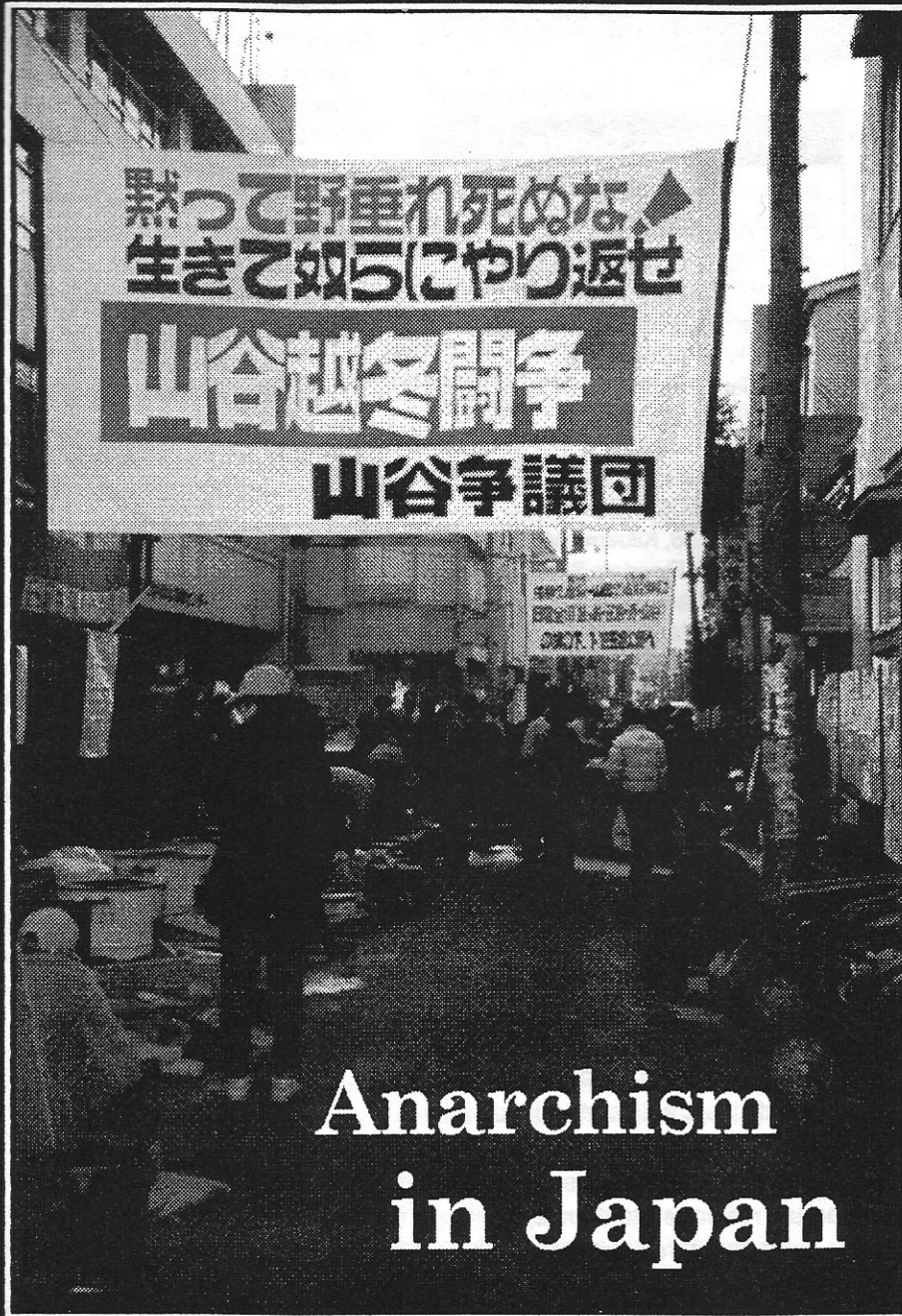


# The State Adversary

Issue 29 • Winter • 1997



## 無政府主義

### Anarchism in Japan

...plus capitalism and the state, cops get into capsicum, news, views and abuse from the wonderful world of anarchist activism.

# The State Adversary

Issue 29 Winter 1997

WELCOME to another issue of The State Adversary. As usual we continue to request, no PLEAD, for contributions of any shape or form.

Letters, articles, graphics and photographs are all a vital part of the health of The State Adversary, and with out them TSA will stagnate and become the magazine of a small group of Wellington people talking about themselves.

One change this issue is the revamping of the contacts list. The contacts list is something we have been a little bit unsure about for a while now, and we have finally got around to doing something about it. The list of "Anarchist Alliance" contacts is gone, given the non-state of that organisation and that the addresses were in many cases out of date. Replacing it is a new, much more useful, "Anarchists" contact list.


Only groups and addresses that have specifically asked to be on the list will be on it. This said, it is vitally important for the growth of the anarchist movement in Aotearoa that this list is used.

As The State Adversary goes to press Lorenzo Kom'boa Evrin's planned tour

## Savage State

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

Next issue \$2 post paid from  
P O Box 6387, Te Aro, Wellington.

 anarchism 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.

looks unlikely to go ahead. Hopefully the visit of Noam Chomsky later this year will provide us with a consolation prize, if we can get him away from the liberals and academics who are sure to swarm around him like ducks around a bowling alley.

- The TSA Collective.

## Anarchist Contacts

### Christchurch

Anarchist Round Table

C/- PO Box 22-076,

Christchurch

e-mail: art@otautahi.ch.planet.gen.nz

### Motueka

C/- Alan Cave, Central Rd, RD2

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e-mail: cec@anarchy.wn.pl.net

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## The State Adversary PO Box 9263 Wellington

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

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

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

## Contributions

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

## Advertisements

Advertisements are accepted subject to the discretion of the collective. Rates are negotiable.

## Magazine Production

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Ross Gardiner • Sam Buchanan

Nick Melchior • Catherine Amey

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Cover: communal meal preparations in Sanya, Japan, during the Winter Struggle of 1996-7. The banner reads "don't die without a fight! Live to fight back. Sanya Winter Struggle. Sanya Dispute Group."

Photo: Matthew Turner.

## Threesided soccer kicks off

ANARCHISTS rocked the foundations of modern sport with the introduction of three-sided soccer to New Zealand during the 1997 Anarchist conference..

A mixture of traditional soccer, diplomacy and avant-garde art, three-sided soccer is played on a hexagonal or circular pitch. Teams may ally themselves with one of the other teams (or both if they can get away with it) in order to attack their opponents goals.

"You're trying to hold a position in which it is easier to score against one or other of your opponents, to ensure that nobody is going to make a try for your own goal," says Wellington soccer ball-owner Ross Gardiner.

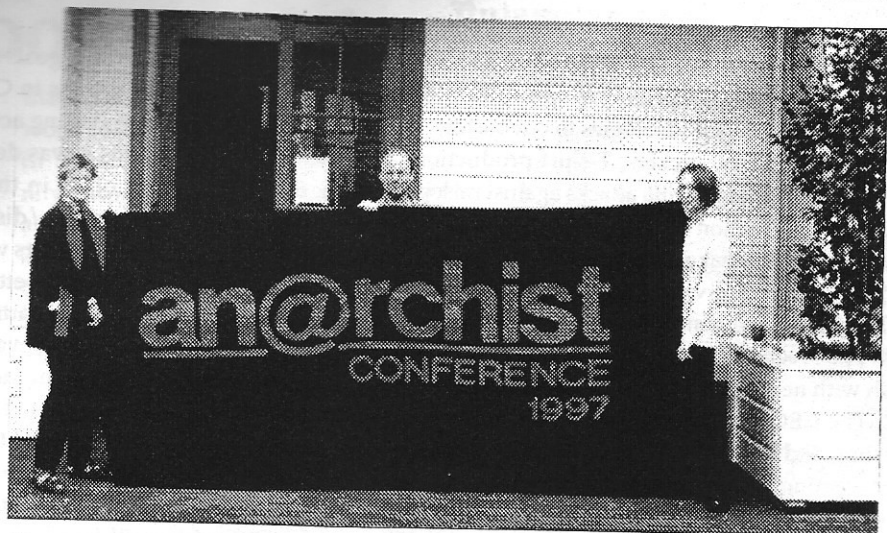
Victory goes to the team which concedes the least goals.

"Obviously, if your team is seen to be winning, you're going to be targeted. The trick is to con the other teams into fighting it out for second place."

Three-sided soccer is popular with British, German and Italian anarchists. An international tournament is planned.

Players at the Wellington match lost count of the score, but it was generally agreed that Working Class United beat Lutte Libertarians and the Cappuccino Crusaders. Frank Prebble was named player of the match.

— Sam Buchanan



## 1997 Anarchist conference

ORGANISERS reckon the 1997 anarchist conference was great success. It was well organised, with many educational workshops, interesting discussions, and yummy food. It also proved to be a good spark for Christchurch and Auckland anarchists to initiate group activities.

St. John's Church in Wellington was an excellent venue, previous conferences have been spread over several locations, creating logistical difficulties and a dis-solute atmosphere.

About 60 people turned up at the conference, somewhat fewer than at previous Wellington conferences, from all over the country. Most feedback on the

conference positive with people saying it had been their "favourite conference so far". People also commented they enjoyed the community feeling of the conference and didn't want to leave.

The aim of the conference was to educate attendees and to give us all a chance to get together. It was recognised that there is a need for forums other than the major conferences, to plan and organise the anarchist movement and for workshops to teach skills.

Those involved in organising the conference and running workshops and discussions deserve a large thankyou.

— Lyn

## Screaming Asylum Productions

SCREAMINGASYLUMPRODUCTIONS is a collective of anarcho-punks who organise gigs at Thistle Hall in Wellington and also organise some tours of overseas bands around the country.

The name originated from the "The Screaming Asylum", a punk house in Wellington. The house is no longer going but the people that lived there continue to organise gigs, along with some new organisers.

This year the collective has formalised its aims and is in the process of becoming incorporated. We intend to apply for funding to achieve our aims.

Objectives of the collective are buying our own P.A. equipment, musical equipment (for general use), a van (for taking bands on tour) and to find a cheap practice space for bands to use. Eventually we hope to establish our own gig venue!

The collective identifies as anarchist and we plan to continue organising benefit gigs to support the anarchist movement as well as raising funds for humanitarian, animal rights and environmental groups.

In June we organised a benefit gig for Anarcha-feminist magazine 'Sekhmet' and raised over \$300. Also in June two collective members bought a vocal P.A. — they will be reimbursed from gigs over the year. In the past we have hired the P.A. which is quite expensive. After paying off this P.A. we plan to buy further equipment to jazz it up.

