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Free to students

Studass seeks a stronger voice on Uni Council

As from next year, Studass will support selected candidates for the graduates' University Council representatives in an effort to increase the number of student-orientated Council members.

This was decided at last week's Student Representative Council meeting when three motions to put this policy into action were carried.

The proposer of the motions, John Laird, explained that at present students have only one vote on the 20-member Council. He said that Council is the supreme governing body of the University but usually acts as a rubber stamp on Senate decisions.

IMPORTANT

"However, students will realise that Council decisions are important over such things as the bursary award, and arising out of this, the threat of imposing curfews on student movements."

Laird said that this latter idea

had been proposed by Mr Justice Speight, a current graduates' representative.

Laird pointed out that the elections for the graduates' representatives were carried out through a postal ballot. He said graduates received a list of names and were asked to vote with no other information provided.

CLEAR

He suggested that, under this system, it should be clear how Mr Justice Speight was elected.

Also "it is clear that Mr Brian Rudman, who is our own Bill

Rudman's uncle, was elected through the association of name."

Pointing out the advantages, Laird said that if all six of the graduates' representatives were favourable to student ideas, then this would give students seven effective voices on Council. He also indicated that absenteeism was frequent on Council and students' influence would be increased accordingly.

MOTIONS

The three motions passed were - That AUSA support selected candidates to stand for all elections to the University Council, for those positions

designated as graduates' representatives; that a committee of SRC be set up whenever necessary to consider nominees for vacant positions and disseminate information to electors; that AUSA provide finance for the dissemination of such information, by means of posted cyclostyled letters to graduates and by circulars to departments.

Laird said the next elections would be in June, 1971, for three positions.

Mike Law commented that the same scheme had been tried at Canterbury and was working well.



John Laird

Rhodesian students' strike

As many as 400 Rhodesian students marched, shouted and sang their way through the corridors of the administration buildings on the campus of the multiracial University College (UCR), Salisbury, during the morning of June 18. On strike for three days, the students, most of them African, were waiting impatiently for the outcome of a student "action committee" delegation that was meeting with the UCR Principal, Professor Robert Craig.

The meeting had been arranged to discuss the controversial revision of the UCR statutes that will guide the forthcoming University of Rhodesia. When the UCR is elevated to full university status next year, African students fear that the all-white governing College Council may continue to have no African representation at all.

The students have been demanding equal African and "European" membership on the Council. Current enrollment at the UCR is 846 students, 383 African and 463 white. The ethnic ratio of the population as a whole is 18 black men for every white.

ASSURANCE

When the members of the student action committee emerged, they reported triumphantly that Professor Craig had given them written assurance that the Council would give serious consideration to their demands. Craig agreed, however, on the understanding that the students would not demonstrate during the next Council meeting

as they had during the previous one. The students accepted Craig's reply and called off the three-day strike.

The protests had begun on June 16 when some 250 student demonstrators blocked corridors and doorways leading to the Council room, effectively trapping the members, including the Principal, inside. When the students refused to leave, police were called in to remove them. About 40 policemen, some with dogs, quickly arrived, dispersed the crowd and arrested three African students and one white student. The arrested students were later released without charges.

Student representatives had

met with the Principal the night before and presented him with two separate petitions, one signed by more than 300 students and another from 50 members of the UCR staff of 167 teachers. The contents of the two petitions were not made public, but it is understood that they both concerned the Council's ratification of the new statutes.

STATEMENT

In a statement explaining his decision to call in the police, Craig claimed that the students were "obstructing both the passage of individuals and the business of the Council" and that he had repeatedly asked them "as a plea and as an order" to leave. Craig said that he had promised to "receive a deputation of four of their number before any decision on ratification of the statutes would be taken." He fulfilled this promise two days later and the strike ended.

Perhaps the most immediate

problem connected with the changing of the UCR is the fate of the 170 Rhodesian medical students (40 of them African) whose future careers will be endangered by the break in academic relations with the University of Birmingham. All links with Birmingham and the University of London, with which the UCR has had a special relationship for awarding degrees, are to be phased out by the time the University is formally opened. At present, however, the UCR lacks the authority to issue internationally recognized medical degrees. London University issues external degrees in the arts, sciences and economics.

