

# WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF MESSRS. BAYLEY & MAIDMENT (STUDENT WELFARE OFFICERS)

THE UNIVERSITY  
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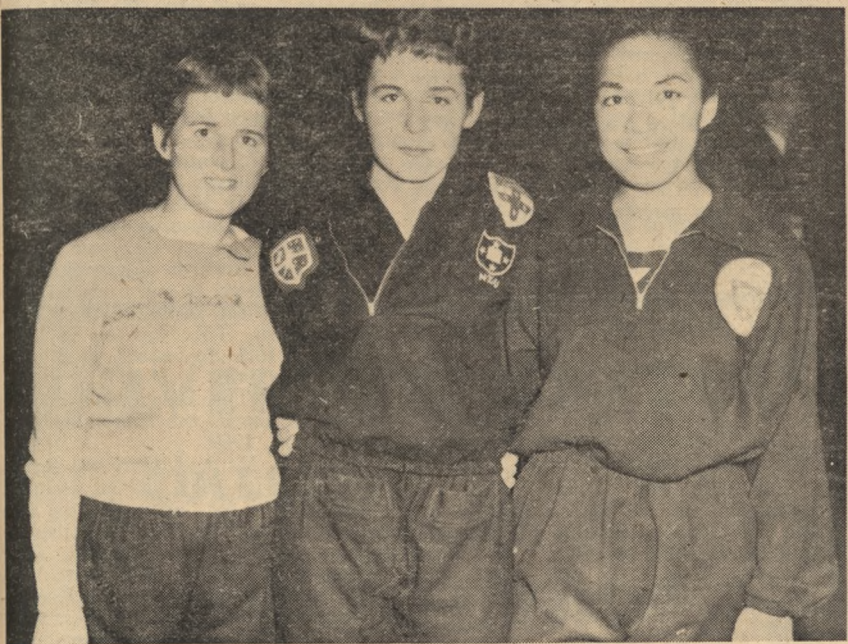
## a.u. tournament exposure

— Bill Rowntree

**Women's Fencing.** Maxine Tilby of O.U., left, against Alison Ross of Auckland.

University of Auckland's candidate for Miss Tournament 1958.

University of Auckland **Men's Basketball** Team. Shot taken during the team's match with Victoria.



The three University of Auckland girls who were on the **N.Z.U. Women's Basketball** team for its match against Wellington. From left: Ruth Miller, Judy Johnson, Mala Moimoi.

**Drama.** Graeme Nixon (left), author-producer of the Auckland play, "Empty Theatre", with the three main members of the cast, left to right, Catherine Moller, G. Eton and Helen Jackson-Thomas.

**ONLY 63 SHOPPING DAYS TO XMAS**





# CRACCUM

The Editor accepts as little responsibility as possible for the contents of this paper, and the opinions expressed are not necessarily those of the Editor or the A.U.S.A.

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## FACETIAE:

### "COMRADES, A TOAST!"

The toastmaster rose to his feet. With a grand flourish of his arm, he called for silence. The wine in his glass surged and swilled over, staining his uniform and the napery. Unheeding, he swayed forward, bracing his knees against the table, and looked from one side to the other, surveying the diners with the benign ferocity of the slightly drunk. Someone cursed audibly as they knocked over another bottle of imported vintage sauterne. Then silence.

"Comrades. Ladies and gentlemen. I wish to propose a special toast, so I command you to charge your glasses with something more suitable for the occasion than this foreign capitalist swill." Here, he upturned his glass, and watched the wine pool on the floor, his face wry with distaste as it soaked away into the carpet.

He went on, jowls quivering with the intensity of his emotion: "Fill your glasses — with vodka! The toast I propose is to Comrade Robin Hood, the first of Britain's great Communists. Doubtless, many of you have not heard of Robin Hood, the Earl of Huntingdon. It is not surprising, since he died some hundreds of years ago. Nevertheless, he was the first to apply basic Communist principles amongst the people of England, at a time when class-distinction was at its highest peak. English peasants still sing of how 'he robbed the rich to feed the poor', and while it is no longer necessary to resort to such measures here, he remains a man worthy of emulation in any of the capitalist-ridden countries of today.

So! Comrades! Ladies and gentlemen! (Give me that bottle, Vladimir).

Drink to Comrade Robin Hood!"

Obediently, the gathering rose to its feet. The light from the chandeliers gained a brilliance no crystal could ever give it as it found the women's jewels. In contrast, gold braid on a hundred uniforms gave a dull reflection of the flames in the vast grate. Admirals, Generals, Commissars — the Politburo and the privileged, all echoed:

"To Comrade Robin Hood!"

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## Tiddywinks

Christ's College,  
Cambridge.  
May, 1958.

Dear Sir/Madam,

On checking through the correspondence regarding the First World Tiddywinks Congress we find that we have as yet no acknowledgment from your club.

You will appreciate that arrangements for an undertaking such as this have to be fixed some time in advance, so we should be glad to hear from you as soon as possible.

If you do not yet possess a Tiddywinks Club at your University then perhaps you would be kind enough to tell us, so that we may note the fact for future Congresses. If you are at all interested in this sport then we would welcome an observer.

Yours truly,

Chairmen.

## EXEC. NOTES:

### SHH. . . .

7.10 p.m. Coney's opened at this time precisely, with a gathering of exactly 9, but with consummated promise of others soon afterwards fulfilled (in the shape of Miss Skudder, and Messrs Bayly, Holman, and Robinson).

7.17 p.m. The meeting by now was properly under way; Mr Young seems to have injected into this Exec. a general keenness not before seen. Only 12 members seemed tired and droopy—of course Tournament provides an excellent excuse. The main item on the early Agenda were Reports.

7.33 p.m. First Report came from Mr Freyne on the N.Z.U.S.A. Congress.

7.39 p.m. Mr Maidment arrived (minus blue balloon).

7.39½ p.m. Halfway through the Report, Mr Bayly got word of some dirty work at the Conference by the other Universities — attempting to gang up on A.U. So nobly into the breach he came, and just as nobly he sat down again.

8.04 p.m. Mr Firth made a lengthy summary in which he summed up the students' position with regard to PAYE admirably — there is hope that in the near future our noble government will see fit to let students earn money PAYE-tax-free over the summer vacation. Thanks a lot, Jolyon!

8.12 p.m. More discussion on the N.Z.-U.S.A. delegates' Report, mainly by the inexhaustible Mr Bayly, egged on by Mr Maidment (who laughed at 8.19 p.m. — this was inserted for the benefit of his Fan Club).

8.20 p.m. Mr Young moved onto the Portfolio Reports. He looked straight at Miss Bev. Snook, who thereupon commenced, dealing with the Cafeteria at length.

8.23 p.m. Applause from Mr Audience as Mr Stevens reached page 50 of his Science Fiction Book — he told the reporter the next day that it was one of the best he had ever read.

8.29 p.m. Mr Young asked Mr Stevens if he had any accounts to pass and Mr Stevens politely replied, "Yes, how many would you like?"

8.30 p.m. Hon. members laughed. Mr Stevens presented £500 or so, which was passed with scarcely a qualm from the Exec. (and Mr Bayly).

8.37 p.m. Mr Davies, in his Report from Ardmore said that something interesting might come up soon — he intimated that engineers would only be at Ardmore for 20 years.

8.40 p.m. Sir Bedivere Miller passed the meeting over to Mr J. L. Hunt, Editor of Freshers' Handbook, 1959, who outlined his plan for the next edition. He estimated that £70 would cover all expenses and this was passed by a wearying Exec. The Reporting was then handed over to Mr Maidment, who continues:

Owen Miller reports that response to the NZUSA Travel and Exchange Scheme has been so far very poor; but 29 Australians will be arriving in NZ in early December. For billets see M. Miller.

