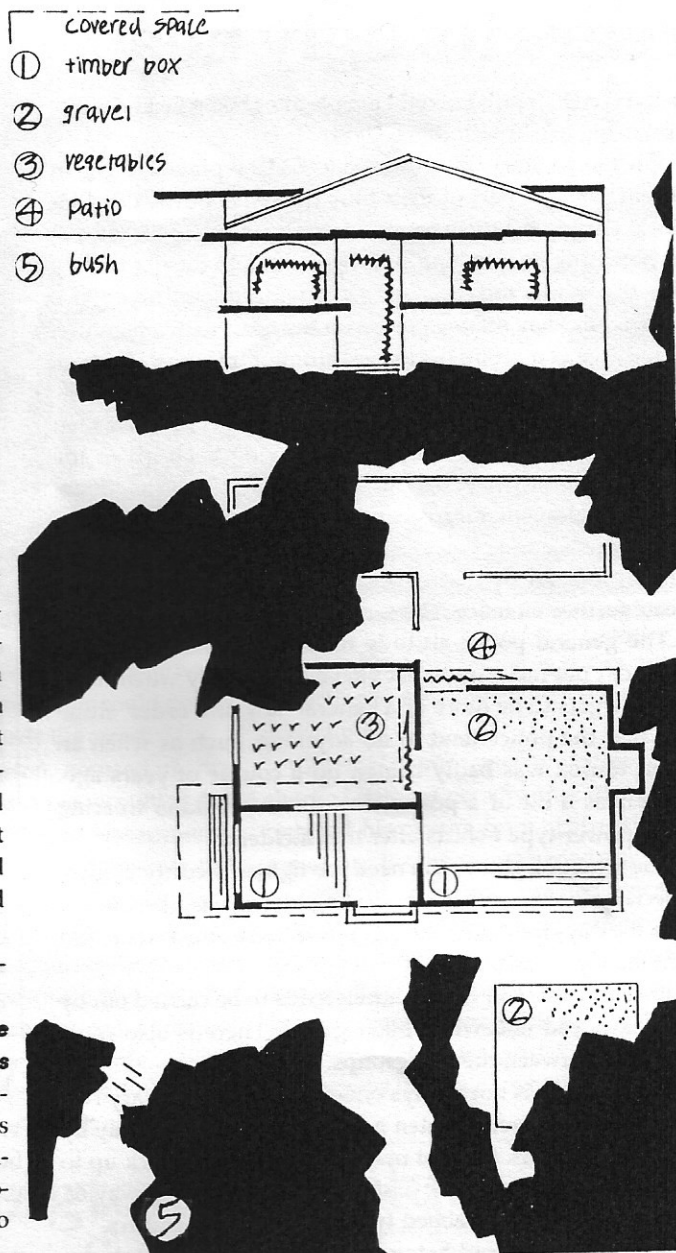
The term flux-people is used as a description for modern nomads, pirates, people who are not willing to accept dominant culture's morals and politics or a life which alienates them from their immediate satisfactions.

The project is an ongoing social experiment in a sub-cultural way of living. It is also a practical experiment in the abolition of boundaries (there-by constructing an autonomous zone) and in an individual's ability to satisfy their own needs. The architectural concept of the un-zipped house is derived from the theoretical idea of an open space. As a mutant house or mutant tent it questions mainstream living and the established, rigid concept of "housing". It is not owned or determined by anyone and can't be locked up.

For more information contact us c/- TSA.

–Luther Blissett/Katherine Stokes

*Detoured – a situationist term meaning the process of taking an object, idea or image produced by capitalist society and transforming it to play a revolutionary role.



Animal rights conference draws activists and police

ABOUT 80 PEOPLE attended the first 'Action for Animals' conference held in Wellington on February 7th and 8th.

The conference was an opportunity for activists from all over the country to meet and look at ways in which the struggle for animal liberation could be furthered. Workshops ranged from the more direct side of activism, such as Hunt Sabotage and Civil Disobedience, to more educational aspects which included Scientific Anti-Vivisection, Animal Rights and Feminism and Conservation and Animal Rights.

A practical workshop on animal first aid provided activists with the knowledge to rehabilitate wounded or mis-

treated animals. Two ex-Animal Liberation Front activists explained why and what the ALF do, and how people can support them without breaking the law. Some interesting debate was sparked off in the How Extreme Should We Be? workshop and a Why Veganism Isn't Necessarily Cruelty-Free workshop looked at the importance for vegans of recognising all forms of oppression.

A workshop on dealing with the police proved to be useful sooner than expected. A demonstration outside the Wellington Zoo, which coincided with the conference, was heavily disrupted by police, who were apparently rather paranoid because of rampant activity by

animal rights activists overseas.

A minibus carrying 11 protesters to the zoo was stopped for about 30 minutes while officers from three police cars took down the details of all the passengers. A group of 15 people walking to the protest were also stopped, but could not be required to give details as they were not in a vehicle.

At the zoo, protesters were met by four security staff, and a relatively quiet demonstration took place. The protest marked the beginning of a campaign against the Wellington Zoo, as well as wrapping up a very informative and positive conference.

– Ben Griffiths

Anarchism and Censorship

By Catherine Amey

In the last analysis, all censorship is political censorship.

— William Seagle

If, as research has suggested, convicted sex offenders were turned on by images of women knitting, are any images of women safe?

— Lynne Segal¹

CENSORSHIP is an issue which most anarchists feel strongly about, yet rarely discuss. It is also not often recognised that the word **censorship** is used with several different meanings. The *Collins English Dictionary* defines censorship as "a policy or programme of examining publications, theatrical presentations, films, letters, etc. in order to suppress those considered obscene, politically unacceptable etc." Perhaps a better definition is: "the process by which restrictions are imposed on the collection, dissemination, and exchange of information, opinions, and ideas"².

Censorship takes a number of different forms. In the case of **self-censorship**, people do not express their opinions because of fear or self-interest. **Social censorship** refers to the ways in which groups discourage the expression of particular opinions and ideas. This includes the education system and the media. In the case of **legal censorship**, the rules determining what may or may not be freely expressed are enforced by the police and the courts. There are two main forms of this: "prior censorship" in which officials are given authority to determine whether a book, video etc. can be distributed legally; and "punitive censorship" in which someone disseminating socially or politically unacceptable material gets fined, imprisoned, deprived of civil rights, or otherwise penalised.

Another common type of censorship is extra-legal censorship, whereby pressure is exerted by police or corporations to censor material by threatening to take legal action against the distributors — often in cases where legal action is likely to fail. The McLibel case in England is an example of an attempt at this kind of censorship.

Traditionally anarchists have opposed all forms of censorship. They see censor-

ship as part of the legal structure through which the government and State exerts power. More subtly, social and extra-legal censorship is used to prevent alternative viewpoints from being expressed. It is difficult for anarchists to get articles published in major papers (except as a freak curiosity), just as it is hard for antivivisectionists to get their books into libraries. Both legal and extra-legal censorship have been used to suppress the viewpoints of minority groups such as Maaori, lesbians, and gays. The current political and social structure of Aotearoa requires censorship in order to exist.

Yet does opposing censorship mean accepting material that is racist, sexist, violent, or produced through the abuse of humans or animals? There remains the question of how to deal with the promotion and distribution of fascist or racist literature. Would anarchists happily (or unhappily) accept an equivalent to the Freedom Bookshop selling neo-Nazi literature?

Pornography is another difficult issue. According to feminist Andrea Dworkin: "Free speech is about... every single way of humiliating a human being... women are penetrated by animals and objects for public entertainment, women are urinated on and defecated on..."³

There is considerable support within the community for stricter censorship of pornography. In 1988 Women Against Pornography conducted a telephone survey of 100 people in Aotearoa and found most women supported a feminist definition of pornography, 85% believed there was a link between levels of violence against women and pornography, and 81% supported tougher censorship laws.

However, it is important to remember that legal prohibition will not destroy the pornography industry or stop T-shirts with swastikas from being printed, any more than it has destroyed the alcohol or cannabis industries. In fact, censoring or banning a book often makes the item more desirable and leads to greater commercial returns. It is also interesting that

right-wing fundamentalists have joined with feminists in campaigning for tougher censorship laws against pornography. Tightening such laws results in the strengthening of a system which is inherently oppressive.

