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DEMOCRACY —

A definition

We live under a democratic system yet the nature of this is seldom questioned. This article is an attempt to provide a closer definition of democracy.

If democracy means no more than getting the backing of a majority vote, then both Nazi Germany and Russia could claim to be democracies — for both Hitler and Stalin secured almost unanimous approval for their policies in a number of plebiscites they conducted. Nor will it do to accept the Communist argument that the test of a democratic regime is to ask whether it is being run in the interests of the people (the people as a whole, of course, not just the interests of property-owners, as they allege is the case in the West). Who is to decide what these interests of the people are, and in particular which needs are most urgent? A heaven-sent leader like Hitler, or a self-appointed "vanguard of the working class"? If so, what becomes of the belief that democracy is "government by the people" as well as "for the people"? And the repeated assertion by subject peoples that good government (in whatever sense of good) is no substitute for self government?

CHOICE

No one in his senses would claim, of course, that in our large-scale, complex, industrialised societies, decision-making and the actual carrying out of policy can be left to the ordinary rank-and-file members of the public. But these ordinary folk do (in a democracy) claim the right to choose, and if necessary to dismiss, the leaders who govern in their name. To choose, and if a choice is to be at all genuine, alternatives must be available.

This implies quite a lot (very little of which was available in Nazi Germany or is to be found even yet in Soviet Russia or in the so-called People's Democracies in Eastern Europe). First of all, it means rival candidates, belonging to competing political parties (not just a list of names from the one and only legal party). Next, opportunity for these candidates to canvas support and to criticise those in office. This implies a free press (with access to paper supplies and machines), the right to hold meetings (access to halls), to stage demonstrations, and to agitate through voluntary associations of all kinds.

DEMOCRATIC VALUES

This is the sort of context that determines the nature of a government. This is the grain of truth in the saying that, in the long run, a people gets the government it "deserves". A government, by and large, is a reflection of the community it serves — its general social institutions and traditions and habits of mind, and if a government is to be democratic the community itself must share democratic beliefs and aspirations and values. What are these values?

Democracy is, at bottom, I think, a point of view, or scale of values, which results in a way of life. It starts from a respect for human personalities, a belief that human beings should be regarded as ends in themselves, not mere tools to achieve the ends or purposes of a privileged and powerful few, or sacrificed to some myth of national glory (as with Mussolini) or racial dominance (as with Hitler) or historical mission (as with Lenin, Stalin and their successors). Such a belief, in the importance of ordinary individual people, has (if taken seriously and given more than lip-service) quite revolutionary implications.

OBJECTS

It means that the principal object of government should be to increase the happiness (or general well-being) of people. It means that everyone has an equal right to share in this happiness. Democracy implies that all citizens have equal rights, or equal claims on the good things of life (cultural as well as material, leisure time as well as money income) which society is organised to produce.

UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE

It implies, next, a universal franchise and representative system of government. Unless everyone is able to express his needs, and press his claims on the political authorities, exploitation is bound to occur. Privileged groups come, sooner or later, to define social welfare in terms which entrench their own privileges. Even when free from corruption and dishonesty, they suffer from a fatal self-sufficiency. An aristocracy of birth, or of wealth, or of creed (as with the Marxists) is inaccessible to ideas which originate from outside its own ranks. Such ideas are regarded as unimportant if urged tactfully and patiently, and as dangerous if urged with vigour and determination. In neither case are they listened to, or heeded.

To express their needs and grievances, people must have freedom of speech and be able to participate in public affairs. Everyone should not only enjoy the right, but feel it as a duty, to participate in the unending give-and-take of public discussion, by which content is given to the vague notion of "the

common weal" (or the public interest). A democrat not merely tolerates, but insists on, an organised Opposition in Parliament, and is concerned to maintain the freedom and independence of the press (and, in appropriate ways, of other mass media). For it is only from the free play of minds and the clash of openly-asserted claims that the one-sidedness of particular views can be revealed, and a measure of common agreement (or consensus) discovered and worked out.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of discussion in a democracy is thus to find something out, not simply to register consent, as in a plebiscite. Just as in science criticism is invited, and welcomed, as the way in which truth can be reached (or at least steadily approximated), so critics of government are regarded, in a genuine democracy, not as traitors but as contributors to a wise and just social policy — a policy which needs, of course, endless adjustment to changing circumstances.

The logic of my argument thus runs: from

RESPECT to EQUALITY to LIBERTY to PARTICIPATION.

This whole approach is based on a number of assumptions, some of which are hotly disputed. The basic assumption — that concerning respect for human personality — I know no way of justifying. You just do, or you don't respect other people. Christians, of course, feel entitled to speak of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God, but from my reading of history (especially the treatment of freethinking heretics, not to mention organised religious wars) their religious faith doesn't seem to give them much advantage over agnostics and disbelievers.

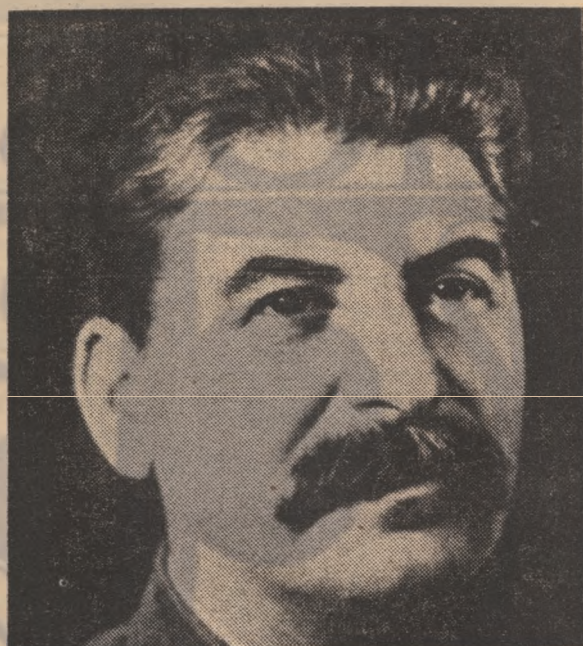
Apart from this basic one, there a number of other assumptions in democracy, about which opinions differ considerably. At the risk of paradox, democrats can, I believe, be described as humble optimists, and authoritarians as arrogant pessimists. You might expect the optimists to be more cocksure and arrogant than the pessimists. But democrats are humble enough to admit that final truth has not been revealed to them; that mistakes are almost inevitable in government; and that injustice will remain unremedied unless the victims are allowed to raise their voices in protest. But they are optimistic enough to believe that ordinary persons, or the common man, has got something to contribute to public affairs, if only it can be got out of him; that he is capable of learning from experience, and from his own mistakes, when entrusted with self-government; and that he will grow in mental and moral stature when he is entrusted with responsibility — and so justify J. S. Mill's belief that participation in public affairs is the greatest of all forms of education.

As against this, the authoritarian arrogantly asserts the possession, by a few, of truths which must not be criticised; claims a divine mission, or an appointment with destiny; and is scornful and pessimistic about common human nature, and its possibilities of improvement. In one respect, at least, the optimistic democrat seems more hard-headed and realistic about human nature than the pessimistic authoritarian. This is in his anticipation of the effects of power on those who wield it. I argued above that any privileged few is likely to suffer from a "fatal self-sufficiency" even if it remains honest and uncorrupted. That's a very big IF. Democrats are very dubious about the ability of ordinary mortals to withstand the temptations of power. Lord Acton expressed this conviction in his famous dictum that "all power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely," and the only effective check on this tendency to corruption, the democrat believes, is to make it "responsible" — that is make those who wield it answerable to the people over whom it is exercised — by means of a mandate, to be renewed periodically.

A number of writers think that democracy amounts to no more than this periodical approval (or disapproval) of the actions of their political leaders, if only because of the highly technical and complicated nature of the problems faced by modern governments. I, personally, would not accept this limitation, if only because it denies that "participation" in public affairs that I have argued is — or at least should be — one of the distinguishing features of democracy.

RESPONSIBILITY

Democracy is, however, not likely to function successfully in the absence of certain emotional or psychological pre-requisites. The first is a willingness to give one's attention to public affairs and to accept some responsibility for policy-making. Democracy has far too many "fair-weather friends", who cry out for a political saviour (a heaven-sent Leader with a capital L) when things go wrong, so that he can relieve them of the burden of decision-making.



Democrats I have known



TOLERANCE

A second pre-requisite is a tolerant disposition, a willingness to compromise, to "live and let live". The historical record (in Europe at least) shows how exceedingly difficult it is to establish tolerant habits of mind. Most communities have shown themselves prepared (indeed, almost eager) to kill and torture their members for the slightest departure from orthodox beliefs — whether political, religious or moral. Even in countries where toleration has been established over long periods, it is difficult to maintain — witness the hysteria of McCarthyism in America and some of the extremist groups who backed Goldwater for President. Toleration and reasonableness quickly disappear once a person, or a community, become thoroughly scared and suspicious.

This suggests a third pre-requisite, namely an underlying agreement (or consensus as it is called) within a community — a mutual trust and confidence in each other, an assumption of a basic loyalty shared by contending parties and groups. Political parties, it is said, can afford to bicker only because, and only so long as, there is, underlying their differences, an agreement on certain fundamentals. Even when there are profound differences between the parties (on matters about which men feel passionately, such as the rights of private property say), the community will hold together if beneath even these differences there is an agreement on procedure, on how to handle differences, by constitutional methods rather than by an appeal to force. Democracy is threatened only when the intensity of differences within a community is so great that the contending parties become fanatical, or not prepared to "live and let live", abandon all constitutional restraints and are prepared to resort to civil war. This lack of an underlying sense of community is one of the chief threats to the newly-established regimes in Asia and Africa.

There are, no doubt, many other pre-requisites for democracy. But perhaps the three I have outlined have been sufficient to show that it involves far more than a satisfactory electoral system. It is a form of society (and a spirit of animating that society) as well as a form of government and a method of government. It is this spirit, this scale of values, which will determine the content and purpose of the policy pursued by successive governments, and about the priorities embodied in such policies we shall continue to wrangle — as good democrats, of course.

Hon Dit, Friday, March 20, 1968

ELECTION RESULTS

NOTE! Societies' rep. results are not yet confirmed but Mr Wynyard has applied for a re-election.

Social Controller		Societies' Representative	
T. Shadbolt	1078	M. Whattely	572
A. Waite	508	J. Wynyard	558
(Miss J. Smith withdrew before polling began).		B. MacLean	276
House Committee Chairman		Publications' Officer	
R. de Rijk	791	M. Volkerling (unopposed).	
A. Liddell	717	Public Relations' Officer	
		A. Farr (unopposed).	
Student Liaison Officer		Capping Controller	
C. Battley	664	J. Farrier (unopposed).	
W. Puru	807	Business Manager	
		T. Quinn (unopposed).	

Only one of the portfolio holders has served on exec. before. He is Mr T. Quinn, who was elected business manager at the beginning of this year.

WYNYARD CALLS FOR RE-ELECTION

Four Positions Unopposed

Unsuccessful societies' rep. candidate John Wynyard has called for a new election for the position. Mr Wynyard was defeated by Ausapocpah candidate Michael Whattely by the narrow margin of 14 votes.

According to returning officer

Vaughan Preece there were 1671 votes cast yet only 1634 have been accounted for. At the time of going to press administration staff were still engaged in the lengthy task of checking the electoral rolls against the actual votes cast and removing double votes.

According to students who observed the voting procedure double voting was common and one CRACCUM staff member picked up a pile of ballot papers that were blowing around the quad in

the student union building.

Under the second schedule of the constitution Mr Wynyard's application will have to be approved by 2/3rds of the executive. However, Mr McCormick said that because of the obvious inconsistencies in the voting he would recommend to the executive that they do accept it.

It is thought that the other unsuccessful candidate, Mr Barry McLean, will withdraw from the contest.

BASSETT SPEAKS ON NATIONAL PARTY

In a recent address to a meeting of the Auckland University National Club, Labour historian Dr Michael Bassett, said that in his opinion, the prime failure of the National Party was an inability to recognise the three principal movements in 20th century New Zealand history.

These three movements, he suggested, were the drift to urban living from the rural areas with its consequent effects on employment patterns, the development of welfare statism, and in the international sphere, the rise of independence movements throughout the world.

"Towards these developments," said Dr Bassett, "the National Party has maintained a defiant stand. It has continually found itself out of step with these developments."

Dr Bassett strongly criticised the influence that the farming community had on the National Party, suggesting that this gave sanction by default to gun-boat diplomats and white Rhodesia supporters.

He later agreed that activists in both Labour and National were often the extremists. As evidence of his assertion that National was "slow-witted in both the primary and secondary industry fields" Dr Bassett cited National's opposition to the Guaranteed Price Scheme introduced by Labour in 1936.

He said that National did not have the sense to realise that this move favoured National's supporters more than it did Labour's.

Dr Bassett contended that National had done much to undermine what Labour had begun: that it had tried to destroy the welfare state.

He said that under a National administration it could be expected that Social Security benefits would remain at a static level.

"Monetary payments of \$60 million in 1958," said Dr Bassett, "had risen to \$94 million in 1961, but in the next six years of National Government only increased a further \$8 million."

"It seems that the National Party is content when it keeps spending at the same level."

Dr Bassett contended that New Zealand, once a world leader in welfare statism, had now fallen far behind many other countries.

"It was obvious," he said "that the National Party had never appreciated the arguments behind the welfare state in the first place."

"The National Party has never been politically strong enough to attack the welfare state, but has never managed to improve it either."

Dr Bassett said he believed that it was possible to make an equally strong condemnation of the National Party in the international sphere.

He suggested that the movements of nationalism and the breakdown of empire had bypassed the understanding of the National Party, and this explained their lack of foreign policy.

"Men of limited ideas, the National Party, instead of ferretting for ideas and policies,



attempted to turn the clock back."

Holland, said Dr Bassett, understood Suez "not at all."

Such attitudes had led to an inflexibility in foreign policy. It was an inflexibility bred out of ignorance. Coupled with all too little learning, such policies had placed New Zealand in a dangerous and invidious position in South-east Asia.

"The ideas of the National Party," said Dr Bassett, "have nothing to offer New Zealand which is socially valuable and a great deal that is dangerous."

"The National Party has contributed nothing of moment to twentieth century New Zealand history, and is unlikely to make a dynamic contribution to the future of the country."

New Education Vice-president

Peter Rosier, a law student from Canterbury, has been elected education Vice-President of NZUSA.

Mr Rosier, who has graduated LLB and presently studying for his LLM and tutoring in law, fills the vacancy left by the resignation of Miss Edna Tait.

Asked about the work he sees entailed in his office Mr Rosier, a former education officer of the Canterbury Students' Association, said: "At the moment I am involved in carrying out the directions of Easter Council which in the main part are undone and which have to be done by August. This is just about a full-time job until then."

"At the moment we are preparing submissions for the National Development Conference and these have to be in by August 28."

"We are also preparing a case for increased bursaries in conjunction with Victoria for the consideration of council which will decide when and if the case will be presented."

"In addition we are preparing a new pamphlet on the bond to replace the much criticised Beware of the Bond publication. It will cover all bonding systems, but will still centre on the teaching bond as this is the most invidious one. The present pamphlet is very emotional and not particularly



valuable. Its lack of objectivity often denies it entry into schools where it is most required," said Mr Rosier.

"After August we hope to have a full-time education research officer who will enable NZUSA to present far more convincing arguments and furthermore undertake far more work than is possible with the part-time nature of the education vice-president."

McCORMICK RESIGNS

Under a Cloud?

Students' association president, Ross McCormick has resigned.

His letter of resignation was handed to the administrative secretary, Mr V. Preece, late on Wednesday, July 31. It was made public the next morning.

Both Mr Preece and vice-president, Gary Gottlieb, tried to dissuade McCormick from resigning, but he insisted that he had no intention of further serving the association.

The letter gives no reason for the resignation. It does, however, ask the secretary to advise various people of the meetings which McCormick will not be attending.

These include tonight's annual general meeting.

Craccum attempted to contact McCormick for comments on the resignation, but was informed by a flatmate that the ex-president had gone hunting and would not be available for a week.

Executive discussed the resignation last Thursday. On the motion of Malcolm Calder, it resolved to accept Mr McCormick's resignation as president.

No formal expressions of regret were recorded at the meeting.

Engineering representative, Phil Salt, then moved that the executive do express its disapproval of the form and manner of McCormick's resignation.

He said that with just a few weeks left in office, McCormick's action was a betrayal of the association and of those who had supported him. "In a way," said Salt, "he took on a contract. This he has broken."

The motion was seconded by Anne Waters and supported by other members. Mac Price said that McCormick's failure to give reasons for his action was an insult to both the executive and the association.

Vice-president Sue Wootton opposed the motion and said that a personal letter from the executive to McCormick would be a better course of action.

Business manager, Terry Quinn, said that since the letter had been received, certain papers had come to light (they were found in McCormick's desk) which would allow the clarification of a number of issues.

"If this happens," said Mr Quinn, "it is probably a good thing for the association that he has resigned."

The motion of disapproval was passed 6-5. Those for were Messrs



Salt, Law, Price, Calder and Anderson, and Miss Waters. Those against were Messrs Liddell, Johnston, Ruzio-Saban and Quinn, and Miss Wootton.

Prior to his resignation, McCormick had made statements to at least two members of the executive which gave no hint of any intention to resign.

Speculation that he made the decision following a "roasting" at the interest meeting addressed by NZUSA president, John McGrath, is unlikely to be ever confirmed.

It is, however, believed that McCormick was surprised by the attitudes of several prominent students over the NZUSA affair, and that he felt that opposition in strength from such people left his position as president untenable.