OASIS

The effort to maintain the University college of Rhodesia as a kind of privileged academic oasis away from the international political furor over the continued existence of the Smith

regime has been extremely difficult ever since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1966. At that time, nine North American, British and European lecturers were arrested, jailed and deported for their opposition to the secessionist Smith Government. In protest, 70 full-time teachers eventually resigned and the exodus has since continued periodically as one professor after another finds teaching conditions in apartheid-ridden Rhodesia intolerable.

The former Vice Chancellor,

Terence Miller, who resigned last year after a referendum endorsed a new racist constitution, summed up his feelings in these words: "I believe that the prospect before the University College of Rhodesia is now likely to be that of a university in enemy-occupied territory. The head of the university will be expected to collaborate with the 'occupying power' in policies and projects which cannot be isolated from underlying wider principles and assumptions which he must, in his heart, reject." - IIEE Bulletin

**Education wk
open forum tonight
TOWN HALL**

Hints for teachers

The Teachers' Training College recently distributed a guiding programme of advice to edging teachers suggesting the finer points of behaviour to be observed by the profession. As the Government has suddenly discovered the embarrassing lack of teachers and is pressing to service students from the Training College, staff rooms and class rooms will be embellishing with this delicate etiquette.

Teachers are advised to find out where the school is before the practice starts. The group of voices is to assemble under a leader and present themselves to the principal. If they are in doubt about the intricacies of dress and appearance they should cast their mind back four or five years and emulate the teachers from their own school days. Student teachers are guests of the school and, to be safe, had better adopt a somewhat conservative approach in dress; a school's idea of what constitutes long hair may surprise some students and it wouldn't do to be sent home on the first day. Students are inexperienced people and have been

accepted at the school to work and learn. They should not tell the staff how to run the school or how to teach - although the standard they encounter just might not be 'excellent'. Discussion of shortcomings must be avoided in a public place.

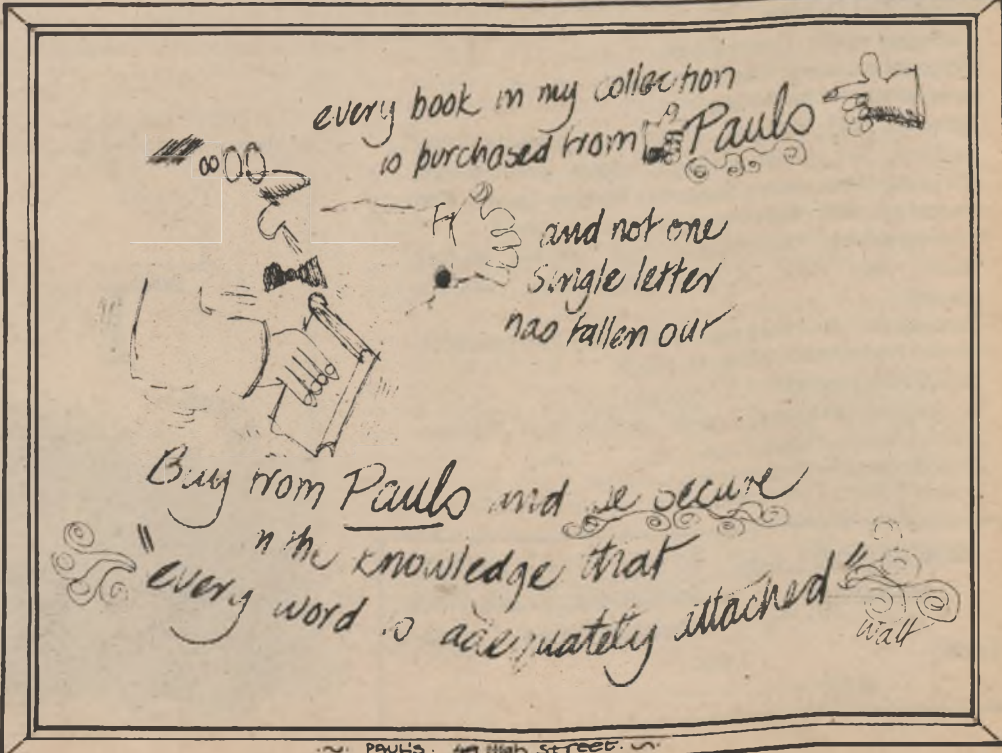
STAFF ROOM

The staff room presents special problems and the group of students should not 'take it over' or be first in the tea queue or occupy the most comfortable chairs or sit around dozing or playing cards because those hard working regulars resent the presence of 'drones'. It is always good to strike up a professional discussion. The guidance sheet

remarks upon the rudeness of 'breathing heavily or falling over feet' upon the triumphant entry to the classroom.