If you are in a band and would like to play at one of our gigs in Wellington you can contact us at:

**Screaming Asylum Productions,  
P.O. Box 9263, Te Aro, Wellington.**

— Lyn

## Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin tour off

A PLANNED visit to Aotearoa by US anarchist Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin has been cancelled due to the machinations of the Australian authorities. As TSA goes to print, attempts are underway to schedule a visit for early August

During a tour of Australia, Ervin was arrested and imprisoned and his visa cancelled, following complaints by MP Pauline Hanson. The decision has been deferred, but doubts about his readmittance to Australia resulted in the cancellation of his visit to Aotearoa.

Ervin is a former Black Panther who was imprisoned for hijacking a plane to Cuba in 1961, after the FBI issued a shoot-to-kill order against him. He became an anarchist while in prison and is the author of articles compiled in the book *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* (available from the Freedom Bookshop).

## Wellington stuff

OPERATION EMMA is a project initiated by the Katipo Collective to combat the proliferation of misogynist images used to sell products and ideologies to our society. The collective is planning posters, stickers, T-shirt production, and research, direct action and guerilla attacks against misogynist images, as well as the creation of positive images.

Anarchist speakers addressed the recent Socialist Student Conference, receiving a mixed reception, and the Student Christian Movement gathering, initiating a good discussion.

The Freedom Shop bookshop collective continues to flourish with new stock arriving at increasingly frequent intervals.

The CEC organised a protest at short notice to protest the jailing and deportation threat by the Australian government on visiting US anarchist Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin. A dozen people turned up at the Australian High Commission to argue with an Australian diplomat, deliver letters of protest and torch an Aussie flag.

Protesters just managed to outnumber police at an anti-vivisection demo organised by Wellington Animal Action at Wellington Hospital in April. Numerous plainclothes and uniformed cops were in evidence, while their baton-carrying, riot-helmeted compatriots lurked around the corner. No incidents ensued.

## Christchurch happenings

FIFTEEN Christchurch people attended a May screening of "All Our Lives", a video about women in the Spanish Revolution, the first in a series of video and discussion evenings planned by the newly formed Anarchist Round Table (ART).

The decision to form ART came after informal talks between Christchurch anarchists at the Anarchist Conference in Wellington. Following the conference a meeting was held in Christchurch, and those attending agreed that there was a need to form a new anarchist group with a solid structure and

clearly defined goals in order to avoid the problems faced by previous groups in Christchurch, which tended to be nebulous, often ceasing activities after a relatively short period. In light of this it was decided to work towards establishing an anarchist office in the town centre, and to hold a series of fortnightly video/discussion evenings in order to help raise funds. The evenings would also allow local anarchists to get to know each other better and raise awareness within the community, hopefully attracting new members in the process.

The first video evening, held at the local WEA Centre and featuring a vegan meal, was an outstanding success. Group members reaffirmed their determination to make the project succeed and agreed that to do so will involve greater sharing of responsibilities and pooling of resources.

All those interested are invited to attend future events, which will be advertised locally.

## Auckland events

AUCKLAND has been quiet lately, but anarchist meetings have taken place, see contacts list on page two for more information.

## National news

LIBERTARIAS, a Spanish film telling the story of three women's experiences during the Spanish Civil War is currently screening on the film festival circuit Organise an anarchist trip to the movies now (we don't know if it's any good).

Noam Chomsky, noted US linguist, foreign policy analyst, anarcho-syndicalist and all round nice guy, will be touring the country in late October, as a guest of the Foundation for Peace Studies. He will be speaking at the Media Peace Awards in Auckland, at a public meeting in Wellington and possibly elsewhere. Contact the organisers at P.O. Box 4110, Auckland 1, for more details.

# Horse voices of protest

IN MAY and June, several Wellington anarchists and animal rights activists participated in demonstrations against the mustering and culling of the Kaimanawa horses. One reason for the protest was our perception of the State in the form of the Army and Department of Conservation were thereby consolidating their control over the Central Plateau land, which had been either leased from or confiscated from Ngaati Tuwharetoa, the local iwi.

The protests included stopping a truck carrying around 20 Kaimanawa horses. Two Auckland animal rights activists chained themselves under the truck, while others climbed over the truck brandishing placards. After about an hour the horses were becoming distressed, and we allowed the truck to continue to unload the horses

at a holding farm near Taihape. Other protests included standing on tanks with megaphones outside the Army Museum at Waiouru, and a group of protesters taking placards along to a Department of Conservation media briefing. Several protesters were arrested and charged with trespass.

On the 7th of June, 30 people from Ngaati Whitikaupeka of Ngaati Tuwharetoa moved into a Waiouru picnic ground, protesting in support of their land claim, and against the culling of the horses. Overnight they built a marae, the wharenui and wharekai standing on a block of land between the two major roads in the Waiouru area. Wellington anarchists arrived on Sunday morning to support the occupation. The Maori flag flew above the old wooden noticeboard at the entrance to the picnic

ground: "Welcome to Waiouru — Gateway to Adventure" and banners emblazoned with "Stop the muster: to muster is to butcher" hung along the fenceposts. Local people showed their support by arriving with firewood, food, and building materials.

On the 10th of June the Ruapehu District Council issued an ultimatum to Ngaati Whitikaupeka, instructing them to dismantle the marae and leave within 48 hours, or risk eviction and arrest. Ngaati Whitikaupeka eventually agreed to do so but only after achieving their goal: a meeting with the Minister of Treaty Settlements Doug Graham about their land claim. While they did move, they did so in their own time, and with dignity, having achieved the goal they had determined for themselves.

# Workfare looms again

THE BUDGET is out, there is talk about work for the dole, and the unemployed are being blamed for unemployment.

We are told unemployed people will be getting "training and skills for the workplace" through the "Workfare" scheme proposed by former Nat and now NZ First MP and Minister of Employment Peter McCardle. This hasn't been the case in other countries using Workfare-type schemes. The jobs tend to be menial and often demeaning. Even the State Services Commission appears doubtful, saying in a report to government that workfare "may provide some participants with work experience and basic work skills." (emphasis added)

New Zealand already has the example of the "Community Taskforce" scheme. People on this scheme rarely get training adequate for employment and many people find themselves in jobs that others have previously done at full wages. There are many examples of workfare-type systems in other countries displacing existing, paid workers. A 1994 study of a Swedish Public Relief Work Programme showed a 69 percent displacement of existing construction jobs. The State Services Commission says that the larger the scale of such a system, the greater the displacement of existing workers, and that if all those now unemployed were forced onto workfare, the total number of unemployed would actually increase.

Most unemployed people are already experienced at working and are trained and qualified. They just cannot find jobs. The State Services Commission report also admits that United States workfare schemes have had an inconclusive effect on the level of unemployment (most US workfare programmes are directed at single parents).

We are told that workfare will build self-esteem — as if being forced to work for the dole is likely to engender pride in what you are doing. Especially when you look around and see other people paid full wages for the same work. People will find themselves doing similar work to Periodic Detention used for punishing people with criminal convictions. Self-esteem is battered enough in full employment, working under other people and in unfair conditions, let alone in working for the dole.

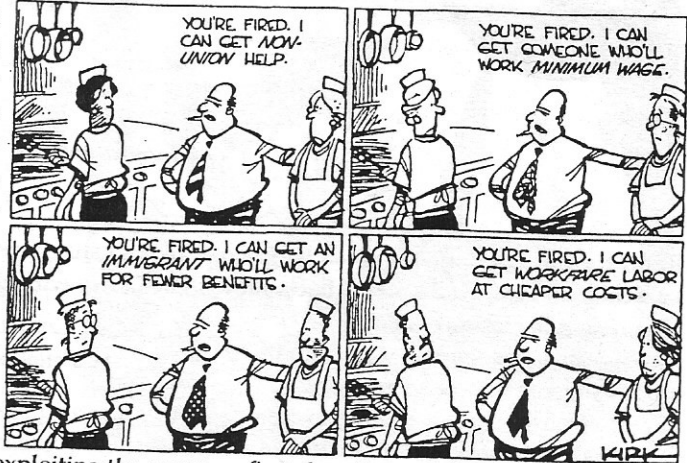
Another justification for workfare is

that there is much work to be done in our community, in areas such as the environment, tourism, health and education — so why not use the unemployed to get this work done cheaply? Certainly, there is plenty of work to do. But instead of exploiting the unemployed, why not just employ people to do it for proper wages? The unemployed are being used to create a pool of reserve labour that can be pushed into low paid work or used to scab on striking workers.

Unemployment is a tool for "democratic" capitalism to keep wages at low levels and business profits up. If there was full employment the government and business would start complaining about inflation. There would be a stronger workforce with stronger bargaining power, leading to businesses shifting to countries with worse conditions and lower wages. This has already happened in some industries.

More and more the economy is being driven for the benefit of the wealthy with the rights of workers dwindling, pressure on the unemployed increasing, and taxes decreasing.

So what's the solution? Well, in the



first place, it certainly isn't capitalism!

We need to dump this system where the majority of us are spending most of our lives working to make other people rich, are in soul destroying jobs, and are employed in jobs which are of no benefit to the community we live in.

Life should be for living — and not just on the weekends! We need to create a society oriented to people and their needs, not towards the state of the economy. We need collectivised workplaces which work with the community for the benefit of all.

We can start supporting each other now by forming collectives, supporting strikes every way we can, and putting our views out and about everywhere.

— by Lyn

Reference made to and sections used from *Workfare: An Issue for Unions* by Sue Bradford, Karen Davis and David Kenkel, of AUWRC. Thanks also to the TUF and the Wellington People's Centre..

## The Bludgeoning Budget

ANOTHER Budget out and we all look to see how it affects our lives. Many groups and individuals will be unhappy with aspects of this year's Budget and will campaign to counter the aspects of it they don't like. No doubt they will canvas sympathetic MPs to argue their case for them, hoping they can change the system from within. Or else they may write angry letters to the Members of Parliament who put the Budget out. Other people will be resigned in the belief that there is nothing they can do about it.

It amazes me that people accept that we need those parasites in the Beehive — giving over responsibility for their lives to various political parties.

Under capitalism (free market or state) there will always be people at the bottom, always never enough money for education, health or the environment because the state of the economy drives everything. In a money-orientated system there is always concern about the national debt. Those in power can never provide all the needs for their constituents because that isn't what capitalism is designed to do. It is designed for the poor majority to give their money to the rich minority.

Power and decision making should be in the hands of the people it affects. Until this happens, decisions will be based on greed and not need.

— by Lyn

# Anarchism in Japan

Recently returned after a year in Japan carrying out research on pre-war anarchism, Matthew Turner reflects on his encounter with the contemporary Japanese anarchist movement.

EACH year on September 6 a group of around fifty relatives, academics and admirers assembles around the grave of Osugi Sakae, located in the Kutsunoya Cemetery on the outskirts of Shizuoka city in central Japan. They come from throughout the country to remember and honour a man who has become a symbol of resistance to the injustice and totalitarianism of pre-war Japan, and of the never-ending struggle of the individual against the constraints of tradition and bourgeois morality. One of the most flamboyant and controversial figures in Japanese history, Osugi was killed along with his partner, the feminist Ito Noe, and his six-year old nephew by the military police in the aftermath of the 1923 Tokyo Earthquake.