At a recent meeting of the proposed Overseas Students Club, Mr Miller formed a steering committee to draw up constitution and the Club's inaugural meeting was to be held on September 22nd. Societies Representatives, Ne Maidment and Dinah Fairburn, reported that two new societies had become affiliated recently — the Historical Society and the Progressive Conservative Society.

Jolyon Firth thoroughly investigated punch card system for the Students Assn. cards and reported that £35 would be enough to put the scheme into operation, but this would be offset by savings in man-hour. All Societies and Club would also benefit; and the Card Scheme also produces a master list of all Students Assn. members, complete with names, addresses, and Club interests. There was quite a lot of discussion on this motion — Mr Freyne claiming that it was luxury, but Messrs Maidment and Bayly countered this by saying that efficiency in our administration was essential, and that £35 was a small sum to pay for such an excellent scheme. The motion was finally won, with last minute support from Dinah Fairburn and John Streven. Finally, Mr Firth reported that the investigations made by the Student Development Committee were progressing satisfactorily and details would be released later.

MHC Chairman Holman brought forward a report on the committee's activities and projects. Some of these latter include a new Piano and providing extra-proof, thief-proof Radiograms which WORKS.

John Bayly reported that the great success of the Jazz Concert was slightly hampered by a lack of co-operation on the part of the Band themselves as items and equipment went.

Finally, as the clock struck twelve the motion that meetings finish at eleven was cast out of the minute book.

J.L.H./N.

### PHFTT . . .

7.14 p.m. At this time exactly, neither one second before or after, the Executive meeting was opened by Mr Arthur Young, rather incoherently as he was eating one of Miss Snook's wood spoon chews. The minutes were about to be read when Mr Young realised that he was beginning the minutes the previous meeting; but as he remained to himself — "who'd know the difference". In spite of a facetious reply from Mr Bindon, nobody said (or noticed) anything unusual.

7.25 p.m. In Outwards Correspondence something amused the whole Exec.

7.26 p.m. Mr Maidment amused also.

7.27 p.m. Outwards Correspondence completed.

7.28 p.m. Inwards Correspondence including a letter to call a special General Meeting on the terms of the Cafeteria Management. This was to be held Tuesday, 16th September, at 8 p.m. September 16th.

7.44 p.m. The Exec. went into Committee to discuss the Editorship of Capping Book, 1959.

8.37 p.m. Mr A. J. Gurr was appointed the Editor for 1959, and his assistant-chief will be the "man with the wood smile", Max Richards. The other applicants — Messrs Maxted, Taylor, Broughton, and Crookes were thanked for their application and the Exec. was pleased, so Mr Young told us, with high standard of the applicants.

8.40 p.m. Sir Arthur (Gare) Young moved that the Exec. move into Committee once again, this time to discuss the Editorship of Craccum.

10.01 p.m. The Exec. not in committee now, announced that the question of the Editorship would be held over to October 6th. I think that this meeting ended around 1.50 a.m.

—J.L.

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



## S.C.M. Viewpoint:

## INDONESIAN GRAD SCHEME

A year ago now, the New Zealand Government, the NZUSA, and the Indonesian Government, worked out the terms of a plan to allow NZ graduates to work in Indonesia.

How many students, I wonder, knew anything about this?

How many know the terms of the scheme?

Above all, how many have ever considered going? An answer to the last question first; two students, one from Canterbury, and Auckland (Arts), and one from Auckland (Accountancy) have been interviewed and accepted and will leave when arrangements are finalised.

Now for the second question: the object of the Graduate Employment Scheme, (which has followed closely the Australian model) is to build international friendship. New Zealanders seeking employment by the Indonesian Government will live under the same conditions as their fellow workers and not form an upper crust separated off from the rest of society by higher wages. They are to be employed, then, by the Indonesian Government, thereby demonstrating racial equality as well as giving much needed technical assistance.

The New Zealand Government provides travelling expenses, money for tropical clothing, and a bicycle. It contributes to a fund to make provision for illness, and also banks a nominal amount to the credit of the graduate, so that he or she will not return penniless.

In five years (to mid 1957) Australian Universities have sent more than twenty graduates to Indonesia — teachers, doctors, engineers, scientists, a bacteriologist, and a Librarian. What sort of response is the scheme receiving in New Zealand? One of the difficulties in its way is that so many students are committed by bursaries, especially Post Primary Studentships, to work in New Zealand for some years after graduating, — and by then they are usually involved in other ways and no longer free to go. Perhaps the only hope is for students as Freshers to resolve that they will keep the way clear.

Since Independence, Indonesia has made great strides in all fields, especially education. But there is still much to be done. For example, in Indonesia, there is only one doctor to every 80,000 people! Australian students report that they have been most warmly received. Their contribution has been welcomed, both for itself and for the motives which underly it. When we consider the richness of our own country and our own lives, surely we should be prepared to give one or two years in the service of a people who have so much less.

We are privileged while we are studying here, to be able to know students from Overseas. How many of us are prepared to go one step further in working for peace?

## THE SCM POSITION

Sir,

I have been asked to comment on certain uninformed remarks about the SCM by your correspondent, Ian Ralton.

It is news to me, Mr Ralton, to learn that "a certain section of this movement is rank pacifist." Those who are our members have a conscientious right as individual Christians to hold pacifist views, and we respect this right. But the policy of the SCM as a movement is not "pacifist", except in the following three senses:—

- (i) We do not wish to see a Third World War;
- (ii) We see a need for nuclear and general disarmament to ensure that this wish may be fulfilled;
- (iii) We believe that the true solution lies neither in Marxist dogma nor in Capitalist compromise, but in the coming of the Peace of God into a world which is His by right of Creation.

If Mr Ralton had read the statement in *Craccum* 1958, No. 8, page 4 — in which Dr Parnaby stated his reasons for chairing the meeting — I fail to see how he can conclude that the Doctor as "chairman was unfortunately dominated by some group." If he did not study this statement, then his conclusions are of very little value.

To clarify the SCM position once and for all, I have been asked to make public the following two motions from the minutes of an SCM Executive meeting held on the evening of 21st July, 1958. The text of these is as follows:—

"That this Executive agrees that the meeting as held was deplorable, but takes no responsibility for the actions of non-SCM'ers present;" secondly "that this Executive does not ratify the action of ONE of its members in giving official sponsorship to that meeting."

Further, it is safe to say that had the meeting been officially sponsored by the SCM, it would not have been billed as a "Protest" meeting.

Mr Gager would be justified in considering that the member he approached was given sufficient opportunity to seek official approval of our Executive. This, in fact, was not done.

To avoid any misunderstanding in the future, I would ask that any requests for SCM support or sponsorship be directed to the SCM Liaison Officer and his sub-committee. The responsibility will then be mine as Liaison Officer to see that the name of the SCM is not used without the Executive's approval, or at least the President's full permission.

—G. J. GINEVER,  
SCM Liaison (1958-59).

## NATIONAL ECONOMY

Sir,

I think the government is to be commended, not because it is Labour, but because it is setting up a committee to investigate trade practices; such a step is urgently needed in New Zealand (and many other countries).

Many of us know well that there are a number of business programmes who, under the slogan of "free enterprise," do their best to exclude others from the freedom to enterprise. They want to grab more and more and put a stop to others who have the initiative to set up a sound business. In other words, they are selfish and irresponsible; they keep only within the narrow limits of what is legal (it is very hard to point at them as being in the wrong) certainly there is nothing righteous about these doings of setting up monopolies — boycotting other people; etc.