It has been suggested in some quarters that the executive's criticism of his resignation can be interpreted as an expression of the lessening confidence they and other students had in the former president.

McCormick stated two days before his resignation that he considered himself more popular with students now than when he had been elected.

Kevin Berry, whom McCormick had defeated for the presidency last year and who has been a constant critic of McCormick, commented, "My first reaction was disappointment. It (the resignation) came at a time when people are either praising a president for what he has done, or heaping criticism on him for inactivity."

"I think the resignation at this late stage speaks for itself."

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NEW COUNSELLOR FOR UNIVERSITY

Services Prove Popular

"There has been plenty of work to justify the appointment of a second counsellor," says Mr Quentin Brew, who joined Mrs Lorna McLay as student counsellor at the beginning of the year.

Mr Brew, who has an MA in education from Canterbury, said

his interest in counselling began when he was a fresher himself.

"Going through the turmoil of enrolment week," he said, "made me realise the need for help in adjusting to university life."

After graduating, Mr Brew spent 20 years as district psychologist in

the department of education's psychological service in Wellington. In 1966-67 he worked as a clinical psychologist in Baltimore, United States.

They both have comfortable rooms in the ex-grocer's shop just down from the Engineering School in Grafton Rd.

Mr Brew regrets the fact that many students still think they have to have something wrong with them before they go and see him or Mrs McLay.

"But many of the people who benefit from the counselling service," he said, "are among the cream of the university — they are academically successful and many have played a prominent part in student affairs."

"Often students come," he continued, "not because something is wrong, but because they are facing an important decision and appreciate an objective listener who can help them sort out their own ideas on the matter."

"Besides this," he said, "the sort of concerns that are most commonly brought up by students are such things as difficulty in concentration on university work, uncertainty as to the purpose and use of their studies, the need to discuss such general things as their whole outlook on life and naturally, personal relationships with other students, family and so on."

"And some," he added, "simply seem to like talking to our rather attractive receptionist, Elaine Walker..."

• The phone number of the Student Counselling Service has been changed. It is now 30-060, extension 596 and 595. Both Mr Brew and Mrs McLay are available at any time during the week.

—George de Bres

BOOKS AND INFORMATION MEDIA

Books are used for recreation, education, information, communication, and their importance in every day life to us all is daily growing more apparent.

Hardly any community is without its library even if it only arrives in a van at intervals, the necessity for people to have access to books is universally recognised. Here in New Zealand we are particularly well served from school days on.

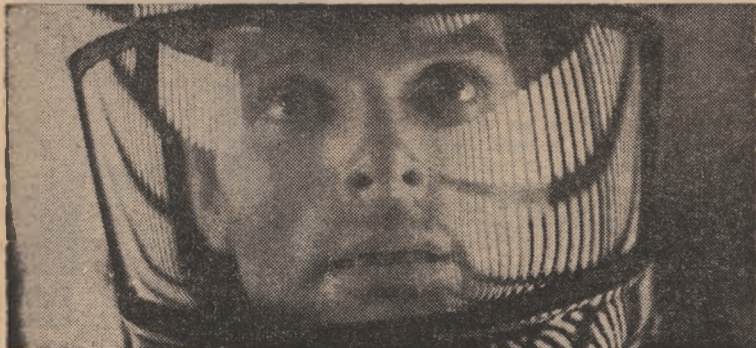
The profession of Librarian is an interesting one for it necessitates meeting a great variety of people and ensures a rewarding occupation. The work itself is very varied and has many

opportunities for advancement whilst the importance of the contribution towards education cannot be emphasised too strongly.

Each year the Library School in Wellington holds a one year diploma course for graduates who receive generous living allowances while attending. On satisfactory completion of the course the students are qualified librarians with a field of secure, varied and important employment open to them.

Why not inquire now about the course by writing to: National Library of New Zealand, Graduate Course, Private Bag, Wellington.

— Advertisement —



MGM PRESENTS A STANLEY KUBRICK PRODUCTION

2001: a space odyssey

SUPER PANAVISION CINERAMA METROCOLOR

STARRING KEIR DULLEA, GARY LOCKWOOD

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PRODUCED AND DIRECTED BY STANLEY KUBRICK

STARTS FRIDAY!

BOOK NOW AT THEATRE (Y)

AT AMALGAMATED'S
CINERAMA

ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS

"Canta" reporters, always responsive to the news media, were interested to hear on Radio Peking that 18,000 students and workers marched on the American imperialists' base at Christchurch Airport on Tuesday night, and on Friday 8,500,000 marched through the square of Christchurch protesting against the subjugation of Nationalist Government lackeys by the decadent Imperialist Yankee warmongers.



Mr Quentin Brew

It's furiously fast...
it's funny... it's a
farce of confused love affairs
and mistaken identity

"A FLEA IN HER EAR"

by Georges Feydeau (translated by John Mortimer) the great success of a recent National Theatre season in London, opens at the Mercury on

Wednesday, August 14

Evenings: Wednesdays to Saturdays, 8.15 p.m.

Matinees: Saturday 2.15 p.m.

Prices: 75c, \$1.00, \$1.20, \$1.50.

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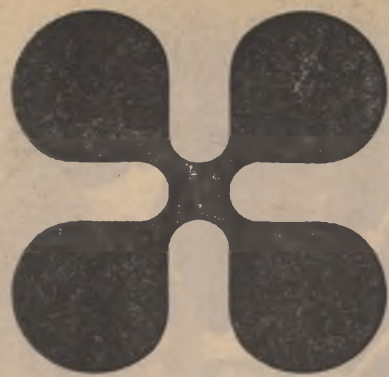
CAPPING BOOK EDITOR 1969

Applications must be submitted to the Publications Officer,
by August 7, 1968.

CLUBS and SOCIETIES

Copy is requested for
ORIENTATION HANDBOOK 1969

500-word articles must be submitted to
Mr Michael Law by August 7, 1968



ARTS FESTIVAL

Auckland is this year host to the tenth annual New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival to be held from August 12 to 17.

The arts festival is the major interuniversity cultural event, and will this year bring more than 800 participants and spectators to Auckland from all the other universities in the country.

A very comprehensive programme has been arranged by the festival controller, Malcolm Calder, and his committees. This will cover all aspects of the arts including a few which are slightly less than orthodox.

The accent of the New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival is on participation. As one festival controller commented some years ago, it should be regarded "more as a seminar, than as a lecture."

The purpose of the festival is to encourage the arts in the universities of New Zealand, and to provide students with the opportunities to participate, and to meet others with whom they can discuss ideas and experiences.

At the same time, adequate provision is made for those who want simply to look and listen.

The festival will run for a week from Sunday, August 11, and will be officially opened by His Worship the Mayor on the Monday afternoon.

Guest speaker at the opening ceremony will be Anthony Richardson, artistic director of the Mercury Theatre.

Arts festival controller Malcolm Calder told Craccum that he thinks this festival has something to offer everyone.

"I will be very disappointed," he said, "if Auckland students are apathetic toward the festival and thus miss their opportunities to enjoy all that is good in university cultural circles."

Arts Festival Unorthodox

Scattered through the programme for the New Zealand Universities' Arts Festival to be held in Auckland from August 12-17 are a number of quite unorthodox events.

The bandstand in Albert Park (which was saved from a red, white and blue paint job during Capping week by the vigilance of a security man), will be the venue for two of these unorthodoxies.

On Monday, August 11, at 11.0 a.m., an open air jazz and modern dance concert will be held there for the benefit of pigeons and passers-by.

Poetry readers will occupy the bandstand from midnight on Thursday, August 15. The programme for this event is both informal and spontaneous, with performers reciting anything they like.

Midnight poetry readings are now an established feature of the annual arts festival. Last year in Christchurch, author Maurice Shadbolt nearly brought Cathedral Square to a standstill with his renditions from the base of the Godley statue.

He was followed by well-known Aucklanders Richard Northey reading mellifluously and rhythmically from the works of Terence P. McLean.

More serious, but equally unusual, is the telegraphic chess competition to be held between a New Zealand Universities' team

and a combined team from the universities in Sydney.

This match will be played via the transman Compac cable on Sunday, August 11. The Auckland team will play from the student union.

Devotees of the philosophies of Winnie the Pooh have been disappointed at the attitude of the Auckland Harbour Bridge Authority in refusing permission for the use of their bridge as a stage for a Pooh sticks contest.

Undaunted, however, they are arranging an evening of readings from the works of Pooh's writer, A. A. Milne.

These will be held in the student union building. The organisers hope to provide free honey for all those attending.

Often maligned for their drinking capacities, students are also skilled in the art. The annual drinking horn will draw teams and individuals from all over New Zealand. Skill and speed are the attributes in this contest, and not capacity.

Eight ounce glasses regularly disappear in half a second during this contest. Spillage of 10 per cent or more always brings demands for redrinks.

These are a few of the light-hearted events on the arts festival programme. Competitors in these events are usually attending the festival in some other capacity.

The full programme extends in activity from debating to drama, sculpture to singing, films to folk singing, and so on. The 1968 festival will be one of the best organised ever, and will bring students from all over to New Zealand.

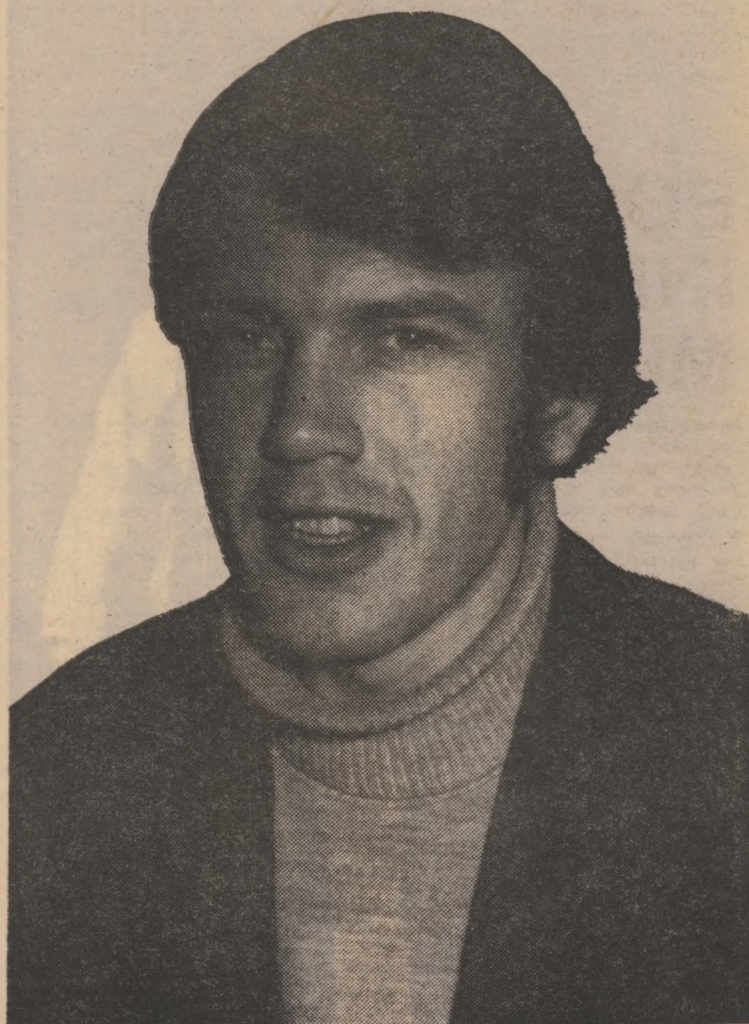
UNDERDOGS FOR FREAKOUT

Festival controller Malcolm Calder confirmed today that the Underdogs, New Zealand's top blues group, will be playing at Festival Freakout.

This group has built a strong name for itself over the last couple of years right throughout the country. Recently the Underdogs came out of temporary retirement to spread their message again. Freakout will be one of the first occasions when the group have played for a whole function. Since their retirement they have relied largely on spots but at Freakout they will play for a full five hours.

Mr Calder also said that arrangements have been completed for full psychedelic lighting arrangements. This will include the latest Xenon black-light flasher from America which pulsates 40 times a second. In addition the conventional psychedelic moving coloured patterns will be featured.

Rumours have been heard that incense will be burnt throughout the Freakout. Mr Calder confirmed these and said that this was yet another attempt to give Freakout an atmosphere of its own. He said this would place Freakout on a completely different level to the usual university function and could well make it a highlight of the Festival.



Malcolm Calder, Arts Festival controller.

FINE ARTS

The Fine Arts Exhibition for this year's Universities Arts Festival is being held in the common rooms of the Student Union Building from Monday, August 12, to Saturday, August 17.

The opening will be held on Sunday, August 11, in the afternoon. Air New Zealand have taken a very close interest in the fine arts section and are presenting "The Air New Zealand-Universities Art Award" which will consist of two return tickets to Australia for the creators of the most outstanding painting and piece of sculpture. The trips for the winners will probably take place during the last two weeks of the August vacation.

This will be an opportunity for promising young New Zealand artists to view the work of their contemporaries in Australia. They

will be billeted in Sydney and Melbourne.

The winning painting and piece of sculpture will be purchased by the Auckland University Students' Association and will be part of a permanent exhibition in the Student Union Building. Other works, however, will all be available for sale to private collectors or for institutions.

The judges for the awards are three well-known Auckland men, very much concerned with the visual arts: Mr Pat Hanley, Mr Kees Hos and Mr Rodney Kirk Smith.

Most of the work will be from the School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury (Ilam), the School of Fine Arts, University of Auckland (Elam) and some works from Otago, Victoria and Massey Universities.



BEDS WANTED

Eight hundred students from all over New Zealand will be coming to Auckland for arts festival.

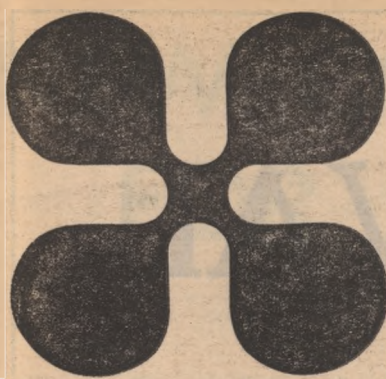
Billeting controller Michael Law is therefore seeking about eight hundred beds or other places for people to rest their weary heads.

Traditionally, billetors are only expected to provide a place to sleep; there is no obligation to provide food which will be available at university.

Billeting is not hard work, and allows people to make new friends from all over the country.

In addition, concession rates to all arts festival events are available for billetors.

If you can help, contact Mike Law as soon as possible or leave a note in the arts festival office.



DRAMA

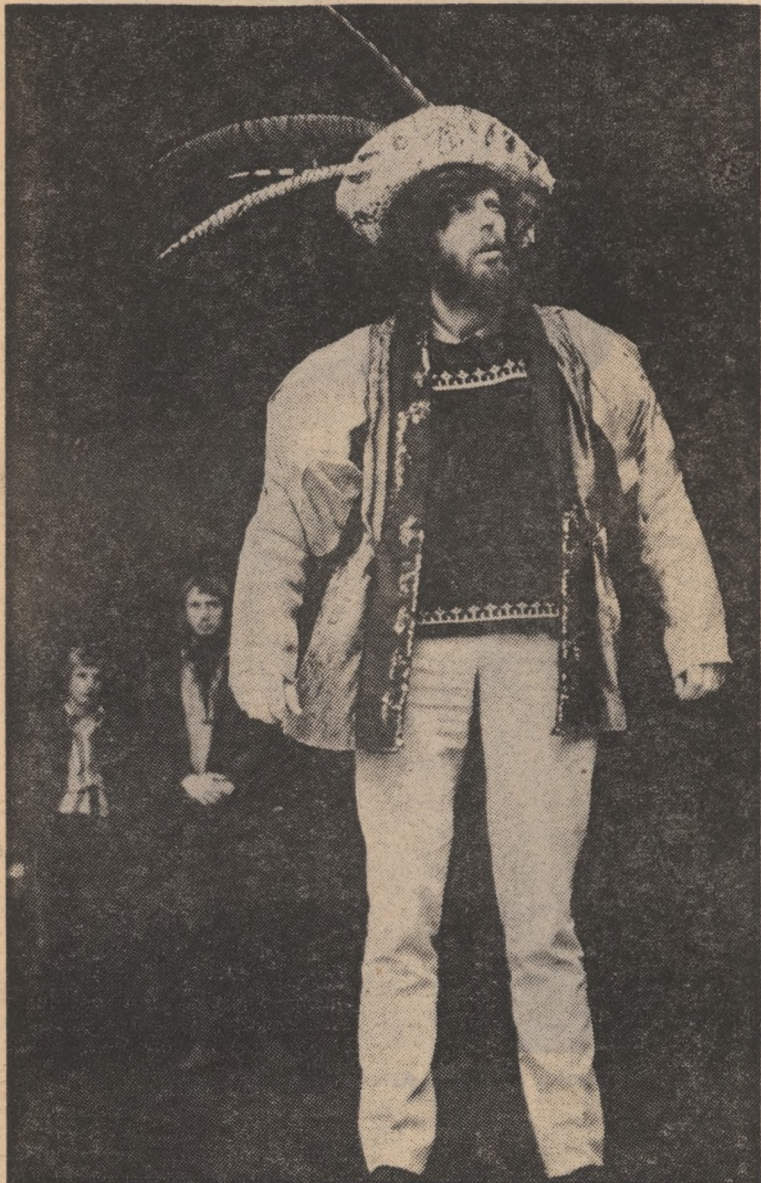
Adjudicator for the Drama section of Festival will be Ronald H. Barker, a well-known and respected figure in the New Zealand drama world.