So much for the 'do not's'. Things to do include teaching what's to be taught and looking pleased if you know nothing about it, accepting criticism graciously, attending school assemblies and last but not least paying for tea as soon as possible after arriving at school.

If you are not sent off to have a hair cut or shave off a beard and if the tea scene works out and goodwill is blooming then you'd better donate a book to the library or produce some obviously sincere expressions of gratitude.



Mobe thoughts

Arrive at quad for Mobe—sounds like a brand of oil—the bureaucrats arrive—coffin and flag in hand—hurrah, hurrah, where's the band—read the telegrams—what a wedding this would make—there's one from Robbie—*Robbie?*—Robbie.

The masses are dumb, cold, and foot shuffling—need something to stir the blood, whip up the troops, for tonight we do battle—here it comes—the all purpose, medieval-style passion play—'Gerilla (sic) theatre'. Stereotypes for even the stupidest—the dear, hard-working peasants—Uncle Sam, in evil mask—really, to be truly evil you need a pleasant face—Military power—fuzz, something for everything—the critics went wild—rave, rave, is this the new beginning to modern theatre—see the progressive press for photos and analysis. I felt sick.

Well, with the masses suitably uplifted, and the megaphones and the walkie-talkies plugged in, batteries courtesy a well known firm, you could imagine this, off we went, watched by a friendly neighbourhood patrol car, and ignored by the denizens of the grad-bar. They might not agree, but couldn't they stop stuffing their fat, peaceful faces to look out and see what was going on? I mean, just for a minute, stop eating and start thinking, just for a *minute*.

Show of force at the Intercontinental intersection—traffic cops determined not to have traffic interrupted by a few louts—if some are killed, who cares? Not the cops, not the bureaucrats—we have our first martyrs, komrades—so, don't let them cross at once, make them wait for the traffic—bureaucrats order the masses—close up, spread out, stop, keep moving, don't wait for them, don't rush, must order some sheep-dogs for the next mobe—get Bob Martins to sponsor us—make a real killing—keep four abreast—bureaucrat forgets himself, making an unwelcome fifth.

Down the little side-street—more wild traffic—were we being got at—nearly met my Waterloo—pun, pun, pun—missed me by inches at 40 mph—who cares—not the cops, not the bureaucrats, not me, not the Americans, not the dear little peasants. And so to Anzac Street—we march to the beat of a different drum, heh, heh—traffic increasing see the bus, see the truck, see the car, see the cop-car—council must show its firmness—can't have the law flouted in this way—what's one more road statistic—teach the young scoundrels a lesson—we will not stop the traffic.

At Queen St. intersection, one brave soul decides to stop the march by parking his car across the road—dear little red Fiat DG2280, we have your number and your photo—doesn't wait round for a second photo—must be camera shy, why not? Not a cop around to give him a ticket—they must all be out watching the procession.

Up Queen St. we strode, heros of today, bearing with us truth, justice, liberty, and freedom, even. Would you believe...? Comments in the crowd—they've got some real oldies with them tonight—got it organised like a military parade—too true, old son, too true. Past Cinerama—'Who the Gods wish to Destroy'—lay a coffin at the AMP—up past the library—the weak-bladdered peel off for a quick piss against the wall—you too can be a pigeon—and thus to the Quad.

Upstairs to develop photos—meet a well-known personality—'I must settle down to do some work to get a schol out of this horrible place'. Of all the shithouse countries in the world, this is probably the least so. Laughs politely—goes off—to Vietnam?—Anon

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"ABORTION LAW REFORM"

Today

B28

Eric Braithwaite,
 Sociologist; Frank Haigh,
 Maurice Casey, Lawyers.

1 pm

This space provided
for armchair REVOLUTIONARIES



Sir,

I would like to make a few comments on P. Ryan's pathetic attempt (Craccum June 18th) to refute my recent article.