Unfortunately, we all have our faults, and there are many things wrong with society, but I do not think any corruptive influence, such as the licence taken by some businesses in such a position to control the lives of people. And therefore it must be stopped; possibly the best way at the moment is for the Government, in service of the public, to impose appropriate controls, although eventually appeals must be to people themselves.

We do want free enterprise and competition, and we do want freedom; we do not want any form of dictatorship, either under the state or under any section of the community.

Those people who take important positions in business, must be responsible and unselfish, not hypocrites; such a phrase as "business in business", is poison: a business concern must run for the good

of everybody. Above all we want to live in a healthy community.

P.S. It is to be hoped that the Constitutional Society for the Promotion of Economic Freedom and Justice, in N.Z., will promote the economic freedom of every single individual in New Zealand.

—P.B.J.

## MOO-LIEU?

Sir,

In the *Herald* of August 6th, we were concerned at the outcome of a discussion on the new University for South Auckland, in which a report from the Auckland University Council said that the proposed institution was "unwarranted", and "would not be justified for many years".

The reasons for rejecting the proposal of even limited teaching, were given 1. only a limited number of students could attend. 2. The desperate need of the University centres for additional funds.

In reply to No. 1, it may be pointed out that the population of the whole of Auckland Province was far less when the Auckland University was formed than the population of the Waikato now (178,000).

In reply to No. 2, which is the crux of the matter, it is no secret that any existing institution will oppose the introduction of a rival, if only to prevent its share of the grant being diminished. The preservation of the status quo has been as much a feature of the academic as of the conservative mind.

It has been suggested, by the students in a position to know, that many students are forced to take a Post-Primary Studentship to alleviate the high cost of boarding away from home and fares. May not this suggest that there is a foreign finger in the academic pie? Centralisation of the Universities is indirectly one of the greatest selling points of the Studentship!

The problem is similar in kind to that in England where the old established Universities draw off the cream of the students from all England and then claim a tradition of unexampled scholarship compared with the provincial universities.

While remembering that a University should not be primarily concerned with the community or its environment, we definitely affirm that a provincial university, concerned in some measure with the problems of the locality, in this case the Waikato, is infinitely preferable to a state of anti-social and acrimonious puerility and antagonism not infrequently exhibited between certain universities and their environments.

In view of these objections to the proposed South Auckland University, it is ironic in the extreme to see on the same page of the *Herald* that the Chancellor of the University of NZ suggested "a double shift system of lectures . . . as a tentative solution to the long-continuing accommodation problem at our Universities!"

—THREE SOUTH-AUCKLAND STUDENTS.

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# N.Z.U.S.A.

—Arthur Young

## Constitution

The New Zealand University Students' Association (known as N.Z.U.S.A.) was founded some 18 years ago. As its name implies, it is the national student organisation to which belong all members of the six local students' associations in New Zealand — Auckland, Victoria, Canterbury, Otago, Massey and Lincoln.

The aim and purpose of N.Z.U.S.A. is to unite the students of New Zealand for their common benefit, and to represent and act for them in their spheres of interest. Thus N.Z.U.S.A. endeavours to fulfil at the national and international level the purposes which the constituent students' associations endeavour to fulfil at the domestic and local level.

General Meetings of N.Z.U.S.A. are held half-yearly, in conjunction with the inter-University Sports Tournaments, and are attended by the delegates appointed by each local Executive. The policy decisions and reports are dealt with at these General Meetings. Administrative continuity is assured by a committee in Wellington, named the Resident Executive, on which sit the President, other officers of N.Z.U.S.A., and one delegate of each of the constituent students' associations. The machinery for voting and taking decisions at both General Meetings and Executive Meetings of N.Z.U.S.A. is organised in such a way that the decisions are the effect of the combined views of the constituent associations. In other words, N.Z.U.S.A. is an "association" in the true sense, and not a body which is distinct from or independent of the local students' associations.

## Activities It Undertakes

N.Z.U.S.A.'s activities cover a broad field. Recurring activities range from the Easter and Winter Sports Tournaments to the Annual Congress at Curious Cove and the annual Travel and Exchange Scheme with Australia, all of which are well known to students.

It also supervises internal and external sports tours and the award of N.Z.U. Blues, through the New Zealand University Sports Union, and supplements bulletins and other material for the local student newspapers through the New Zealand Student Press Council.

Considerable activity is undertaken in the international field. Delegates regularly represent N.Z.U.S.A. at the International Student Conference (I.S.C.), where our policy, following the middle of the road, has earned N.Z.U.S.A. a substantial measure of prestige. Because of regional considerations, N.Z.U.S.A.'s giving of material assistance is concentrated in the South East Asian area. A South East Asian Scholarship fund has been built up, and the first holder of

this scholarship, an Indonesian student, attended Auckland University last year. It is intended to offer another scholarship to a student from South East Asia next year. Also with a view to providing material assistance, the N.Z.U.S.A. Volunteer Grad Scheme, similar to that of the N.U.A.U.S. (Australia) scheme, was formulated and is shortly to get under way.

## Problem of Finance

This year N.Z.U.S.A. (including Sports Union and Press Council) will cost the local students' associations approximately £1,575. The only method by which the finance can at present be raised is a direct levy, and Auckland's share is about £500. It is frequently argued, and not without justification, that such a heavy drain on student funds is not warranted.

However, as a return for this money, the average student can expect and does receive benefit from N.Z.U.S.A. Apart from the activities referred to earlier, N.Z.U.S.A. presses for considerable benefits for students at University and Governmental levels. For instance, a measure of success was achieved in its efforts to establish Student Health Services throughout the country. At the moment the question of P.A.Y.E. taxation relief for students, and travel concessions for students, is being taken up with the appropriate Departments. And it is to be hoped that the vast amount of work undertaken by the Education Committee of N.Z.U.S.A. will be to good effect.

Regarding benefits to the student body as a whole, N.Z.U.S.A.'s greatest achievement has been the progress in having bursaries and scholarships increased and extended. This matter was first taken up in 1950-51, and, after the presentation of a number of carefully prepared submissions to the Minister and Director of Education, N.Z.U.S.A.'s efforts over a number of years were finally attended with success. Efforts of this nature take a great deal of time and energy, but the fact that they may not always be successful is indicated by the failure of the efforts of the past 3 years to obtain direct student representation on the Senate of the University of New Zealand. However, the progress with bursaries and scholarships was a landmark in the history of N.Z.U.S.A., and, in the eyes of many of its former critics, has justified the expenditure of student moneys entailed in N.Z.U.S.A.

## A.U.S.A.'s Policy

Since 1950, Auckland University Students' Association has taken an increasingly active part in N.Z.U.S.A.'s activities and has given support as far as it feels able. But we have always taken the firmest of approaches where it was considered that errors were being made, and this has made for strength. The most urgent present problem involves finance, for it is apparent that if expenditure by local executives on N.Z.U.S.A. is to be kept in proportion, alternative means of raising finance must be found.

In the broad view, however, N.Z.U.S.A. is a striking example of the fruits of national student co-operation, and for this reason N.Z.U.S.A. has traditionally had the support of us in Auckland.

## Students —

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## Student Press Council

—Warwick Armstrong

The New Zealand University Student Press Council had its beginnings in 1952 when the editors of the six university newspapers—Craccum (AU), Salient (VUW), Canta (CU), Critic (OU), Chaff (MAC) and Caclin (CAC)—formed the New Zealand University Student Newspapers Association.

In 1956 a revised constitution (which included the change to name of Press Council) was adopted and at the same time the organisation became officially affiliated to NZUSA. Further constitutional changes were effected last Easter when the Council assumed its present form.