He came to New Zealand ten years ago as director for C.A.S. Theatre and for five years organised professional theatre in the

Auckland Province. He was the first director in the Southern Hemisphere to produce the works of Beckett, Ionesco, Pinter and Osborne. He also directed productions of Shakespeare, Shaw, Chekov, Synge, Barrie, James, Iorca and Sartre as well as opera which included Purcell's Dido and Aeneas and the first performances in the hemisphere of Monteverdi's Orfeo and Stravinsky's The Soldier's Tale. The first performance of Allen Curnow's Moonsection was also given.

Before coming to New Zealand Ronald Barker spent his entire life in the theatre as stage director, producer, manager, lecturer and critic. He was stage director in the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, under Lord Keynes and with G. H. W. Rylands, manager and director for H. M. Tennent, lecturer at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art and the Old Vic Theatre School. He has directed plays in London, the English provinces, Paris, Brussels and Berlin. He has been dramatic critic for the London Review, London Evening News and founder editor of Plays and Players.

His adaptations include the Russian Liza by Turgenev, The Idiot and The Brothers Karamazov by Dostoevsky, new translations of Chekov's The Seagull and Uncle Vanya. From the French, Don't Trifle with Love by de Musset, The Just by Albert Camus, Intermezzo by Giraudoux. Recent work is an adaptation of a novel by Simenon for the theatre, and a new play and a TV play.



CHESS

An international chess match via the transman Compac cable will be the main feature of the chess section of Arts Festival.

A New Zealand Universities team will play a combined team from the three Sydney universities.

In this historic contest the New Zealand team will play from the executive lounge of the student union, starting at noon on Sunday, August 11.

Other attractions in chess will be the tournaments, the chess exhibition and the match with the Auckland Chess Centre.



FILMS

Work by student film makers will be a feature of the films section of the Universities' Arts Festival to be held during the first week of the August vacation.

It is believed that more than a dozen student films will be available for screening during the week.

The standard of such films at previous arts festivals has been high, and after last year's festival at Christchurch one of the contestants was awarded a bursary to study at the Royal College of Art.

The screening of a number of famous documentaries will also be a major attraction of the films festival. These include "Far From Vietnam," "Paris Belongs to Us," and "Chronicles of a Summer."

The purpose of a documentary film school being held in conjunction with the festival is to show how the documentary can in itself be a form of art.

All events of the films festival will be held in the engineering lecture theatre of Symonds St. Full details are in the festival handbook.

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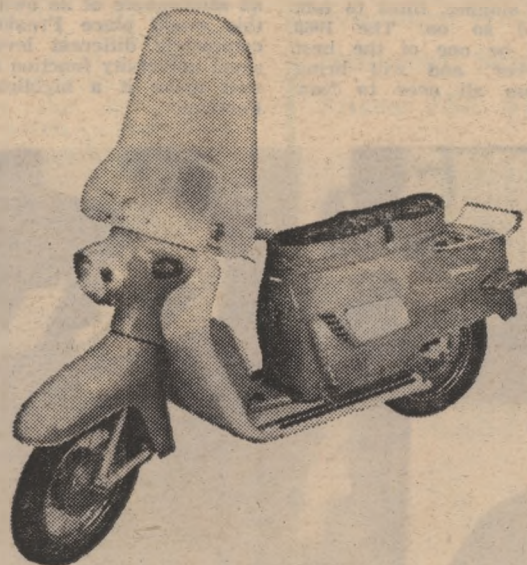
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FESTIVAL MUSIC

The opening concert of Arts Festival 1968 will be given by the Victoria University Choir and Orchestra in St Matthew's Church on Monday, August 12, at 1 p.m. The orchestra, numbering 26, will be conducted by Dobbs Franks, conductor of the Christchurch Civic Orchestra and the Alex Lindsay String Orchestra of Wellington, and will perform "Symphony No. 39 in E flat major" (KV543) by Mozart, "Concerto No. 3 for Two Violins in D minor" by J. S. Bach, and "Venetian Games," composed in 1961 by the contemporary composer, Lutoslawski. Roy Tankersly will conduct the choir and orchestra in "Gloria" by Vivaldi, with Auckland soloists Heather McDonald (soprano) and Sylvia Hopkins (contralto).

On Monday evening in the concert chamber, a concert of vocal and instrumental music will be given by students from Auckland, Victoria and Otago. The programme will consist of a Ravel trio by the Wynyard Trio (Janice Forsyth, violin, Ivan Andrews, cello, Rosemary Mathers piano), of Auckland, who last year were placed second in the New Zealand chamber music competitions, secular chansons of the 15th century by the Otago University Singers, Mozart's "Fantasia in C minor" by the Auckland pianist Michael Redshaw, the song cycle "Sings Harry" for baritone (Michael Jones, of Wellington) and piano, written by the New Zealand composer Douglas Lilburn, the Beethoven Septet by instrumentalists from Victoria and the "Mephisto Waltz" by Liszt, played by the pianist David James who is already well known in Auckland and who later this year will be performing "Piano Concerto No. 2 in B flat minor" by Tchaikovsky with the Auckland Junior Symphony Orchestra.

A second evening concert will be given on Thursday, August 15, at 8 p.m. in St Matthew's Church by the Auckland University Chamber Orchestra led by Janice Forsyth and conducted by Glynn Adams,

formerly principal viola in the NZBC Symphony Orchestra and London Symphony Orchestra, and now a member of the executive diploma staff of the University of Auckland music school. The orchestra will perform "Concerto for Two Pianos in C minor" by J. S. Bach, with soloists Michael Redshaw and Leslie Hindle, "Symphony No. 1" by William Boyce, and Benjamin Britten's "Simple Symphony."

Lunchtime concerts of solo and chamber music will be held daily from Tuesday to Friday in the MacLaurin Chapel from 12 to 2 p.m. Featured in these concerts will be madrigal groups from Auckland, Victoria and Otago Universities, Auckland pianist David James, Michael Redshaw, Joy Presswood and Rosemary Mathers, cellists Ivan Andrews and Virginia Hopkins, and chamber groups, the Wynyard Trio and Trio Gamba (Andrew Ormerod, violin, Gregor Brown, cello, Michael Redshaw, piano).

The Otago University Singers

will present a programme of sacred works on Wednesday, including the "Missa sine nomine," a very fine 16th century polyphonic Mass by Philippus de Monte, which may well not have been performed here before.

Of considerable interest will be the concert on Thursday, which is being devoted to the works of student composers. Representing Victoria is Lyell Cresswell with his "Trio for Clarinet, Cello and Piano," "Drinking Songs for Baritone and Piano" and "Insensibility for Baritone, Flute, Cello, Clarinet and Piano." A quartet from Canterbury will play pieces by Vernon Griffiths, formerly professor of music at Canterbury, John Cousins, a lecturer, and student Dorothy Buchanan. "Concertina for String Quartet" by Auckland lecturer Robin Maconie will be played, and last year's honours student Jack Body will conduct the Auckland University Chamber Orchestra, with Michael Redshaw (prepared piano) in his work, "Four Haiku."

SPOKEN WORD

The Bledisloe Medal oratory contest is the main attraction of the spoken word section of the Universities' Arts Festival.

The contest was established from a trust set up by Lord Bledisloe before he left New Zealand in 1932, and provides a gold medal for the best orator in the universities of New Zealand.

The 1968 event will be held in the Concert Chamber on Tuesday, August 13, at 8 p.m.

The annual interuniversity Joynt Scroll Debating Tournament has attracted entries from the four major universities.

The first round, in which Auckland meets Canterbury and Otago meets Victoria, will be held

in the Ellen Melville Hall at 1.30 p.m. on Monday, August 12.

The second round will be in the same hall on the Wednesday evening.

A major attraction for debaters will be the selection during the Joynt Scroll tournament of the New Zealand Universities team to tour Australia in the first term of 1969.

Law students from the four law schools in New Zealand will gather in the Supreme Court on Saturday, August 17, to moot for the F. B. Adams Cup.

Law mooting is not a mock trial: it is argument on points of law arising out of a given fact situation. Seldom are the facts of the case in doubt.



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MODERN LANGUAGES

This year there has been five entries in the modern language drama section of the arts festival.

Together they offer a variety of theatrical styles ranging from the situation comedy of Tristan Bernard through the blackness of Beckett to the absurdity of Ionesco.

Canterbury, Victoria and Otago are all sending plays up this year which is a healthy sign indeed.

There will also be a modern language drama party which the organisers claim will be informal and well lubricated.

Auckland students will be seeing Roussin's "Etranger au Theatre," which aims to show the audience that they really have no idea why they attended and that they will go away contented whether they have understood the play or not.

Auckland will also do Beckett's "La Derniere Bande," which concerns Krapp, a lonely man living in a pool of light in a dark universe. He thinks back to his last love hoping that it will give a meaning to his life but finally realises that there is no meaning possible.



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Waikato University

The University of Waikato is offering full-time study to some 500 students in 1968. Within the schools of humanities, social sciences and education the student is able to choose a group of related subjects which are co-ordinated as maybe appropriate within each school. Each student is enrolled in one school only, although certain supplementary courses may be taken within another school. The schools are not housed separately and their staffs are not separate, as some subjects are offered in more than one school.

Enrolment for full time study is regarded as essential with the aim of the student being to complete his first degree under this system and then to consider where he might best further his knowledge in his particular field of study for a higher degree. The increasing diversity of courses being offered by universities in this country has been gradually limiting the traditional practice of students to transfer freely and Waikato has accentuated the need for the student to enrol with the aim of completing his first degree at the one university. Nevertheless transfer is possible where this is necessary.

In the school of humanities major courses are offered in English history, French, German, mathematics and philosophy. These are arranged in four groupings:—

1. English, history and philosophy (with one subject dropped from the beginning of Part III).
2. A selection of two subjects from English, history, philosophy and one other major subject (with one subject dropped from the beginning of part III).
3. French and German.
4. Mathematics and one other major subject.

The student selects one of these groupings and completes his BA within it. He must also take one paper in general studies at each part. This is an interdisciplinary course in literature and the history of ideas. Each part involves taking either seven or eight examination papers. Increased specialisation is offered in the form of the Bachelor of Philosophy degree, for which candidates are selected on the results of their work in parts I and II of the course for the BA degree. The BPhil requires an additional part of one year and may be taken in single, combined or double honours (the last taking a total of five years). An undergraduate thesis may be required instead of one examination paper for honours. Students selected for BPhil do not graduate BA at the

end of part III but continue straight through to part IV; if the BPhil degree is not awarded a BA may in exceptional circumstances, be awarded.

EDUCATION

Professional teacher training is provided by the School of Education. A unique creation in New Zealand, it signifies a recognition of the importance of university qualifications for primary school teachers. There are 245 students in the school this year.

The course for the diploma of education is available to those students at the Hamilton Teachers' College who are qualified to enter the university. It is a three-year course divided as the BA in other schools. The choice of course is limited as it is directly related to a vocation and consists of the compulsory study of education plus a selection of a number of subjects from the following:—

1. English, French, Geography, German, History, Mathematics, matics.
 2. Art, Drama, Music, Physical Education, Related Arts.
- The Bachelor Education candidates are selected on completion of Part II and take another seven terms to graduate — the fourth year being taught solely within the university — with a degree equivalent to a BA. Parts III and IV of the BED are quite different from the DipEd Part III consists of seven papers, three in Education and three in one of the subjects in the first group above, together with a subject from Part I of the course in Social Sciences and Part IV of three papers in

Education, an essay in Education, three papers in the group one subject, and a Part II Social Science paper. To gain practical experience all students in this School spend part of the course at Parts I, II, and III in teaching practice in schools.

Teaching is done jointly by university and teachers' college staff but the whole course is the responsibility of the professional board. The student must take two or three subjects from the first group in Part I, two in Part II and one in Part III. These subjects are taught solely by university staff. He also takes one subject from the second group either in each of the three parts of the course or in the last two parts of it. Class work is an important part of the examination result.

SOCIAL SCIENCES

The School of Social Sciences has designed its courses to provide a comprehensive academic training with a strong vocational appeal in order to help relieve the acute shortage of such graduates both in this country and generally all over the world. The BA structure is designed so that in Part I all students take four compulsory subjects as an introduction to later study. These are:—

1. Analytical thinking, an introduction to logic and basic philosophical concepts (1 paper).
2. Social mathematics, concerned with basic mathematical ideas needed in the social sciences (1 paper). (This course requires a knowledge of school certificate maths.)
3. Introduction to human behav-

iour, with emphasis on learning and motivation (1 paper).

4. Organisation of society, dealing with social structure, political and economic systems, and selected culture areas (2 papers).

In addition one paper is selected from a range of supplementary subjects. One aim of this introductory phase is to enable the student to make a more informed choice at Part II level when he is required to select one of seven different groupings of subjects.

There are seven papers in Part II in each of the following groups:—

1. Economics, philosophy, politics and sociology.
2. Economics, geography, mathematics.
3. Geography, politics and sociology, psychology.
4. Mathematics, philosophy, psychology.
5. Philosophy, politics and sociology, psychology.
6. Economics, geography, politics and sociology.
7. Economics, politics and sociology, psychology.

In addition all students must take a course in statistics and a shorter one in scientific method. Supplementary courses may also be taken from a wide range of subjects (there are 10 in 1968) but no examination is taken in these.

In Part III the student proceeds with his group of three main subjects, but there are no common courses, although he may take a further supplementary course without being examined in it. Final consists of two papers in each of the main subjects and a joint paper covering general topics relating subjects within the groups.

BPhil is conducted on the same system as in the humanities.

TIMETABLE

Although the timetable for terms is similar to those at other universities, the structure of courses has been remodelled, the course being divided up into a first part of two terms, a second of three terms and

a third of four terms. The aim of this is to introduce the concept of the studies in part I and then to lengthen the parts progressively as the student reaches more advanced and more specialised work. It does not lead to a surface knowledge but rather a deeper understanding of the context of the subjects and is handled in varying ways by the different schools. The revision of terms also aims at incorporating the long Christmas vacation into the academic year. The first term of both part II and part III is prior to the vacation and students are set essays and reading lists for completion over those valuable three months of vacation. The practical consideration of earning money is not ignored by this structure and the vacation work load is carefully assessed by staff. Study week has been eliminated for the first time in 1968 and the August vacation extended to four weeks; the May vacation is three weeks. However as vacations are regarded as part of the academic year some examinations may be held in August, and this year all part I and part II examinations will start in the last week of this vacation. Some of those who fail are given the chance of sitting further examinations in late January of the next year either in the course as a whole or in such part of it as the professorial board may require.

Enrolment for further parts is held after results have been posted in mid September. Those who are eligible to sit further examinations are able to continue with the course for the spring term.

LIBRARY

The library is centred in the first university block and houses 50,000 volumes, over 1000 periodicals are taken and acquisitions since 1964 have consumed almost all of the \$200,000 special grant made to the library in 1966. At present plans for further expansion are under way and this is going to increase both book space and student study space. During term time the library is open all day and in the evenings until 10 p.m., four nights a week.

These articles were compiled with the co-operation of MR NORMAN KINGSBURY, Registrar of the University of Waikato, and MR MICHAEL KING, Man Vice-President of Waikato University Students' Association. We wish to thank them for their help in this respect.



STUDENT LIFE AT WAIKATO

ENROLMENTS

Enrolments since the university began teaching under the schools system in 1966 have risen from 311 in that year to 503 in 1968. Although it must be noted that students on unit courses made up one third of the 1966 total whereas there are none in 1968 — actual enrolment in the schools alone has risen from 197 to 503 in three years, the most spectacular advance having been made in the school of education which was 100 strong in 1966 and now caters for 245 students.

The total academic staff numbers 50 and the ratio of 1:10 students is sufficiently low to allow a greater concentration on tutorial teaching and on closer relationship with staff. However a lack of teaching staff and space has inhibited this concept this year as a wider range of courses are offered and students are now active in all three parts of the courses.

AMENITIES

With a campus of over 100 acres the potential of a university can be fully realised and at Waikato planning for this end is evident at all times. Besides a highly developed model of the campus as it will appear in 20 years' time there is also the day-to-day planning as buildings go up and sports facilities are laid out. Already a committee has been in existence for three years which is responsible for the site. The development of a Rugby field, hockey and Soccer fields, cricket nets and match wicket, tennis and basketball courts and a floodlight training area are evidence of its work. The advantages of sharing the site with the teachers' college are shown in the Olympic-sized swimming pool and gymnasium. All these on-campus facilities are serviced by the staff of the site committee and will soon be supplemented by a sports pavilion including squash courts, changing and shower facilities and a large lounge area, and to be built with funds of the University Students' Association.

Both institutions support a students' association, the university association levies a fee of \$12 a year and it produces a student newspaper besides other

benefits. The university has converted a Ruakura Agricultural Research Station dairy left on the campus into a modern building containing a cafeteria, common room, meeting room and students' association offices. Here also the 129 residents in the student village have their meals.

STUDENT WELFARE

A Student Services Office has been created and besides being concerned with problems of students in the village it also organises a free student health service of two doctors, an accommodation bureau and such other services as required for the well-being of students.

The health service gives every student easy access to medical aid with the emphasis on prevention and a full check up is available to all those who enrol.

The Student Affairs Committee is a committee of the university council and its members include three representatives of the University Students' Association. All matters relating to students in general including the student village and cafeteria are discussed and policy formulated with the approval of council. A subcommittee has been set up to administer the student village and it has two student representatives — one elected by the residents and one nominated by the students' association. Approval was also given in 1967 for a student representative on the university council, being a graduate of two years standing and a past president of the students' association; Mr C. D. Arcus was co-opted. Legislation has to be amended by Parliament before this office is formally installed.