The graveside commemoration seemed a good place to start my search for contacts in the modern anarchist movement in Japan. Although the main purpose of my trip to Japan was to do research on Osugi, I was keen to take the opportunity to see what was happening in anarchist circles in the late 1990s. Like him or hate him — and he does have his share of critics — Osugi was one of the giants of Japanese anarchism, and I felt

by Matthew Turner

sure that among those who gather to remember him would be some young activists.

The 1996 ceremony which I attended was particularly special for Osugi's relatives, since that year had seen the death of Osugi's fourth daughter, Ito Rui, and her husband, Nozawa Junji. Osugi's two surviving daughters, Sachiko and Emiko, attended along with Rui's son (Osugi's grandson) Yutaka, who spoke on behalf of the relatives. After a few words from a member of the organising committee, Miyamoto Saburo, or Saburo-jiji ("Old Man Saburo") as he often calls himself, stepped forward to face Osugi's headstone and launched into a spirited rendition of a revolutionary song. Now nearing ninety, Miyamoto was sixteen when Osugi was killed, and his singing, always a highlight of the annual ceremony, was an emotional appeal on behalf of fallen comrades by a man who obviously felt a personal loss at the death of Osugi. The commemoration ended with all those present being invited to place flowers on Osugi's grave.

Later in the afternoon a slightly

smaller group gathered at a nearby hall for a lecture meeting and discussion session. Two academics had been invited to give talks; the first on Osugi's early links with Chinese students in Tokyo through his teaching of Esperanto, and the second on Osugi's place in the growth of liberalism in Taisho period (1912-1926) Japan. Perhaps it should be regarded as healthy that Osugi has as many admirers outside the anarchist movement as in it. Nevertheless, I couldn't help remembering during the second talk how Osugi himself hated such speech meetings, which he took great delight in disrupting by interjecting or even storming the rostrum, from where he would stimulate a debate on the need for the workers to create their own destiny rather than follow the lead of intellectuals and experts! I left before the scheduled discussion session and caught the next train back to Tokyo.

Back in the capital I went through the leaflets and other handouts I had been given in Shizuoka. One referring to the sixtieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution caught my eye, not the least because I remembered it had been given to me by a man in his twenties, probably the youngest person at the commemoration. According to the leaflet, a series of talks, video screenings

Gathering at the grave of Osugi Sakae in September 1995, the 72nd anniversary of his death.



and symposiums, all organised by a group called AAA, were to be held throughout October, with Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom* opening at a local theatre in mid-November. Although the thought of attending another "speech meeting" was none too inviting, I decided to go to the symposium, where one of the scheduled guests speakers was Yamaguchi Kenji of the Anarchist Federation of Japan.

Unfortunately neither Yamaguchi nor the other speaker at the symposium dealt directly with the anarchist collectives, a fact which surprised me and clearly disappointed a number of those present. Instead Yamaguchi focused on the military struggle against Franco, while Kawanari Hiroshi of Hosei University presented the findings of his research on the International Brigades. Following the symposium, however, I had a chance to talk with some of the organisers over a few beers and learnt a bit more about the group which had organised the symposium, a group whose members I would get to know more over the following few months.

AAA, or Actual Anarchist Action, came into existence in late 1995 and holds monthly meetings at a community centre in Okubo, one of the more internationally flavoured areas of Tokyo, with a large number of Chinese and Korean residents. Most meetings are attended by up to twenty people, although the symposium on the Spanish Revolution attracted perhaps five times that number. The name comes from a now defunct magazine which carried articles about revolutionary movements around the world, and is a bit of a misnomer for a group one critic dismissed as a "salon". Meetings begin around seven in the evening, and usually revolve around a talk given by a member or invited guest, which is followed by a question session. Topics covered so far include Murray Bookchin's *Anarchism*, *Anarcho-capitalism*, the State of the Anarchist Movement in New York, and *Anarchism in China*, as well as discussions of the Aum cult and anarchist related publications in Japan. Following the formal meetings core members usually gather at a nearby drinking spot for a more informal session which often lasts into the wee small hours. By this time the main street of Okubo is lined with prostitutes, many from Asia and South America, which always made the ten minute walk to the local station after AAA meetings an interesting one!

Anyone with the 500 yen (around NZ\$6.00) entrance fee is welcome to attend an AAA meeting, although most regular members are middle-aged, many of them survivors of the student struggles of the 60s and 70s. And while a number of these members are involved in labour union and other activities, some younger activists resent what they see as the domineering attitude of a handful of veterans who are not only out of touch with the younger anarchist movement, but openly scornful of punk and other recent manifestations of anarchist culture, and for this reason these activists are reluctant to attend AAA gatherings. Following a talk I gave about anarchism in New Zealand, for example, which touched on such things as vegetarianism and animal rights, several of these older members questioned the relevance of such issues to what they saw as the principle aim of the anarchist movement: the liberation of the working class. Critics also accuse these members of sexism, pointing to the almost complete absence of women from AAA functions. Personality clashes and arguments about "lifestyle anarchism" are not unique to Japan, but it was disenchanted to see such divisions lead to what appears on the surface to be a split along generational lines. Then again, perhaps such divisions are to be expected in a movement which many involved see as going through an exciting period of growth and change.

As is perhaps apparent from the list of discussion topics above, AAA members are keenly interested in anarchist movements in other parts of the world. Many were also delighted to meet a "comrade" from overseas who was interested in the world of Japanese anarchism, and were extremely helpful and generous in supplying information and research materials. One member even presented me with a "spare" set of the complete works of Osugi Sakae — all fourteen volumes! — along with other books he had picked up at local second hand shops. Another introduced me to Sanya, a district of Tokyo which is traditionally home to that city's population of



**An Anarchist clown is accosted by Japanese police at an anti-McDonald's protest.**

day-labourers.

Sanya was once the scene of a bitter struggle between activists from the National Council of Day Labour Unions and right-wing gangsters who controlled the labour market in cahoots with the labour subcontractors. The running street battles between unionists and gangsters are now a thing of the past, but a recent split of the union into "libertarian" and "authoritarian" factions meant that tensions were still high when I visited Sanya on New Year's Eve to get a taste of the Winter Struggle, so called because without work over the New Year holiday period many older labourers cannot afford a flophouse bed and face the risk of dying from cold on the street. The rival union factions, who both claim the other is the splinter group and both continue to use the original group's title, established makeshift camps in strategically important locations — one in front of the local welfare centre, the other in a nearby park — from where they distributed blankets, hot food and much needed moral support. Following violent clashes between the factions the previous year, some members of the libertarian faction wore makeshift body armour (including soccer shin-pads!) and had bamboo sticks at the ready. Squads of policemen in full riot gear also made regular patrols, while plain clothes officers were busy photographing the activists.

At Shinjuku Station, another gathering spot for day-labourers and the homeless and site of Tokyo's most prominent "cardboard box city", the start of the Winter Struggle was marked in a less sombre fashion by a concert featuring

folk music and traditional Japanese street musicians, along with a performance of revolutionary rastafarian rap (!) by a young punk rocker. A year earlier many of those now gathered to enjoy the music and free food had been forcibly evicted from their cardboard box homes, built along an underground passageway linking the station with the new Tokyo Metropolitan Government buildings. Local anarchists were involved in a violent struggle against the evictions. Most homeless returned and have built new cardboard homes nearby. Although the threat of eviction is ever-present, the problems of the previous year and the support network built up as a result have led to an impasse. Local shopkeepers routinely complain to government officials about the smell and disruption to their businesses, but for most Tokyoites the Shinjuku cardboard city is an established part of their environment and a continual reminder of the social problems in one of the world's largest cities.

In the new year Tokyo hosted a musical event of a different kind with the visit of Hong Kong anarchist Lenny and his rock band Blackbird, a visit largely organised by local anarchists. Although I didn't make it to any of the concerts, I did get a chance to meet Lenny at an informal interview session just before he returned to Hong Kong. Understandably worried about the future of the anarchist movement in Hong Kong following its return to China later this year, Lenny was nevertheless determined to continue his "propaganda by music". Our conversation also touched on the movement in New Zealand, which, surprisingly, Lenny was quite familiar with, although he was under the mistaken impression that TSA was in hibernation! I was quick to correct this, and we parted later in the evening after exchanging namecards and promising to keep in touch.

At the interview session I also had the chance to meet some younger anarchists, and our discussion soon turned to the McLibel case. Over the previous few months I had been involved in a rather fruitless attempt to raise awareness about the case in Japan and even start up a local anti-McDonald's campaign. Largely due to the efforts of a Frenchman living in Tokyo whom I had met via the internet, a Japanese translation of the "What's Wrong with McDonald's" pamphlet had appeared on the McSpotlight website, but apart from this and brief protests by a pair of clowns inside two

Tokyo McDonald's outlets on the World Day of Action the previous year, there was little in the way of a local McLibel support campaign.

This changed in February 1997, however, with the birth of the International Action Committee in Support of Justice for Helen and Dave, which in co-ordination with the United Front of Revolutionary Clowns organised a series of anti-McDonald's protests in Tokyo during March. The biggest of these was to involve the leafleting of six McDonald's shops in downtown Shibuya, a major shopping and entertainment district of Tokyo, but the intervention by the local constabulary outside store number four put a halt to proceedings. Committee members then turned their attention to efforts to free the two clowns, who had been taken away for questioning to a nearby police box, while an American supporter filmed the entire episode on video. Later, with the clowns free and over three hundred leaflets distributed, committee members and supporters gathered at a nearby drinking hole to reflect on the campaign, which in spite of inadequate preparation and other problems, many resulting from language and cultural differences, had been largely successful.

One of the most enthusiastic Japanese protesters was a young anarchist activist called Kurosawa, who was also involved in the struggle in support of the Shinjuku homeless, and had previously been active in protests objecting to discrimination against foreign labourers, mostly Iranians, in the early 1990s. Kurosawa was also a member of Aki No Arashi (Autumn Storm), a group vehemently opposed to the Imperial system who made a name for themselves at the time of the death of Emperor Showa in January 1989. Directly after the death of the Emperor the group took part in a one hundred strong demonstration against the Imperial system, during which two members were arrested for speaking without a permit. Two more activists were arrested after a banner reading "Bye-bye Hirohito" — a familiar reference showing open disrespect to the late Emperor — was draped over an overbridge, while a fifth member was assaulted by police while distributing

leaflets in February 1990. Group members later sued the Tokyo Metropolitan Government for false arrest and assault, and were eventually awarded damages in October 1996.