Press Council represents the views of the New Zealand Student Press, both nationally and internationally, and helps to promote satisfactory relations with other press organisations. Its most important function is the operation of a national student press bureau and information centre on behalf of NZUSA and the student press in general. The bureau publishes and distributes Bulletins to overseas student newspapers compiled from news published in the New Zealand university papers. It is also responsible for the publication of supplements covering the meetings of NZUSA at Tournament times, and the annual Congress at Curious Cove. An internal Bulletin for distribution to New Zealand student papers is also planned to collate news in ready form from incoming overseas student publications.

The bureau is operated by the Administrative Executive of the Council, resident in Wellington, made up of the President, Secretary/Treasurer, Assistant Secretary and two Publications Officers, who also conduct the affairs of the Council between General Meetings. The

full Council, comprising the executive and the six editors, meets twice yearly during Tournaments when policy is decided. An important value of these meetings is the discussion of problems and the exchange of ideas both literary and technical, which helps toward raising the standard of papers.

The new bureau has only been in operation for four months and many initial difficulties have had to be overcome. At the moment it is understaffed with a consequent heavy burden on the responsible, but neither the frequency of bulletin publication nor their standard has lagged.

Activities of importance in the past year have included participation in overseas student press conferences. In February of 1957 two Press Council members were delegates to the Asian Student Press Conference held at Manila, and this year New Zealand was represented at the Seventh International Student Press Conference. A great deal of understanding of other student's problems and ways in which they may be assisted is derived from these meetings which are attended by delegates from almost every country in the world.

Press Council's activities are many and varied but they all assist in unifying and strengthening the student press in this country, and most important of all — helping to turn out better newspapers.

## What the Church Thinks

At a recent panel discussion organised by the Society of Friends, representatives of three denominations discussed the question of THE CHURCH AND PEACE. Three of them, the Rev. Clement (Methodist), the Rev. Heath (Anglican), the Rev. Winton (Presbyterian) stood out against the Rev. Ormond Burton, the "professional pacifist", as they described him on the question of the role of the Church during time of war.

The difference between the two viewpoints is easier to state than it is to resolve. The Non-Pacifist Christian is willing to adopt the lesser of two evils. Believing that the State, i.e. secular government, is part of the will of God, he admits, a responsibility to support it

during war, if he believes that its cause is the better one.

Mr Burton, however, claimed that the Church should never do anything contrary to its own nature. Christians, he said, should not judge according to the immediate consequences of good or evil but should re-apply the theology of the Cross.

Much of the later discussion centred on nuclear weapons, an issue over which the Church is divided. One is reminded of Dr George MacLeod's description of "the vast oblong blur of Christian indecision in this, the twelfth worsening year of the Atomic Age." An urgent plea was made to arise from our apathy and expend all our energies to condemn this horror.

Early August is the "anniversary" of the dropping of the first bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Millions of Japanese people were killed in August, 1945. Many have since lived out a slow death of terrible suffering. Many Japanese children, then unborn, have grown up deformed because of that action.

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# A Warning from Asia

We have received the following communication from President Sukarno of Indonesia.

Sir,

We in Indonesia followed with absorbed interest the correspondence of Earl Russell, Mr Krushchev and Mr Dulles concerning the H-bomb. We also watch with some relief the tide of mass protest growing in some of the hydrogen-armed countries. I feel that the voice of an Asian should be heard on this matter. Therefore, although uninvited, I am writing to you. I am writing from Djakarta, a city near the middle of Asia, the continent chosen as the atomic and hydrogen testing ground.

The war-time victims of the atomic bomb were Asians; it is scientifically indicated that the peace-time victims of hydrogen bomb testing are mostly Asian. It is quite time that Asian voices were heard on this matter. It is true that the choice of life or nuclear death is not in our hands, but at least we have the right and duty to speak and protest. It is our future no less than yours which is at stake.

As a man, a father, an Asian and a human being made in the image of God I am appalled at the cynicism of those who wield atomic weapons. They speak of saving their forms of civilisation, yet their policy is based on the determination to destroy, if they conceive it necessary, that civilisation. And, of course, that destruction would not be confined to themselves. The nature of nuclear warfare means that there could be no neutrality in such a clash. We, too, are inevitably scheduled for the nuclear incinerator if your 'rail-safe' civilisation should go wrong. It is a fearful thought that the future of the world rests upon the proper functioning of a thermionic valve somewhere in the Arctic.

In his letter to you, Mr Dulles made the point that the creed of the United States is based on the tenets of moral law. This I fully accept, just as I accept the great political and emotional impact of the American Declaration of Independence and of the Communist Manifesto. What cannot be accepted is a wilful perversion of moral law, a perversion whose weight falls upon the unconsulted and the unborn.

It must be recognised that both main nuclear powers are prepared to wage nuclear war in defence of what they consider to be their vital interests. Neither power is prepared to jeopardise itself nor forsake any possible advantage. Both are determined that the other shall not maintain a lead in retaliatory or offensive power. This is a fact of political life. This situation will continue so long as their ideologies remain vital.

In this situation, we of Asia are little but pawns in the game. We do not, and for this I am grateful, have atomic bombs to flourish. However, it would be most unwise to disregard Asian opinion. In all sincerity, I tell you that we are growing increasingly resentful to the present situation. Asians are the chief victims of the West's failures and moral bankruptcy.

The West is facing a moral crisis. If there are any future generations, what will be their verdict on this second half of the twentieth century? There is no doubt at all that the testing of these horror-weapons, let alone their use, has already claimed its victims, probably running into scores of thousands, already born and still unborn. You have abrogated to yourself powers which rightly belong to the Almighty; you have already ensured that the sins of the fathers — your sins — shall be visited upon the children. Believe me in this context, we in Asia do not see you as saviours of civilisation or as forerunners of the future; we see you as agents of death — our death.

I am writing this letter on the occasion of the anti-H-bomb week in Indonesia. Already, outside my official residence, thousands of people are gathering. Do not think that they are Communists or Communist dupes. They are ordinary people, worried and wondering about their future, hopeful that their simple lives will not be ended and their hopes ruined by mistakes they did not make, but by distant people to whom they owe nothing. This anti-H-bomb week has been arranged in connection with the series of tests in Eniwetok. In terms of fall-out, that is in our back-yard. How many Asians will die as a result of those tests? Can the scientists tell us?

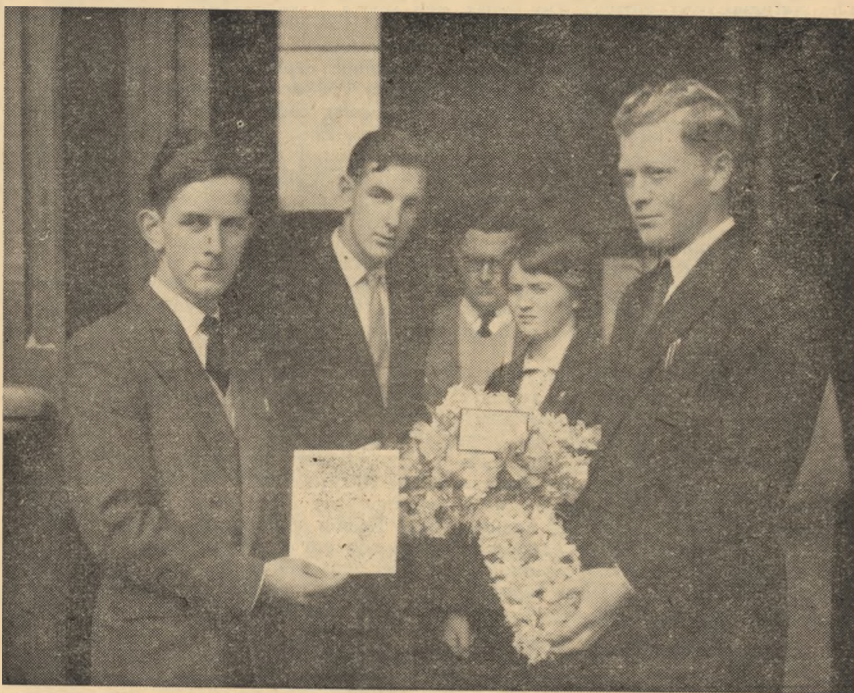
The tenets of moral law compel us to protest. Three years ago, the Bandung Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of

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A committee has been informed in AU with the object of working for Prevention of Nuclear Testing. Here, on the 13th anniversary of the dropping of an A-Bomb on Nagasaki, Japan, some committee members lay this wreath at St. Paul's Church, Symonds Street.

war are imperative to save mankind and civilisation from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction!