POSTGRADUATE WORK

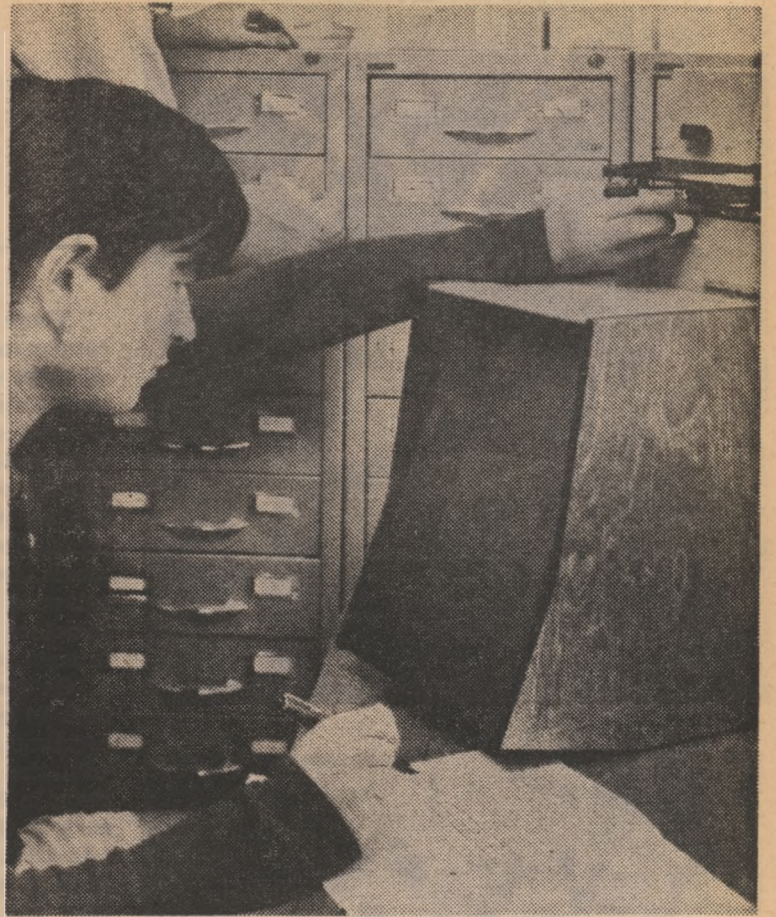
Postgraduate study is of increasing importance in developing the strength of a new university and this has been recognised with the early establishment of an honours system. From the four year B Phil degree the postgraduate student moves into a Master of Philosophy or Doctor of Philosophy of a duration of one year and two and half years respectively. These require a thesis and normally two papers. An interim BA Honours

degree has been provided for those unit students wanting to continue at Waikato for honours but this is to end in 1968 and be replaced by the BPhil as unit students are phased out.

A master of arts of one year's duration, not an honours degree, is taken in two subjects and examined in 4 papers in a ratio of either 2:2, or 3:1. It is designed especially for candidates who want a degree for general purposes and do not wish to proceed beyond MA. All these postgraduate degrees are available to students with suitable first degrees from other universities.

In 1968 postgraduate enrolments total 32: 19 for MA; 3 for BA Hons; 3 for MPhil; 7 for D Phil. There are also 11 students in the schools of humanities and social sciences who could graduate BPhil in 1969.

Papers offered for the MA in 1968 have been in Economics, education, English, French, geography, history, mathematics, philosophy and psychology, added to these in 1969 will be politics and sociology.



The Student Village

The student village is made up of four units, each student having his own study-bedroom and the three-storey buildings being divided into flats of six students. Board is computed at \$11.50 per week and includes cleaning, linen and all meals. Supervision of the rules is carried out by two subwardens to each unit with a warden as overall head. The subwardens are senior students or junior members. The rules have evolved gradually since the first students went into residence in May, 1967. Now with a predominantly female population and integrated units they have evolved as set out below.

The rules of conduct for halls of residence embody the personal freedom of action, privacy and responsibility which is accepted in a private home.

The student village provides a homely atmosphere which is both enjoyable and conducive to academic study, and the necessary internal administration is based on

trust and mutual consideration among all the people living there. While the warden acts in an advisory rather than a disciplinary manner room checks are carried out from time to time.

The vice-chancellor, on behalf of the professorial board exercises a general control over discipline in the student village, as in the rest of the university.

The following general rules are laid down.

1. **Evening leave:** No notification need be given for absence from the village prior to 11.30 p.m., but if a student is to be out after this time notification must be given verbally to the subwarden and an approximate time of return and a location entered in the leave book provided. No leave will be granted after 2.30 a.m. except with the express permission of the warden.
2. **Weekend leave:** As a matter of courtesy the intention of weekend leave shall be discussed with the subwarden, and in the interest of the student a contact address must be left.
3. **Visitors:** All visitors are welcome in the apartments at the students' discretion between 8.30 a.m. and 11 p.m. These hours also apply to visiting between apartments. Visitors may be entertained in the lounges after 11 p.m. with the permission of the subwarden and the visitors' book must be signed, giving an approximate time of departure. This permission to have visitors must be obtained by 11 p.m. No visitors may be in the lounges after 2.30 a.m.
4. **Liquor:** A moderate amount of liquor may be kept and consumed within the village. Liquor requirements for any group function or special occasion must be discussed with the warden.
5. **Noise:** Consideration for fellow residents must guide the noise level in the village at all times.

GROWTH

This rapid rundown of the course structure can only leave the mind confused and to some it may seem unnecessary regimentation of the student's academic programme. However the smallness of Waikato contributes to this more than anything else; the present courses are well designed and when the staff is large enough it will be possible to offer a wider choice of groupings.

Growth is a key word at Waikato as preparation for the expected large increase in student numbers in the future continues, planning being the method used on the Campus to ensure that every aspect of growth is of value to the development of a complete university.

The recent grant of \$4,000,000 for the establishment of science to cater for 500 students enabled the University to put into action its long planned development in this field. The establishment of Schools of Biological, and Physical Sciences and developments in "Environmental Studies" will widen the courses considerably and teaching in these schools is expected to begin in 1970. Four buildings are to accommodate science at first and these have been planned as part of the overall design of the campus. Few universities can claim to have produced an over-all plan from their first existence and this seems a great asset for Waikato where the site is so appropriate to planned utilisation.

Student numbers must grow considerably as Waikato begins to get a share of the predicted 32,500 university students in 1975. The Auckland province is home for half of these and with the two Universities of Auckland and Waikato servicing it and Auckland already nearing its predicted maximum roll Waikato will certainly get a bigger and bigger share as it offers a wider choice of subjects.





THE EUROPEAN

There is one simple starting point for any discussion of the current student crisis in Europe that all sides are able to agree on: the students—angry, anarchistic, even violent though many of them may be—are fundamentally in the right. In France, in Italy, in Germany, the students are saying that higher education has fallen into a state of crucial neglect, that teaching methods in many subjects are archaic, professors with tenure are too often negligent, classrooms are intolerably overcrowded; that the curriculum is frequently anachronistic, and that the very structure and purpose of the modern university are in need of audacious rethinking.

On the whole, these charges are undeniably correct. In each country, the education ministries work overtime to devise schemes and programmes to deal with the situation. In France, there is the Fouchet Plan; in Italy, there is a Gui Plan; in Germany, where each of the Federal Republic's 10 states has its own education minister, there have been any number of local proposals for reforms. Indeed, there has never been any lack of public debate or private discussion of the problems that are worrying students and their elders. The Italian Parliament, for example, has succeeded in talking the long-pending university reform bill to death year after year. The conflicting political interests that contribute to the defeat of meaningful reforms are incredibly complex. But the end result is always the same—nothing is done. The problems get worse, the students get angrier and the reform proposals grow quietly obsolete.

Obvious problems of overcrowded classes

One specific example of the difficulty that conscientious reformers run into is the obvious problem of overcrowded classes. There are two principal solutions to this dilemma: either provide more classrooms and more teachers, or reduce the number of students. The students strongly favour the first approach and bitterly oppose the second. In short, the government must decide to allocate a lot more money on higher education for a rapidly expanding student population or to introduce a form of numerus clausus

so that students will simply be eliminated by the thousands through a system of stiff competitive examinations. As embodied in the Fouchet Plan, the official euphemism for this process is "selection".

It is clear that these are two sharply contrasting points of view. And yet, there should be room for manoeuvre; with a willingness to compromise, some kind of dialogue between the students on the one hand and the academic and governmental authorities on the other should be possible. But when the students' voice was meek and moderate, the authorities would not listen; now that the voice has grown hoarse from shouting in the streets, it is regarded as irresponsible and unrepresentative. By now, it undoubtedly is. In France, anyone who favours the Fouchet Plan or is willing to collaborate with one of the commissions set up to advise on it, is at once condemned as a selectionist by the leftist students who say that its purpose is the "massive elimination" of students from access to higher education. (This is the position, for example of the Federation of Revolutionary Students [FER] which held its constituent congress in Paris on April 27 and 28. FER's membership of some 1100 militants include black-flag waving anarchists and self-proclaimed admirers of Trotsky, Mao and Che Guevara.)

Massive demonstrations have the effect of jolting

It often seems to their elders that the majority of students allow a small faction of left extremists to dominate or direct the protest movements that arise from legitimate grievances on the campuses. It is true that the student population of West Germany is 405,000 and the membership of the German Socialist Student League (SDS), led by the "urban guerrilla", Rudi Dutschke, numbers no more than 2500. Yet scores of thousands of students from all over the country march in solidarity with their colleagues at other universities. They have learned that such massive demonstrations have the effect of jolting the public awake and forcing them to think about the issues raised. It is a fact that the crude slogans and simplistic doctrines of the student radicals are being steadily translated into more elegant but no less far-reaching programmes for educational and social reform in Europe. West German Chancellor, Kurt Kiesinger was only putting into polysyllables what many students have expressed in sharper language when he said recently that "a larger number of



STUDENT RIOTS

A Rational View

institutions and traditions in our educational system are too deeply rooted in the epoch of pre-industrial society to be able to meet the requirements of our completely transformed world". He agreed, too, that "the demand for a speedy reform is perfectly understandable and justified".

Speedy reform is just exactly what students in Europe are not getting. In Italy, the universities have been waiting in vain for years for a minimum response on the part of Parliament to their equally "understandable and justified" demands for reform. The only answer has been promises followed by procrastination. In the eyes of the students, all the political parties must share the blame. This skepticism toward regular channels of political action has caused serious alarm among the leadership of every party from the Communists (PCI) to the Christian Democrats (DC). In a statement addressed to the nation's youth just before the May 19 general elections, Italian Premier Aldo Moro frankly acknowledged such tragic statistics as the fact that only nine out of every 100 university students in Italy manage to graduate and that even those who do are not always able to find employment commensurate with their hard-earned academic abilities. But he pleaded with the young people to use the ballot responsibly and not to throw away votes in gestures of protest. The national elections were the first in five years and a total of 3,792,680 new voters between the ages of 21 and 26 made their political weight felt. Their electoral influence seems to have benefitted primarily the centre left and, secondarily, the far left. The young may be exasperated by the cumbersome machinery of parliamentary democracy in action, but it is clear that they are far from discouraged with the principle itself. Despite the incendiary slogans of the rioters, most young people in Europe want reforms immediately and the "revolution" in the misty future.

"Understandable and Justified" demands for reform

The recourse to extralegal means becomes more widely accepted by student activists as it proves increasingly effective. It may begin, for example, with the infraction of what students regard as arbitrary rules and regulations governing conduct in dormitories; this was a major issue in France at the beginning of the year. As the outbreak of rule-breaking spread, Education Minister Peyrefitte responded hastily with a number of new rules that largely complied with specific student demands. Yet even the manner of compliance managed to infuriate the students; they found it insufferably paternalistic. They do not want decisions—even the right decisions—handed down from on high; they want to take an active, responsible and influential part in the decisions that directly affect their lives.

The tactic of breaking the law is sometimes justified, sometimes merely glorified, as civil disobedience.

But when the tactic becomes a temper-tantrum, when emergency means are used to further the ends of a small clique, then it has very little in common with the ideas of either Thoreau or Lenin. Every movement that is not deliberately nihilistic has a constituency; it moves within a larger body. The leader of the "March 22 Movement" at the University of Nanterre, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, said as much on May 16 when he declared, "We do not claim to represent the majority. But the 10 *enrages* we began with are now 1200 at Nanterre". But when a protest movement extends beyond the university and into the streets, when it aspires to embrace—or engulf—society as a whole, then the movement's constituency also broadens. But neither a Cohn-Bendit nor a Dutschke can legitimately claim to speak for the societies of which they are a part and product. Indeed, their societies speak for themselves. In West Germany, the popular sympathy that Dutschke earned by getting shot was quickly dissipated when his extremist followers engaged in bloody riots with the police on Easter Sunday. (And even the general disapproval of brutal police methods changed to cynical indifference when the demonstrators seemed to "get out of hand" or "go too far".) In France, the students' most reasonable and modest demands are quickly lost sight of if they are buried under the rubble of student-built barricades in the streets.

Communists say fanatics and "adventurists"

In France, where it might seem at first glance that extremism had been vindicated, it is the massive participation of tightly organized trade unions that has given the movement its broad popular appeal. The trade union action, spearheaded by the giant Communist-dominated CGT, did more to prevent anarchy than to spread it. The Communists—in both *L'Humanite* and *Pravda*—denounced the student extremists as fanatics and "adventurists". In Germany, the antagonism between the workers and the far leftist students has grown to threatening proportions. In Italy, a group of student extremists staged an anti-Socialist demonstration on May Day to show their dissatisfaction over the Socialist Party's "loyalty to parliament rather than to the proletariat". The ungrateful proletariat soon got into fistfights with their doctrinaire young champions.

"Adventurists" is a useful term. It aptly defines the air of bravado and romanticism that seems so characteristic of the more colourful student leaders who are shaking their fists at the television cameras in city after city across Europe. Violence is exhilarating at the moment, but it is rarely effective in the long run. The mass of students will decide for themselves whether what they really want is an exciting adventure or an improved education.

—Honi Soit, Tuesday, June 4, 1968



BLACK POWER

The slogan of "Black Power" has caused wide-spread confusion and alarm. This is partly due to a problem inherent in language: words necessarily reduce complex attitudes or phenomena to symbols which, in their abbreviation, allow for a variety of interpretations.

Yet the phrase's ambiguity derives not only from the usual confusions of language, but from a failure of clarity (or is it frankness?) on the part of its advocates, and a failure of attention (or is it generosity?) from their critics. The leaders of SNCC and CORE who invented the slogan, including Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick, have given Black Power different definitions on different occasions, in part because their own understanding of the term continues to develop, but in part, too, because their explanations have been tailored to their audiences.

GROWING STAGES

For all these reasons, it is still not clear whether "Black Power" is to be taken as a short-term tactical device or a long-range goal — that is, a postponement or a rejection of integration; whether it has been adapted as a lever for intimidating white or organising blacks, for instilling race hate or race pride; whether it necessitates, permits or encourages violence; whether it is a symptom of Negro despair or of Negro determination, a reaction to the lack of improvement in the daily lives of Negro-Americans, or a sign that improved conditions are creating additional expectations and demands.

If Black Power means only that Negroes should organise politically and economically in order to develop self-regard and to exert maximum pressure, then the new philosophy would be difficult to fault, for it would be based on the

truism that minorities must argue from positions of strength rather than weakness, that the majority is far more likely to make concessions to power than to justice.

Although Black Power makes good sense when defined to mean further organisation and co-operation within the Negro community, the results which are likely to follow in terms of political leverage can easily be exaggerated. The impact is likely to be greatest at the county unit level in the deep South and in the urban ghettos of the North. In this regard, the "Black Panther" party of Lowndes County, Alabama, is the prototype.

There are roughly 12,000 Negroes in Lowndes County and 3000 whites, but until 1964 there was not a single Negro registered to vote, while white registration had reached 118 per cent of those eligible Negro life in Lowndes, as Andrew Kopkind has graphically recounted was — and is — wretched. The median family income for whites is \$4400, for Negroes, \$935; Negro farmhands earn \$3 to \$6 a day; half of the Negro women who work are maids in Montgomery (which requires a 40 to 60 mile daily roundtrip) at \$4 a day; few Negroes have farms, since 90 per cent of the land is owned by about 85 white families; the one large industrial plant in the area, the new Dan River Mills textile factory, will only employ Negroes in menial capacities; most Lowndes Negroes are functional illiterates, living in squalor and hopelessness.

The Black Panther party set out to change all this. The only path to change in Lowndes, and in much of the deep South, is to "take over the courthouse," the seat of local power. For generations the courthouse in Lowndes has been controlled by the Democratic party; indeed there is no Republi-

can party in the county. Obviously it made little sense for SNCC organisers to hope to influence the local Democracy; no white moderates existed and no discussion of integration was tolerated. To have expected blacks to "bore from within," as Carmichael has said, would have been "like asking the Jews to reform the Nazi party."

Instead, Carmichael and his associates established the separate Black Panther party. After months of work SNCC organisers (with almost no assistance from Federal agents) registered enough Negroes to hope for a numerical majority in the county. But in the election of November, 1966, the Black Panther party was defeated, for a variety of reasons which include Negro apathy or fear and white intimidation. Despite this defeat, the possibility of a better life for Lowndes County Negroes does at last exist, and should the Black Panther party come into power at some future point, that possibility could become a reality.