Kurosawa was himself homeless, sleeping sometimes on the street and sometimes in rooms at various universities which his young colleagues maintained. I visited one of these rooms at a famous private university, where posters featuring German Autonomes covered the walls and works on anarchism lined the bookshelves. Like their New Zealand counterparts, university students in Japan appear to be becoming less interested in activism year by year, so it was reassuring to meet and hear about young anarchists active in student politics there. I was already vaguely familiar, for example, with a campaign to save the old halls of residence at Tokyo University from demolition — in fact I often passed the beautiful old buildings, since the campus was just minutes away from where I lived. But I had no idea that the students who occupied the halls, refusing to budge despite having their water and power cut off, included a number of anarchists.

My research completed, and satisfied that I had not only met, but also worked with some anarchist activists in Japan, I returned to New Zealand in mid-March 1997. And although my somewhat limited experience of the contemporary Japanese anarchist movement is not enough to form any generalisations, I can say that in Japan I had the pleasure of working with some of the most knowledgeable and dedicated anarchists I have ever met. Their keen interest in similar movements overseas, both past and present, is only slightly tempered by their apprehension when faced with the realities of the language barrier. It is indeed a pity that more information is not available here on Japanese anarchism, and the contemporary movement in particular, but this is due more to ethnocentrism and linguistic imperialism on our part than to any lack of effort by the Japanese. I hope in the future to do my bit to correct this imbalance, and at the same time to develop and strengthen the friendships I formed in Japan during my brief stay there.

# Anarchism in Japan



# Tino rangatiratanga, the State, and the Kaimanawa horses

## emotions have galloped away on us

*"They have forced us back and back until we are against the wall. Now it is time to stand and take that wall down..."*

- Hape Lomax, Ngaati Whiti Kaupeka

THE KAIMANAWA horse issue has been portrayed in the media as a squabble between horse fanatics and conservationists concerned about Aotearoa's endangered plant species. However, if we look more closely, the issue becomes primarily a question of control over Maaori land - whether the State controls the land in the form of the Department of Conservation and the Army or whether the local community of tangata whenua have self-determination living on their own land.

While the Department of Conservation has claimed that the wild horses in the Central Plateau of the North Island of Aotearoa must be shot to protect 10 endangered plant species, there do not seem to be convincing reasons why the plants cannot be adequately protected by fencing. Fencing would be cheaper than mustering the horses or shooting them by helicopter (\$54,000 versus \$480,00 or \$167,000)<sup>1</sup>. In other areas the Department of Conservation routinely fences off small regions of important biodiversity.

Why has the option of shooting the horses been chosen in this case? To answer this we need to look at the history of the land. Most of the area the horses are on is Maaori land which has been either leased to the Army, or taken by proclamation. The World Heritage Park at Tongariro is also Maaori land which was gifted to the nation by the chief of Ngaati Tuwharetoa. The Kaimanawa horses are partly descended from a stallion and mare which were gifted to him and then released.<sup>2</sup>

Recently the hapu Ngaati Tama Whiti of Ngaati Tuwharetoa registered a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal over the confiscated land and the horses. They also registered a complaint with MAF about the proposed culling of the horses under the Animal Protection Act. Another hapu of Ngaati Tuwharetoa - Ngaati Whitikaupeka - has also registered a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal, and has participated in protests against the culling of the horses, including the recent occupation of a Waiouru picnic ground.

Under Treaty of Waitangi provisions, Ngaati Tuwharetoa should have been included in the Working Party which drew up the Kaimanawa horse management plan. However, they were not invited to do so, and their point of view was not



included in the public discussion paper or final plan. The Waitangi Tribunal found that the Department of Conservation had failed to consult with Maaori as required to under the Department of Conservation Empowering Act, and instructed them to do so. Nonetheless, at no point did consultation take place.

What interests do the Department of Conservation and the Army have in the Central Plateau land and the Kaimanawa horses?

The Army have been in possession of the Moawhango region since the 1930's. They have lobbying to kill the horses for decades, as they interfere with Army exercises, and in particular with new heat-seeking devices which the Army are purchasing. The Army opposed the 1981 horse protection order and were lobbying for extermination from 1988 onwards. Army demands were included in the first Department of Conservation draft management plan for the horses, but were dropped when only three submissions supported removing the herd for Army training.<sup>3</sup>

Both the Army and Department of Conservation have a strong interest in

control over the land. In particular, Department of Conservation must be concerned with Army damage in the region. A recent Army Land Use Study identified the Army as the major environmental risk in the region. Environmental impacts caused by the Army include: bombardments, deliberate targeting of vulnerable wet areas, waste disposal, road construction, and accidental fires. In 1985 about 15,000 hectares of tussock burned out of control for several days on the Central Plateau. Since 1987 the Department of Conservation has spent around 3.5 million dollars on fire control.<sup>4</sup> It is even possible that some kind of arrangement has been reached between the Department of Conservation and the Army whereby the Department of Conservation gain increased reserve areas in return for culling the horses.

This may sound like conspiracy theory, but, irrespective, both the Army and the Department of Conservation stand to consolidate their control over the Central Plateau land through the culling of the horses. The effect will be that they, rather than Maaori appear to have a commitment to the land and to be the rightful owners.

In contrast, Ngaati Tuwharetoa see the horses as part of their own self-determination, part of their tikanga. The horses are descended from those released by Maaori 150 years ago. Maaori see the horses as part of their heritage to hand on to their children, because the environment constantly evolves, and the Kaimanawa horses are part of that environment. The horses were on the land when it came under the control of the Pakeha state — Maaori seek the return of the horses as wild free animals to their guardianship when the land returns to them. They seek self-determination both for themselves and the horses.

<sup>1</sup> 'To scare is to win', Ellen Lee, City Voice, 29 May 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Wild Horse Trust

<sup>3</sup> 'To scare is to win', Ellen Lee, City Voice, 29 May 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Wild Horse Trust web site

# Constructive Anarchism

**Anarchism is more than the absence of government — it is about reconstructing society to make government obsolete.**

ALL too often anarchism is defined negatively — against all forms of authority and oppression, against hierarchy, against capitalism, patriarchy and the state, against this, against that. What is needed is a more positive definition of anarchism, one which outlines concrete alternatives to the authoritarian system. All too often anarchists themselves emphasise destruction — like smashing the state — whilst overlooking the constructive side of anarchism. It is this side of anarchism I hope to outline.

There is one fundamental difference between anarchism and other movements which claim to be aiming for a society where people do not exploit or coerce. Like some other movements anarchism aims for a society without *bosses*. But unlike other movements, anarchism aims for a society without *cops*. Marxists have written thousands of tomes about the so-called historical inevitability of abolishing bosses, but pay little or no attention to abolishing the organised brutality and coercion of the police and state. Of course this is because the Marxists want to capture the power of the state to enforce their vision upon people — leading to a new tyranny; a new bunch of (Marxist) bosses and cops exploiting and coercing people.

Unlike Marxists, anarchists want to build up in the shell of the old society truly democratic alternatives to the authoritarian system. Marxists just want to take over the old system and run it for themselves. Anarchists want to build up alternative revolutionary institutions based on the principles of flaxroots, participatory democracy. The old society does not need to be destroyed — it simply needs to be made irrelevant. People would no longer need authoritarian institutions like the nuclear family and the state had they alternatives to them.

What is the alternative? The principles of participatory democracy would be applied to every part of society — the



by Toby Boraman

family, the workplace, the libraries and hospitals, and the community. For example, everybody would have a say in the running of their own community where decisions would be made in something like a town hall, where everybody is allowed to attend and have their say, and where decisions would be made, preferably by consensus. To get things done for a specific task, specialist elected committees would be created — but to guard against bureaucracy and power being concentrated in the hands of a few, elections would need to be held regularly (say, every month), elected positions would be temporary (delegates rather than representatives, and the committee would dissolve once a specific task is completed). People elected could be instantly recalled by the community assembly, elected positions would be constantly rotated amongst people, and people would not receive any financial or other benefits when elected.

The building up of alternatives (based upon **participatory democracy**) to authoritarian institutions (such as the family, the state, the church, the media, the schools) is one fundamental aspect of anarchism. I think there are about three other inseparable aspects of anarchism. Of course this is an oversimplification as there are many others which are of equal importance that need to be added.

Not only does anarchism mean participatory democracy, it also means **the democratic control of the economic re-**

**sources of society.** If you had participatory democracy, but still had inequality in resources between people, the rich would dominate and buy off opposition. What anarchists have traditionally aimed for is economic democracy and equality, where the wealth of society is owned by all, and not by a small elite like in capitalism and communism — that is a “common-wealth” (this term was used by anarchists before it got corrupted by British imperialism). Private property is inherently authoritarian. It allows those with the most resource rich property to dominate and buy out those with poor quality property, which leads to a small elite owning most of the property in society, as in Aotearoa today. Only by abolishing private property and allowing everybody access to resources according to their needs can economic exploitation be overcome.

Another aspect of anarchism is a **continual revolt against all forms of authority and coercion.** Wherever authority is found — in the public (workplace etc.) and private (household) spheres of life, in the schools, and even within anarchist groups themselves — authority needs to be questioned and acted against. This is a kind of permanent revolution. Before, during and after the revolution people need to be continually sceptical of anybody who wants power or who wants to lead others. Anarchism, if it is to work, requires a sceptical, questioning culture of permanent protest.

The final aspect of anarchism is that of a **culture of mutual aid.** All the above would not work if there were not a general culture of solidarity or mutual aid. This doesn't mean the Christian concept of charity: helping others in a controlling or condescending manner (a one-way relationship); but people helping each other as equals and with mutual respect (a two-way relationship). That means overcoming the kind of egoism, selfishness, competitiveness and individualism that is rampant in this society.

I think we can now dismiss some very common, but very misleading definitions of anarchism — definitions that even some anarchists themselves propose. The most simplistic definition of

anarchism is that anarchism means the abolition of the state. This gives the impression that anarchists are die-hard right wingers who want to roll back the state, to take the state out of the free-market, to allow the rich and powerful to exploit the poor and powerless. Right wingers oppose the state because it limits the freedom of the capitalist elite to exploit and reduces their profits (they would have higher profits if they didn't have to pay taxes to the state). Whilst anarchists have traditionally opposed the state on the grounds that the state is the means by which the ruling elite (or any aspiring elite, such as the top hierarchy within a Marxist Party) controls, suppresses and coerces people (through propaganda, and if that doesn't work then through police brutality) and maintains inequality (through enforcing unjust laws). Anarchism has always meant heaps more than just the abolition of the state — it means the abolition of all elites and bosses, and of all forms of authority (gender, race, class etc.).

A second common definition of anarchism is that anarchism means no government. Not having any government implies to me not having any organisation, and this conjures up images of chaos and a war of all against all. Anarchism, I think, means self government — which simply means people controlling and running collectively their own lives, democratically running their own workplaces, communities, hospitals, schools, and so on. This is opposed to the traditional European concept of government from above — they claim that ordinary people cannot be trusted to run their own lives and thus, it is claimed, need a small elite to control and rule them from above.