We still believe that a firm and assured peace is necessary for us in order that our peoples can reconstruct these Asian states. We cannot impose peace upon the world, but we demand the right to be heard and consulted. The Bandung Conference further appealed that, 'pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, all the powers concerned should reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons'. Three years later, only one power has done so. Whatever the reasons for that action, we welcome it just as we should welcome any similar action by other powers.

If western civilisation, both the Communist and the anti-Communist branches, cannot solve this problem, then it probably deserves to perish. It must be realised that this now is not only a problem of security, but a problem of morality, personal and international.

We utterly deny the right of the West to continue imperilling us and our future. We utterly deny you the right to cause cancer in our children. It is past time for the West, Communist and anti-Communist alike, to draw back from the edge of complete moral bankruptcy. It is explicitly your task to utilise the skill and technique of your science for peaceful purposes.

One tenth of the treasure and skill used in making your hydrogen weapons could transform my country. We are still in a pre-industrial stage of development. We know that the engines which drive an atomic submarine can drive electric generators. We know which we prefer.

There can be no question now of the West giving moral leadership to Asia. Your moral leadership has, for us, meant first colonialism and now the philosophical, moral, political and social bankruptcy of a nuclear arms-race.

The thousands of people who are now gathered outside Merdeka Palace may be politically unsophisticated (although no more so than a mass-meeting in a western country), but they are not fools. They are awake.

You in the West are causing more gaps between humanity; you are also losing the battle for the hearts and minds of men.

—Article from 'New Statesman', 28 June 1958.

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# The New Era

With the arrival of the Japanese trade mission, it seems that the N.Z. Government will at last seriously consider "looking for new markets." Previously, the Labour Government had taken a leaf from the previous Government's policy of talking about new markets while concentrating all their efforts on increasing sales in the United Kingdom alone.

The National Government's true policy was seen when the Meat Board revealed that outside Britain, there was no publicity for N.Z. meat. Again, there is the instance of the Dutch businessmen, who seeking orders at the London office, were turned away although we could well do with the business. All this occurred in spite of the Government's declared policy of widening the field of our overseas markets. Although the National Government, no doubt, realised the limitations of the British market, yet the habit of loyalty was too strong and Nationalist politicians continued to batter their heads against the stone wall of British indifference.

Our attachment to Britain has been a mixed blessing, all along, but recently this has become pronounced. Although the sale of butter etc. in Britain has been highly profitable in the past, and gave N.Z. the third highest living standard in the world, it had the disadvantages of 1. encouraging a highly specialised agriculture; 2. discouraging industry (especially heavy industry, using local materials); 3. giving preference to foreign investors (i.e. British, Australian and American);

and finally 4. discouraging sales promotion for N.Z. products in countries other than Britain.

Economic dependence on Britain has nullified political independence. This phenomenon, coupled with the fact that most New Zealanders do not realise that Britain cannot defend us in War-time even if she wanted to (and this is by no means certain), makes New Zealand, effectively, a colony still. An absence of nationalism (no connection with the so-called National Party) along with an occasional hostility from New Zealanders witness the widespread sympathy for the towards New Zealand interests (e.g. British butter consumer and ill-feeling towards the New Zealand dairy farmer) together show that the average New Zealander's first loyalty is to Britain, not New Zealand.

The present low prices for produce could, therefore, be a blessing in disguise, as they may force New Zealand away from Britain economically thereby initiating a new era of independence.

The scrapping of the now inappropriate Ottawa Pact has been prevented by the U.K., understandably, as it works to

## The Unpushed & Unpushable Pusher

The story goes of a certain American who one day became acutely conscious that he was not his own master, really, although he was a full citizen of the great democracy. He was being "pushed around!" The man who pushed him around was his boss.

Then he found that his boss was pushed around by another man. Then he wondered who pushed around the boss's boss. He followed this up and discovered that there was a chain of bosses pushing other bosses around. The final boss was pushed around by an idea. Who had planted that idea and started the pushing around chain? There was a start somewhere, for neither men nor ideas had been going forever. So there must be someone or something not pushed around by anyone else, who begins the chain of chains. Our investigator concluded that there was an ultimate final boss, the Great Pusher Around, the Unpushed and Unpushable. Our philosopher rejected, as unreal and outside his knowledge of nature, both the possibility of an infinite regress, and the possibility of a circular chain. He equally excluded theories of millenary renewal or secular re-creations.

Modern science would have rejoiced the heart of Heraclitus. "Panta rhei!" cried the old gentleman, (which interpreted means 'Everything is in a state of flux'). And sure enough modern science has established that the reign of mutability extends not only throughout the great world (the microcosm) but also within the little (the microcosm). Our forefathers were not really clever in

noticing certain things changed round about them, but in their innocence they clung to the hope that the stars were immutable. They saw clearly that mutability could not explain its own mutability. How rudely modern research has shattered their hope! Others groping for the immutable snatched at the notion that matter was immutable. Such a celebrated physicist as Svante Arrhenius declared that according to the science of his day (1911) matter is immutable. Poor Svante! Modern Science pities not its own. Increased knowledge of the periodical system of chemical elements, the discovery of radiations from radioactive substances, together with other facts of similar significance, showed that the chemical atom is a small world in itself — the microcosm.

It was through the study of electrons that modern science first established the character of atomic mutability. But for a time it was hoped that the nucleus at last would prove to be an absolutely stable and unchanging entity. It was a dim hope and today not only can the nucleus be smashed but it can also be rebuilt. And though this achievement is but the preliminary step in the development of the new sciences of nuclear physics and nuclear chemistry, nevertheless it provides us with an important conclusion, namely, that while atomic nuclei are much more stable than ordinary chemical compounds, yet they too are capable of transformation and hence are mutable.

And so the scientist of today penetrates deeper into the heart of nature than his predecessor a century ago. And he sees, and admits with scientific candour, that inorganic matter is counter-signed in its innermost being with the stamp of mutability. He is faced with the problem of explaining the origin and existence of this restless river of mutability. And this is a problem his science cannot solve. He must become a philosopher to see that mutability can only be explained by positioning an Immutable Being. But he will only see this if he be as good a philosopher as he is a scientist. —H.M.R.

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There has been little acknowledgment of N.Z.'s help during World War II, and immediately after. During this period, N.Z. supplied the U.K. with food at cut rates, made Britain a straight gift of £10 millions and at least £1 millions worth of food parcels. Britain, on the other hand, accepted all this as her due, while charging us the full market rates for manufactured goods — in some cases higher rates. We could have (by rigorous salesmanship) received better treatment from other nations than from the "Mother country" which has "a great affection" for the Dominions (including N.Z.). Britain has "affectionately" regarded us as a meal ticket (when she regarded us at all).