Nonetheless, even on the local level and even in the deep South, Lowndes County is not representative. In Alabama, for example, only 11 of the State's 67 counties have black majorities. Where these majorities do not exist, the only effect independent back political parties are likely to have is to consolidate the whites in opposition. Moreover, and more significantly, many of the basic ills from which Negro-Americans suffer — inadequate housing, inferior education, limited job opportunities — are national phenomena and require national resources to overcome. Whether these resources will be allocated in sufficient amounts will depend, in turn, on whether a national coalition can be formed to exert pressure on the Federal Government — a coalition of civil rights activists, Church

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groups, campus radicals, New Class technocrats, unskilled, unionised labourers and certain elements in organised labour, such as the UAW or the United Federation of Teachers. Such a coalition, of course, would necessitate Negro-white unity, a unity Black Power at least temporarily rejects.

A RADICAL COALITION

The answer that Black Power advocates give to the "coalition argument" is of several pieces. The only kind of progressive coalition which can exist in this country, they say, is the mild, liberal variety which produced the civil rights legislation of recent years. And that kind of legislation has proven itself grossly inadequate. Its chief result has been to lull white liberals into believing that the major battles have been won, whereas in fact there has been almost no change, or change for the worse in the daily lives of most blacks.

The evidence for this last assertion is persuasive. Despite the Supreme Court decision of 1954, almost 85 per cent of school-age Negroes in the South still sit in segregated classrooms. Unemployment among Negroes has actually gone up in the past ten years. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, with its promising provision for the withdrawal of federal funds in cases of discrimination, has been used in limited fashion in regard to the schools but not at all in regard to other forms of unequal treatment, such as segregated hospital facilities. Under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, only about 40 federal registrars have been sent into the South, though many areas have less than the 50 per cent registration figure which would legally warrant intervention. In short, the legislation produced by the liberal coalition of the early sixties has turned out to be little more than federally approved tokenism, a continuation of paper promises and ancient inequities.

If a radical coalition could be formed in this country, that is, one willing to scrutinise in depth the failings of our system, to suggest structural, not piecemeal, reforms, to see them executed with sustained rather than occasional vigor, then Black Power advocates might feel less need to separate themselves and to concentrate on local, marginal success. But no responsible observer believes that in the foreseeable future a radical coalition on the left can become the effective political majority in the United States; we will be fortunate if a radical coalition on the Right does not.

As an adaptation to present realities, Black Power thus has a persuasive logic. But there is such a thing as being too present-minded; by concentrating on immediate prospects, the new doctrine may be jeopardising larger possibilities for the future, those which could result from a national coalition with white allies. Though SNCC and CORE insist that they are not trying to cut whites out of the movement, that they merely want to redirect white energies into organising whites so that at some future point a truly meaningful coalition of Negroes and whites can take place, there are grounds for doubting whether they really are interested in a future reconciliation, or if they are, whether some of the overtones of their present stance will allow for it.

DILEMMAS AND DIRECTIONS

The philosophy of Black Power is thus a blend of varied, in part contending, elements, and it cannot be predicted with any certainty which will assume dominance. But a comparison between the Black Power movement and the personnel, programmes and fates of earlier radical movements in this country can make some contribu-

tion toward understanding its dilemmas and its likely directions.

Any argument based on historical analogy can, of course, become oversimplified and irresponsible. Historical events do not repeat themselves with anything like regularity, for every event is to a large degree embedded in its own special context. An additional danger in reasoning from historical analogy is that in the process we will limit rather than expand our options; by arguing that certain consequences seem always to follow from certain actions and that therefore only a set number of alternatives ever exist, we can prevent ourselves from seeing new possibilities or from utilising old ones in creative ways. We must be careful, when attempting to predict the future from the past, that in the process we do not straight-jacket the present. Bearing these cautions and limitations in mind, some insight can still be gained from a historical perspective. For if there are large variances through time between roughly analogous events, there are also some similarities, and it is these which make comparative study possible and profitable. In regard to Black Power, I think we gain particular insight by comparing it with the two earlier radical movements of Abolitionism and Anarchism.

The Abolitionists represented the left wing of the antislavery movement (a position comparable to the one SNCC and CORE occupy today in the civil rights movement) because they called for an immediate end to slavery everywhere in the United States. Most Northerners who disapproved of slavery were not willing to go as far or as fast as the Abolitionists, preferring instead a more ameliorative approach. The tactic which increasingly won the approval of the Northern majority was the doctrine of "nonextension": no further expansion of slavery would be allowed, but the institution would be left alone where it already existed. The principle of nonextension first came into prominence in the late 1840s when fear developed in the North that territory acquired from our war with Mexico would be made into new slave States. Later the doctrine formed the basis of the Republican Party which in 1860 elected Lincoln to the Presidency. The Abolitionists, in other words, with their demand for immediate (and uncompensated) emancipation, never became the major channel of Northern antislavery sentiment. They always remained a small sect, vilified by slavery's defenders and distrusted even by allies within the antislavery movement.

THE SNCC

The parallels between the Abolitionists and the current defenders of Black Power seem to me numerous and striking. It is worth noting, first of all, that neither group started off with so-called "extremist" positions (the appropriateness of that word being, in any case, dubious). The SNCC of 1967 is not the SNCC formed in 1960; both its personnel and its programmes have shifted markedly. SNCC originally grew out of the sit-ins spontaneously begun in Greensboro, North Carolina, by four freshmen at the all-Negro North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College. The sit-in technique spread rapidly through the South, and within a few months the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) was formally inaugurated to channel and encourage further activities. At its inception SNCC's staff was interracial, religious in orientation, committed to the "American Dream," chiefly concerned with winning the right to share more equitably in that dream and optimistic about the



possibility of being allowed to do so. SNCC placed its hopes on an appeal to the national conscience and this it expected to arouse by the examples of nonviolence and redemptive love, and by the dramatic devices of sit-ins, freedom rides and protest marches.

The Abolitionist movement, at the time of its inception, was similarly benign and sanguine. It, too, placed emphasis on "moral suasion," believing that the first order of business was to bring the iniquity of slavery to the country's attention, to arouse the average American's conscience. Once this was done, the Abolitionists felt, discussion then could, and would, begin on the particular ways and means best calculated to bring about rapid, orderly emancipation. Some of those Abolitionists who later became intransigent defenders of immediatism — including William Lloyd Garrison — were willing, early in their careers, to consider plans for preliminary apprenticeship. They were willing, in other words, to settle for gradual emancipation immediately begun instead of demanding that freedom itself be instantly achieved.

But this early flexibility received little encouragement. The appeal to conscience and the willingness to engage in debate over means alike brought meagre results. In the North the Abolitionists encountered massive apathy, in the South massive resistance. Thus thwarted, and influenced as well by the discouraging British experiment with gradualism in the West Indies, the Abolitionists abandoned their earlier willingness to consider a variety of plans for prior education and training, and shifted to the position that emancipation had to take place at once and without compensation to the slaveholder. They also began (especially in New England) to advocate such doctrines as "disunion" and "no-government," positions which directly parallel Black Power's recent advocacy of "separation" and "decentralisation," and which then as now produced discord and division within the movement, anger and denunciation without.

But the parallel of paramount importance I wish to draw between the two movements is their similar passage from "moderation" to "extremism." In both cases, there was a passage, a shift in attitude and programme, and it is essential that this be recognised, for it demonstrates the developmental nature of these — of all — movements for social change. Or, to reduce the point to individuals (and to clichés): "revolutionaries are not born but made." Garrison didn't start his career with the doctrine of "immediatism;" as a young man, he even had kind words for the American Colonisation Society, a group devoted to deporting Negroes to Africa and Central America. And Stokely Carmichael did not begin his ideological voyage with the slogan of Black Power; as a teenager he was opposed to student sit-ins in the South. What makes a man shift from "reform" to "revolution" is, it seems to me, primarily to be explained by the intransigence or indifference of his society: either society refuses reforms or gives them in the form of tokens. Thus, if one views the Garrisons and Carmichaels as "extremists," one should at least place the blame for that extremism where it belongs — not on their individual temperaments, their genetic predispositions, but on a society which scorned or toyed with their initial pleas for justice.

ANARCHIST AFFINITIES

In turning to the Anarchist movement, I think we can see between it and the new turn taken by SNCC and CORE (or, more comprehensively still, by much of the New Left) significant affinities of style and thought. These are largely unconscious and unexplored; I have seen almost no overt references to them either in the movement's official literature or in its unofficial pronouncements. Yet the affinities seem to be important.

But first I should make clear that in speaking of "Anarchism" as if it were a unified tradition, I am necessarily oversimplifying.

Yet despite differing perspectives, all Anarchists did share one major premise: a distrust of authority, the rejection of all forms of rule by man over man, especially that embodied in the State, but also that exemplified by

parent, teacher, lawyer, priest. They justified their opposition in the name of the individual: the Anarchists wished each man to develop his "specialness" without the inhibiting interference imposed by authority, be it political or economic, moral or intellectual. This does not mean that the Anarchists sanctioned the idea of "each against all." On the contrary, they believed that man was a social creature — that is, that he needed the affection and assistance of his fellows — and most Anarchist versions of the good life (Max Stirner would be the major exception) involved the idea of community. The Anarchists insisted, more over, that it was not their vision of the future, but rather society as presently constructed, which represented chaos; with privilege the lot of the few and misery the lot of the many, society was currently the essence of disorder. The Anarchists demanded a system which would substitute mutual aid for mutual exploitation, voluntarism for force, individual decision-making for centralised dictation.

All of these emphases find echo today in SNCC and CORE. The echoes are not perfect: "Black Power," after all is above all a call to organisation, and its acceptance of politics (and therefore of "governing") would offend a true Anarchist — as would such collectivist terms as "black psyche" or "black personality." Nonetheless, the affinities of SNCC and CORE with the Anarchist position are substantial.

There is, first of all, the same belief in the possibilities of "community" and the same insistence that community be the product of voluntary association. This in turn reflects a second and still more basic affinity: the distrust of centralised authority. SNCC's and CORE's energies, and also those of other New Left groups like Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), are increasingly channelled into local, community organising. On this level, it is felt, "participatory democracy, as opposed to the authoritarianism of 'representative' democracy, becomes possible. And in the Black Panther party, where the poor and disinherited do take a direct role in decision-making, theory has become reality (as it has, on the economic side, in the Mississippi-based 'Poor People's Corporation,' which to date has formed some fifteen co-operatives).

A final, more intangible affinity between Anarchism and the entire New Left, including the advocates of Black Power, is in the area of personal style. Both hold up similar values for highest praise and emulation: simplicity, spontaneity, "naturalness" and "primitivism." Both reject modes of dress, music, personal relations, even of intoxication, which might be associated with the dominant middle-class culture. Both, finally, tend to link the basic virtues with "the people," and especially with the poor, the downtrodden, the alienated. It is this lumpenproletariat — long kept outside the "system" and thus uncorrupted by its values — who are looked to as a repository of virtue, an example of a better way. The New Left, even while demanding that the lot of the underclasses be improved, implicitly venerates the lot: the desire to cure poverty cohabits with the wish to emulate it.

The Anarchist movement in the United States never made much headway. A few individuals—Benjamin Tucker, Adin Ballou, Lysander Spooner, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Emma Goldman, Josiah Warren I are still faintly remembered, but more for the style of their lives than for any impact on their society. It is not difficult to see what prevented them from attracting a large following. Their very distaste for organisation and power precluded the traditional modes for exerting influence. More important still, their philosophy ran directly counter to the national hierarchy of values, a system of beliefs conscious and otherwise, which has always impeded the drive for rapid change in this country. And it is a system which constitutes a roadblock at least as formidable today as at any previous point in our history.

This value structure stresses, first of all, the prime virtue of "accumulation," chiefly of goods, but also of power and prestige. Any group — be it Anarchists or New Leftists — which challenges the soundness of that goal, which

suggests that it interferes with the more important pursuits of self-realisation and human fellowship, presents so basic a threat to our national and individual identities as to invite almost automatic rejection.

BENEVOLENCE OF HISTORY

A second obstacle that our value structure places in the path of radical change is its insistence on the benevolence of history. To the average American human history is the story of automatic progress. Every day in every way we have got better and better. Ergo, there is no need for a frontal assault on our ills; time alone will be sufficient to cure them. Thus it is that many whites today consider the "Negro Problem" solved by the recent passage of civil rights legislation. They choose to ignore the fact that the daily lives of most Negroes have changed but slightly — or, as in the case of unemployment, for the worse. They ignore, too, the group of hard-core problems which have only recently emerged: maldistribution of income, urban slums, disparities in education and training, the breakdown of family structure in the ghetto, technological unemployment — problems which show no signs of yielding to time, but which will require concentrated energy and resources for solution.

Without a massive assault on these basic ills, ours will continue to be a society where the gap between rich and poor widens, where the major rewards go to the few (who are not to be confused with the best). Yet it seems highly unlikely, as of 1968, that the public pressure needed for such an assault will be forthcoming. Most Americans still prefer to believe

that ours is either already the best of all possible worlds or will shortly, and without any special effort, become such. It is this deep-seated smugness, this intractable optimism, which must be reckoned with — which indeed will almost certainly destroy — any call for substantive change.

THE ANARCHIST FOCUS

A further obstacle facing the New Left today, Black Power advocates and otherwise, is that its Anarchist style and mood run directly counter to prevailing tendencies in our national life, especially the tendencies to conformity and centralisation. The conformity has been commented on too often to bear repetition, except to point out that the young radicals' unorthodox mores (sexual, social, cultural), are in themselves enough to produce uneasiness and anger in the average American. Insisting on the right of the individual to please himself and to rely on his own judgment (whether in dress, speech, music, sex or stimulants), SNCC and SDS may be solidly within the American tradition — indeed may be its main stream — but this tradition is now more central to our rhetoric than to our behaviour.

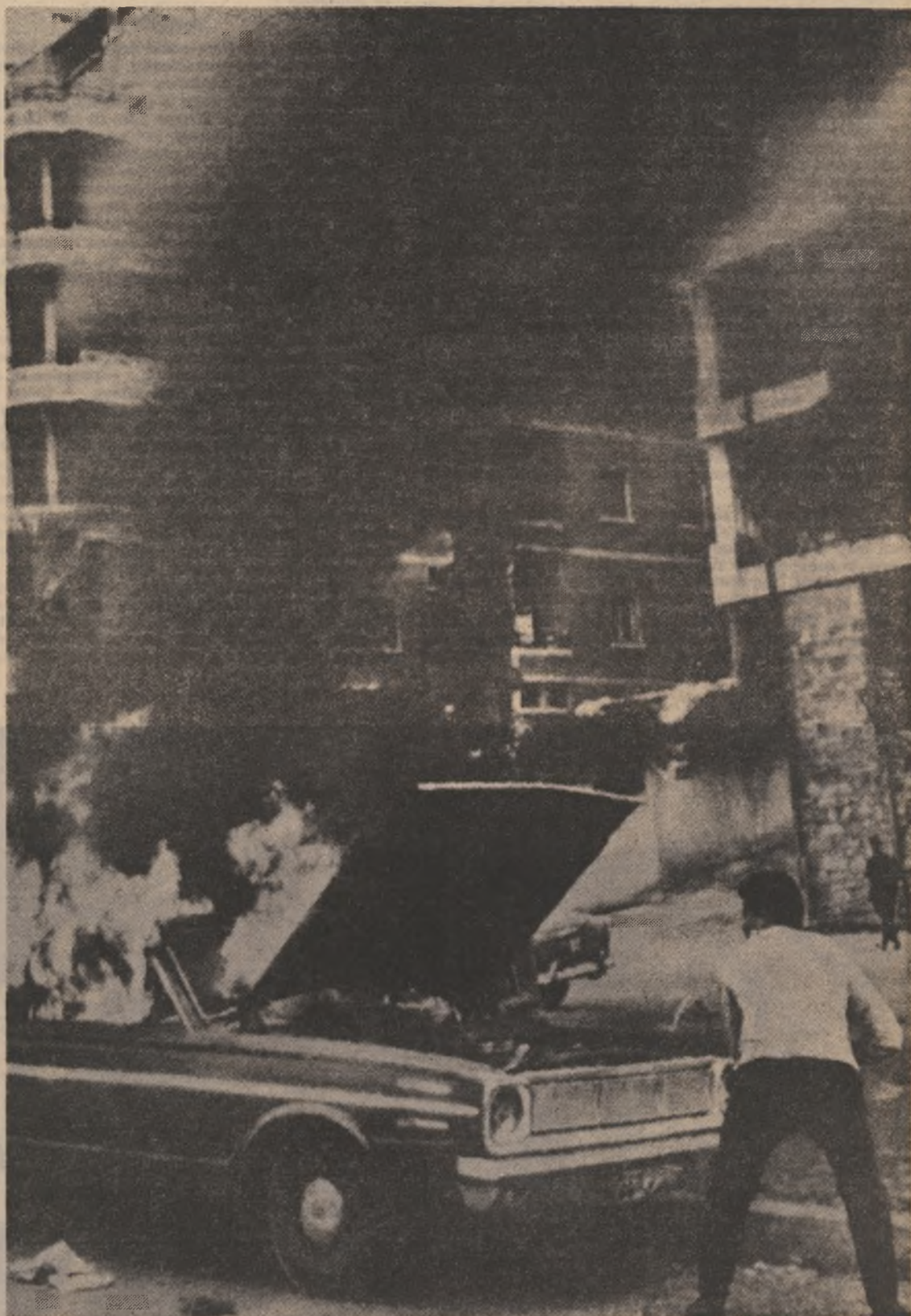
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In the face of these monoliths of national power, Black Power in Lowndes County is pathetic by comparison. Yet while the formation of the Black Panther party in Lowndes brought out paroxysms of fear in the nation at large, the announcement that General Motors' 1965 sales totalled 21 billion dollars — exceeding the GNP of all but nine countries in

the world — produced barely a tremor of apprehension. The unspoken assumption can only be something like this: It is less dangerous for a few whites to control the whole nation than for a local majority of Negroes to control their own community. The Kafkaesque dimension of life in America continues to grow.