Let's not forget anarchism is supposed to be a revolutionary movement. All too often anarchists slip into a mild and safe liberalism, aiming for a few piecemeal changes. Often accompanied with this form of reformist anarchism is the liberal view that power is widely dispersed in society between different groups, and there are no fundamental divisions in society, just one or two abuses of power. The more traditional revolutionary anarchist view holds that Aotearoa is based upon, and revolves around, fundamental and all-pervasive divisions in society — that is power is concentrated in the hands of white, rich, males. Aotearoa is based upon the exploitation (and virtual genocide) of Maori. It is based upon the exploitation

of women. It is based upon the exploitation of working-class people. Today, ordinary wimmin, Maori and working-class people have little or no control over their everyday lives. Fundamental and revolutionary grassroots changes are needed, to take power off the powerful elite that runs society, and to build up a new society not based upon power but where people have control over their lives; a society based upon permanent protest, mutual aid and cooperation, and self government.



## »»» POLICE FIVE »»»

### A regular column on policing and how to avoid it

IN CASE YOU haven't noticed the local plods have a new weapon in their armoury — capsicum spray also known as pepper spray or OC spray.

Christchurch police have been reported to be testing the spray, some cops have volunteered to receive a dose of it and describe it as being worse than tear gas, and like having a "hot poker pushed into your eyes."

Interestingly, police in California, North Carolina and Florida have filed lawsuits to stop compulsory exposure to the sprays during training, claiming cops suffered serious health effects as a result. In the States there is growing concern after more than 60 deaths following use of sprays on suspects.

Capsicum spray is made by diluting capsaicin (oleoresin capsicum), an oil derived from hot peppers. Usually a 10 percent solution is used resulting in a mix 300 times as hot as Jalapeño pepper and 60 times as hot as the hottest cayenne (1,500,000 Scoville heat units for the technically minded). It causes a burning sensation in the eyes and skin, tingling in the lungs and throat, coughing and shortness of breath if breathed in, and sometimes paralysis of the larynx, preventing speech. Those hit by sprays normally drop to the ground and keep their eyes closed for 20 to 30 minutes.

Treat victims by flushing affected areas with water or saline solution. If none is available, get the victim into a windy place or walk them around to create air movement over the skin. Rubbing affected areas only forces material deeper into the pores. Don't touch sensitive areas of the body if you have the stuff on your hands.

Asthmatics may find the spray causes asthma attacks, treat the attack as normal with Ventolin or other airway-opening medicines. Asthmatics should make their condition known to people around them if they are in a situation in which capsicum sprays may be used and ensure their medication is easily available.

A 1995 article in the *Los Angeles Times* quotes the president of a Utah capsicum spray manufacturing company, Advanced Defense Technologies, as agreeing that the sprays have a role in reported deaths.

"These are weapons... Clearly this not a breath freshener or an underarm deodorant," he says.

However, difficulties in pin-pointing the actual cause of death in US cases make it hard to conclusively prove the dangers of capsicum spray. In all the cases, additional factors may have contributed to the cause of death — alcohol and drugs, use of stun guns and handcuffs, and "positional asphyxia", breathing difficulties caused by victims being laid face down, or in other constrictive positions, while being restrained. Conditions such as asthma, bronchitis and enlarged hearts may increase susceptibility to the spray's effects.

A study reported in *The American Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology* came to the conclusion that the spray "appears to be relatively safe", but also says "We have insufficient physiologic data at this time, however, to conclude that capsaicin is incapable of causing or contributing to death."

I reckon you should avoid it.

— By Sam Buchanan

# Why capitalism loves the state

I OFTEN find anarchists in this country have a surprising degree of sympathy for the state. Many seem to have fallen for the myth that the state is a rival, or at least a moderating influence on the activities of free market capitalists.

There are two reasons for this. Firstly, New Zealanders have, for the most part, had an unusually benign experience of the state. Please don't think I am unaware of the history of the New Zealand government. Its invasion of the Waikato, the destruction of the Maori economic base and culture, the military crushing of Maori communities at Maungapohatu and Parihaka, the violent suppression of the 1917 Waihi and 1951 waterfront

by Sam Buchanan

strikes, police violence, military conscription, support for repressive regimes overseas and many other examples of violent and criminal behaviour show clearly what the state is all about.

But despite this appalling behaviour, the New Zealand state has a relatively good record by international standards where genocide is virtually the norm.

This is helped by the lack of historical awareness amongst New Zealanders. Few of the examples given above are widely discussed.

Secondly, in the last hundred years or so, political debate has been deliberately

narrowed. Today, the only significant debate aired is the argument over which activities are the province of the state and which should be handled by 'free' enterprise. The inherent lie in this debate is the continual assertion that the state and the 'free market' are enemies.

In fact, capitalism loves the state and wouldn't be without it for the world. Even the most extreme exponents of free market ideologies, the so-called libertarians, talk only about minimising the state, never getting rid of it entirely. While there is a certain logic to

the libertarian programme from a capitalist point of view, few capitalists back it as it would spoil the nice little racket they have going.

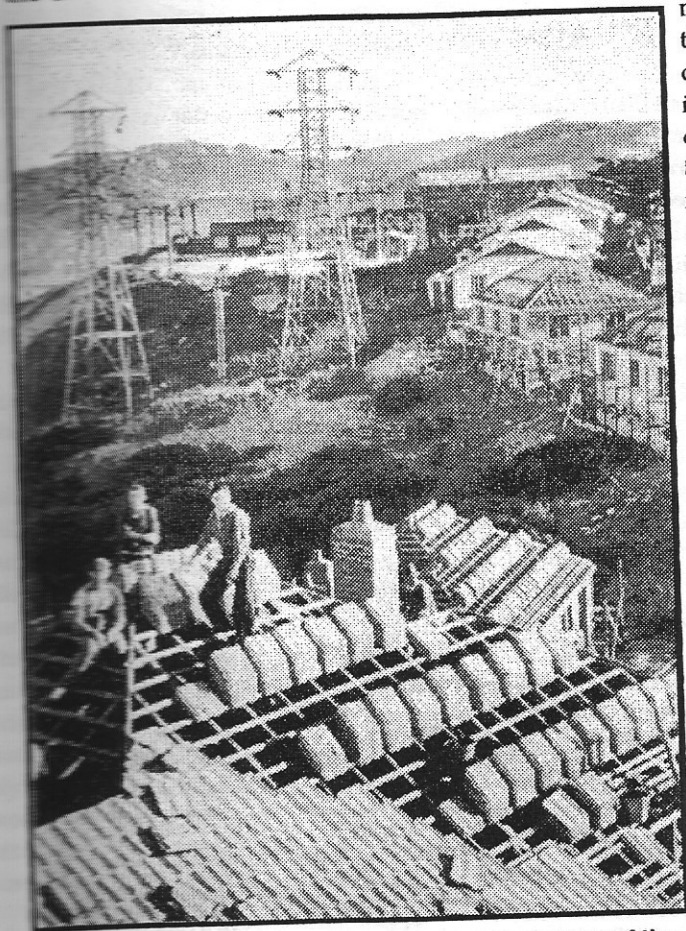
The state offers three important things to capitalists: force, a willingness to indulge in currently unprofitable practices that benefit capitalists, such as research and development, and an exceptional ability to channel large quantities of money from the poor to the rich.

The 'legitimate' use of force is largely the province of the state. If the interests of corporations are significantly threatened, the state's military or police will step in to lend them a hand, breaking strikes, clobbering rivals (as in the 1991 Gulf War, a scrap over control and pricing of oil), keeping crimes against property to a 'reasonable' level and ensuring a level of social cohesion necessary for the smooth functioning of capitalism. Not only does this mean capitalists get to keep their hands clean, it also passes on the cost of policing to those being policed – the taxpayers.

Military expeditions in support of global capitalism are similarly financed. Few people could be persuaded to pay the exorbitant cost of a military that does little to defend New Zealanders, but under the system of state-capitalist collaboration, we have no choice but to cough up or be jailed.

Military spending is also the ultimate example of the channelling of money from the taxpayer to corporations. Military forces are expensive, the taxpayer picks up the bill, and companies score lucrative contracts.

To take a local example of state-corporate collusion, Fletcher Challenge didn't get rich by accident, or by taking on its rivals in the free market. Fletcher Construction's rise to prominence accelerated rapidly during the Labour government's state house building programme in the 'thirties. While the La-



State housing in Wellington — a major source of the Fletcher family fortune.

bour Party had criticised previous governments for their subsidies to the building industry, it rejected calls for a worker controlled building programme<sup>1</sup> and turned to James Fletcher who had advised the party on housing policy prior to its election. Fletcher acted as an adviser to the government and served on a cabinet-appointed building committee. At the same time Fletcher Construction won half government contracts to build state houses, and leased two government-built joinery factories.<sup>2</sup>

This didn't make the company rich, but it did give them excellent contacts within the government. In 1942, Fletcher was appointed as Commissioner of Defence Construction, giving him the power to direct the deployment of workers and resources, and to halt construction considered unnecessary to the defence effort. In 1943 he became the first commissioner of the Ministry of Works, which he played a part in setting up. World War II brought with it numerous military construction contracts, from which Fletchers and other private contractors received the benefits. The war also meant the curtailing of imports, giving a boost to local manufacturers, including Fletchers' building supplies subsidiaries.

After the war, the now Sir James Fletcher became the first chairman of Tasman Pulp and Paper. Created to process timber from the Kaingaroa State Forest, the government was the company's main shareholder. Fletcher Construction won the contract to design and build both the company's mill and the town of Kawerau. Finally, in 1980, the government sold its share of Tasman to Fletchers for the bargain price of \$37 million.<sup>3</sup>

Sir James' politically-inclined grandson and heir to his position in the company made clear his fondness for the state attacking "Treasury free-market propaganda" and calling for "a totally united team approach between [sic] all parties — government, industry, labour and finance." He opposed the opening up of the economy to international competition, saying a customs union with Australia would be a "disaster" and that international economic competition is "so far removed from the theories of perfect competition that reliance on premises of competitive advantage are simplistic and theoretically unsound."<sup>4</sup>

In the United States, the aircraft manufacturer Boeing is held up by the government as an example for other free

marketizers to follow. However, a large percentage of the company's profits come from its state-supplied military contracts. The state helps out in other ways too. Shortly after signing the GATT agreement which supposedly reduced government 'interference' in world trade, President Clinton offered to revise Saudi Arabia's debt repayments if the country chose to buy Boeing airliners rather than European Airbuses. Naturally, Boeing got the contract.

These examples are not unusual. US activist Ralph Nader counted 120 US Federal Government programmes to subsidise corporations.<sup>5</sup>

"They are so varied and embedded that we actually grow up thinking that the government interferes with the free enterprise system, rather than subsidising it," he says.