The Australian loyalist, Lord Bruce,

has warned Britain that "Australia and New Zealand are drifting out of the Commonwealth". This our former Prime Minister strenuously denied: it seems that New Zealand's drift from Britain is apparent to everyone (including the U.K., who by Royal visits, trade promotion and propaganda, generally strike to "strengthen the bonds of Empire", i.e. to prevent N.Z. becoming fully independent) except the New Zealanders.

New Zealand's future lies in New Zealanders becoming inspired with faith in New Zealand and casting aside faith in and loyalty to Britain. Perhaps then, the New Zealander's timidity will disappear — that timidity which causes vacillation over such questions as the building of a Harbour Bridge and the siting of a University. —C.J.O.

## the role of the mind in the formulation of Scientific law

— At a given point in space at a given time, a number of "events" are occurring. These "events" may be such phenomena as the occurrence of light or sound waves or the notion of matter. It is the job of the scientist to analyse these "events" and find any relation between "events" differing in space and/or time. To do this, he must produce a casual chain between them.

The only information available for his use is that gleaned from individual "events". To use the material, he must integrate it and produce an impression of the space—and time—order of events.

How does he do this? The scientist has many instruments at his command, but unless he is merely to make measurements to test an accepted theory, e.g. sight and hearing. Thus the material from events is integrated within the mind and the final product must depend on the and the way in which it functions. The result is not solely a function of the event (we may take a particle falling under gravity), but a function of the "event" and of the mind observing the event. So called physical laws, then, are not in reality laws of the physical world alone, but depend for their existence on some function of the mind. Thus, they cannot represent reality but only the picture of reality formed in a particular observer's mind.

Let us consider the example of an observer seeing that a particular piece of cardboard is square. The shape of the cardboard is not determined by the individual molecules in the cardboard, but by the order in which they are arranged. The shape is not determined by the individual rays of light but by the order of the rays. The shape is not determined by the individual points on the image formed on the retina of the eye but on the order in which they are formed. Finally, the analysis of the order is undertaken by the mind, and the resultant shape assigned to the cardboard must be a function of the mind as well as a function of the "actual" order of the molecules in the cardboard.

The same is true of "physical laws"

and more obviously of chemical and natural laws. These laws, the former in particular, are constructed by Mathematical Logic which is thought by some to be "absolute truth", true for the whole universe. But surely, Mathematical Logic only represents a commentary to ourselves of the workings of our own mind and, as such, has no more validity as an absolute truth, than the method of working of our own minds is so valid. Logic may appear to our minds to represent an absolute truth as it always produces consistencies. But two "events" are only consistent if they appear to be consistent to our minds, and to use our mind as a test of the validity of Mathematical Logic is rather like an observer trying to check the inch marks on a ruler by comparing the ruler with its image in a mirror.

Chemical and natural laws do not come under the same category as they are only guesses and are not expected to hold true in every case.

Physical laws thus reduced, mean that the ordered universe we see exists only in our minds and can be connected to the actual universe, whatever that may be, only through the workings of our own mind.

This also solves the enigma of the geometrician who cannot decide what in reality, his geometrical structures represent. His structures exist only inside his mind and can be applied to the outside world only through the workings of his mind. The success of this application depends on his preconceived ideas or prejudices about the world, and thus the interpretation is only relative to the mind setting up the geometry and to the mind interpreting it. —P. J. LORIMER

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## THE AGONY ON THE CURTAINED ROSTRUM

—Max Richards

*Why do we feel embarrassed, impatient, fretful, ill at ease, Assembled like amateur actors who have not been assigned their parts? Like amateur actors in a dream when the curtain rises, to find themselves dressed for a different play, or having rehearsed the wrong parts, Waiting for the rustling in the stalls, the titter in the dress circle, the laughter and catcalls in the gallery.*

Thus the chorus, five minutes after the curtain went up (to the moans of a string quartet) on Eliot's *Family Reunion*. But there was no call for catcalls, the actors having rehearsed well the right parts.

New Zealanders are supposed not to be able to speak verse. Here the young cast let some of the rhythm come through, considering the pace set for the production. Elizabeth Kersley, in her part as Agatha, used a superb contralto voice, rich and warm, varied without being inconsistent. Harry, played by Till von Randow, was exciting but inclined to rave. One was moved at the climaxes of the play but there was more mystery and bafflement than Eliot's words involve — too many of these words were lost in the shouting. But one must be grateful for these two very satisfying performances.

Eliot wrote a play difficult on account of its virtues and difficult on account of its weaknesses. He has himself described its flaws: the device of the chorus is awkward, there is too much exposition and not enough action, the Eumenides are dramatic failures, we are left "not knowing whether to consider the play the tragedy of the mother or the salvation of the son." It is in considering the handling of these difficulties that we may judge the worth of the Musgrove-Cameron production.

Student actors are happy enough with comedy; the lines for the Aunts and Uncles are usually ironic, though expressing fear and bewilderment. They were all right. The monotony

of exposition was broken by changes of tempo, by just enough movement, some of it clumsy. But no one could say the performance improved the play, did away with its weaknesses. We still felt weighed down by situation, unpurged by climax, and uneasy at a conclusion which is not climactic but relieving resolution. Eliot's comments on the Eumenides are worth quoting: "They must, in future, be omitted from the cast, and be understood to be visible only to certain of my characters and not to the audience. We tried every possible manner of presenting them. We put them on the stage, and they looked like uninvited guests who had strayed in from a fancy dress ball. We concealed them behind gauze, and they suggested a still out of a Walt Disney film. We made them dimmer, and they looked like shrubbery just outside the window. I have seen other expedients tried: I have seen them signalling from across the garden, or swarming on to the stage like a football team, and they are never right. They never succeed in being either Greek goddesses or modern spooks. "Now we have seen them as shadow claws on the backdrop sky, and they are never right. It does not fit what is said about them. It is perhaps no worse than the other expedients.

As for tragedy of mother versus salvation of son, Judith Lessing's portrayal of the aged Amy, Dowager Lady Monchensey, though a remarkable simulation of age and determination, had too much ice in it for our sympathy with her to rival that for Harry. Eliot's statement that his hero now strikes him as "an insufferable prig" perhaps influenced Mr von Randow's interpretation. In all, one might say that most of Eliot's drama was manifested on the sorry stage of this University Hall, for those who had ears to hear. We can thank Professor Musgrove and Dr Cameron for their so competent direction, considering. Also a cast remarkable for its evenness, Catherine Moller and Helen Pearce as Aunts, Graham Nixon and Graham Thomas as Uncles, Keith Hare a very human Chauffeur, and Graham Eaton a very Scotch Dr Warburton.

## Three O'Clock Lecture

Words from lectern, ink from pen,  
Words to shroud a dying page;  
Books dry-gleaned with Acumen  
Parade their well-worn coverage.

The room, a cool, monastic place,  
A padded cell, where winds are mild,  
Where girls all have a scholar's grace,  
And some the learning of a child.

The clocks in other ivory towers  
Chime four slow steps, and die;  
Before the next note-harvest flowers  
Take up thy book, and fly.

—JEANUUS.

## kiwi for the kulture vultures

For the First time since 1955, *Kiwi* has been published for the purpose of "fossilising the juvenilia" of student writers, and becoming "a genuine (not an aspirant) literary magazine." In its first aim it has succeeded as any such magazine would. For its second, the present issue holds little hope.