Black Power is both a product of our society and a repudiation of it. Confronted with the continuing indifference of the majority of whites to the Negro's plight, SNCC and CORE have lost faith in conscience and time, and have shifted to a position which the white majority finds infuriating. The nation as a whole — as in the case of the Abolitionists over a hundred years ago — has created the climate in which earlier tactics no longer seem relevant, in which new directions become mandatory if frustration is to be met and hope maintained. And if the new turn proves a wrong one, if Black power forecloses rather than animates further debate on the Negro's condition, if it destroys previous alliances without opening up promising new options, it is the nation as a whole that must bear the responsibility. There seems little likelihood that the American majority will admit to that responsibility. Let us at least hope it will not fail to recognise the rage which Black Power represents, to hear the message at the movement's core:

*Sweethearts, the script has changed . . .
And with it the stage directions
which advise
Lowered voices, genteel asides,
And the white hand slowly turning
the dark page.*



VIETNAM GENOCIDE

by Jean-Paul Sartre

DEFINITION

The word "genocide" has not been in existence for very long: it was coined by the jurist Lemkin between the two world wars. The thing is as old as mankind and so far no society has existed whose structure has prevented it from committing this crime. In any case, genocide is a product of history and it bears the mark of the society from which it comes.

The example which we are to consider is the work of the greatest capitalist power in the present-day world: it is as such that we must try and examine it—in other words, in so far as it expresses both the economic infrastructure of this power its political aims and the contradictions of the present set of circumstances.

In particular, we must try to understand the intentions, in respect to genocide, of the American Government in its war against Vietnam. Because Article 2 of the 1948 Convention defines genocide on the basis of intent. The Convention made tacit reference to events that were fresh in everyone's memories: Hitler had openly proclaimed his deliberate intention of exterminating the Jews: he used genocide as a political means and did not disguise the fact. The Jew had to be put to death wherever he came from, not because he had been caught preparing to fight, or because he was taking part in resistance movements, but simply because he was Jewish. Now the American Government has naturally been careful not to say anything so explicit. It even claimed that it was rushing to the support of its allies, the South Vietnamese, attacked by the Communists of the North. After studying the facts, can we objectively discover such an unspoken aim? Can we say, after this investigation, that the American armed forces are killing the Vietnamese for the simple reason that they are Vietnamese? This can be established only after a short historical discussion: the structures of war change with the infrastructure of society. Between 1860 and the present day, military thinking and objectives have undergone profound changes and the outcome of this metamorphosis is, in fact, the "cautionary" war the United States is fighting in Vietnam. 1856—convention to protect the goods of neutral countries; 1864—attempt at Geneva to protect the wounded; 1899, 1907—two conferences at the Hague to try to regulate fighting generally. It was no coincidence that jurists and governments should have been increasing the attempts to "humanise war" on the eve of the two most frightful massacres mankind has ever known. In his work "On Military Conventions," V. Dedier has shown clearly that capitalist societies were also simultaneously engaged in the process of giving birth to the monster of total war—which expresses their true nature. This is because:

(1) Rivalry between industrialised nations, who fight over the new markets, engenders the permanent hostility which is expressed in the theory and practice of what is known as "bourgeois nationalism."

(2) The development of industry, which is at the root of these antagonisms, supplies the means of resolving them to the benefit of one of the competitors, by producing devices that kill on an ever more massive scale.

The result of this development is that it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between the front and the rest of the country, between combatants and civilian population.

(3) All the more so since new military objectives are now appearing near the towns—i.e. the factories which, even when they are not actually working for the army, are nonetheless to some degree the storehouses of the country's economic potential. The destruction of this potential is precisely the aim of conflict and the means of winning it.

(4) For this reason, everyone is mobilised: the peasant fights on the front, the worker supports him behind the lines, the peasant women take their men's places in the

fields. In the total struggle mounted by one nation against another, the worker tends to become a combatant because, in the final analysis, it is the power that is strongest economically that has most chance of winning.

(5) Lastly, the democratic development of the bourgeois countries tends to involve the masses in political life. They do not control the decisions of those in power, and yet little by little they become self-aware. When a war breaks out, they no longer feel remote from it. Reformulated, often distorted by propaganda, it becomes a focus of moral effort for the whole community: in each belligerent nation everyone, or almost everyone, after a certain amount of manipulation, becomes the enemy of all the members of the other—which is the last step in the evolution of total war.

(6) The same societies in full technological growth continue to broaden the field of competition by multiplying means of communication. The famous "One World" of the Americans already existed by the end of the 19th century, when American wheat finally brought about the ruin of the English farmer. Total war is no longer the war waged by all members of one national community against all those of another. It is total for another reason: because it may well involve the whole world.

So that war between (bourgeois) nations—of which the 1914 war was the first example but which had been threatening Europe since 1900—was not the invention of a single man or single government, but the simple need for total effort which became obligatory, from the beginning of the century onward, for those who wished to continue politics by other means. In other words, the choice was clear: no war or that war. It was that war that our fathers fought. And the governments—who saw it coming without having the intelligence or the courage to avoid it—tried in vain to humanise it.

Sporadic Early

Yet during the first world conflict, the intention of genocide appeared only sporadically. It was primarily a question—as in previous centuries—of shattering the military power of a country, even if the underlying aim was to ruin its economy. But, if it was true to say that one could no longer distinguish clearly between civilians and soldiers, it was rarely—for this very reason—that the population was overtly aimed at, with the exception of a few terror raids. In any case, the belligerents—at any rate, those who were actively conducting the war—were industrial powers, which implied a certain balance at the outset: each possessed a force for the dissuasion of possible extermination—i.e. the power to apply the law of retaliation; this explains why, even in the midst of the massacre, a sort of prudence still reigned.

Outside Europe

However, after 1830 and during the whole of the last century, there were many examples of genocide outside Europe. Some of these were the expression of authoritarian political structures and the others—those relevant for the understanding of the sources of United States imperialism and the nature of the war in Vietnam—had their origin in the internal structures of the capitalist democracies. To export goods and capital, the great powers—England and France in particular—built themselves colonial empires. The name given by the French to their "conquests"—*possessions d'Outre-Mer* (overseas possessions)—indicates clearly that they had managed to obtain them only by wars of aggression. The aggressor seeks out the adversary on his own ground, in Africa, in Asia, in the under-developed countries; and, far from waging a "total war," which would pre-suppose a certain reciprocity at the outset, he takes advantage of his absolute superiority in arms to commit only an expeditionary corps to the conflict. This gains an easy victory over the regular armies

— if there are any—but as this uncalled-for aggression arouses the hatred of the civilian population, and since the latter is always a mine of rebels or soldiers, the colonial troops hold sway by terror, that is to say, by constantly renewed massacres. These massacres are genocidal in character: they involve destroying "a part of the group" (ethnic, national, religious) to terrorise the rest and to destructure the native society. When in the last Century the French, after wreaking havoc in Algeria, imposed on its tribal society—where each community owned the land jointly—the practice of the Code Civil, which introduced the legal norms of bourgeois ownership and enforced the dividing up of inheritances, they systematically destroyed the economic infrastructure of the country, and the land soon passed from the peasant clans into the hands of traders from the parent country. In point of fact, colonisation is not a matter of mere conquest—like the annexation in 1870 by Germany of Alsace-Lorraine; it is, of necessity, cultural genocide. Colonisation cannot take place without the systematic elimination of the distinctive features of the native society, combined with the refusal to allow its members integration with the parent country, or to benefit from its advantages. Colonialism is, in fact, a system: the colony sells raw materials and foodstuffs at preferential rates to the colonising power which, in return, sells the colony industrial goods at the price current on the world market. This curious system of exchange can be established only if work is imposed on a colonial sub-proletariat for starvation wages. The inevitable consequence is that the colonised peoples lose their national individuality, their culture and their customs, sometimes even their language, and live in abject poverty, like shadows, ceaselessly reminded of their "sub-humanity."

However, their value as almost free manpower protects them to some degree against genocide. Just before the Nuremberg trials the French, to set an example, massacred seventy thousand Algerians at Setif. This was such a matter of course at the time that no-one took it into their heads to judge the French government as they were to judge the Nazis. But this "deliberate destruction of a part of the national group" could not be extended without damaging the colonialists' own interests. By exterminating their sub-proletariat, they would have ruined themselves. It was because they could not liquidate the Algerian population and, equally, because they could not integrate it, that the French lost the Algerian war.

These observations help us to understand that the structure of colonial wars changed after the Second World War. It was about this time, in fact, that the colonial peoples, enlightened by that conflict and its effects upon the "Empires," and subsequently by the victory of Mao Tse Tun, determined to reconquer their national independence. The characteristics of the struggle were laid down in advance: the colonialists had superiority in arms, the natives in numbers. Even in Algeria—a colony which the French had not merely exploited but also settled—the ratio in terms of numbers was 1 to 9. During the two world wars, many native Algerians had been trained as soldiers and had become seasoned fighters. However, the scarcity and poor quality of arms—at least at first—meant that fighting units were necessarily few in number. Their action, too, was dictated by those objective conditions: terrorism, ambushes, harassment of the enemy, hence extreme mobility of the combat groups, who had to strike suddenly and then vanish immediately. This was possible only with the participation of the entire population—hence the famous symbiosis of the liberation forces and the people in general. Everywhere the army of liberation organised agrarian reform, political power, education; the people supported them, fed them, hid their soldiers and gave them their young men to make good their losses. It



is no coincidence that the people's war made its appearance, with its principles, its strategy, its tactics and its theoreticians just when the industrial powers were taking total war to its limits with the industrial production of atomic power. Nor is it a coincidence that this should have resulted in the collapse of colonialism. The contradiction which gave victory to the Algerian FLN can be seen to have been present in many other places at the time: as a matter of fact, the People's War tolled the knell of classical warfare (just as the hydrogen bomb did at the same time). Colonial armies were powerless against partisans backed by the entire population. They had only one means of escaping the harassment that was demoralising them and threatening to end in new Dien-Bien-Phu's, and that was to "get rid of the water as well as the fish"—meaning the civilian population. Indeed, the soldiers of the parent country soon learned to regard these silent, obstinate peasants who, half a mile away from an ambush, knew nothing, had seen nothing, as their most formidable enemies. And since it was a whole and united people which was holding the classical army at bay, the only anti-guerilla strategy that could pay off would be the destruction of this people, i.e. of civilians, of women and children. Torture and genocide: this was the response of the colonial powers to the revolt of their subject peoples. And this response, we know, is useless if it is not radical and total: that determined population, unified by its army of partisans, politicised, savage, will no longer be intimidated, as in the heyday of colonialism, by a "cautionary" massacre. Quite the reverse, its hatred will simply be redoubled: therefore, it is no longer a question of terrorising but of physically liquidating a whole people. But this is not possible without at the same time liquidating the colonial economy, and therefore, as a direct and logical result, the whole colonial system. So the settlers panic, the parent countries weary of sinking men and money into an endless war, the masses within them ultimately oppose the continuation of barbarous conflict, and the colonies become sovereign states.

However, there do exist cases where genocide as a response to a people's war is not restrained by infrastructural contradictions. Total genocide then emerges as the absolute basis of anti-guerilla strategy. And, in certain circumstances, it may even appear as the ultimate objective—to be attained immediately or gradually. This is exactly what is happening in the war in Vietnam. This is a new moment in the imperialist process which is usually called neo-colonialism—because it can be defined as aggression against a former colony, which has already obtained its independence, to subject it once again to colonial rule. From the outset it is ensured—by the financing of a putsch, or by some other machination—that the new rulers of the State will not represent the interests of the masses, but those of a thin layer of privileged people and, consequently those of foreign capital. In the case of Vietnam, what happened was the appearance of Diem—imposed, supported and armed by the US—and the announcement of his decision to reject the Geneva agreements and to set up the Vietnamese territory situated below the seventeenth parallel as an independent State. What followed was the necessary consequence of these premises: a police force and an army were needed to hunt down former combatants who, balked of their victory, became *ipso facto* and before any effective resistance of the enemies of the new regime; in short, there was a reign of terror, which provoked a new uprising in the South and rekindled the people's war. Did the United States ever believe that Diem did not hesitate to send in first experts and then troops; and promptly found themselves involved in the struggle up to the neck. And we find once again more or less the pattern of the war that Ho-Chi-Minh fought against the French, although the American government declared, at the beginning, that it was sending troops only out of generosity and to fulfil its duties towards an ally.

OBJECTIVES

That is how things appear on the surface. But looked at more closely, these two successive struggles appear basically different: the United States, unlike the French, have no economic interests in Vietnam, apart from a few private firms who have invested a certain amount there. And these interests are not so considerable that, if the need arose, they could not be sacrificed—without harm to the American nation as a whole and without really damaging the monopolies. So that, since the government of the United States is not engaged in the struggle for directly economic reasons, it has no reason to hesitate to end it by an absolute strategy, i.e. by genocide. Obviously, this is not enough to prove that it is envisaging such a strategy—merely that there is nothing to prevent it from doing so.

In fact, according to the Americans themselves, this conflict has two objectives. Quite recently, Rusk stated: "It is ourselves we are defending." It is no longer Diem, the ally in danger, nor Ky, whom they are so generously assisting: it is the United States which are in danger in Vietnam. This means clearly that their first aim is military: to encircle Communist China, the main obstacle to their expansionism. For this reason they will not allow South-East Asia to slip through their fingers. They have put their men in power in Thailand, they control two-thirds of Laos and threaten to invade Cambodia. But these conquests will have been to no avail if they find themselves faced with a free, united Vietnam with a population of thirty-one million. This is why military chiefs are apt to talk of a key-position; this is why Dean Rusk says, with unwitting irony, that the American armed forces are fighting in Vietnam "to avoid a third world war," either this phrase has absolutely no meaning, or one must interpret; "to win it." In short, the first objective is dictated by the need to establish a Pacific defence line. A need, be it added, that only arises within the framework of the general policy of imperialism.

The second objective is economic. General Westmoreland defined it in these terms at the end of last October: "We are waging war in Vietnam to show that guerilla warfare does not pay." To show this to whom? To the Vietnamese themselves? This would be odd, to say the least: is it necessary to consume so many lives and so much money to prove this to a nation of poor peasants fighting thousands of miles away from San Francisco? And, above all, seeing that the interests of the big companies there are more or less negligible, what need was there to attack that nation, to provoke it to conflict just to be able to crush it and prove the futility of its struggle? Westmoreland's phrase—like Rusk's quoted above—needs completing. It is the others who must be shown that guerilla warfare does not pay. All the exploited and oppressed nations who might be tempted to throw off the Yankee yoke by a people's war, waged first against their



pseudo-government and the *compradores* supported by a national army, then against the "special forces" of the United States, and lastly against the GIs. In other words, in the first place Latin America. And, more generally, the Third World as a whole.

Replying to Guevara, who said "We need several Vietnams," the United States Government says: "They will all be crushed as I crush this one." In other terms, America's war, above all, is an example and a warning. An example for three continents, and perhaps four—after all, Greece, too, is a peasant nation, a dictatorship has just been set up there, one must anticipate: submission or radical liquidation. So this cautionary genocide is addressed to all mankind; it is by this warning that 6 per cent of mankind hope to succeed, without too much expense, in controlling the remaining 94 per cent. Of course, it would be preferable—for propaganda purposes—that the Vietnamese should give in before being annihilated. And yet even that is not so certain—if Vietnam were to be scrubbed off the face of the map, the situation would be clearer. Submission could conceivably be due to some avoidable failing; but if these peasants do not weaken for an instant, and if they pay for their heroism with an inevitable death, then guerillas still unborn will be discouraged more surely. At this point in the argument, three points have been established: what the United States Government wants is a base and an example. To attain its first objective it can, with no difficulty other than the resistance of the Vietnamese themselves, liquidate a whole people and establish the Pax Americana over a deserted Vietnam; to achieve the second, it must effect this extermination—at least in part.

But let us look at the whole matter and consider the terms of the alternative. In the South, this is the choice: villages are burnt, the population is subjected to massive and deliberately murderous bombardments, their cattle are killed, vegetation is ruined by defoliants, crops are sprayed with poisons and destroyed, machine-gunning is indiscriminate, there is murder, rape, pillaging; this is genocide in the strictest sense of the word—mass extermination. What is the alternative? What must the people of Vietnam do to escape this atrocious death? They must rally to the armed forces of the United States or of Saigon, and allow themselves to be shut up in strategic hamlets or in those "New Life" hamlets which differ from the first only in name—in fact, in concentration camps. We have had a good deal of evidence about these camps from many witnesses. They are surrounded by barbed wire. The most elementary needs are not catered for: there is undernourishment, complete absence of sanitation. The prisoners are thrown together in tents or cramped, airless quarters. Social structures are destroyed: husbands are separated from their wives, mothers from their children, family life—so deeply respected by the Vietnamese—no longer exists. Since households were broken up, the birth rate has dropped. Every possibility of religious or cultural life has been suppressed. Even work—work to ensure the continuation of their own lives and those of their families—is denied them. These unfortunate people are not even slaves; slavery did not prevent a

rich culture from existing among the Negroes in the United States. Here the group is reduced to the state of a formless mass, to the extremes of vegetative existence. If it wishes to emerge from this state, the bonds re-established among these pulverised, hate-ridden men can only be political; they form clandestine groups of resistance. The enemy guesses this. The result: even these camps themselves are combed through two or three times; even there, security is never attained and the pulverising forces have to work relentlessly. If by chance a fatherless family is freed, children with an older sister or a young mother, they go to swell the subproletariat of the big towns. The older sister or the mother, without a breadwinner and with other mouths to feed, complete their degradation by prostituting themselves to the enemy. What I have just described—the lot of a third of the population in the South according to the evidence of Donald Duncan—is in fact another sort of genocide, equally condemned by the 1948 Convention:

Article II

- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children . . .