The alternative is to combat pornographic, racist and sexist images by producing our own images — positive images of women's sexual enjoyment and their bodies, for example. Through direct action, political activism, theatre, writing, art, and music, we can challenge material we find offensive. Unfortunately, the balance of power and money rests on the side of the pornography, fashion, and vivisection industries. Yet the issue is one of power, and not of freedom of expression.

In reality, anarchist groups often enact forms of social censorship themselves. At anarchist meetings or conferences there are frequently ground rules prohibiting the use of racist, sexist, homophobic, or sometimes speciesist language. This can be seen as a form of censorship, but is not generally regarded as harmful providing such rules are based on a consensus of the group as a whole.

Even in an ideal anarchist society an element of self-censorship seems inevitable. Where most members of a group have a common belief system, there is a certain pressure for those with different beliefs not to express them. This can be a useful means of stopping group members from acting in ways which infringe the rights of others. However, it is important that this pressure does not itself become oppressive: an unwritten law that serves the interests of a few, in the same way that dominant groups have influenced the rest of society throughout history •

¹Lynne Segal and Mary McIntosh. *Sex Exposed*. 1992, p. 21.

²Paul Higgins. *Censorship in Britain*. 1972, p. 11.

³Phyllis Schafly. *Pornography's Victims*. 1987, p. 287.

Timberlands West Coast Ltd

in need of timbering?

By Sian Robinson

TIMBERLANDS West Coast Ltd is the last remaining large-scale destroyer of native forests. They are currently clearfelling rimu in Buller, "sustainably managing" rimu forests in North Okarito and Saltwater, and have plans to "sustainably manage" up to 100,000 hectares of beech forest in North Westland.

Why are they getting away with clearfelling native forest when nobody else is allowed to, and is "sustainable management" much better than clearfelling anyway?!

Timberlands

Because it's a state-owned company, Timberlands is able to enjoy the best of both worlds; "concessions" from the government and perks such as being exempt from sustainability controls on the one hand, and the freedom of a business without obligations, on the other. Since July last year, anyone wanting to log and mill native forest has had to operate under the Forest Amendment Act (1993). Everyone that is, except Timberlands.

The FAA is by no means ideal. It promotes the "harvesting" of native forest at so-called "sustainable" levels. But it does represent a step forward in limiting the scale of native forest logging. (The panic logging that went on all over the country as July 1, 1996, approached was a sad indication that the new regulations were likely to impede deforestation.)

Government concessions to Timberlands include it paying a royalty of only \$5 per cubic metre of timber as the company is supposedly still in a "developmental" phase (even though it has existed for ten years now, and has been an SOE for five of those years). It has also been given a Special Purposes Grant of \$6 million to plant special purpose plantation timber (obviously we should forget about the Special Needs Grant and say we want to plant trees instead). On

top of all this, Timberlands pays no dividend and is able to retain all its profits to reinvest in itself; in the financial year to 1995 it made over \$6 million.

Destroying Buller forest

The excuse for Timberlands' clearfelling of rimu in the Buller region lies in the West Coast Accord. This was an agreement about the management of "the forest resource" of the West Coast which was signed by the Crown, conservation groups, timber industry representatives and the West Coast regional authority, in 1986. The accord resulted in the creation

eral hundred years old², right now. Yet the timber from Buller is taken all the way to the Ruatapu mill, near Hokitika, and to Christchurch. The overcut isn't safeguarding communities in the Buller region, it's lining the pockets of Timberlands West Coast Ltd., and wiping out large areas of our remaining precious lowland native forest. Tourism (based on the natural, *forested*, beauty of the region) has surpassed logging (indigenous and exotic) as a source of jobs and money on the West Coast anyway.

Rimu forests

Timberlands are not such complete scumbags in all their logging operations. In the rimu forests of North Okarito and Saltwater they make quite a big effort to implement the concept of "sustainable management". They chop down trees of a selected size (ie. ones that are at least a few hundred years old) and use helicopters to remove them.

These are the areas Timberlands has glossy brochures about, implying that the nasty old days of brutal clearfelling have long since past, now that technology has saved the day and enabled trees to be 'harvested' with minimal impact. Strangely they fail to mention that this same 'environmentally-friendly' technology enables them to move clearfelled rimu by the tonne out of areas of the Buller that were previously too inaccessible.

Beech

But Timberlands real coup is their proposed beech scheme for North Westland. It's the "sustainable management" scenario again; how to log native forests while pretending you aren't, because you're actually 'managing' them and, god bless your soul, doing 'pest' control at the same time. (They forget that they're the biggest pests.) There is no market for beech timber, but Timberlands is determined to try

Timberlands

- **Control about 157,000 hectares of indigenous forest and 25,000 hectares of exotic.**

- **Created in 1987 after the old Lands and Survey Department and the Forestry Service were disestablished.**

- **Operates under a 1990 Deed of Appointment (ie. contract) with the government.**

of the Paparoa National Park and a number of other reserves, but also allowed the clearfelling of native forest to continue. This was to be over a transition period, until enough pine was available to replace native timber for local sawmillers, ensuring the economic survival of local communities.

This is the justification for Timberlands' clearfelling of native forest in the Buller region of the South Island, including the cutting of rimu trees that are sev-

and create one because it wants to make money out of this currently 'unproductive forest resource'.

The scheme would be huge, involving 70,000 hectares of beech and beech/podocarp forest, some of it pristine.³ These forests are the habitat of threatened birds such as the great spotted kiwi, South Island kaka, kakariki (yellow-crowned parakeet), rifleman and mohua (yellowhead). Timberlands says no worries, kaka will be extinct on the mainland within thirty years anyway!⁴

Logging is logging

Logging in North Okarito and Saltwater, and that which is proposed in the beech scheme, are obviously less damaging than clearfelling. But does that make it okay? Of course not:

- Logging is logging is logging, especially when it's done on a commercial basis. Very old trees, and some not so old, are still chopped down and habitats destroyed, or degraded. The forest structure is irreparably altered even when logging is selective and on a small scale.

- We don't have the knowledge or ability to 'manage' a natural forest ecosystem, much as it seems to be the ultimate dream of foresters around the world. Research has failed to show that it's possible



to log, and then re-grow, beech forest for timber.⁵ Rimu trees take between three and five hundred years to mature and can live for up to a thousand years - hardly a time scale we are capable of comprehending, let alone managing

- But most important of all, we don't need to log native forest any more, and have lost far too much already. There are plantation grown alternatives to all uses of native or tropical timber. 85% of the lowland forest of Aotearoa (the type of

forest with the greatest biodiversity) has been destroyed since human arrival. We can't afford to lose any more - what is left should be protected.

"Sustainable management" of native forest is a farce and an excuse to keep making what we don't need; rimu bed bases and beech iceblock sticks. Plantation timbers are not ecologically ideal, but their production is far less destructive than using wood from natural forests. Ideally, we need to move towards mixed-species, small-scale plantations, use other plant fibres, reduce our consumption of wood and paper products, and re-use what we already have.

But in the meantime, Timberlands' timbering of land that's covered with rainforest, needs to be stopped.

For more information contact:

Sian ph. (04) 385-6728 or Kate ph. (04) 384-8301; PO Box 11-964, Wellington.

What you can do:

- WRITE LETTERS (boring eh, but can be effective) to newspapers, the Ministers of Forestry and the Environment, and the PM.
- Tell Timberlands what you think of them: write to Private Bag 608, Greymouth, phone (03) 762 6111, fax (03) 762 6777, visit 388 Main South Road, Greymouth.
- Tell anyone you know with a rimu table or a kwila deck that it's a product of rainforest destruction; it might encourage them to buy an alternative next time.
- Help get your school, workplace, city council, polytechnic etc. to adopt a "no native timber" policy.
- Beware of "recycled" timbers; they often aren't.
- Buy a Good Wood Guide for friends or relatives that are doing house renovations (\$6 from P.O. Box 11-964, Wellington).
- Organise actions against native timber suppliers and furniture retailers; picket or blockade them...