Literary and critical articles form the bulk of the issue, and suggest some serious lapses on the part of the editors' discriminatory faculties. G. M. Prendergast's article upon University Drama and its problems is a fine example of the concluding paragraphs of a Society A. G. M. report, and as such should have been interred in a more fitting resting place; presumably the Minutes Book, while the theses upon the "Jew of Malta" and the heroes of the modern Existentialist novel reflect in one case an erudition rather reminiscent of the English Dept's drama lectures, and in the other the writer's abilities in analysis without a philosophical sympathy for the novel of either Satre or Camus. Similarly, the unsigned criticism placing M. K. Joseph in (or out) of context collates a number of critical statements upon New Zealand literature, without expanding the subject beyond the narrow confines which it sets itself.

To counter the balance, Mr Faville's article upon "Phoenix" and Mr Hay's interpretation of the aesthetic of University architecture are both much above the standard of the rest of the criticism, the former in its thought, and the latter in the perceptiveness of its research and the easy quality of its prose. The one short story creates the desired aura of "realism," in which Mr Kennedy contrives to cover his author's sneer beneath the emotional ice of his adjectives, except for the unfortunate phrase in which he describes one of his characters as being dressed in "a manner usually associated with the more select sewers of Paris." Overall his disciplines of scene and character are well-defined and his mastery of dialogue is convincing.

The poetry goes to extremes. Vince O'Sullivan's two pieces are the most competent, with "Boy Next Door" showing good control over some rather florid metaphor. In both his poems Mr O'Sullivan shows that his poetry is capable of an emotional sobriety lacking in most of the rest of the verse. Of the remainder, Eve Atkinson's is the best in tightness and precision of theme and form, while the others suitably present the obsessive themes of

the University versifiers in general. Mr Richards' control of rhyme and assonance suggest that perhaps his skill would be better directed towards comic verse, modelled on that of, say, Hammerklavier, whose magnum opus has been tastefully and hygienically presented on appropriately-coloured paper.

The only worth-while stanza of this work was printed in last year's *Craccum* Literary Supplement, and it is unfortunate that the Editors of *Kiwi* saw fit to resurrect the remainder. Much the same may be said of the other "verse trifles" and one wonders how Mr Richards found their inclusion comparable with his expressed editorial policy.

The art work is interesting if uninspired but loses effect through lack of relationship to the rest of the lay out. The full-page blocks used seem unsuitable in the context, and here Percy's cover illustration to the "Wonderful Whitianga" supplement contrasts pleasantly.

Editorially, Mr Gurr is unassuming, while Mr Richards, a self-appointed father-confessor to the struggling student poets of the University, has done us the honour of explaining the principles upon which he sorted the sheep from the goats. He finds synonymous the terms "escape," "romanticism," and "adolescence," with benign condescension he contemplates the ensuing literary "anarchy," before bestowing his palms. His intentions are, however, "good," and should thus be found acceptable to all but the rebellious, the adolescent, and the escapist.

It is unfortunate that the Editors deemed it desirable to print so much overall mediocre material. Admittedly the ten or fifteen pages which would have couched the worthwhile portions of the issue would have been accompanied by the inevitable howls of "Is this all we can do?" but the present issue does little to effectively hush the howlers. The best that can be said is that, like the ostriches on page two, the *Kiwi* has taken its head out of the sand, but who could blame it if, after reaching page forty, it proceeded to hurriedly dig it in again?

—W.S.B.

## Bald Soprano

On the 18th of August, the University Drama Society's entry for the British Drama League Festival — 'The Bald Soprano', by Eugene Ionesco — was presented in the Embassy Theatre, Hamilton.

In accordance with usual B.D.L. practice, two other one-act plays were performed on that night, three more the following night, while the final three plays were presented on the night of Wednesday, August 20th.

The adjudicator, Mr Patric Carey, (of Dunedin) speaking of the play afterwards, said:

"Basically, drama is a portrayal of emotion, and we are all creatures of emotion — a fact that writers have tended to forget in recent times."

"The author here has attempted to analyse the world as it is at present — mixed up and full of conflict; real and unreal. The cast's attempt at portraying this outlook was at times very good, and at times not so good."

Mr Carey also spoke of the conflict between reality and unreality, and stressed the need for pace in presentation.

Altogether, the performance seemed to indicate that practice does not necessarily make perfect — the last performance of the 'Bald Soprano' in Auckland (in the Concert Chamber) was in some ways superior to the Hamilton performance. Although in the latter there seemed to be a welcome speeding up of the dialogue, there was an unfortunate tendency for the actors to forget their lines; this tendency being more pronounced than in either of the two Auckland performances.

Before the curtain went up on the Hamilton performance, some decidedly

unusual effects were heard. Although this is strictly a matter of opinion, one feels that the straighter the presentation of this play, the greater its probable impact will be.

The maid, while she never forgot her lines, was at times mechanical in her movements — in the scene where she explains the complicated family relationship (or rather the lack of it) between Mr and Mrs Martin.

The fire chief came close to fumbling his lines in his story 'The Head Sold' but this is perhaps understandable due to the intricate pattern of the fable and to the fact that the plays calls for interruptions in his 'narrative' from the other characters.

Unfortunately, the University play did not go on to the Dominion finals — instead Mr Carey selected Jean Genet's 'The Maids', presented by the Howick Little Theatre.

—C.J.O.

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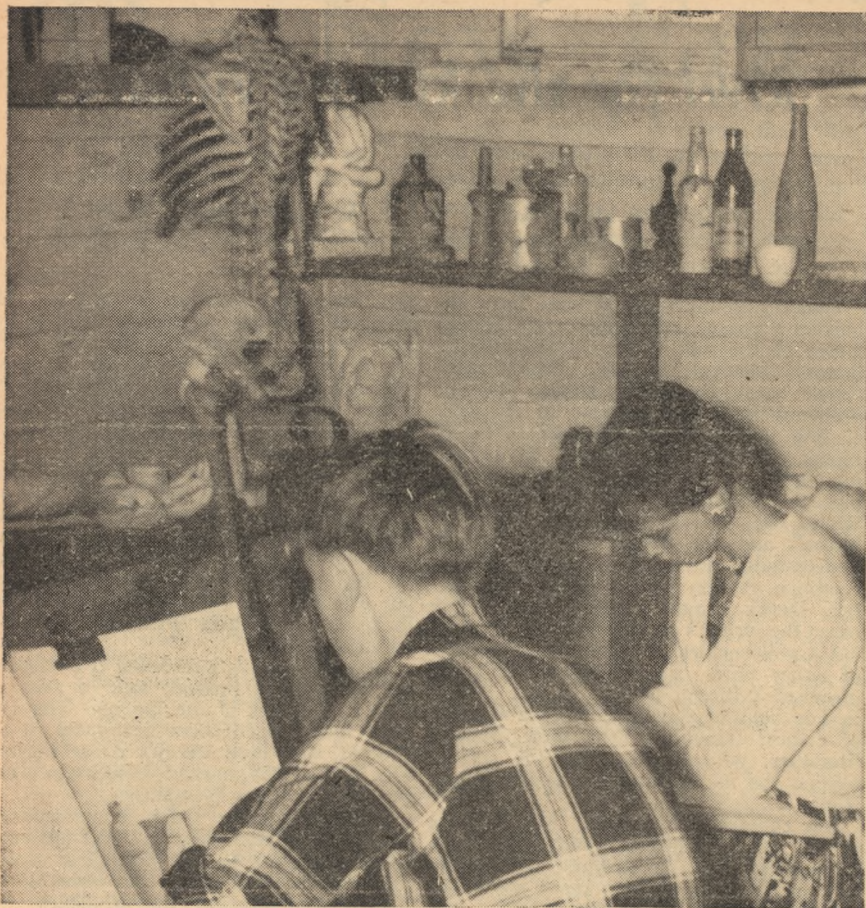
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### "It couldn't be worse."