First, his well-worn "It wouldn't happen here" ploy. Ryan asserts that there is no reason why Communists should not take over peacefully in N.Z. There is a very good reason why not, the vast majority of the NZ people don't want it. A mere handful of Communists stand for Parliament at the elections, and of these most lose their deposits. He further contends that they need not live under rigid party discipline here, because NZ is a country with advanced technology. What a lot of eyewash! The whole basis of the Marxist-Leninist concept of revolution was that it should take place in highly industrialised countries like Britain and Germany, because there the proletariat could more easily be mobilised as an instrument of class warfare moreover, it was in just such countries as these that the full rigours of class warfare would have to be brought to bear, since it was there, according to Marxist-Leninist theory, that the bourgeoisie exerted its strongest hold over the slaving masses. The history of eastern Europe since 1945 shows that this policy has been consistently followed by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany, for example, where then no less advanced technologically and industrially than New Zealand is now: yet the Novotni and Grotewohl regimes—imposed by a minority group with the backing of the Red Army—have become a byword for repressive dictatorship; the subsequent experiment with some freedom of speech and press under Dubcek was crushed by renewed Russian military intervention. In Russia itself—sufficiently advanced to send rockets to the moon—"elimination" is still the lot meted out to writers or other intellectuals who dare to criticise conditions or government policy. As for Mao, he spent long years of apprenticeship in the USSR, and it was clear from the passages of his quoted in my article that he subscribes to these beliefs—and regards them as of universal application.

I now pass to Ryan's contention that the Viet Cong, Pathet Lao (and their North Vietnamese reinforcements) are to be regarded as armies of national liberation rather than of Communist revolutionary war. This likewise is sheer bunkum. When the French left the country at the end of the "Indo-Chinese War of National Liberation", the area was left in the control of native governments—pro-Peking Communists at Hanoi, anti-Communists in Saigon, and so-called neutralists in Laos and Cambodia—at this stage there was no American troops in the area. The Viet Cong initiated a terrorist campaign to set up a Communist

government in South Vietnam, and the Pathet Lao did much the same in Laos. They were aided and abetted by North Vietnam, and ultimately by both China and Russia as indeed, they still are. This is therefore clearly a case of Communist revolutionary war on an international scale, and has recently been extended to Cambodia, thanks to Nixon's overhasty attempts to withdraw American forces from the area. It is not unnatural that such a war should be opposed by those countries who do not wish themselves to be engulfed in the tide of Communist expansionism, nor is it surprising that it should be supported by those minority groups whose one hope of setting up Communist dictatorships in their own countries lies in having it imposed from outside. It is to this end that Communist agitators are seeking to whip up support among genuine pacifists for a policy which they claim to be opposition to imperialist war, but is in fact support for Communist Revolutionary War. This was the point I was trying to get over in my article.

Ryan goes on to talk about colonialism and foreign bases. In this context it may be said that the Soviet Union emerged from the war against Hitler with a considerable slice of Finland added to its territory, plus the previously independent Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, about half of pre-war Poland, and a lucrative slice of Rumania. The people of these territories are not Russian in nationality, language, religion or culture—and from this point of view the Russians may be said to have had less claim to them than Hitler had to Austria or the Sudetenland! Russian forces are stationed in Poland, Eastern Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, where they fostered and now protect the Communist regimes I referred to earlier in this letter. In contrast, the Western democracies have not annexed any foreign territory since 1945—indeed vast areas of the British, French and Dutch colonial Empires have been handed over to native regimes, and foreign bases have been evacuated on request—the latest being those of the British and Americans in Libya. As for Tibet, this country is inhabited—or rather was inhabited until a few years ago—by a people distinct from the Chinese in race, language, culture and, to some extent, religion: they were thus eligible for the right of self-determination on the same criteria as are applied by the biased UN Decolonisation Commission to Western countries' colonial territories. Yet Ryan maintains that Maoist colonialism is justified in this unhappy country, just because the Tibetans were the victims of Manchu colonialism in a previous century. A typical example of topsyturvy logic such as we learn to expect from leftwing fanatics. We might also add that vast territories of

Central Asia and Siberia, overrun by Tsarist imperialists, are still today under the control of Moscow, although their inhabitants are as distinct in race, language, culture and religion from Russians as Indians and Pakistanis are from the British. We need not imagine they will be likely at any time in the foreseeable future to be given the right of self-determination, or the chance to organise armies of national liberation.