• Don't buy native forest or tropical timbers:

Rimu
Kahikatea (white pine)
Matai
Miro
Totara
Tawa
Beech
Manuka
Kanuka...

or imported timbers:

Teak
Western Red Cedar
Balau
Kwila
Jarrah
Mahogany

Instead use plantation grown timbers: *Macrocarpa*,
Eucalypts, *Douglas fir*, or *Pinus radiata*

¹ Forest on land that is reserved under the South Island Landless Maoris Act 1906, is also exempt from the FAA and can be clearfelled.

² Rimu forest.

³ Beech forest is a natural monoculture - the trees are sort of elegant and twisted, with small round leaves, and lots of moss, making it feel like there should be goblins around.

⁴ Kaka are wonderful big parrots which are similar to kea, but live in forest rather than sub-alpine areas, and are a reddish-brown colour.

⁵ Beech trees have a pinhole beetle in them which makes only a small proportion of a log of good enough quality to be used for timber anyway, meaning most of the tree ends up trashed.

Putting the bludgers to work

EVERY SO OFTEN, some down in government comes up with the highly original idea of making the unemployed work for the dole.

The idea has some voter appeal. Populist politicians can make a lot of capital out of slagging off the unemployed.

The problem first is where to find the work. Necessary, useful work that people want done, and are prepared and able to pay for, will be done by the free market. Making the unemployed do this sort of work will only result in other workers losing their jobs.

The government would probably be happy to force the unemployed to work free, or cheaply, for big business, except that its adherence to the so-called free market makes that difficult. Such a policy is likely to be illegal under GATT and similar agreements that prevent governments subsidising companies.

The other option is to find things for the unemployed to do that would otherwise not be done. This may be pointless activity that achieves little, other than making the unemployed do some hard yakker. There is a remote possibility that the government could find something genuinely useful for the unemployed to do, working for the community in schools or on environmental projects, for example.

The difficulty with this is finding somebody to pay for it. As the government has found in the past, running work schemes is expensive. If creating jobs was cheap, unemployment wouldn't exist.

In a sense 'working for the dole' is a contradiction in terms. If you are being paid to work, you are not on the dole.

If the government were to get rid of the dole, but offer worthwhile part-time work, with decent wages and conditions, to anyone who wants it, there would be little to complain about. Which leads one to suppose that decent wages and conditions aren't on the agenda.

This policy represents an interesting conflict between the new right who have been running the government lately, and the old right elements who are creeping back into prominence. The new right of the National party were dragged into a coalition with the old right of New Zealand First by National's not-quite-sure-what's-right.

New rightists are smart enough to re-

alise that the dole is a cheap option. They realise that there is no point doing work for the sake of it, and that the government has no choice but to pay out some cash in order to keep the threat of disorder at bay.

Having a large pool of unemployed suits the new right just fine. It puts pressure on other workers to accept lower wages and conditions.

On the other hand, the old right doesn't think these things through. They work on gut feelings and don't like to see bludgers getting something for nothing. They regard work as a moral good, even when it's pointless.

The old left isn't much different. Their work schemes may be a little higher paid or have better conditions (and organised by bureaucrats rather than failed entrepreneurs) but their solutions are equally ghastly.

There are a few sad individuals out there for whom being paid to work is important for their self-esteem. However, for most of us being forced onto work schemes is another way of blaming us for being unemployed and telling us that we are too useless to find meaningful and productive ways of spending our time ourselves.

I have a feeling that this policy will have little effect. Some token, and highly publicised, schemes will eventuate, but politicians, who may love the idea in theory, simply aren't prepared to put up the necessary funds.

— Sam Buchanan

PUBLICATIONS FROM LIBERTARIAN PRESS

- TROUBLEMAKERS — The early years of the libertarian movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand.....\$5.
- MUSEIFUSHUGI — Anarchism in Japan.....\$3.
- ANARCHY — an introduction.....\$2.
- ANARCHISM & FEMINISM.....\$2.

Postage 80 cents per four items.

P O Box 21-316

Christchurch

Aotearoa /New Zealand

The Poneke Housing Collective is a group of Wellington anarchists concerned with issues of community self-determination.

We are raising money for a block of land to be run by anarchist and collective decision making principles.

This land will provide space for organic gardening and buildings with environmentally sustainable features such as solar power and water retainers. It will be a space for the anarchist community as a whole.

Support our project by contacting:

Catherine, ph (04) 389 1737;

or Jeff, ph (04) 389 1231;

or by depositing money directly into our bank account -

TrustBank 233703-0233648-75

New Aussie anarchist flag

AFTER A PUBLIC MEETING in Melbourne, the Anarchist Media Institute/Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society have adopted an Australian anarchist flag. The aim is to recognise the benefits that anarchists have received from the colonisation of the Australian continent, and to identify with the fight against colonialism.

The flag is largely black (of course!) with red, green, yellow, and blue stripes going down the flag. The red and yellow represent the dominant colours of the Aboriginal flag, while the green and blue represent the Torres

Strait Islander flag.

Some anarchists in New Zealand have noticed this development with interest and are thinking about designing an anarchist flag for Aotearoa. One idea that has been proposed is a modification of the flag designed for Aotearoa by Austrian artist Hunterwasser.

While Hunterwasser's flag is green and white, the proposed anarchist version would be red and black, representing both the traditional colours of anarchism, and the colours favoured by the Maori sovereignty movement.

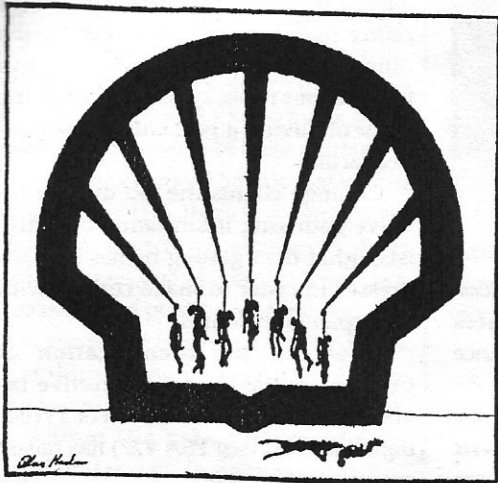
— Nick Melchior

Nigeria-

By Ross Gardiner and
Lyn Spencer

Repression and

Resistance



ON NOVEMBER 9TH 1995 the Nigerian military dictatorship hanged nine Ogoni activists. Prominent Ogoni human rights activist and writer Ken Saro-Wiwa was one of the nine. Saro-Wiwa had criticised oil giant Shell operations in the Nigerian delta region, home of the Ogoni people. Oil spills are common making much of the farmland useless. Local opposition to Shell activities have been met by brutal military repression, including mass arrest, torture, destruction of houses and entire villages and murder. These military actions have been backed by Shell, who has been supplying firearms and tear gas to the military.

Nigeria has been under a military dictatorship since 1985, when General Ibrahim Babangida seized power. A general election was held in June 1993,

but the results were annulled by Babangida when he found he had lost.

A wave of strikes and riots broke out in the principle cities, and repression increased. Babangida promised to hand over power to a civilian government in August, 1993 and appointed wealthy businessman friend Ernest Shonekan as head of this civilian government. Babangida's final gesture

was to enact Decrees 43 and 48 which banned nearly half of the country's privately-owned newspapers and placed stringent controls on the rest. Using Decree 59 he suspended the remnants of the 1979 Federal Constitution including provisions on human rights.

After Shonekan increased the price of petrol by 700%, the central labour union, the Nigerian Labour Congress, called an indefinite strike in protest. The country ground to a halt. In response the military, this time under the command of General Sani Abacha, a long-standing associate of Babangida, sacked Shonekan's team and the military seized power again in November, 1993. More crack-downs and mass-arrests ensued.

One of the groups to suffer persecution under these crackdowns has been the anarchist organisation the Aware-

ness League (AL), founded in July, 1989. Its Charter states that the organisation is "inspired by and committed to the ideals, principles, objectives, goals, ends and purposes of...anarcho-syndicalism." Membership stands at around 1,000.