I opened the door as far as possible, squeezed in, and paused a moment until my eyes became accustomed to the gloom. "This is the 'dungeon' or still-life room", volunteered my guide. I murmured a reply and thought to myself that perhaps Princes St. wasn't so bad after all. At least you could see what you were doing in most of the rooms. It seems that no faculty can escape the problem of overcrowding.

However, students at the Elam School of Fine Arts have more troubles than many. In a building where light and space should be plentiful, conditions are to say the least, discouraging.

Painting students have been hit hardest of all. Their life room, likened to the 'black hole of Calcutta,' is dull and dreary, with facilities for models almost non-existent.

At the time of *Craccum's* visit there had been no model for two weeks and it appeared that this was not uncommon. And altho' the staff take into account the delay in work, the students feel it is a very unsatisfactory situation.

Of the three departments, Sculpture is the most severely overcrowded. Due to lack of space, finished work is stored in odd corners and passages with the result that it is often chipped and broken. Rooms are brighter tho' as students have redecorated them with paint supplied.

The main design room was done-up recently but altho' it has the most light of any room it is cold to work in. Best section of the school seems to be the library, which all students agree is very good indeed.

One student summed up the general feeling as; "To me this course is a personal thing and the work done is the expression of each individual. But what comes out of the school must be inspired by the school. These morbid surroundings do not lead to work being produced. There is just no incentive."

Common complaint among students is the lighting. Having never been intended for an art school there are few windows anyway, and because of leaks some have had to be boarded up. During winter afternoons the light is sometimes so poor that work has to stop.

However, not all students are discouraged by the lack of upkeep on the buildings. A third-year said, "To me personally the surroundings make no difference at all. The work we're turning out can be turned out under any conditions, given the equipment. But equipment is lacking in certain fields. Not enough is spent on Elam compared to other faculties."

Another student claimed that many secondary schools had more equipment than Elam. Others thought there was mis-spending of what money was made available.

Elam students also feel that their isolated position stops them from leading a normal university life. First year students arrive full of enthusiasm, join clubs, attend meetings etc., but most soon give up the struggle. They have their own common room which, altho' small, is pleasantly decorated with displays of student work, but they can make little use of the amenities available to the student body.

Bright spot in the future may be the forthcoming move. The present site at Newton West is Army ground and Elam must leave. It is assumed the school will probably return to Symonds St., to a site behind St. Paul's Cathedral. In one student's opinion, "It will have to be better, it couldn't be worse." —W.R.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

The problem of our generation is not one of whether or not we should be communists. Even the clique of braves who broke up the Lebanon Protest Meeting were communists in the sense that they owed allegiance to a State in which it is accepted that poverty is the responsibility of society and there should be no exploitation of class by class. The problem therefore is not one of Communism or Anti-Communism; it resolves itself into a question of what sort of Communism we should have. This article is an attempt to answer this question.

In the West, the major part of the substance of the ideal of a classless society has been realised, while the theory of the application of this idea has been left undeveloped or ignored. In the East, the theory of the classless society, Marxism, has finally emerged from its original obscurity and, to some extent, has been applied, but the substance of a classless society is further away from the working class than ever. This is at once the tragedy and the point of departure of the contemporary world. The tragedy, because although it means that Communism has emerged as probably the greatest influence on human thinking and human behaviour that has ever existed, has been effectively prevented, because of this very fact, from playing an effective part in the drama of the world politics. The point of departure, because it means that there is a major force for good imminent in the tortuous convulsions of world events that may yet be utilised for the benefit of mankind.

Let us justify ourselves a little. In the West, we have — at least to some extent — democracy; a system, one of whose avowed aims is representation of the whole people, and not one particular class of people, and which has succeeded in carrying out at least part of this egalitarian ideal by inaugurating a redistribution of wealth which, if not radical, is far superior to the distribution under laissez-faire capitalism which democracy has supplanted. But the successes of democracy are economic, not political: that is, the "power elites", the insiders, the "establishments" of respectabilities, as appalling as they are ludicrous, which proliferate in all democracies so far conceived, have pressure-grouped their working class into selling its guns to secure its butter. Because the working class has only achieved power inside democracies which still remain a minimal fraction of the geographic extent of the globe, its hold on the economic salvation it has not too strenuously gained is rather precarious. For Capitalism — the "laissez-faire" Victorian variety of the species — has done its dash in the West: it has reached the point at which it can feed the West; and the West, relieved of the poverty that compelled to tolerate Capitalism in the first place, has compelled Capitalism to change its nature and feed the working class it formerly exploited. But in the less fortunate areas there has been no Capitalism; there have been no productive resources, there has been no large-scale production; so there has been a total inability to distribute any such production equitably. Capitalism has historically tried to produce to fill the most urgent human needs in the most efficient possible manner (so as to reap the largest possible profit); but the arbitrary suspension of Capitalism in the West, in the interest of the working class in the West, and the West alone, has left millions in Asia, and elsewhere in want with no productive machinery sufficient to alleviate that want.

Capitalism has died before due time; its death serves the interest of the few, not the many. The few benefit from its death, not because of any useful function they serve, but purely because they were born into a certain geographic area; they constitute a privileged, but useless class, a labour aristocracy, whose wealth depends in the last analysis on the force they use to retain it. Democracy's characteristic product, as it exists today, is: War. And this because it was never based on any but empirical principles: on giving the moon to those who tried for it most effectively and immediately. It ignored the fact that this meant basing social reform on a privileged working class. And it also ignored the fact, in consequence, that this, like all other class societies, could only be its own grave danger.

The East, too, arose out of 19th Century laissez-faire capitalism; out of its search for markets which was distinctively international. It was from the contradiction inherent in this search between

the twin facts that to preserve capitalist investments abroad capitalism had to uphold feudal and reactionary regimes, while for there to be an international bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisies had to be created, that led to the upsurge of Russian Communism. The Russian bourgeoisie could only take power with the alliance of the Russian working class, the only other force against capitalist imperialism. Its alliance could only be secured through the adoption of a socialist mode of ownership, which was nullified as a force for social progress through the political control of social property by the bourgeoisie, who escaped the revolutionary implications of Communism by imposing a dogmatic interpretation of it upon their people.

We see that animosity between East and West, therefore, is generated by non-socialist forces, despite the fact that both depend on some sort of working-class alliance with the ruling-class for survival. Democracy in the West constantly fears war; therefore, it constantly suspects the East of aggressive designs. Stalinism in the East depends on an ideology which its rulers do not understand for its existence; therefore, it interprets world events in the light of a distortion of a theory of class struggle and fears western aggression, even where the weakness of capitalist countries makes this impossible. In neither case is there animosity because of socialism: it is because Socialism has been distorted that there arises the threat of nuclear war. We spoke of a tragedy; and this is surely a tragedy that the partial progress towards a truly human society should lead East and West to view the world in purely illusory, dangerous, deceptive, and just plain wrong terms. But we also spoke of a point of departure: and it is surely this, that we can see both East and West have failed because they failed to see that no national working-class can build socialism; that if they do, they become the catpaws of a national bourgeoisie, or create a new and destructively reactionary class society. Marx and Engels wrote "workers of the world unite": of the world, because capitalism is international and socialism therefore to be progressive must also be international. A particularist Socialism is inconceivable in our day; the only alternative to international Socialism is international nuclear suicide.

—O. J. GAGER.

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