I think I have said enough to show what a weird and distorted picture P. Ryan portrays—nor is it surprising in one who, it seems, habitually surveys the world through a red filter.

R. G. Cowlin.

Sir,

I wish to correct statements made about Mr. Talboys' speech, as it was reported in the previous issue of Craccum. As the reporter noted, Mr. Talboys spoke mainly on Volunteer Service Abroad. It is not my aim to take him up on his opinions of the Minister's speech. However, further on in his report, the author asks why Mr. Talboys did not speak on his own topic of education and general relevant issues concerned with the Minister's portfolio. "Why not a speech on these vital questions" the reporter asks, "instead of a lacklustre dirge".

Some elementary investigations would have revealed these facts.

- 1 The meeting was arranged as the first of a series of five in V.S.A. Week.
- 2 The student who arranged this meeting originally wrote to the Prime Minister (as Minister of Foreign Affairs) suggesting to him the topic of "N.Z.'s role in International Aid."
- 3 The Prime Minister in a letter to the A.U.V.S.A. Club said he would be unable to speak himself but he had delegated the task to his

colleague, Mr. Talboys. There was no mention of a change of the topic.

Hence, although the Club had acquired the Minister of Education as speaker, it was expecting an address on the above topic. There was no mention of talk on V.S.A. itself, nor on any topic of Educational Concern.

A.W. Thorne

Vice-Chairman A.U.V.S.A. Club

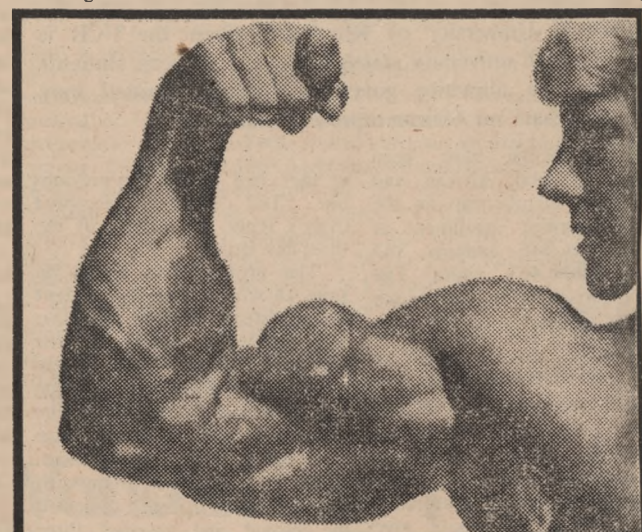
Sir,

Let me first declare my interest, as they say in the capitalist boardrooms. I am 43, a sometime graduate of Auckland University (Law); and square beyond redemption.

Tim Shadbolt's brand of slick journalism (Craccum, July 2) might impress what our Marxist friends would call 'the masses'—those who think with their penis or their mouth—but hopefully, it will not impress students trained to reason, to probe and to evaluate. With a few grains of truth on his side, Mr. Shadbolt writes amusingly. But even such a dyed-in-the-wool protester as Bertrand Russell would have shuddered at rule after rule of logical reasoning is thrown overboard, in order to make a case. Life is not a slogan-chanting phalanx of faceless demonstrators; nor the paranoiac obscurities of Eldridge Cleaver. Life is getting fresh milk in the morning, 20 miles from the nearest cow. Life is having your blood correctly 'typed' by a bacteriologist who isn't high on grass. Life is having police who will take charge of little kids abandoned by their parents, or protect Mr. Shadbolt from anyone minded to assault him.

Maybe there's a sociology student on campus who hasn't yet decided what to do for a thesis. Why not spell out the fine print of everyday life, as it would be in Mr. Shadbolt's world?

John R. Hooker



U.B.S. Customer
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 "MR. NEW ZEALAND"
 "MR. UNIVERSE"

Winner, and architecture student star — Dave stands 6' 2", weighs 235 lbs. and owns the largest arms in the world — 21" upper arm, 17" lower arm! Yet

he was fat and flabby before he started using technical drawing equipment from the U.B.S. Put an end to your scraggy, skinny "Clutch-pencil biceps" and "set-square shoulders". NOW! — in half the time with twice the ease, add jet-charged strength to every muscle in your body — WHILE YOU DRAW!



Revolutionary changes?