The US government even has a programme to encourage US businesses to move to Third World countries where labour is cheaper!

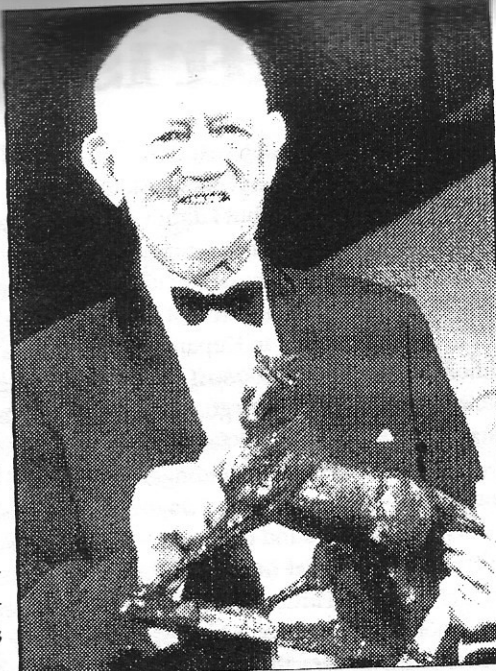
Another of Nader's examples of government support for companies is the drug Taxol, developed to fight ovarian cancer thanks to a \$US31 million government grant. Once developed the formula was handed over to the Bristol Myers Squibb company for free. The company now charges patients between \$10,000 and \$15,000 for a series of treatments.

Back home in Aotearoa we have seen an acceleration of state support for business. While some state subsidies to business have been cut, vast quantities of state assets developed at taxpayer expense have been sold to the private sector at bargain prices. Most of the companies who bought in are now reporting enormous profits. Air New Zealand was subsidised by the taxpayer for years, yet almost as soon as it began making a profit it was sold off.

Not only does the private sector get to buy up cheap assets, but the state, now devoid of its own apparatus, increasingly must contract out services to private companies.

It is very convenient for the state to play 'good cop' to the capitalist 'bad cop.' Or even vice versa. The great majority of politicians, lacking any real political understanding, see the game in these terms, believing they are acting as referees in a game between the rights of companies and the rights of the people. But the rules of the game have been set by capitalism.

The state's real role is that of a 'plausi-



**James Fletcher — New Zealand's largest company was subsidised by the State.**

bly deniable' agent of capitalism, whose role is to make sure the game produces the required results.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> To head off union opposition, the government suggested they form workers' cooperatives. The Wellington branch of the carpenters and joiners union formed such a company and won a contract for 21 houses, but due to a lack of capital it was unable to complete the job, and the contract was taken over by Fletchers. Initially, the government favoured large scale contracts for state houses. However, when it became clear that Fletchers were the only company able to build on the scale required, opposition from other builders forced them to let smaller contracts.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Building the New Zealand Dream' by Gael Ferguson.

<sup>3</sup> Pulp and paper production is a heavily subsidised industry. It is estimated that tax benefits from Tasman were worth \$10 million in 1980. The government's share of Tasman's assets was worth considerably more than the \$37 million price tag paid for the shares. In 1977, Tasman was paying the government between \$2 and \$9 per cubic metre for timber with a replacement cost of \$15. Fletchers also benefited from below cost electricity supplies for the aluminium smelter it had a 50 per cent interest in.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Fletcher Challenge' By Bruce Jesson, self published, 1980.

<sup>5</sup> 'Corporations dismantling democracy', *Evening Post*, January 8, 1997.

# A tourist in Timor

I WENT to Timor just before last Xmas. I made a conscious decision not to ask the locals about the politics but I didn't need to ask, people volunteered information despite my not giving much encouragement as spies are common in East Timor.

I flew from Darwin to Kupang (West Timor); it only costs A\$350 so if you're in Darwin it's a good way to go. I enjoyed Kupang — its got a real festering air about it, with crumbling buildings, narrow streets, open sewers and dogs and goats wandering around the place.

The place I stayed in was like most places I stayed in Timor: a complete dive with doors coming off their hinges, but I liked the atmosphere, there were usually as many locals as backpackers around; some were staff, some hung around to pick up guide work and some just hung around, but they spent most of their time sitting in the shade playing chess or guitar amongst themselves or with guests. It looked like a good lifestyle.

Night time is the best time in Kupang; it seems to be when everybody does their shopping. The main street gets very crowded, with every inch of space on the side of the road being taken up by people sitting on a blanket selling something. You can buy a meal of deepfried tempei and tofu with chilli-sauce for about 40 cents.

There was lots of betelnut for sale; I tried some but only enough to give me a mild high as it made me a bit queasy after munching it a while.

Bemos, the main form of public transport in Timor, are worth a mention; bemos are vans converted into mini busses by running a seat down each side and bunging four full size speakers under them. In Kupang they usually play poppy English language music, often with a heavy techno beat superimposed. The bemo operators tear down the streets blasting out music, weaving around traffic with a boy hanging out the side to spot customers and take the money — they seem to enjoy their work.

I went to East Timor by bus; you can go from Kupang to Dili in one very long day I think, but the road is very windy and the clove cigarettes very nauseating, so it's better to break it up. Public transport is very cheap.

Crossing into East Timor, someone went around collecting all our ID which we didn't get back for a while, which

by Hugh Cave

made us a bit nervous (I was travelling with some Aussies I met in Kupang). We weren't sure we were going to get in, as there had just been a big demo in Dili and a rumour got around they weren't letting Westerners through.

We got to Dili at night and ended up having to stay at the Hotel Turismo (the name is hopeful rather than descriptive, as East Timor only gets a few hundred tourists a year) which is run by the military, but we later found the only East Timorese owned hotel in Dili. It wasn't in the guides and most the taxi drivers don't know it, so if you're thinking of going to Dili make a note of it — I can't remember the name of the street, but it's called the "Villa Harmonia" and Pedro, the guy who owns the place, speaks good English and has some understanding of western culture as he's spent time in Australia. His family all speak Portuguese along with the obligatory Tetum and Indonesian.

Timorese are very laid-back about work and generally getting around, they just seem to drift around except when they're behind the wheel.

Timorese are pretty full on socially, they don't seem to have any concept of personal space — you often get an entourage walking around Dili. I've had someone lean on my knee in a bemo to talk to someone on the other side and

I've seen someone pick up a stranger's hand to look at his watch.

When I was in hospital I had strangers coming in to visit quite regularly, most of whom had no English and were content to just watch me. One guy, a patient I think, would regularly stick his head in the window and watch me for ages without ever saying a word. Once a family of about seven visited, one of whom had a little English with which she asked the typical Timorese questions of how many brothers and sisters I had, what jobs we did and what religion I had.

When I said no religion, she asked "Is that Christian, Moslem or Hindu?" I don't know if they don't understand the concept of no religion or whether they just find it embarrassing. Under Indonesian law it's illegal not to have a religion.

The young men are often very open about opposition to Indonesia; they take big risks. I was warned away from some by an older person as likely to bring trouble. As a foreigner you risk getting other people into trouble more than yourself. I had the impression that a large percentage of Timorese men are in jail. The kids play at killing Indonesians.

The Indonesian government is making a big P.R. push — they've built a huge statue of Jesus standing on a globe on top of cliffs near the harbour so incoming ships see it from miles away; they seem to be at pains to prevent the conflict being seen as a religious issue.

## juxta-POSING

*"When a country reaches a certain level of economic development, when it has a middle class big enough to support a McDonald's, it becomes a McDonald's country and people in McDonald's countries don't like to fight wars, they like to wait in line for burgers."*

— Thomas Friedman — commissioned by McDonald's Hamburger University to write a thesis on McDonald's and civilisation.

### with:

*"The sun never sets on McDonald's whether we're serving customers in the world's great metropolitan centres or near the picturesque rice fields carved into the landscape of the Indonesian island of Bali. Brand McDonald's is everywhere."*

— McDonald's Corporation 1996 Annual Report

### and:

*"From the outset the Indonesian occupying forces were involved in violent confrontation with an armed Timor resistance movement which has always had the support of the East Timorese people and in recent years more particularly of the young. The assembly condemns the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia, which it regards as a violation of international law and more particularly of people's right to self-determination and independence."*

— Council of Europe Resolution 966 (1991) on East Timor.

Source: Squall magazine.

More usefully the government has done big health campaigns to get people to boil their drinking water and they've set up an o.k. looking hospital.

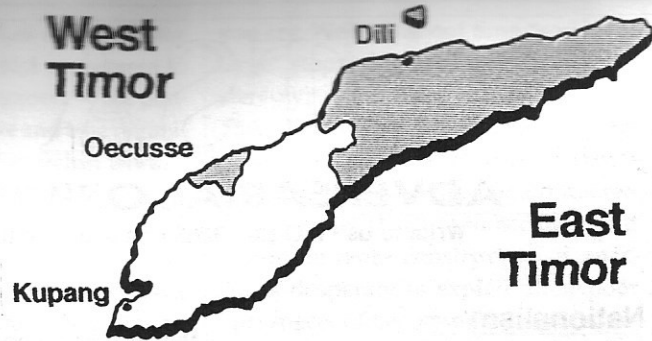
In the highlands people are a lot more reserved, unsmiling; they look like they want to keep out of your way. I have heard it was like that in Dili a while ago; apparently people got beaten for speaking to foreigners.

I went with the Aussies I was travelling with up to what was described as a hotel, up in the wops. It was a very high village; the air was quite cool. It looked pretty much like New Zealand mountain country except for all the thatched huts, roughly terraced gardens and people getting around on tiny Timorese ponies, life looked pretty tough for them. The "hotel" was an old Portuguese residence which overlooked the village and it became apparent its main function was as a guard post; about 5 or 6 soldiers lived out the back. I don't think they got many guests there judging by the inch thick layer of insects in the bath. I went out to the cookhouse to try and establish if the food would be vegan (it turned out to be rice, noodles and dried fish which even the non-vegos couldn't stomach). The cook looked Timorese and I hung around to keep warm by the fire and try

to talk with the aid of a dictionary, but communication wasn't too good and in the end he took me around to visit the soldiers (whom I had been trying to avoid). I don't know if he was just getting rid of me or if he thought they might be able to understand me better, but it was quite interesting.

They shared a small space and had a communal bed. It was quite surreal. Like Timorese men, the soldiers seemed to be completely lacking in machismo. They were very friendly and made a big game out of trying to communicate with the dictionary and writing, and they had these bloody great machine guns lying around. It can't have been much fun for the soldiers up there being hated by everyone and sitting around in the cold with nothing to do (one guy told me he'd been there 18 months).

I would liked to have been able to ask how they felt about the occupation. The next day I was sick and one of the soldiers came in and with pen and paper and asked for "Any something of yours." He got no joy, but a bit later an-



other one came in and let me know he liked pictures of naked Australian women. Of course he was also disappointed.