Five of their members were imprisoned in a wave of arrests a few years ago before eventually being released.

As well as government repression the AL is also up against the poverty caused by the policies of the military regime, the so-called "structural adjustment" programmes foisted on the Third World by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. To help the AL in their work the Workers Solidarity Alliance in the USA has initiated a campaign to raise (US)\$2,000 to buy them some computer equipment. Donations can be sent to: WSA, 339 Lafayette St, Rm 202, New York, NY 10012, USA.

A demonstration was held in Wellington to mark the first anniversary of the deaths of the nine activists. Nine local activists used ladders to get onto the roof of a Shell Service station. They then stood 'hanging' from a gallows they erected. Others held banners and gave out leaflets. The demonstration got favourable coverage on TV news as well as in several newspapers.

Extracts and info from Black Flag and ECO.

New York City out to get squatters

ON FEBRUARY 9TH a fire broke out in a major New York squat. While nobody was injured, two dogs died. The city government has used this as an excuse to destroy the squat.

The Department of Housing Preservation and Development issued an emergency demolition order that night, with only a cursory inspection of the damage. Residents say the fire affected

less than 20% of the building, and its structural integrity was intact.

Cops refused to stop the demolition despite being told people were still in the building. A squatter seen on the roof was arrested and demolition continued.

A court issued a stay of demolition pending a later hearing, but the demolition carried on unabated. A second stay of demolition was granted, this time also

forbidding the city from removing rubble from the site. Demolition of the building continued regardless.

This case is part of an ongoing scrap between squatters and city officials. Having failed to empty squats by police action, officials are using bureaucratic regulations to smash one of the world's most active squatting movements.

- Nick Melchior/@-Infos

POLICE FIVE

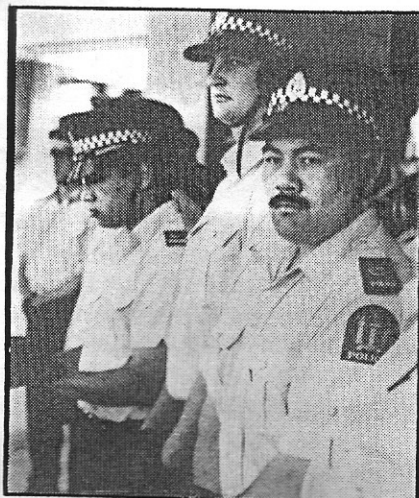
A regular column on policing and how to avoid it.

THE ARGUMENT OVER whether or not to use the police liaison process is one that is always guaranteed to raise the hackles of activists.

Liaising with the police before a demo or similar action can have benefits in that activists can use the process to get an idea of police intentions and clarify what the police will regard as 'arrestable' activities. Sometimes the process provides a communications channel which can be used to hurry up the release of prisoners after arrests have taken place, or to get information on police activities.

The downside, of course, is that the process allows the police to gain information regarding activists' intentions. Refusing to use the process may be taken as evidence that protests will be 'disorderly'. Many activists see the liaison process as merely a way for police to gather intelligence on activist organisations.

Wellington detective Graeme Collinge is one of the dozen or so officers around the country who are appointed to liaise with political and community groups. He considers that both sides gain from the relationship.



"We can relax a bit of our resources. We don't have to expend huge resources putting 100 men in place on the chance of something happening," he says.

Collinge believes that while police are not the intended target of activist groups "nine times out of ten, police are the meat in the sandwich". Conflict with the police hinders activists' attempts to get their message across to the public, he says.

One of the problems activists have found with the liaison process is the tendency for senior police to ignore or

overrule their own liaison officers, making agreements reached between activists and these officers worthless.

Members of Pakcha Treaty Action, who organised the recent Waitangi Day demo in Wellington, were told by the officer in charge of police operations to liaise directly with the police in charge, rather than through the police liaison officer. This is clearly a more effective process, but raises questions about the point of having a particular liaison officer at all.

Collinge claims the job doesn't involve gathering information on activists, other than getting names and addresses in order to make contact with those planning demos.

However, the identification of Collinge as the mystery detective involved in a search of the room of a Wellington activist (see TSA #27) has raised suspicion of his role.

Collinge says his presence on the raid was merely part of his normal policing duties and had nothing to do with his role as a liaison officer.

"I'm not into snooping around or anything like that."

— Sam Buchanan

The dangers of anarchist ghettos

ALTHOUGH MANY PEOPLE are familiar with anarchist ideas, few become activists. Even in large cities, it's unusual to come across more than a few anarchist groups. Many anarchists are constantly battling with social, cultural, and in some instances, personal isolation. In such circumstances it is understandable that many anarchists form social ghettos. Any small group of people in a hostile environment tends to bond together.

In the short term it may be comfortable living in an anarchist ghetto, but in the long term it is not only counterproductive, but potentially dangerous. As individuals and groups we need to understand that success will only occur when we are able to influence other people to take action to overcome their oppression. Unless we are able to influence other people we are doomed to live isolated lives or live in anarchist ghettos.

It is important that individuals and groups understand that social isolation is part and parcel of the cost of embarking on an anarchist path. Not everyone will agree with what you have to say; some will treat you in hostile manner. Friends and families may distance themselves from you. Anybody who is an activist will find that their livelihood is constantly on the line.

Although we need to mix and work with other anarchists it is important not to live in each other's pockets. While some anarchists may decide to embark on common projects and activities, they should be structured in a way that allows other interested people to participate.

If we want to educate people about our ideas it is important that we don't form ghettos which exclude these people from taking part in activities we have organised. Each anarchist group should

have a mechanism by which other people can participate in the group's activities without having to immediately take on its responsibilities. As most anarchist groups are small, it can sometimes be difficult for new people to become involved in the group's activities. The very personal relationships that make a group cohesive and well-organised can exclude new participants.

If you want to find asylum from a difficult world then form an anarchist ghetto. Although you may feel safe at first, you'll eventually find that your survival depends on the current attitude of the state. If you want more than temporary asylum you may initially have to put up with cultural, social and possible personal isolation. Eventually, you'll find that, as the anarchist movement grows, group isolation will disappear.

— From *Anarchist Age Weekly Review*
P O Box 20, Parkville, Victoria, Australia.

TSA on the retreat

Dear comrades,

I find myself completely opposed to a number of the arguments that have been put forward in the last few issues of TSA and, at the risk of being akin to a person who would resent a goldfish for not being a horse, I would like to make some comments on several of these matters.

The overall sense I have is that within the pages of TSA there is a decided retreat from anarchist/communist ideals and a progressive movement towards a "realistic" and plodding reformism.

A couple of issues back there was a brief skirmish on the question of class. The feeling I had was that class is taken by those at TSA to be a rather old-fashioned, "Marxist" (a popular anarchist swearword, it would seem) concept fit only for the trashcan of history, or at best, a notion to be used without privilege alongside other sociological categories.

Many people have talked for many pages about the embourgeoisement of the proletariat, the exponential growth of the middle class and the coming of the "post-industrial" age, and for many it is time to bid "Adieu to the Proletariat". This is a particularly popular theme among those who rule this society.

Being working class has nothing to do with how many commodities one can purchase, neither is it a matter of wearing overalls to work, nor with having blistered hands. To be a proletarian is to lack ownership or control of property to the extent that you are forced to sell your labour power for a wage, or to exist on a state benefit. This obviously encompasses a vast majority of those in 'first world' nations. It has to be remembered that even in Marx's day the majority of the proletariat were not in the factory, but were domestic servants.

It has been said that it is ironic that at a time when class warfare and class consciousness (the ruling class' that is. You want to see a lucid awareness of the existence of class? Look at the statements of the Employers Federation or the Business Roundtable) have become so evident, everyone seems to be rushing to deny its existence. The unrestrained class

war of the past 12 years has been accompanied by cynical proclamations that from now on freedom is freedom to work for a wage, that libertarianism means worship of the market and that 'class' is no more. This is all, of course, little more than ruling class ideology. Class and class struggle are the essential facts of our existence. Whereas capitalism as a social system is perfectly compatible, in theory, with the eradication of discrimination based on, say, ethnicity or gender, the same cannot be said of class - it is at the very centre of capitalism.