BY STEVE BRADLEY

REVOLUTION IN NEW ZEALAND? That the time has almost arrived is increasingly manifest. The shrouds are slipping away and the configuration of the system becomes more and more apparent: the erosion of liberties as more people attempt to practise them; police violence as the political guardians of the *status quo* become increasingly aware of their own vulnerability; increased surveillance of the citizen as Establishment paranoia becomes more pathological; frantic attempts to change the wage-fixing ritual as workers begin to reach out at the shop-floor level for what is theirs by right; increasing perception of class division (it always existed) as the time-payment welfare state system crumbles away in neglect; threats against the universities as these former finishing and professional schools for the *haute bourgeoisie* fail to closely conform with the perceived prerequisites of an undirected evolving economy, while at the same time insisting on developing bourgeois sociological analyses of the system which they serve; increasing racial tension as the social and economic position of most ethnic minority groups becomes relatively worse. And at every point dissident groups attempt to grapple with the micro-contradictions of a hypertrophied capitalism. But Manapouri, Rising Prices, Civil Liberties, Equal Pay, the All Black Tour, are only the epiphenomena of a system that has as its dominant themes exploitation, pollution, injustice, and inequality.

Why have we been so blind for so long? There is the basic problem that McLuhan has made one of his central theses ('We don't know who discovered water, but we're pretty sure it wasn't fish'); that the individual adequately socialised into the system accepts it as normal. As colonial inheritors of British political culture we suffer, as they do, from our lack of a bourgeois revolutionary tradition. The English industrial and commercial bourgeoisie never had to overthrow the agricultural bourgeoisie in order to achieve political power (so that it could make laws in its favour) because the *ancien regime* was itself capitalist-feudalism in British agriculture having died with the nineteenth century. Being able to merge, it never had to develop a total critique of the society which it was trying to change or create. This over-arching critical vacuum is apparent in the virtual non-development of English bourgeois sociology: where are the Durkheims, Webers, and Paretos?

COLONIAL BIRTHRIGHT

Isolation from overseas revolutionary currents has reinforced this colonial birthright. Our knowledge of the great revolutionary moments in the rest of the world has arrived almost solely via the medium of the bourgeois press. It is not true to say that the press has consciously selected and biased the news—it has merely molded it into bourgeois semantic because in a small society dominated publicly by bourgeois values (which the press helps to reinforce) and in market terms predominantly bourgeois audiences—nothing else was possible. The apparent somnambulism of the most exploited group—the working class? Full employment, smallness and personalness of work units, presence of a once-radical working class political party, Arbitration Court legalism, and lack of a revolutionary tradition (but remember 1889, 1913, 1951 and tremble, O bourgeoisie!)

Why is all this changing? Monocausal explanations for complex social phenomena are always *prima facie* suspect: these changes are the product of a concatenation of factors. The media revolution, so well interpreted by McLuhan, has changed the mosaic like a shaken kaleidoscope—a new kind of pattern-recognition is possible. Television, and to a lesser extent the new magazine formats, have brought to a 'better educated' audience a new immediacy of impact: the sight of people starving, especially in a low-definition image, hits much harder than reading an abstraction of it. And for the first time in history the common people have a better intelligence service than does the establishment.

LAST GASP

The bourgeoisie is losing faith in its own values. High-Victorian religious, sexual, and social morality (including their particular cognates such as paternalist discrimination) is finally dying of its own inertia, built-in obsolescence, negativity. New bourgeois bogies are being manufactured such as the 'Communist-plot drug scene' (for real); but unlike the prohibitions of a once integrated myth-ethic system, these last-gasp products of class paranoia have no real chance

of succeeding. Their one latent effect is to bind together a small but substantial group of 'deviants' (political, social, and artistic) and put them all in collective opposition to the system.