If you go to Timor, the Lonely Planet Guide is useful mainly for information on institutions etc. (although it has stuff all on East Timor). It also has a bit of Indonesian language which I found enough for Kupang, which is better set up for tourists. You can buy very cheap English-Indo dictionaries over there; a phrase book is useful; make sure you know your numbers and basic commercial interactions before you go.

A good toxic mozzie repellent is a good idea — I got malaria despite taking drugs. Not all countries recommend taking preventative malaria drugs as they are hard on your body; mozzie repellent is more effective.

## McVerdict finally reached

*"Well, that's one person's view, and he's entitled to his opinion..."*

— Dave Morris about the judge and verdict.

THE LIBEL CASE brought by the US and UK McDonald's companies against two London Greenpeace campaigners has finally come to a verdict — after 314 days in court. On the 19th of June 1997, the presiding judge Mr Justice Bell gave his personal verdict. He decided that McDonald's had been defamed by some of the statements in the London Greenpeace leaflet "What's wrong with McDonald's?" However he also ruled that several major criticisms were true.

Charges ruled to defame McDonald's included that McDonald's caused rainforest destruction and starvation in the third world, that only a tiny part of McDonald's packaging was recycled, and that McDonald's workers were exploited.

The judge's justification was that the leaflet definition of "rainforest" was too imprecise, that the proportion of recycled paper in McDonald's packaging was "small but significant", and al-

though workers were low-paid they were not exploited.

In British libel law, it is the responsibility of defendants Dave Morris and Helen Steel to justify the statements in the leaflet, by bringing first-hand evidence to show that they were true. Therefore, where the judge ruled in McDonald's favour, this did not mean that McDonald's had shown the allegations to be false, but simply that the defendants had not been able to substantiate them.

McDonald's lost on the following points: that McDonald's was culpably responsible for cruel practices in the rearing and slaughter of animals, that McDonald's food was "high in fat and saturated fat and animal products and sodium," that some of McDonald's advertisements and literature have claimed positive nutritional benefits which are not matched by reality, and that McDonald's advertising was in large

part directed at children.

The defendants had issued a counter case, claiming that McDonald's had defamed them by issuing leaflets saying that their critics were liars. The judge found that they had indeed been defamed, however McDonald's was protected by the legal concept of "qualified privilege."

Each of the McDonald's companies was awarded £30,000 damages, though they have indicated that they will not try to claim this from the defendants. The sum awarded is trivial for McDonald's, who have already spent \$23 million in court costs, and the real victory seems to lie with Dave Morris and Helen Steel. As they explained:

*"All the legal cards were stacked against us — oppressive and unfair libel laws, no legal aid, huge imbalance of resources... Despite all of this, we still won significant and substantial portions of the judgement... we lost simply on technicalities."*

## ADVERSARIAL OPINIONS

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

**Nationalism**

Dear Friends,

Regarding your article Tino Rangatiranga the anarchist challenge (TSA, #27). It's true that some Maori "refuse to recognise the authority of the Crown and Pakeha legal system since it represents a foreign, hostile power". Anarchists especially should be encouraging the culture of non co-operation. But we should take care our enthusiasm doesn't promote hostile ideologies — particularly ones that aim to transform the many libertarian aspects of the self-determination movement into the authoritarian power structures necessary to carry out the separatist national liberation struggle. Surely, invoking the spectre of hostile powers is one certain way of whipping up a separatist cause, one that TSA seems to be arguing for. That's the logical conclusion given your position that we should be persuading Maori to remove centralised government on the grounds that doing so "simplifies any problems of dividing up the government and legislative apparatus between Pakeha and Maori". Yet if anything, it's more clear than ever that the separatist solution doesn't work. Even putting to one side the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia, the collapse of Eastern Bloc 'communism' enabled politicians and academics to play upon sentiments such as 'love for your nation', 'national independence', 'the right of nations to self determination' etc. to carve out for themselves a comfortable niche in the changing power structure. To drag in liberal elements on their side, all they had to do was to dress their murderous cant and hypocrisy in a pseudo-revolutionary language. There is a danger that certain anarchist elements in Aotearoa are being compromised in exactly the same manner.

...It's also wrong to suggest the struggle against foreign power is somehow revolutionary and "is a short step to denying the power of the State altogether". Rather without exception, history proves the "short step" transmutes into just another State, one which may or may not be more reactionary, but which never-

theless is based upon the exploitation of man by man. Of course, a "short step" is open to definition. The main Trotskyist tendency (world-wide) has a peculiar theory that the glorious revolution (led by the vanguard — of course) is but the culmination of a gradual maturation of consciousness caused by the working class riding itself of any illusions it may have in the various manifestations of capitalist governance. By example, The British Trotskyist group, the Socialist Workers Party, creates its general election strategy around the slogan "Vote Labour, but with no illusions". The theory goes on to suggest that the time span from one working class disillusionment to another must necessarily shorten, given capitalism's inability to constantly create convincing arguments in favour of its continuing existence. Of course, we can't be too surprised about Trotskyist manipulation, and the above justifications they use. After all, they are but Bolshevik clowns, albeit authoritarian, but more irrelevant than ever. But as sure as the Bolshevik star is dying and the libertarian is rising, it would be sad that if in the TSA's striving to not appear "too ideologically pure", it were to acquiesce to Trotskyist ideology. By calling for libertarians, liberals and others to, in effect, "Vote Tino Rangatiranga, but with no illusions" such a TSA argument not only fosters illusions in leaders and their capitalist 'solutions' but patronises working class people as being thick, incapable of coming to their own revolutionary conclusions. The theory legitimates manipulation as a revolutionary tool.

The libertarian/anarchist relationship with working people must be honest, open and without manipulation. This is the only real basis of our relationship. We must make sure that when the full political spectrum from the far right to the far left is exposed as just various competing capitalist ideologies serving to protect the dominant social order, each full of the poison of the decaying body, when workers begin to seize back their lives, that the anarchist perspective, its theory and practise will admirably

serve that purpose. Rather than be dragged into the power machinations of various factions of the bourgeoisie, our strength has always been in identifying the anarchistic/libertarian elements in any movement and promoting those. We should be developing and sharpening these skills, endeavouring to learn what we can from the history of anarchism (so we do not repeat mistakes), maintaining a body of political thought, and from that, defending a set of principles. It rests upon us to construct a pole of opposition impervious to assault. When liberals and intellectuals of all hue are selling out to the highest bidder, when compromise and corruption is thick in the air, anarchism — the only clearly defended opposition — will have its day. The sad truth is that there are no short cuts. We fight in the knowledge that the first second of the new society will be worth every second of the struggle getting there.

Regards,  
Hugh Crane  
Mass Subversion

**Federation**

Dear TSA

Let's discuss this most important issue for every anarchist movement.

Referring to Daniel's letter from Christchurch to TSA. I am more than happy to hear at last from one anarchist some comments on my national appeal for federation in New Zealand. I want to make it clear to all of our individual and followers that this great idea is not fantasy or one of my own. It always has been and remains the goal of every anarchist movement in the world. Anarchists are not nihilists to act impulsively, destructively and disorganised. Organisation, disciplined organisation, is our first aim as a base for productive, effective and efficient revolutionary activities and work. However, history teaches us that individuals, groups, and organisations scattered around any country without coordination and responsibility from the anarchist federation, not only are ineffective but can be very wrong and damaging for the whole movement. Of course, there have been arguments in the past from some individualists and other anarchists, that federation is a bit of a centralistic body, even I myself at some times have thought thus.

But if we are organised freely from the beginning on a federalist system, as



we anarchists are preaching, we should not fear centralistic abuse from the federation, as it is controlled by the organisations through their temporarily delegated comrades, who are always accountable to the individual organisations, associations and communes at different places. As for the question of owning the properties where our federation organisations and clubs are situated, I do not see it troublesome for us as anarchists. If you ask me this should be our dream, to achieve our independence from the landlord's exploitation.

About the TSA question, what they print and way of saying it I would rather not comment at the moment. But I will say to all our friends that when we establish our Anarchist Federation we will definitely have to be far more organised — probably a monthly newsletter or magazine, which will for sure have to express the real anarchist thinking, revolutionary ideas, basic theories and principles and all the important ingredients which make the anarchist ideal most humanitarian of all. Of course the federation won't stop any publishing by individuals or groups as long as they are responsible only for themselves in their opinions. After all we are for the freedom of all.

I do hope my few comments as an answer will be sufficient for now, and what Daniel is looking for. Keep the great idea alive until we achieve it.

*"Jim" Zlatko Zlatkoff.*

P.S. Strength is in togetherness through solidarity, mutual aid and disci-

plined organisation. Let us realise the dream of every anarchist movement to have our national federation — the platform for real productive and true organisation, and disciplined anarchist work.

## Subcultures

Dear TSA crew,  
Since the 1997 Anarchist Conference continued the anti-punk theme, I'm responding to your issue 27 article, "Subcultures: elitist ghettos". As someone involved in Wellington's anarcho-punk scene since 1982, I don't think you're covered by the article's cheap disclaimer, "It is not punk culture per se that I'm attacking but...". Yeah, right. Remarkably similar to any bigots "I'm not slagging off blacks/queers/whatever, BUT..."

Fucking punks eh? All they do according to your article is sing about anarchy, write about anarchy and wear clothes advocating anarchy. And surprise, they've become the public face of anarchy. If this public face belongs to white intelligentsia, with their desire to "represent" us thick "everyday people", then perhaps you have something to learn from punk's promotional techniques. If punk is "not revolutionary in the slightest", for doing the above activities for two decades, then why single them out? This criticism is equally applicable to The State Adversary and NZ anarchist culture as a whole, who also seldom get beyond "statements in support of anarchist ideas."

But punks are "creating a barrier between anarchists and society at large",

you cry. Well it's about time "society at large" stopped believing in the bigoted stereotypes the mass media, and now TSA, disseminate. E.g. that all punks are good for is "lying in the gutter", (according to TSA 28, not a drug or alcohol reference, what then? auto accident?!) It would be more constructive, if anarchists desperate to explain their poor "prospects of becoming a mass movement", evaluated what they have to offer the community, rather than scapegoat punks.

*Simon Cottle*

*Social Dis-Ease 'zine, P O Box 14-156,  
Kilbirnie, Wellington, NZ.*

*Nick Melchior replies:* While I am unaware of any "anti-punk theme" at the anarchist conference over ANZAC weekend, as a person involved with the punk scene in Wellington, Aotearoa and internationally, I took exception to your comments. The article to which you refer was not an attack on punk, but an attack on subcultural domination of the anarchist movement. There are two reasons I singled out punk for comment in the article. A) as a punk it is the subculture I am most familiar with, and b) it is the subculture that most affects the anarchist movement in Aotearoa. Some punks do actively follow media stereotyping of the punk movement, and that is an unfortunate trend that impacts both on punks and the anarchist movement. Many people have singled out the perceived dominance of punks within the anarchist movement as a reason for not getting involved. If all punks do is sing and wear clothes about anarchy, then they are not contributing to the anarchist movement in any significant way. Your hypersensitive response to a half page article of mild criticism does more to end discussion rather than encourage debate. Dogma is dogma and we must avoid it at all costs. In closing my final paragraph was not a "cheap disclaimer" as you referred to it, but an attempt to sum up my feelings on the subject of subculture as a substitute for political movements. We are not singling out or scapegoating punks. TSA is prepared to critique the anarchist movement in Aotearoa on every subject we feel needs critiquing, whether it is the attitudes towards children and parents, the failure to collectivise or macho-revolutionism. We have also printed and will continue to print (often lengthy) letters critical of TSA and welcome increased debate.