Not only has TSA relegated or completely eliminated the concept of class, even the idea of revolution is under attack. The result is the effacement of all distinction between reform and revolution, a tactic characteristic of those extreme in the process of turning themselves into reformists.

I feel that all Joe Buchanan's arguments against revolution are flimsy. For instance, the spurious claim that the term was created to ensure that radical social change would not occur, and the attempt to use Castro, Guevara and co to conflate revolution with vanguardism. What we as communists/anarchists seek is a fundamental change in the social order. We seek a classless, stateless, moneyless, society in which the wealth is collectively owned by the whole of society. These features and the cultural forms that will correspond to them are not a matter of evolution, piecemeal 'social change', it is a question of a societal change of a fundamentally different nature.

This does not mean that there is no connection between where we are now and where we would like to be and nor does this mean that the revolution will happen on a single fine day, when the working class will suddenly snap out of it and carry the vanguard of the working class from their various university cafés and common rooms to the appropriate seat of power in each nation. I believe that communism is not something that is introduced from without, nor is it something that exists as a spirit pulling the working class inexorably towards itself. Communism arises out of real conditions, out of the class struggle that is visible everywhere. Communism, then, as Pannekoek argues, is a process, not a single act, it is a dialectical movement of action (class struggle) and consciousness, and obviously it is not a party affair, but the work of the working class ourselves. Joe's comments seem to imply little more than a counter culture, a retreat it seems, when prospects for a revolution appear unpromising. But as the Situationist International once said, it may appear ridiculous to talk of a revolution today, but everything else is even more ridiculous since it implies accepting the current order in one way or another.

Thirdly, I have noticed a disturbing trend in TSA's support for nationalism, specifically Maori nationalism. We know of Marx's and Bakunin's ill-founded enthusiasm for nationalist movements and the shameful results - Russophobia and anti-Semitism respectively. Similarly, living as we do in a century crammed with grim reminders of nationalism's consequences, I find TSA's position worrying. In the article 'Tino Rangatiratanga', your correspondent seems to favour Leninist opportunism with his/her remark in the second paragraph that we should not too quickly withdraw support from "the strongest movement currently challenging the NZ government and state". What other movements should we then support, if we are to be even-handed? The IRA? The Road Knights gang? The Michigan Militia Corps? Nationalist issues such as partnership in government, partition, Maori veto, federalism, etc., are in my opinion of no interest to communists/anarchists.

It seems to me that our only role here would be to help make public the plunder, murder, exploitation, and racism on which the present day NZ society (and indeed the current world capitalist system rests) and to point out the causes of

this, in opposition to worthless commentaries of nationalist sentiment like Awatere's 'Maori Sovereignty', where 'White Hatred' is the explanatory alpha and omega of Maori suffering (incidentally, if ever the over-simplified notion of nationalism as an ideology of a frustrated aspiring capitalist class was illustrated within disturbing accuracy, it is in the case of this detestable character). It is surely not our task to promote bourgeois freedoms, democracy, rights and duties, but to point to the possibilities of real freedom and democracy in a world communist/anarchist order.

Finally, and aside from these issues, I would like to say a word or two about the tract on the Luther Blissett programme. Most readers will no doubt be quite baffled by this mish-mash. In reality it is all quite simple. The perpetrators have for some years desperately sought for themselves careers as a new cultural-revolutionary vanguard.

Remarkable only for their relentless self promotion, their jealousy of the Situationist International and their capacity for writing books about themselves (it hardly needs to be added that no one else will) they have shown a consistent unwillingness or inability to say anything of importance about the unpleasant age we live in.

Yours for communism,
Henry Lloyd
For Mass Subversion.

To vote or not to vote

Dear TSA,

I have a number of criticisms of the 'Don't Vote' campaign run by the CEC.

1) It was an election campaign. Like all the others it tried to tell people what they should or shouldn't do with their vote. A little hypocritical then to criticise Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party and McGillicuddy Serious Party for using election campaigns to raise awareness, no?

2) National/ACT/Christian Coalition voters are not going to be convinced by a 'Don't Vote' campaign. Therefore its only effect (if any) is to increase the amount of control the New Right and their draconian attitudes have over parliament. Although we challenge the effectiveness and relevance of the legislature, we cannot deny its existence or the power that it wields.

3) Whether or not you vote, the system is legitimised by its existence. Low voter

turnouts in other countries are ignored or justified in various ways by officials and politicians. Even if nobody except the candidates and their whanau voted, a government would still be elected and parliament would continue to rule Aotearoa. It is naive and dogmatic to think that a 'loud silence' is a stronger protest against the status quo than 20% of the population voting McGillicuddy, Legalise Cannabis or Mana Maori.

4) By not voting anarchists lump themselves in with those who are too lazy or apathetic to care about how society works. Not voting may be a sign that people don't feel represented by the system, but posters saying "If you do vote, don't complain" only help them justify their lack of action. It fails to offer an alternative.

5) I found your election special one-sided, dogmatic and almost offensively confrontational in style. It read like an issue of 'Workers Power'! There were no articles on the possible gains of voting (I had written one and had it in by the time the last full issue came out, 'Twisty, Turny Things' had an interesting one) and no opportunity was given for anarchists involved in minority parties to give their perspective.

Members of the public reading it would have got the impression that it was THE anarchist position on the subject which is simply not accurate. I know TSA does not claim to speak for the national movement but as the best and most-read 'zine it does fulfil that function. To avoid future conflict I suggest that the collective make a conscious decision about whether the 'zine is primarily a newsletter for anarchists or a general publication.

Last comment "Any action is better than no action".

Keep up the good work,
Daniel @ Bruce

- Those responsible for the 'election supplement' reply:

Thanks for the letter, it raises a number of points we are happy to address. The TSA Election Special was distributed to get across a few basic anarchist ideas about voting, using the election as an appropriate time to speak from a single viewpoint. This was a conscious decision by the collective.

Whether or not ours was an "election campaign" seems to be a matter of semantics. The campaign focussed on trying to inform people about an anarchist perspective on voting, representative government

and alternatives. We were spurred into action by the irritating, stupid and inane dogmatic adverts of the Electoral Commission and the banal "If you don't vote, don't complain" cliché.

I'm not sure which criticism of the McGSP Daniel is referring to. Criticism of the McGillicuddies in TSA has largely been centred on whether the McGSP approach is effective or not. As for the ALCP, they are not merely using the election to raise awareness. Unlike the old Marijuana Party the ALCP have been completely (and naively) sucked in by the possibility of representation under MMP. Anarchism is not about promoting 'representative' government.

By not voting, anarchists don't "lump themselves in with those who are too lazy and apathetic to care about how society works", although other people might try. Anarchists need to loudly proclaim that they don't vote because they understand how society works. It seems peculiar for an anarchist to say the system is legitimised by its existence. We recognise the system exists, which is why we make a public statement that we will not support it.

Sure a single poster doesn't offer an alternative, it makes a single point. If a poster tried to say everything it would be a pamphlet. We produce these as well, but posters are cheaper and more people read them.

The election special was produced as a campaign publication, and never purported to offer all points of view. TSA is open to differing points of view, but we are prepared to take a position as a collective and promote that. We are also quite happy to be confrontational at times, even offensively so.

We considered publishing pro-election material. The article in 'Twisty Turny Things' (a Dunedin anarchist newsletter) is interesting, but it does not fit our definition of anarchism (actually I'm not sure whose definition of anarchism it would fit). Its suggestion that anarchism is about participating in government at all levels seems bizarre — I thought anarchists rejected government, TTT advocated embracing it. If this is dogmatic, perhaps rejecting the state is too? So why be anarchists at all?

The TSA collective has made a conscious decision that we would not try to reflect the entire anarchist movement. If there was a national federation there may be a place for this sort of publication. There is not and TSA remains an autonomous

collective producing a magazine for anarchists and anyone else interested.

Generally I agree that some action is better than none, but any action? Is voting ACT or National better than not voting out of apathy or withdrawing from the system and fighting it? The trouble with legitimising any action is that it blocks criticism, and without criticism where would anarchism be?