The working class is at long last beginning to recognise the in-credibility between the myth of the affluent society with its massive productive surpluses and their own relative/absolute deprivation. Without even pretending to justify the philosophy behind the bourgeois myth of equality of opportunity (to be unequal), has anyone seen the figures on the class background of Auckland University undergraduates? The failure of the Arbitration Court and *a fortiori* the F.O.L. bureaucracy, and the continued gut-reaction of the capitalists and their front-men in government and media to workers' demands for higher wages even after they had obviously depreciated (1.8% Apr. '69-Apr. '70) have fostered a new kind of shop-floor, wild-cat self-determination: A.R.A. bus-drivers, Otahuhu Railway Workshop labourers, Auckland and Wellington wharves, Auckland



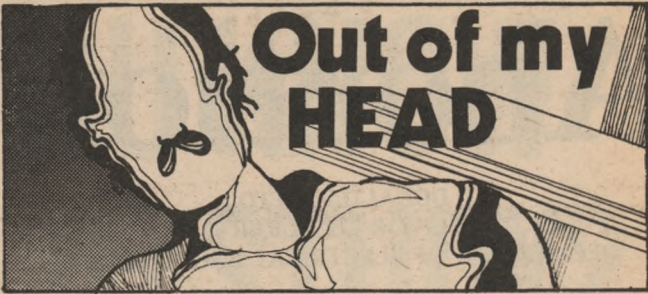
Steve Bradley

rubbish collectors, and so on. This is not just a symptom of 'labour shortage' consequent upon another of those intermittent periods of galloping inflationary capitalism but a whole new scene of non-institutionalised popular demands.

ONE-PARTY CHARADE

What is to be done? The list of micro-contradictions is endless; but the marginalist politics of the present *de facto* one-party charade will change nothing fundamental. If ever society was productive enough to allow everybody to do his own thing (or small-groups to do their own thing)—the time is nigh, before we are buried in the 'universal garbage apocalypse'. When he was here Robin Blackburn rubbished the expectation of the 'big-bang' revolution; and with him I tend to favour the concept of group control—in which work-groups or neighbourhood-groups take possession of their immediate environment. When the freezing-workers switch from the negative 'homer' to occupation of the killing floor; when the Islands turn from isolated acts of anomic violence to taking possession of Ponsonby, the revolution will be under-way and the corporate state will become redundant. Where do we fit in? There is an imperative dialectic between the students and the working class; but it is essential that we put our own house in order first. Good old Auckland U. with its class-biased entrance requirements, secret committee meetings, its exam system which packages and grades (Grade A export; Grade D sausage meat) technical and administrative *fonctionnaires* for capitalist and bureaucratic employers; its bourgeois sociology (in History, Anthropology, Political Studies, etc.) that justifies the status quo and equilibriumism, its hierarchies and elite decision-making, its smug, paternalistic pedagogy. How? Boycotting exams and other assessment functional equivalents hits right at the central role of the university. Extra-departmental forums drag decision-making out of secret cabal staff meetings. Occupation of unused buildings for 'free universities'. Mass attendance at lectures by those who cannot meet the entrance requirements. A little imagination goes a long way.

Above all, think about this institution and the way it exploits you for other's purposes; support the idea of radical change. Events in Germany and France have shown that once the students get it together the supposedly conservative and contented working class is not slow to mobilise. A clear-cut issue which will split New Zealand wide-open cannot be far away: we need to be ready. Suddenly the time arrives; suddenly the spectacle is OVER.



Human rights

BY W.B. RUDMAN

Could I apologise to all the Shadbolt fans. I know it's Tim's turn this week, but he rushed off to Christchurch to enlarge his following, and forgot to write his column.

I'm not sure if I'm too happy at helping the editor out at short notice. Last week, for the first time, I thought out a title for my column. You may remember it was headed "God's back" or something equally irreverent and irrelevant. For the record's sake and because I liked it, the title I gave it was "The flight of the kiwi". I suppose the editor considers he has the right to edit, but I would be more amenable to his editing if he wrote a decent editorial now and again.

But it is time, considering the agitation about to discuss rights, not just editorial rights, but what are loosely called human rights. Recently Mr Allen (not the Minister of Works, the other one) pronounced at length on how unruly long-haired streetwalkers should not be allowed to defy Sir D-M Robinson.

This issue has become bogged down in a pseudophilosophical argument; one side saying that it is inalienable human right for citizens to freely assemble. The other side says that shopkeepers have a right to make a profit and shoppers have a right to buy and walk on the footpath without being molested by another group of citizenry exercising some other inalienable human rights. All quite confusing. In this special case, however, I think there is basically no argument. Simply because each group is correct. Where the conflict occurs is not on the relative importance of different human rights but in facts.

Those opposing the right to assemble in Queen St say their right to buy and sell has been impaired. However not one shopkeeper has produced any evidence to show that demonstrations have lowered his profits on Friday nights while there is ample evidence to suggest that Thursday nights in Karangahape Rd are causing his loss. Also there is no evidence to show that any shopper has been physically molested by any demonstrator in Queen St. There is of course circumstantial evidence to show that their complacency has been molested.