In other words it is not true to say that the choice turns on death or submission. Because submission itself, in these circumstances, is genocide. It would be more apt to say that they must choose between immediate death by violence and slow death at the end of a period of physical and mental degradation. Or rather, there is no choice, there is no condition to be fulfilled: the blind chance of an "operation," or sometimes indiscriminate terror, may decide the type of genocide that an individual will undergo.

Two Destructions

In the North as in the South, there is a choice only between two types of destruction: collective death or disintegration. The most significant thing is that the American government has been able to test the resistance of the National Liberation Front and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It knows that destruction—unless it is total—will always be ineffectual. The Front is more powerful than ever; North Vietnam is unshakeable. For this very reason, the calculated extermination of the Vietnamese people cannot be aimed at making them capitulate. They are being offered an "honourable peace" with the knowledge that they will not accept it; and this apparent alternative is concealing the real intention of imperialism, which is gradually to push escalation to its utmost limits, i.e., to total genocide. It may be objected that the United States government could have gone about it more directly and

Continued on page 16



Continued from page 15

"cleaned up" Vietnam by a blitzkrieg of all its inhabitants. But, apart from the fact that this extermination required the setting up of a complex logistic apparatus — for example, the creation and free use in Thailand of air bases, shortening the bombers' journey by several thousand miles — the essential aim of "escalation" was and still is to prepare bourgeois opinion for the idea of genocide. From this point of view, the Americans have succeeded only too well. Repeated and systematic bombings of crowded districts of Haiphong and Hanoi, which two years ago would have aroused violent protests, are carried out today amid a sort of general indifference that is more like paralysis than apathy. The trick has come off: what is, in fact, the preparation of public opinion for the final genocide is seen by that opinion as a gentle and continually increasing pressure. Is this genocide possible? No. But that depends on the Vietnamese and on them alone, on their courage, on the admirable effectiveness of their organisation. As far as the United States government is concerned, no-one can exculpate it from its crime with the pretext that the intelligence and heroism of its victim enable him to limit its effects. One may conclude: faced with a people's war — a product of our time, a reply to imperialist aggression and a demand for sovereignty made by a people which values its unity — two attitudes are possible. Either the aggressor withdraws and makes peace, recognising that a whole nation is rising up against him; or else, aware of the uselessness of classical strategy, he has recourse, if he can do so without damaging his interests, to extermination pure and simple. There is no third choice; but this choice, at least, is always possible. Since the armed forces of the United States are sinking ever deeper into the mud of Vietnam, since they are intensifying bombardments and massacres, since they are trying to gain control of Laos and are planning to invade Cambodia, when they could withdraw, there is no doubt that the American government, despite its hypocritical denials, has opted for genocide.

In any case, since 1965, the racism of the American soldiers from Saigon to the seventeenth parallel, has been intensifying. The young Americans torture, they utilise the current from their field telephones unflinchingly, they fire on unarmed women for target practice, they kick wounded Vietnamese in the testicles, they cut the ears off the dead as trophies. The officers are even worse: a general boasted — in front of a Frenchman who reported this in evidence before the Tribunal — that he pursued the "VC" from his helicopter and shot them, in the ricefields. These, of

course, were not fighters in the National Liberation Front, who know how to protect themselves, but peasants cultivating their rice. The "Vietcong" and the Vietnamese are tending to merge in the minds of these confused men, who regularly declare that: "The only good Vietnamese is a dead Vietnamese" — or, the inverse of this but which comes to the same thing, "Every dead Vietnamese is a Vietcong." Peasants are preparing to harvest the rice to the south of the Seventeenth Parallel. American soldiers appear, set fire to their houses and want to transfer them to a strategic village. The peasants protest. What else can they do, bare-handed against these Martians? They say: "The rice crop is so good. We want to stay to eat our rice." Nothing else; but that is enough to exasperate the young Americans. "The Vietcong put these ideas into your heads. They've been teaching you to resist." These soldiers are so confused that they see "subversive" violence in the feeble protests that their own violence has aroused. At the root of all this there is probably a certain disappointment. They have come to save Vietnam, to free it from Communist aggressors; they soon see that the Vietnamese do not like them; from the becoming role of liberators they are pushed into that of occupying forces. It is a sort of dawning of awareness: they don't want us, there's nothing we can do here. But the moment of hesitation takes them no further. Their anger boils up and they say to themselves quite simply that any Vietnamese is, by definition, suspect. And this is true, from the neo-colonialists' point of view: they understand vaguely that in a people's war the civilians are the only visible enemy. They begin to hate them, racism does the rest. They thought they were there to save these men: they discover with vicious glee that they are there to kill them. Every one of them is a potential Communist: the proof is that they hate the Americans. From that point on, the truth of the Vietnamese war is to be found in these confused and remotely-controlled minds: and it begins to resemble Hitler's utterances. Hitler killed the Jews because they were Jews. The armed forces of the United States torture and kill the men, women and children of Vietnam because they are Vietnamese. In this way, whatever the lies and verbal precautions taken by the government, the drive to genocide is lodged in the heads of the soldiers. And this is their way of living out the murderous situation the government has put them in. The witness Martinsen, a 23-year-old student who had "interrogated" prisoners for six months and who found the memory of it intolerable, told us: "I am the stereotype of an American college student, and I find myself a war criminal." And he was right to add: "Anyone would have become like me in my place." His only mistake was to attribute his degrading crimes to

the influence of war in general. For they were not attributable to war in the abstract, unspecified, but to this war, fought by the world's greatest power against a people of poor peasants, and which forces those fighting it to live it out as the only form of relationship possible between a highly industrialised country and an under-developed one, i.e., as a relationship of genocide expressed through racism. The only relationship — short of calling a halt and leaving.

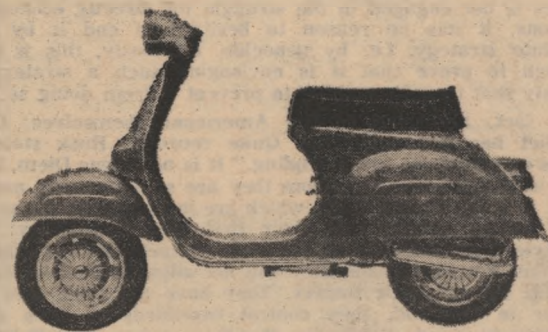
Total war presupposes a certain balance of forces, a certain reciprocity. Colonial wars were fought without this, but colonial interests restricted genocide. The present example of genocide, the latest result of the unequal development of societies, is total war fought to the bitter end by one side only and without the slightest degree of reciprocity.

The American government is not guilty of having invented modern genocide, nor even of having selected it, chosen it from among other possible and effective replies to guerilla warfare. It is not guilty — for instance — of having preferred it for strategic or economic reasons. In fact, genocide appears as the only possible reaction to the rebellion of a whole people against its oppressors. The American government is guilty of having preferred, of still preferring a policy of aggression and of war, aiming at total genocide, to a policy of peace, the only real alternative — because the latter would necessarily imply a reconsideration of the main objectives imposed on it by the big imperialist companies through their pressure groups. It is guilty of continuing and intensifying the war, although each of its members understands more clearly each day, from the reports of the military chiefs, that the only means of winning is to "liberate" Vietnam from all of the Vietnamese. It is guilty, by plotting, misrepresenting, lying and self-deceiving, of becoming more deeply committed every instant, despite the lessons of this unique and intolerable experience, to a course which is leading it to the point of no return. It is guilty, self-confessedly, of knowingly carrying on this cautionary war to make genocide a challenge and a threat to peoples everywhere. We have seen that one of the features of total war was a constant growth in the number and speed of means of transport; since 1914, war can no longer remain localised, it must spread throughout the world. Today the process is becoming intensified; the links of the One World, this universe upon which the United States wishes to impose its hegemony, are ever closer. For this reason, of which the American government is well aware, the present act of genocide — as a reply to a people's war — is conceived and perpetuated in Vietnam not only against the Vietnamese but against humanity. When a peasant falls in his ricefield, mown down by a machine gun, we are all struck. In this way the Vietnamese are fighting for all men, and the Americans against all men. Not in the figurative sense of the abstract. And not only because genocide in Vietnam would be a crime universally condemned by the law of nations. But because, gradually, the threat of genocide is extended to the whole human race, backed up by the threat of atomic warfare, i.e., the absolute point of total war, and because this crime, perpetrated every day before the eyes of all, makes all those who do not denounce it the accomplices of those who commit it, and the better to bring us under control, begins by degrading us. In this sense, imperialist genocide can only become more radical — because the group aimed at, to be terrorised through the Vietnamese nation, is the human group in its entirety.

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Poor Cow

Our first taste of the latest "new wave" is rather a disappointment. A rash of films by young British directors have been appearing overseas since last year: "I'll Never Forget Whatsisname," "Up the Junction" and "Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush" are some examples. I hope that the others are more successful than "Poor Cow."

This isn't to say that there's not a great deal in the film which is impressive: in fact, one's main regret is that the dazzling technical skill was not applied to a more appropriate subject. For in a "realistic" film about life in Battersea, a film whose major characters are thieves and prostitutes of a kind, it is disconcerting to find a lyrical strain being sounded over and over.

"Poor Cow" is like a mixture of "A Man and a Woman" and "Room at the Top": its painful realism being destroyed all the time by the lyricism of the photography. Kenneth Loach has included shots of children playing on the beach, Carol White and Terence Stamp getting away from it all in Wales, amid the grass and trees and waterfalls—all this, though fine in itself, does not seem to belong in this film. The pity of it is that so many elements of the film work against other elements—the romanticism makes the realistic sequences less believable—and the end result does not hang together as a coherent whole.

Loach, a graduate from television, has tried to give his film a documentary air, splitting it up with many titles, and concluding with an interview with Joy/Carol White. A great deal of the dialogue appears to be improvised; a technique which in this film is not very successful. In particular, a novice like John Bindon does not seem able to cope with the strain of ad-libbing, and his role looks more "acted" and "staged" than it would have if he had learnt his lines. Similarly, the titles and "documentary" aspects seem to be merely a gimmick—an unnecessary and pretentious imposition.

However, my disappointment in "Poor Cow" did not prevent me from enjoying much of it: the brilliant scene of the arrest, with a convincing sense of excitement and movement created by hand-held cameras and rapid editing, was probably the best part of the film. Or the delightful character of "Aunt Emm," played so well by Queenie Watts, recounting how she got out of paying the rent. I was also impressed by the shots of people on the street, eating ices, walking on the beach, or drinking in the pub: more than anything else, these sequences created the impression of a panorama of English life, against which the sad little story of Joy is played out.

The feeling of desolation which Joy feels at her husband's treatment of her is well portrayed, as she stands drinking by herself, looking into space, or wandering round aimlessly, desperately unhappy.

"Poor Cow" is a film to see, but don't expect too much of it.



John Bindon, professional crook, in "Poor Cow," has a drink, while Carol White and Kate Williams play barmaids at the Durell Arms in the Fulham Road.

offence, onward, that Luke is one of those people who has a strong sense of individuality, and a hatred of oppression: so his captors have their work cut out to bring him to heel. But they eventually succeed for a time.

Unlike other films dealing with

similar material (e.g. "The Hill"), "Cool Hand Luke" is both a specific and a general study of tyranny. The sinister figure of the leather-jacketed guard with dark glasses, who doesn't say a word throughout the film, epitomises all those who uphold a corrupt system

through their impersonal, obedient brutality.

Luke doesn't beat the system—as no one man can—but his ordeal exposes it, and forces the authorities to cast aside their thin veneer of "civilisation," and bare their teeth.

—Peter Boyes

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Cool Hand Luke

Here, happily, we have a film in which the treatment has been reconciled with the content. Again, we have a high standard of photography—capturing brilliantly the heat of the southern sun, the wearisome degradation of a prison farm—but it is put to good use in furthering our understanding of Luke and his situation.

Luke (played by Paul Newman) is arrested for screwing the heads off parking meters, and sent to a particularly vicious Southern prison farm, where he is subjected to every imaginable humiliation in an effort to break his spirit. It is made clear, from his initial

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RECORDS

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"The Circle Game," latest recording by onetime "folk-singer" Tom Rush (EKS 74013), represents a distinct change of style for this important artist. Following Judy Collins and others, Rush has added orchestral backing to several songs. The arrangements are tasteful and have a depth that is more satisfying than the "electric" side of his previous LP.

In keeping with recent developments in LP making, the record has an overall concept — it is about something, in this case simply a relationship between a man and a woman. It begins with a first meeting, "Tin Angel," and "Something in the Way," she Moves," then tells of "The Glory of Love," and the "Urge for Going," and ends with "No Regrets." After the final track there is an echo of the first, hence the album title.

Three of the songs are written by the brilliant young Canadian, Joni Mitchell, who must already rank with Judy Collins and Joan Baez as a singer and who is also writing some of the finest contemporary "folk" songs. In addition "The Circle Game," features a wistful instrumental "Rockport Sunday," (Rush's guitar work is as crisp as ever) and take-off of the rock style of late fifties, complete with saxophones and female backing voices, "The Glory of Love."

Tom Rush has not yet acquired Judy Collins' ability to select songs which highlight the singer's talent, however his handling of the more difficult ones, such as "Shadow Dream Song," is more than competent. As the image is very much a part of the message it's interesting to note that the new sound has been accompanied by a new look, the "folk" uniform of jacket and

jeans giving way to the "popular" market uniform of long hair and cool clothes.

I think Rush's best work in this new idiom has yet to be done, however "The Circle Game," is a first rate recording which should further establish Tom Rush as a versatile and talented singer, though one cannot help feeling a certain nostalgia for the days of "Baby Please Don't Go," and "The Panama Ltd."

—Rene Wilson

Jazz / pop

The Best of Wes Montgomery — Verve

The Best of Stan Getz — Verve

Well, so we've been granted the luxury of a jazz release — two in fact. This is overwhelming. Actually these records can be squeezed within the jazz category by virtue only of the artists themselves being well-known jazzmen and by one or two tracks on each album where there is some improvisation of any length.

Wes Montgomery first. Renowned as a self-taught guitarist who plays with his thumb, Montgomery has achieved a distinctly personal style. His ballad and blues playing features chords which are warm and sensuous and on uptempo numbers he has the ability to build solos with ever-mounting energy and tension. Unhappily, that Wes Montgomery seems to have faded from the scene, at least from the record scene. Releases of California Dreamin', Day in the Life, etc., give us a commercial Wes Mont-

gomery, playing pop melodies in an attractive but bland fashion, restricting his improvisation to lethargic chord patterns, and usually struggling with a big band (Verve maintains a studio band and of course the guys have to work don't they? So let's put them on every record).

The liner notes for The Best Of attempt to put across the line that this commercial-hit parade-jazz is important in that it helps to put jazz across to the masses. This is nonsense. All it puts across is commercial-hit parade-jazz, which has as much relation to creative music as Arthur Fiedler has to Stravinsky. If people like commercial pop jazz this is fine, but I can't see them racing off to listen to anything more demanding.

On this record, Caravan, stands out as the only true jazz track — some good, fast single note stuff here. Goin' out of my head is an excellent pop tune, and as far as that goes is well handled here (with Oliver Nelson's band). The others mainly have Latin or Bossanova rhythm. Bumpin' on Sunset and Movin' Wes being the most attractive.

Stan Getz is the more successful record — mainly because even on the hit numbers—How Insensitive (vocal by Astrud Gilberto), Girl from Ipanema (vocals by Joao and Astrud Gilberto) and Desafinado (the short hit parade version), Getz maintains a reasonably high level of creativity. A bonus here is Her, a track from the Focus album I mentioned two issues back — a bit sugary but none the less an interesting merging of strings and soloist. The best track is Stan's Blues (from the Getz Au-Go-Go album) — Gary Burton solos as well here.

These records can be reviewed as serious jazz — which would rate them low, or as popular (jazz) music — which would rate them high. I'd remember them in the second category. —Mike Michie

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Give S.I. a Fair Go!

COMMENT

With reference to a news item headed "Thou Shalt Not . . ." appearing in Craccum of July 22, 1968, we feel it is necessary to make known to the entire student body the facts relating to the charges as known to us. We are surprised and perturbed that the news item appeared before S.I. was even informed of the decision of the disciplinary committee officially. Firstly, suffice it to say that the charges made by Messrs Rudman and Allen, that "the cafeteria was left in a 'disgraceful mess' after the dance, and that Students International officials had refused to assist in the clearing up because they had no intention of again using the facilities," are rubbish.

In the past years when S.I. held its functions in the old cafe, there were no conditions laid down for use of facilities and no charges were made for cleaning. So S.I. did all the cleaning up to the satisfaction of the cafe manager. Similarly, when S.I. held its Orientation Evening in March, 1968, in the new cafe, S.I. cleaned up the cafe at the end of the evening. But when the invoice was received, it contained a cleaning charge of \$15 over the quoted hiring charge. Queries regarding this did not bring forth any satisfactory explanation.

When Mr Gervoko, the cafe manager, was approached regarding the cafe for the Capping party (April 27), he gave a quote of \$38 which he indicated included a cleaning charge of \$15, a hirage charge of \$15 and a head steward's service charge of \$8. No conditions of usage were specified except that the head steward would oversee the barmen and look after the cafe to see that everything was satisfactory. It was also understood that he would not consume alcohol during his period of duty. It was understood that Mr Singh, the chairman of S.I., would be the person responsible for S.I. Under the circumstances, the S.I. officials naturally, and rightly too, assumed the following:—

- That the head steward would look after the kitchen and point out to Mr Singh any matter that may not be to his satisfaction.
- That he would demand and ensure that the hall be left to his satisfaction.
- He would ensure that the barmen did their jobs properly.
- That any cleaning up other than those which are mentioned later would be covered by the cleaning charge of \$15.