# Subscribe to TSA!

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# The international capitalists' latest weapon

THIS article is written to raise awareness about the international capitalists' latest weapon, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). If you haven't heard of the MAI, that's hardly surprising. Negotiations on the document have taken place in secret, and the document itself was not available for public consumption except for a leaked draft copy now being disseminated on some web sites.

The MAI is a draft agreement now being hammered out in the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development — the rich countries' club). It has the same overall purpose as agreements such as GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) and APEC (Asia and Pacific Economic Council) agreements, that is to remove restrictions on foreign investment. However the MAI is being drafted because investors and many rich nations' governments feel GATT doesn't go far enough in this area.

Several things stand out in this regard.

First, the principle of 'national treatment' means that governments are not allowed to give any preference to local investors as opposed to foreign investors. Not surprisingly, fairness is no intrinsic consideration; governments are allowed to treat the foreign investors more favourably.

Second, the principle of 'most favoured nation status' (a term borrowed

by Jonathan

from US trade laws) means that a government that has preferential agreements with one or more countries is required to extend the offer to all countries which have signed the agreement.

A third clause worth noting concerns procedure for dealing with breaches of the agreement. Under the terms of the MAI investors themselves can take nations in violation of the accord to court, a completely unprecedented power which undermines the traditional convention in which international law is the sole domain of nation states.

Countries are allowed to make a list of 'reservations' upon signing the agreement. These are all areas in which the state in question does not conform to the MAI terms. However, 'standstill' and 'roll back' provisions in the agreement mean that no new restrictions will be allowed to be added ('standstill') and the 'expectation' will be that these will be, over time, 'rolled back' ie. phased out.

One of the most important features of the MAI is its clauses preventing secession from the agreement. The accord stipulates that any signatory nation which wants to pull out must wait five years to do so. Furthermore, withdrawing nations are obliged to comply with existing agreements with investors for a further 15 years. Thus any provisions

made by the New Zealand government will be binding for twenty years.

The MAI, like GATT before it, will certainly have an adverse effect on workers and indigenous peoples, and on the environment, as it undermines labour and environmental protection legislation in favour of unrestricted control by transnational corporations. It will prevent countries which sign from restricting the activities of international investors; for example by requiring some direct local benefit from investment, or by imposing boycotts for political reasons (the sort of boycotts against countries investing in apartheid South Africa which were adopted by some governments would be a breach of the MAI).

The agreement was originally expected to be completed by early 1997, but is now predicted to be finished sometime in the next year, probably no later than May 1988. This time-delay is vital for opponents of unrestricted foreign investment, as any and all political pressure (protests, awareness raising etc.) could at least pressure the government into making a list of reservations upon signing. While this may seem a very small victory, it may have significant impact. And if opposition becomes strong enough, something which is not inconceivable, we may be in a better position to turn the tide against the present trend of free-market nonsense.

## urban field

for more information go to: <http://www.squiz.co.nz/space-in-flux/>

URBAN FIELD is an idea for a public reclamation of public places through practical intervention. The project intends to create a condition which reclaims this place for social and sensual needs and desires, against space organised for profit and control.

Urban Field is about public art in public places in opposition to art defined by a self-perpetuating elite and marketed as a commodity, an investment for the rich. To call one person an artist is to deny others equal gift for a vision, enforcing inequality, repression and famine. Those who create art also create the starving.

The only way to eliminate elitist art is to have everybody producing it. Urban Field as an artwork/anti-artwork, which questions the artist / audience division.

Space-in-flux is a network of 'artists, performers, musicians, sound engineers, architects' interested in constructing revolutionary moments. We want to set up an installation in a public place accessible to everyone. We are calling for proposals considering how people of any age and social or cultural background can interact with the installation — what are the stimuli, the attractors? What are the performances of the 90's? What do we need to play music, and perform karaoke? We want to move the installation to different places and contexts to allow more people to attend. The essence of the project might be time related to space — time is the only thing one owns.

The idea is to create a mutable work consisting of a visual media matrix, a sound installation matrix and a shifting

modular matrix, each of them overlaying each other. The visual media matrix could consist of scaffolding towers, equipped with monitors and black and white toy video cameras which would be operated by the artist-audience. The idea is to provide no other images and sounds except those produced there and then. Freight containers will provide equipment and space for performances. Easily movable elements could be used as walls and to sit and lie on, which will change the physical space through the interaction with the artist-audiences creating spaces, sound and images. Only valuing all the world equally that any of us will find liberation.

Any comments or proposals are welcome, e-mail [fluxspace@could.com](mailto:fluxspace@could.com) or write c/- TSA, P O Box 9263, Wellington.

## Anarchism and the Black Revolution and other essays

By Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin

Philadelphia: Monkeywrench Press and the Worker Self-Education Foundation of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1994.

Reviewed by Catherine Amey

*"The anarchist movement, and the white radical movement generally has yet to fully understand and deal with racism."*

*Anarchism and the Black Revolution* analyses white supremacy in United States society and argues in powerful and direct language for a black anarchist workers' coalition against racism and police brutality — and for white workers to support this. Kom'boa describes in detail a practical plan by which black communities can form self-governing communes within the existing capitalist society. These communes are the precursor for a general insurrection and a fully anarchist society. He also outlines anarchist theories briefly, discredits Marxist-Leninism, and explains why he is an anarchist.

This is the second edition of an essay originally written in 1979 while Kom'boa was a black anarchist political prisoner. While written for United States readers 18 years ago, unfortunately Kom'boa's analysis of racism is still highly relevant to Aotearoa today. It is also good to read a practical and workable plan for achieving anarchism.

This book also contains the aptly titled: "The American government: the best argument for anarchism", "A draft proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross network" and "Anarcho-syndicalists of the world unite." These essays were also written while Kom'boa was in prison, and should be enjoyed by anyone who likes a good rant.

## Fierce Dancing: Adventures in the Underground

By CJ Stone

Faber and Faber, 1996, 243pp

Reviewed by Billie Clayton

*"Everyone was dancing fiercely like pagans at an earth ceremony."*

CJ Stone, the somehow endearing hippy alcoholic journalist who was commissioned to write this book, travels to raves, communes and road protests, and lots of pubs in between. He searches for information about Wally Hope, the man who began the Stonehenge free festivals, and whose suspicious death was written about by Penny Rimbaud of punk band Crass.

Stone makes no attempt at an objective account, to his credit, and the story, part gossip, part history/folklore and part chemically inspired (thwarted?) philosophy is full of funny anecdotes and curious characters, including punk cult figures such as Crass and Conflict members. Although not an anarchist (at least he doesn't say he is), Stone is a full-time political agitator, and *Fierce Dancing*, his first book, is an interesting account of the politics, lifestyles, history and present state of Britain's underground entirely from his own, very entertaining perspective.

I couldn't quite relate to his impassioned rants about the virtues of techno music (it seems you have to take ecstasy to enjoy it), but I enjoyed the book and found it interesting to compare the similarities and differences between the underground in the UK and here in Aotearoa.

## Revolution #1

April/May 1997

Radical Media Collective,

PO Box 513,

Christchurch

Annual Subscription \$24



Reviewed by Nick Melchior

*Revolution* is a new Marxist magazine produced from Christchurch. Following the international trend of Marxist "lifestyle and politics" magazines, the first issue of *Revolution* contains critical reviews and thoughts on a range of local and international issues. So far all well and good, but the problem comes when you start to read it. *Revolution* claims to have a "critical, Marxist perspective" but all this reviewer could see was Marxism. Standard dogmatic lines are followed, evoking Lenin and Marx at every turn.

Not surprisingly, the general theme of every article on economic and political issues seems to be "join us," calling for a "new" (read "Marxist") working class politics. The header "Restatement" is yet another basic rehash of elementary Marxist dogma, useful if you are new to the left, but forgettable otherwise. Yet another article on that scam-of-the-century MMP tells us that politicians are only interested in power (yawn). And the lifestyle review pages, while looking at some interesting books and films, fall a little into the old trap of assuming that trends of the urban poor of the United States automatically produce similar trends here, eg. the article on the demonisation of Gangsta Rap.

All of this means that *Revolution* fails to stand out from the crowd of Marxist publications in Aotearoa, complete with poor layout concepts. However, stand out it does, thanks to one disturbing little article reprinted from the pages of the UK based *Living Marxism* on the subject of rape.

According to this article, written by one Sara Hinchcliffe, rape is essentially no worse than "being glassed in the face." The only real difference according to Hinchcliffe is the "fetishised discussion of rape." The trauma felt by rape victims is apparently due to the fact that in our society, "sex outside of love is considered immoral, dirty" and goes on to explain if rape was viewed as entirely separate from sex and sexual power, then rape victims would suffer far less trauma.

This sort of analysis tries to theorise away huge parts of individuals' social, emotional and psychological responses on the grounds that they are socially constructed and is the sort of debased Marxism that has come to resemble post-modernism. It fails to take any consideration of the role of sexuality in our patriarchal society into account.

At first glance *Revolution* seems to be anything but. However, certain appalling viewpoints make it stand out from the crowd.

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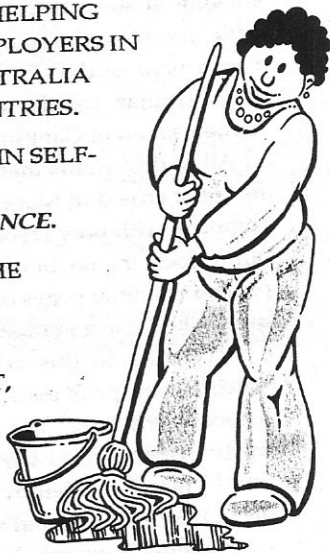
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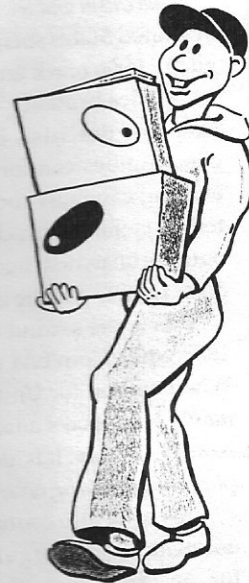
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