Thanks for submitting your article. You said feel free not to publish it and we didn't. Essentially it argued that voting in a leftist party (that is leftist by modern New Zealand standards, which amounts to somewhere to the right of a European social democratic party) could help prepare the ground for anarchism. We don't agree. The Alliance and the ALCP may mean what they say, but their proposed methods make them unlikely to achieve anything except to strengthen the power of parliament. At best we would swap the "draconian attitudes" of the New Right for the draconian attitudes of the old left. Great.

Student Protests

Dear TSAers,

On August 15, last year, a small but very vocal group of Christchurch Polytech students marched from their campus into the square, accompanied by "Mr Death" and carrying a coffin for the funeral of quality education.

As the march passed the café where I was sitting I joined in, noting from the leaflet I was handed that this was the final protest in a week of action. I was horrified! Not only did I not know in advance so that I could be involved, I hadn't heard anything about their actions in the media whatsoever!

Education is a critical issue for anarchism. As long as the state education system is allowed to 'deliberately dumb down' the new generation, anarchists will never be more than a minority of 'radical extremists'.

On the other hand, if only those with money have access to any education at all, getting through to ordinary people will be impossible as they toil under the thumb of the educated elite. Anti-fees protests are essential to keep issues of equal access to knowledge in the public consciousness.

Also, students have traditionally been amongst the most vocal of subversive action groups. These days however they

are starved and over-worked to keep them in line. It is in the interests of the anarchist movement to support the students and vice-versa.

May I suggest offering a free subscription to TSA to the presidents of the student associations and/or facilitators of the Education Action Groups and encourage them to make contributions.

chaomunications

Daniel @

Children and McGillicuddies

Dear TSA

Firstly, a quick word in support of Billie's article on child raising and 'coolism'. Yes, there is an unfortunate attitude amongst some of the more nihilistic elements of the anarchist spectrum that the only worthwhile activities are those that bring immediate and obvious results.

Invariably, the people who sport these views either grow up into long-term committed activists, or more often, drift into other political or social affiliations. This is one reason why I dislike focusing on attracting young people to anarchism. Sure, people of any age can be valuable, but why has anarchism mostly appealed to the under-30s? There is a perception out there in the real world that anarchism is something hedonistic teenagers do, which they grow out of at the same rate as their haircuts. This repels many older people who do not identify with youth sub-cultures.

Thinking back to the rather youthful 1991 and 1992 anarchist conferences, where are those people now? Maybe 10 percent are still involved in anarchist activism.

We must try to develop a movement that appeals to all age groups - making events more child friendly is essential to this.

I have a great admiration for those who choose to reproduce. The more people who raise kids to become principled, free-thinking, socially aware beings, the less ghastly the future will be. They deserve our support.

Whoops, just before the issue drops...

As an anarchy-McGillicuddy, I have often encountered grumblings of dissatisfaction from non-McGillicuddy anarchists at the amount of time some anarchists spend on activities that seem, at best, a frivolous waste of time. In much the same way, I have often wondered why so many people devote so much energy to, for example, anti-vivisection campaigns (not being a big fan of our furrier comrades myself). Sure I agree vivisection is bad, but it isn't a priority for me. But, I would not suggest that all anarchists should share the same priorities. Most issues/groups that anarchists interfuse with; feminism, the environment, Tino Rangatiratanga, civil rights, pacifism, animal rights, sexualities (un)employment, etc. slide in snugly next to ones anarchist principles. Sometimes one just has to be a wee bit bendy with accepted dogmas within these movements. This goes for McGillicuddy as well, which fortunately has a very flexible ideological base.

Problems can occur if somebody's extra-curricular bugbears run contrary to anarchist principles. I can't, for instance, see any way one could be both a Nazi and an anarchist, or a Trotskyite and an anarchist, or the owner of a second hand clothes shop that buys stuff from cheap charity op-shops to re-sell at a profit and an anarchist (please feel free to debate this point).

Those who argue that McGillicuddy's

1 9 9 7 Anarchist Conference

Yes, folks, it's that time again. The Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation is planning a conference in Wellington over ANZAC weekend (April 25th to 27th). The conference will feature workshops, planning, arguments, food, three-sided soccer and more. Contact us for details.

hierarchy, monarchism or electioneering
...incompatible with anarchism
...may have a point, but similar accusa-
...tions can be thrown at all other activist
...organisations that aren't specifically an-
...archist. This would be a huge moral dilem-
...ma if anarchists and McGillicuddies
...were attempting to merge into one. As
...far as I am aware, nobody has, or would,
...ever suggest this.

Many anarchists are attempting to
apply their anarchistness within
McGillicuddy – seeking and destroying
gender and sexuality biases, encourag-
ing collectivism and consensus, and ar-
guing against hierarchy – just as applied
McGillicuddyism in the anarchist move-
ment has led to a quaint streak of
absurdism and sense of fun oft-remarked
upon by overseas visitors.

Not to mention the most obvious ben-
efit from our diffuse proximities – per-
sonnel crossover. Many anarchists have
'come out' as anarchists due to their
association with McGillicuddies and
vice versa.

Next issue 'Anarchism and Armed
Pro-Democracy Insurgency'.

KT Julian

Weigy

Thai-Burmese Border

Museifushugi

Dear Editors

Thank-you for another informative and
thought-provoking issue of TSA. I was
particularly delighted to find a review
of my pamphlet *Museifushugi: A Brief
History of Anarchism in Pre-war Japan*.
However I have what you might call "a
few problems with the author's ap-
proach".

My main problem is with your re-
viewer's accusation of Eurocentrism. As
I think I made clear in the introduction
to *Museifushugi*, my omission of an ac-
count of the anti-authoritarian tradition
in pre-modern rural Japan was due to
the limited scope of the pamphlet, and
in no way amounts to a "rejection" of
that tradition. My aim was to write an
introduction to the early anarchist move-
ment in Japan, not write a history of
that country's libertarian tradition.

Whether we like it or not, anarchism
as a political philosophy (involving as I
think Woodcock defined it, a critique of
existing circumstances, an expression of
a libertarian alternative, and an outline
of a means of getting from one to an-

other) was born at a particular time (the
late 18th - 19th centuries) and in a par-
ticular place (Europe). To deny this
would be to ignore basic historical facts.
And while there existed libertarian and
communist elements in Japan (as there
did in most pre-industrial societies) prior
to the introduction of anarchism from
abroad, these should not be mistaken for
an anarchist movement.

Incidentally, two of Japan's most fa-
mous anarchists from the period in
question, Kotoku Shusui and Osugi
Sakae, have both been criticised for re-
lying too heavily on the theories of Eu-
ropean and American anarchists, theo-
ries that were of little relevance to most
Japanese at the time. Seen in this light,
my account of the "impact of various
European thinkers and movements
upon Japan" can be seen as reflecting
not my own Eurocentrism, but that of
Kotoku, Osugi and many of their con-
temporaries.

Your reviewer also comments on the
future of anarchism in Aotearoa, stating
that it "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." I hope by this he is not in-
fering that my comments regarding the
impact of Kropotkin's ideas on the pre-
war anarchist movement in Japan some-
how reflect my views on the future of
anarchism in Aotearoa. Although I
would always recommend that anyone
with an interest in anarchism read
Kropotkin, I am aware that anarchism
has evolved and expanded a great deal
since Kropotkin's day, and believe that
these developments should be encour-
aged. Beyond this it is difficult to argue
with your reviewer, since he does not
specify what "common ideas" he has in
mind.

I have one other problem, and that is
with your reviewer's reference to
"Museifushugi" as a "book". Although I
found this description flattering, I can-
not help feeling that the thousands who
will now be rushing out to order it (or
would be – if you had been kind enough
to indicate the publishers name and ad-
dress: Libertarian Press, P O Box 21-316,
Christchurch) will be somewhat disap-
pointed at receiving such a slim (22
pages) volume. That being said, I agree
that it is too short – even for a pamphlet.
This and other criticisms are always wel-
come, but I think on this occasion your

reviewer has been a little careless.