It is reported that, at the function, the head steward did not:—

- Keep a check on the barmen.
- Report to Mr Singh of any matter that was not to his satisfaction regarding the kitchen at the end of the function, though he met him at least three times between 1 a.m. and 2.30 a.m.
- Demand or ensure that the hall be left in a better condition than it was at the end of the function.

He was seen to be consuming alcohol throughout the evening.

He stated at the disciplinary hearing that he had asked Miss Schall and Messrs Singh and Viubau to clean up the cutlery. Both Miss Schall and Mr Singh deny ever having been told of it. Mr Viubau does remember that the head steward had asked him if the trays were to be cleaned at the end and he replied that he would not be doing it. He had further asked of the head steward whose job it was but did not receive a reply.

At the end of the evening, the S.I. officials did the following:—

- Cutlery was piled into two trays and left in the lift.
- Bottles, glasses, etc., were removed from tables and floor and put into boxes.
- Paper plates and cups were put into bins, as were broken glasses.
- Stainless steel parts of servery were wiped.

While there could have been bits of food on the floor of the kitchen, there definitely was not any "disgraceful mess" left behind.

As regards the statement of intention by S.I. officials never to use the facilities again, it can be stated quite emphatically that no such decision was ever made by the club. The only statement made by any S.I. official to the head steward, which could have been misconstrued,

was a personal one by Mr Viubau and was as follows: "I am dissatisfied. Tables were not arranged for our use by 8 p.m. Personally, I don't think I will consider this place again. I won't recommend to the committee for using this place again."

A further allegation made by Mr Rudman at an exec. meeting was that five S.I. officials were rung up on Sunday (28th) morning and asked to come in and clean up, and they were not co-operative. To our knowledge, only two persons were rung, both of whom reside at the same place. The first was asked rather rudely to get Mr Viubau out of bed. Mr Viubau, the second person, was ordered to, get a group over to the cafe and clean up. He refused and told Mr Rudman to contact Mr Singh. This was not done.

When Mr Singh finally heard about it from Mr Viubau at about 12.30 p.m., he went to the cafe. By then the commercial cleaners had been called in. Mr Gervoko told him that the invoice would now be three times what was quoted, about \$100.

Subsequently an invoice was received, dated April 24 (three days before the function), for \$102. When a breakdown of this was asked for, none that was satisfactory was forthcoming. Finally a letter to the president of Studass brought about a hearing before exec. where a motion to the effect that S.I. be charged \$77 was discussed. No explanation was given as to where the figure of \$102 had come from. It was finally decided that the matter be referred to a Finance Committee Meeting to which Mr Singh was to be invited. Mr Singh was not invited to this meeting. The S.I. was then called before another exec. meeting at which, after prolonged discussion, it was decided to charge the S.I. \$57, which meant that S.I. was being charged half of the extra cleaning charge, while Studass would pay the other half. It was also decided that S.I. be called before the disciplinary committee.

S.I. was informed by the letter of the date of the hearing and the charge. On the day of the hearing the S.I. representative turned up but the disciplinary committee did not. There had been no official notice of cancellation or postponement. On inquiry by an interested person as to what had happened, it was told by word of mouth that the hearing would be on July 29. A letter was sent to Studass

on July 5, stating that as the disciplinary committee had failed to turn up at the first hearing and Rule 46(i) and (iv) of the Studass Constitution was not compiled with, S.I. considered the matter closed. On July 8 an unsigned letter from Mr Preece was received informing S.I. of the meeting on July 9. A representative was sent to the meeting with a letter from the chairman, Mr Singh, pointing out that the meeting was not really valid as Rule 46 (i) and (iv) had not been compiled with, and also mentioning the unsigned letter from Mr Preece. It added that the representative was present to show our good faith. When the letter was read out, Mr Gotlieb, a member of the disciplinary committee, said that it was irrelevant and "we make our own rules." The S.I. was refused the right to call in witnesses during the meeting. Subsequent to the hearing, S.I. sent a letter to the Studass asking for a ruling from the honorary solicitor of the association regarding the validity of Mr Gotlieb's statement with specific reference to Rule 46 (i) and (iv). To date (July 24), there has been no reply from Studass and neither has the S.I. been informed of the decision of the disciplinary committee.

It has been reported to the S.I. that at the last exec. meeting when a query was made regarding the correspondences from S.I., Mr Gotlieb remarked that nothing came of it as far as he knew. He added that they (S.I.) took all their letters back and he felt that they (S.I.) probably realised they had got a little excited. This again is a matter of surprise to the S.I. as it has no knowledge of any letters having been taken back. Far from it, S.I. is waiting to hear from Studass, regarding (a) the Ruling of the Hon. Solicitor and (b) the decision of the Disciplinary Committee.

We would conclude that we cannot understand how there could be (a) misconduct when any action or event that occurred was based on perfectly natural assumptions when viewed in their proper context, and (b) misuse of facilities when the proper form of use, if any, were not specified beforehand. It is relevant here to mention that only subsequent to the above events has the exec. appointed a sub-committee to make out specific hire charges and conditions of hirage of the cafeteria.

Varughese and Bill Puru.
S.I. Investigating Committee.

How Many Angels Can Dance on the Head of a Pin?



ROOM AT THE TOP: Recent appointments in the English Department have created some interest. A position was advertised for one professor. Three people — Associate Professors Reid, Stead and Joseph — were eventually selected. This brings the total number of full professors to five. (News item.)

RICE BOWL APPEAL

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Rhodesia Article Criticized

Sir,—With reference to the article on Rhodesia on page 6 of your edition of July 9, 1968.

Messrs Henderson Tapela and Billy Marembo after a long diatribe against the N.Z. press and supporters of Rhodesia, finally come out with the truth. They want in Rhodesia "One Man One Vote." There is not one African-ruled country where this has not led within the period of a few months to "One Man One Vote Once Only." After that a One Party State where nobody has a vote, and a cruel dictatorship, where the only way of getting rid of the boss has been the bullet and panga! There is not one African-ruled country where, as a direct result of this rule, there is not a state of increasing poverty, economic tribulation, maladministration, corruption, nepotism, tribal dissension, anarchy, and authoritarianism. The black Rhodesians, knowing all this, have shown their determination to avoid black rule at any price. This has been demonstrated by their almost 100 per cent support for the Rhodesian Government against the Communist-trained terrorists from Zambia. Seven out of ten in the Rhodesian Army and Police are black, the villagers too, have reported to the security forces within hours, the presence of terrorists. In African-ruled countries there are now two classes. The African leaders and their henchmen, on a Mercedes car standard of living, the rest, some 90 per cent, back to the life of pre-colonial days, life in hovels, and food from garbage. Tapela and Marembo are presumably counting on being able to muscle in on the former. So far as the New Zealand press only presenting Rhodesia's case; never have I read such rubbish. If the New Zealand press really told the facts, there would be such an outcry from the public, that the Government would be forced to abandon sanctions forthwith, political blackmail from Harold Wilson or not. Far more important, however, is that the New Zealand press should tell what is going on in African-ruled countries today. The irresponsible talk from various elements in this country, for majority rule in Rhodesia, would be stilled overnight.

C.E.

Law Replies

Sir,—The letter by Mr Coster in the last issue is a cunning effort by him to indulge in ill-informed criticism and subtle self justification. Considering the fact that Mr Coster has attended several exec. meetings this year and saw the MVP chatting up other members to deny Mr R. S. Rudman speaking rights on entirely personal grounds, his omissions from his letter can only be described as a deliberate attempt to misconstrue the facts.

Both Mr Price and I were disgusted with the Executive denying Messrs Harman and Rudman speaking rights. Only the previous meeting the executive had been long in their praise of Mr Rudman's work as capping controller and had passed a unanimous vote of thanks. Only one meeting later they bestow upon him the supreme insult of being the first member of the association to be denied speaking rights at an Exec meeting; then they added to this by immediately giving speaking rights on the next business to none other than Mr Coster.

There are several principles involved that prompted Mr Price and I to adopt the stand we took:

1. Speaking rights are purely procedural and can be given at any time. No student had been denied speaking rights at Exec meetings this year prior to this incident.
2. The student body had clearly shown their interest in the Omega question. It would have been advisable for some people to realise that more marched than voted for Mr Gotlieb, myself or any other Exec member.
3. The decision to deny Mr Rudman speaking rights was made on the grounds of personal antipathy. We believe that the affairs of the association should not be guided by personal feelings but should be governed by one's interpretation of the student's attitudes. On Omega these attitudes were well known.

4. Mr Price had made it clear that Mr Rudman had information that would have to be heard before Exec could decide the next course of action. When so many students call on government for the facts, one would at least think their own Exec would listen to them.

I have no desire to create some issue out of this, as I would be the last to benefit; but it is essential that the other point of view is expressed when such a scurrilous and vicious attack is made.

It is easy for Mr Coster to rant on in an emotional manner, but I believe the efforts of Mr Price and myself were vindicated by the special Exec meeting that apologised to Messrs Harman and Rudman, then by the attentive hearing accorded to them by the subsequent meeting of students.

No one minds Mr Coster getting speaking rights when other students don't. Nor do we mind him abusing us in print. But I think he would be well advised when the Exec grant him special privileges not to advertise them so widely.

—Michael G. Law

Elections

Sir,—The running of the recent elections deserves criticism. It seems that stencil copies of student lists went missing during elections, but as this had little, if any, effect on the results, it may be overlooked. I refer more to the fact that a candidate for a senior executive position was ineligible to stand. How did this happen? Are candidates unable, or unwilling, to read the constitution?

The image of student politics fared badly. Politically irresponsible schemes such as establishing out of student funds a student pub, indicate the level to which some people are prepared to descend in order to attract attention. Was the possibility that Auckland students would accept a further fee increase, in order to finance such a scheme, investigated?

Though our apathy put the four candidates who advocate this policy on to exec, we should be thankful that Auckland students have as their spokesman a mature individual of proven ability.

C. B. Littlewood.

Reform Suggestions

The outcry for improved learning techniques and educational reform is at present the vogue in universities throughout the world. The infection has spread to Auckland University and other mediums of learning in New Zealand. Various doctrines of reform have sprung up on campus; some of them wild and vivacious if not all together acceptable; others, conservative, respectable if not progressive.

We need a moderate policy and I should like to attempt to set one out.

The plan is basically an increase in the tutorial system. Officialdom will protest immediately saying it is too expensive, there are too many students. I say it can be done.

Successful third, fourth, and even second year students would be obliged, as part of their training, to take one tutorial or discussion group in their subject a week.

The experienced student could give valuable advice and information to his tutorial and the tutorial would undoubtedly widen the knowledge of their tutors. The system is of relative learning and benefits all participating. The tutor need not be there to instruct but simply to organise and direct the discussion. The topics set for such discussion would be either relative to the subject involved, or, when the group consented, on other matters of interest.

These are the mechanics of the scheme; but how can it benefit? The value of the system is manifold and could lead to a change in the basic forms and standards for achievement. The idea is to draw people with the same interests together within the framework of the university.

The number of tutorials or discussions in one week could be increased from one or two a week in each subject to perhaps four. As in my opinion the tutorial system, the personal touch, is the most effective means of learning; the assimilation of information could be readily and enjoyably accomplished.

Discussion is social as well as enlightening. Students would get to know more people and through increased contact with one another an understanding and mutual spirit would develop throughout the university.

The lack of spirit that many parties, including myself, believe exists at present, could be remedied.

The standard of achievement in the outside world is not measured by the three hour examination that passes judgment on the students' year's work, but rather, a continued ability from day to day. Through the more personal approach of the tutorial system a student's progress could be gauged more effectively, and his or her merit judged on a week to week basis. The part-time students will complain that such a system limits their chances as they don't have time to attend their extra tutorials.

On the contrary, the final examination would remain the ultimate test but its importance for the student who has maintained a high standard all year would decline. Extra tutorials would not be compulsory, but if active interest and discussion were maintained there should be no want of attendance.

This system is not untested.

Waikato University has for the past few years used a similar if not alike system of learning with favourable results.

I do not want to lower the high standard of Auckland University education. I only wish to promote learning, spirit, and to give the conscientious and reliable student who dreads the three hour exam a better chance.

—C. M. Frost.

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Just before he began his recent address to the National Club, Mike Basset was asked by a CRACCUM staffer whether his subject was "What is wrong with the National Party?" or "What I think is wrong?"

In a fit of undue modesty, the learned Labour historian replied that he would have thought that the two had one and the same meaning.

Computer dating got off to a great swing with Sexy Selwyn being "mated" with the girl who serves coffee in the cafe at the cold lunch end and who is well known for her looks and length of skirt.

Selwyn is well known for being a Lance Corporal in the Army.

Muccrac hopes that somebody from the VPS saw the president smiling as the engineers rushed past on their way to wreck the demonstration three weeks ago. Also noted, other exec members standing talking to the president were Gottlieb, and of course Sexy Selwyn.

Mr Bill Bone, from Ausapoc-pah, is retiring from active politics.

Noted "I will be able to move round the women now that I am president." The president upon election last year. (Muccrac offers its congratulations on his engagement.)

Mr Douglas Defends Arbitration System

The New Zealand arbitration system was strongly defended at Victoria recently by Mr N. V. Douglas, President of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

"The arbitration and conciliation system has been with us for over 60 years," he said, "and I think it has worked fairly satisfactorily, particularly as far as the weaker unions without much bargaining power.

"The system may have worked against the stronger unions in that they might have come out better with direct bargaining. Over the years we have built up a system which acts fairly efficiently when weighed up against systems in other countries.

"The trade union movement in this country has, year after year, reaffirmed its support for conciliation and arbitration. I think this system is a good one, and I am satisfied that we have advanced more as a result of the conciliation and arbitration system than we could have done without it. If you can get behind the scene of a strike it is a very ugly situation. Many people get hurt, and not only necessarily those involved in the strike. Often the strikers do not get what they hoped for, and often they lose what they could have got otherwise. I have rarely seen a situation where, with proper advocacy, a strike could not have been avoided.

"The system has got to be pragmatic enough to meet each situation as it arises," he suggested. "Without some sort of system we would soon be back in the jungle, and I certainly don't want that."

Mr F. J. L. Young, lecturer in labour economics at Victoria, the

second member of the panel discussing the industrial scene said, "I cannot share Mr Douglas' optimism about the system. It has prevented the unions from developing modern outlooks and ways of bargaining. It is also faulty in that it is based on the old system of the man-master relationship."

Asked by the panel chairman, VUW Labour Club Secretary Anthony Haas, what he would prescribe Mr Young said "You need some sort of indicative planning at the centre." Mr Douglas commented that he would agree with this.

The third member of the panel was Mr Des Nolan, Secretary of the Clerical Workers' Union and the New Zealand Food and Chemical Workers' Union. Asked what he understood by the term industrial relations, he said, "It is the attempt to work out the relationship between those who control labour and those who control capital. The employers ask 'what can we do to keep the establishment rolling, to avoid stirring up the unions, and to try to maintain a paternalistic attitude towards the workers.'

"I think the I.C. and A. act was meant to be the bones — the framework," he said. "The originators of it realised that it would not work unless there was a full recognition of its spirit by the people using it. It was left for the unions to put some flesh on the bare bones.

"It seems to me that the attitude

of employers in general in New Zealand is that they have no faith in arbitration and conciliation, but every now and then they are reminded of the alternatives and think they should keep it ticking along."

Asked to comment on the availability of information as a factor in pay claims Mr Nolan commented, "I think it would do a lot of good if overseas companies working here had to release their financial statements to their workers."

Said an interjector: "Or better still p . . . off completely."



Mr N. V. Douglas . . . soon to be back in the jungle.

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"Freedom of Press Can Be Dangerous"

In a democratic society freedom of the press was an idea we took for granted, but, like the right to protest, it could also impinge on other rights, said Mrs A. B. Quentin-Baxter of the Victoria University Law Faculty at the seminar being held at the university in connection with Human Rights Year.

"The problem, then, is not to make the case for press freedom, but to know how far press freedom should be curtailed when other rights need protection," she said.

The point of balance between competing interests will vary in different places and at different times, but there is a notable consensus about the relevant factors, the protection of the individual's privacy and reputation and the needs of public morality and public order.

"In ordinary times there is in New Zealand press censorship. Newspapers are free to publish what material they can obtain,

subject only to the risk of criminal or civil action if, after the event what they have published is found to have transgressed the law. Such a liability may itself prove an effective form of censorship; but at least there is no arbitrary or uncontrolled interference by any executive branch of government in what the press may print.

"There is little doubt (indeed it is the burden of newspaper complaint) that liability to an action for damages has a powerful deterrent effect. This deterrent effect is generally regarded as legitimate in cases of deliberate or reckless defamation. Already in some context where neither of these vitiating elements is present, the desirability of affording a remedy to the injured party has yielded to the prior claim of free expression. But in areas not deserving this special protection, fear of a successful defamation claim is encouragement to accuracy in statement of the facts and to responsibility in comment.

"It seems to me that, in the matter of press standards, the interests of the community and those of the individual who gets into the papers, tend to coincide. But recognising that the need to keep within the law may in practice lead to undue self-censorship, it is a further question whether the dividing line between what is defamatory and what is not should again be redrawn to permit greater freedom to the press in matters of public concern, even at the cost of greater areas of substantially unredressable harm to the individuals who may be defamed."



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