Regards

Matthew Turner

Japan

Fun and McGillicuddy

Dear TSA

By its nature comedy is chaotic, comedy
seeks always for the new, the unusual,
the never before seen. Comedy when it is
interesting challenges expectations, offers
new ways to see things and makes palat-
able the new and frightening. Satire is a
form designed to tear down, it was known
by the classical Romans as "The Glory of
Slaves."

Television comedy is amongst the most
boring entertainment in the world be-
cause it is implicitly and explicitly cen-
sored. It is censored and controlled and
done badly for the reasons that the Euro-
pean indigenous forms of Comedia were
censored and comedians driven out of
cities – because it is feared. Comedy even
at its most homophobic, racist, rapist, and
pandering is not easily twisted to serve
the status quo, because then it stops being
funny.

Fun is not a useful tool of hierarchal
power structures. Happy, playful, and
content people are less willing to serve
their so called superiors than people who
are frightened of "The Bomb", of the
impending economic collapse, of being
lonely, and valueless. The strongest push
to create Capitalism and Consumerism
is the world which says:

If you don't have the right clothes no
one will like you.

If you don't have lots of money no
one will hang out with you.

You can't be with your friends unless
you spend a ridiculous (taxed) amount
of money on alcohol.

If you don't watch Shortland Street
you and your friends will have nothing
to talk about.

These lies are powerful because when
people believe them they actually be-
come almost true. It *was* harder for me to
get to know people who always hang
out at cafes when I couldn't afford cof-
fee. It *was* harder for me to become friends
with people when they always seemed
to be spending money on me. It *was* hard
for me to hang out at Anarchist socials
when \$5 a month was a ridiculously large
amount of money compared to my
budget, maybe that's dumb, but it's true.

It is my belief that when the
McGillicuddy Clan offers people new,

strange, and individual ways of thinking then the McGillicuddy Clan is working for freedom, and free thought is a vital part of a free community.

It is my belief that when the McGillicuddy Clan creates opportunities for people to have fun just by being with each other, then it creates an outlet for people to learn to live with each other and not off each other.

It is also my belief that when people serve up tired dogma because it's in the manifesto and recite it the way Star Trek and Monty Python fans do, then they are handing over their own powerful creativity to someone else and that serves only the forces of banality.

People reciting neat ideas someone else came up with twelve years ago while stoned is not funny, not interesting, not new, and to my mind, not a force for freedom.

It is a strong judgement, but I remember the amount of time I spend being dogmatic because I can't be fucked changing my mind all the time.

So are they anarchist?

When they serve fun, laughter, and originality: yes. When they serve banality, tired humour, and mindlessness: probably not.

Matthew Simcock
Wellington

Federation

Dear TSAer's

As a newcomer to activist anarchism I am surprised and alarmed at the lack of solidarity within the movement. I was therefore interested by the comments of Jim Zlatkoff about forming an Aotearoa Anarchist Federation.

In principle I agree that providing a central platform from which we can work together to advance anarchist ideas is important. However, I also feel that institutionalising the movement, especially by owning property, creates a solid something for the establishment to crack down on and destroy. Also, moving anarchism out of our hearts and minds and into constitutions and properties exposes us to suffering the same fate as Jura - that of personal ambition resulting in division and misinformation over-riding the active pursuit of anarchist goals.

Who are we as anarchists? Does anyone feel the definition on TSA's title page is incomplete or inaccurate? Should we agree as a group on which issues we

support, or should it be up to the individual anarchist which marches, etc. to attend? How can we enhance communication between individuals and groups, and between the movement and the people whose freedom we are supposed to be fighting for?

These questions must be answered and the confrontational 'fortress mentality' that prevents us from trusting each other must be broken down before any central organisation can be effective.

Chaomunications
Daniel @

Sub-cultures

Dear TSA,

There are a few things I want to say in response to the article 'Subcultures: elitist ghettos' by Nick Melchior, regarding, in particular, the misconceptions people who read the article may now have about people involved in the anarcho-punk scene.

The article takes the same approach as the mainstream media in that it promotes the image of the useless drunk punk even though this is far from representative of the whole scene. A look below the surface would've shown that this image is not what it is about, and is in fact, the opposite. You should have known this as two of the people involved in the production of TSA are among the most active, dedicated people involved in the punk scene in Wellington.

You failed to mention the active side of the punk scene and promoted false stereotypes.

The many punk 'zines are all overtly political and have done a lot for the anarchist movement, and will continue to do so in the future. They have reached isolated people and gotten them into contact with others, and made a lot of people aware of a lot of things which they wouldn't have been otherwise.

Sure the Wellington punk scene may be small compared to what things seem to be like overseas, and it has its problems as any group of people does, but just because somebody has a drug or alcohol problem doesn't give you the right to slag them off or make fun of them. This isolates people more and creates divisions where there needn't be any. It does nothing to help fix the problem. Drug and alcohol problems are not peculiar to the punk scene and are, in fact, problems throughout society.

I did agree with a lot of the points raised in the article, though, and think that a sub-culture based around activism would be damaging, but I feel active sub-cultures and people from sub-cultures being involved in activism helps the anarchist movement. It brings in new ideas and perspectives and can lead to a whole new group of people getting exposed to anarchist thought. This in no way can be damaging to the anarchist movement. The main reason for this letter is that, as someone who has been involved in the punk scene for a few years now and have constantly been trying to work against the false stereotype of the macho-drunk wanker being punk, it sucks to see that stereotype put forward in a magazine that has received so much support from punks. You're right in saying that anyone with spiky hair and a studded jacket isn't automatically an anarchist, neither does it mean they are actively involved in the punk scene or representative of it.

I think I have made all the points that I wanted now, so I'll stop. Could go on for ages otherwise. Overall an excellent 'zine I thought, keep up the good work, Love, lentils and molotovs, Noodle Fluffycat

Nick Melchior Replies:

A few corrections seem to be in order. I didn't actually accuse punks of being drug addicts, alcoholics or indeed macho. My main aim in writing my article was to try to convince punk rockers not to fulfil the stereotypes of the capitalist press, not to agree with said stereotypes. Neither did I make fun of or 'slag off' those with alcohol and drug problems at any point in the article.

Active punks are as important as anyone else in the anarchist movement. However, being 'politically active' is not the same thing as writing a 'zine which uses the word 'fuck' a lot as a substitute for analysis. Neither is it making sure you have the biggest mohawk at the demo. The anarcho-punk scene in general seems to be about rhetoric a lot more than it is about action, at least in Wellington.

My point was that punks have a place in the anarchist movement, just as anyone else does. My fear is that many people feel alienated from anarchism because they are not punks. If people continue to feel that way, the anarchist movement will never grow.

Nick Welchior and Sam Buchanan take a look at the various magazines the New Zealand political left produces...

Aotearoa Youth Network Newsletter

This is a very useful magazine for activist news that you won't find anywhere else. The 'zine is put out fairly frequently by a very few people which results in poor production and proof reading. It seems starved for copy which results in the inclusion of some long, dull articles on such obscure subjects as the US student movement. Generally it is very student oriented.

It is well worth subscribing to for news and information on up-coming events and is very accessible - write them an article now.

\$10/year from 111 Moray Place, Dunedin.

Politics: variable

Entertainment: ☆☆☆

Production: ☆

Broadsheet

This is New Zealand's best-known feminist magazine. While every second article seems to be about making new laws in order to try and improve the position of women, it is mercifully free of the sort of 'power feminism' espoused by the likes of Naomi Wolfe; ie. 'It will be all right when we have women in the boardrooms and in parliament.'

Broadsheet has survived for 24 years (over 200 issues), making it one of the world's longest running feminist 'zines. The latest issue has a great article on why women shouldn't vote.

Available from P.O. Box 56-147, Auckland.

Politics: ☆☆

Entertainment: ☆

Production: ☆☆☆☆

NZ Monthly Review

Has been around forever - it's up to issue 353 - and often contains excellent information which unfortunately is usually buried in reams of academic jargon and rather wet pseudo-Marxist analysis. Well worth flicking through in a book store. Low on 'activist' news and high on analysis and background material.

Get it from P.O. Box 13-483, Armagh, Christchurch.

Politics: ☆☆☆

Entertainment: ☆

Production: ☆☆☆



Foreign Control Watchdog

The magazine of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA), it has reams of information about everything concerning foreign investment/ownership in this country. Many of the articles refer to "the national interest" and have a nationalist tone about them. While it may be unfair to accuse the 'zine of promoting nationalism, there is little concrete evidence of a critique of nationalism or capitalism in the text, despite the editor's claim that CAFCA's "left wing is still flapping vigorously." Excellent for getting a grounding in economic affairs.

Available from P.O. Box 2258, Christchurch.

Politics: ☆☆☆

Entertainment: ☆☆

Production: ☆☆☆

Common Ground

The newsletter of the 'People's Network,' Common Ground mainly covers news of groups working in unemployment and poverty areas. Lots of information on demos, conferences and other events, but short on discussion and debate. The design and layout is tidy, but rather boring.

From P.O. Box 3813, Auckland 1.

Politics: ☆☆

Entertainment: ☆

Production: ☆☆☆

Political Review

Serious, academic stuff, which concentrates on analysis of New Zealand eco-

nomics and the internecine squabbles of leftist parliamentary parties. It suffers from a tendency towards huge blocks of turgid print and its occasional attempts to be light or funny are less than successful. However, it has good stuff now and then, so flick through it in a bookshop just in case.

Politics: ☆☆

Entertainment: ☆

Production: ☆☆☆

Savage State

If you eat policemen for breakfast on a regular basis, then this is the 'zine for you! This has gone from half-baked to being reasonably thought out at times. Consists mostly of rants and punk material with some useful news.

\$2 from P.O. Box 6387, Te Aro, Wellington.

Politics: ☆☆☆

Entertainment: ☆☆☆

Production: ☆☆☆

Sekhmet

The magazine of the Anarcha-Feminist Federation of Aotearoa has been produced in three different cities in its five-year, ten-issue life, which in part explains a high degree of patchiness in production standards and content. At times it has tended towards politics and sociology and at others has been something like a fanzine for the anarchy-fem 'scene'. Latest issue has a lot on women's health and armed struggle.

Currently available from P.O. Box 22-301, High Street, Christchurch.

Politics: ☆☆☆

Entertainment: ☆☆☆

Production: ☆☆☆

Socialist Worker

Produced by the Socialist Workers Organisation, an amalgam of the old Communist Party of New Zealand and the International Socialists.

Socialist Worker is a tabloid in both the strict and popular sense of the word. The huge headlines and heaps of slogans are unfortunately backed up by little in the way of original thinking or useful solutions. A classic Marxist newspaper, really.

On the positive side it is well-produced, literate, and has good coverage of industrial action.

Politics: ☆

Entertainment: ☆☆☆

Production: ☆☆☆

Unfinished Business: The Politics of Class War

By the Class War Federation

188 pages

Reviewed by George van den Hoeven

AN ALL OUT IN-YOUR-FACE and easy to read guide to the ideas of the British Class War Federation, this book makes no apologies for any errors it makes, with an "okay, if we're wrong, lets sort it out and cut the crap" approach. Written by a multitude of unnamed authors throughout the federation, the book is divided into several sections - an introduction to how capitalism and the state divide and conquer, what classes in society are, and, importantly, the continuity of class struggle, ideas on revolutionary change and organisation and in conclusion some ideas on the ways to achieve a new world.

Anarchy: An Introduction to Anarchist Ideas and Action

Produced by Libertarian Press

12 pages

Reviewed by George van den Hoeven

THIS PAMPHLET was first produced by the Christchurch Anarchist Group in the mid 1970s, and is an edited version of an article written by US anarchist Peggy Kornegger at that time. Comparing the revolts of Spain 1936 and Paris 1968, it makes an important distinction between these two struggles - the on-going long-term preparation in Spain and the purely spontaneous uprising in France. It then attempts to shed some

Whilst written from a singularly English point of view, and also with a penchant for vast simplifications and sweeping assumptions, the book is based on asking questions and achieving action. The practical nature of this book becomes apparent, because even as you disagree with any points made, it spurs you to think about practical matters and struggles where you are, rather than on a theoretical plane that has no grounding in reality. The recurring ideas are walk the talk, and while you're doing that, talk the walk.

Available for \$13.00 from The Freedom Shop.

light on the character of these rebellions, to see what can be learned. With an end section on *The Transformation of the Future* its overriding theme is hope - the need to always work for the achievement of anarchism.

The pamphlet is an important link in the continuity of the anarchist movement in Aotearoa.

Available for \$2.00 from The Freedom Shop.



Film Review

Land and Freedom

Directed by Ken Loach

Reviewed by Greg Spike

A FILM ABOUT the Spanish Civil War always has the potential to be a historical epic that ultimately falls flat. Thankfully director Ken Loach is equal to the task of conjuring up an intelligent, vivid, emotional film that is both honest and delightful.

David, an idealistic card-carrying communist leaves Liverpool to fight with the POUM (non-Stalinist communists) militia against the fascists in Spain. Officers are elected and battle plans are decided by committee.

When they liberate a village from the fascists, the battle scenes are never bold or overblown, instead they are understated with an immediacy that lends them realism. Guns jam, soldiers seldom hit what they are aiming at, and there is a general sense of panic, chaos and exhilaration.

The key scene is a political debate over whether to collectivise the land of the newly liberated village. The debate, containing many views and opinions, is lively and entertaining.

During the film David learns that his Stalinist allies are an equal threat to his ideals and in a telling scene he tears up his communist party card.

The final betrayal by people unwilling to give up power and control is a fitting and emotional ending and suggests why the Spanish Civil War ended up a lost cause. A fine film for both historians and film gourmets.

New book catalogue

THE FREEDOM SHOP has issued its third catalogue since opening. At 20 pages it's more than twice the size of our first, and while a modest effort compared to many anarchist bookshops, we're pleased with the progress made.

Most ventures of this nature in Aotearoa have floundered for a variety of reasons; usually it comes down to a lack of commitment and a lack of money to really get things established. Access to cheap photocopying has enabled us to reproduce a lot of our own booklets, and short-term loans from collective members have enabled us to make larger orders with distributors overseas.

We have a good range of screen-printed items and a stock of records and tapes. Alongside political punk releases you'll find tapes of Noam Chomsky and songs of the East Timorese resistance. We're keen to expand this range and want to acquire releases by bands that have worthwhile things to say, rather than stocking a particular style.

While the shop is doing well, we are still paying off the initial debt (about \$2,000), but have tripled our stock.

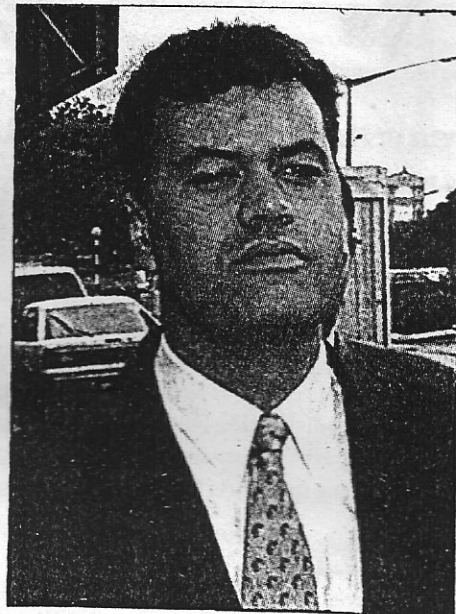
On the negative side: in the early hours of September 7 there was a break-in at the shop. A resident across the road heard a window break and yelled at the offenders who ran off. We lost about \$100 worth of stock and replacing the window with shatter-proof glass to prevent another similar break-in cost a further \$145. A donations jar has yielded a mere \$50, so if you can spare a contribution please do so. Make cheques payable to "The Freedom Shop".

- Ross Gardiner

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But many things stop us from doing that, sometimes it's our own personal dedication to the cause, sometimes it's the increasingly ugly face of capitalism.

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Not that we care about the money, of course, but we feel sending us a sub is a really

great way of saying how much you love us (or that you hate us and want to keep tabs on us).

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