But what is a human right? I suppose the first cave man who belted a buxom bird over the head and carried her home as his bride considered it was his human right to do such a thing.

No doubt the bride's father considered it was his human right to demand a couple of pigs in return. I suppose human rights were more easy to justify when communities believed in God. For example monarchs believed they had a God-given right to rule and tyrannise. Or as Alexander Pope put it; "the right divine of kings, to govern wrong" or as in that traditional peasant prayer; "God help the Squire and his relations; and help us to keep our proper stations."

However in the last century with the decline of God and the rise of man, the question of human rights has led to many circular arguments. One would think that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would give some guide. But the clever author of that document skirted that question by saying that "we hold the following rights to be self-evident."

Fair enough. But self-evident to whom? Self-evident no doubt to someone who has them or is fighting for them. But self-evident to Air Vice Marshall Ky? or Mr Kosygin? or Vice President Agnew? Are such rights self-evident to a suppressed individual be he a peasant in Spain or Brazil or a devout Catholic with ten hungry children?

In 1856, John Stuart Mill published a book, modestly called an essay *On Liberty*. His ideas call for some comment. Being an uneducated scientist, I must warn you that I do not know what the current feeling on J.S. Mill is. Whether he is labelled a Liberal or a pseudo-socialist or a Tory—I must apologise—escapes me. However, I have one advantage over the commentators, I have read him.

He considered the idea of human rights was a direct reaction to tyranny and its overthrow. He considers that although the replacement of oligarchy and despotism by the rule of the people led to greater freedom it also led to the danger of the tyranny of the majority over minorities. Something I called a Bogside Syndrome in an earlier column.

He of course was unable to decide what is a human right and what isn't. He considers that men should have as much freedom as is useful to their society. As he states; "I regard utility as the ultimate appeal on all ethical grounds..."

Also as a philosopher he is more adept at circumlocution than the authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"To individuality should belong the part of life in which it is chiefly the individual that is interested; to society, the part which chiefly interests society."

By this idea, he preceded Trudeau's statement that "the State has no place in the bedrooms of the people". But who is to decide where and when the State has more interest in a matter than the people?

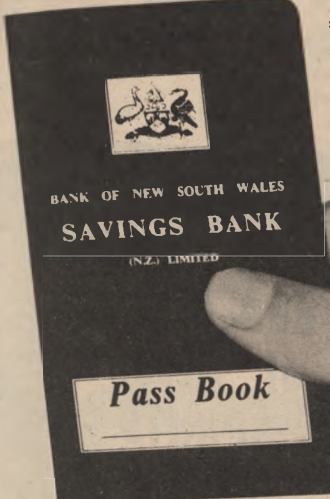
In 1915 in New Zealand, a National Register was taken. All men of military age were required to state whether they were willing to undertake military service. Of approximately 196,000 in this category 33,700 said they would not undertake service at home or abroad, and 44,300 declared their willingness to undertake home service, but refused service abroad. Yet the following year, the New Zealand Government introduced conscription.

One of the conscientious objectors, Archibald Baxter, father of James K.B., wrote an account of his experiences *We Will Not Cease* (recently republished by Caxton Press). He was shipped to Europe and inhumanly tortured, as were many others, in an English-Kiwi version of South Vietnamese Tiger Cage punishment. Who was right? Was his concern over war more important than the State's concern over winning? I obviously consider his views more important. But what is important is that there is nothing new in the struggle between the State and the individual.

Perhaps we should disentangle ourselves from the intangibilities of "your civil right is better than ours" and try to show that dissent, and expression of dissent, is a healthy attribute of any society.

The intolerance to dissent in the views of Mr Allen are a greater danger to New Zealand than millions of Asians swimming down to Cooper's Beach.

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Abortion debate continued

DONALD V. OTTO
SENIOR LECTURER
DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

"But it's murder isn't it?" Abortion that is. But Lawrence Southon, Chairman, Auckland University Humanist Society says it isn't. Why? "Abortion is different from the acts referred to as murder because the consequences are very different. Acceptance of the practice of killing (murdering) born humans leads (he says, Craccum, Vol. 44, No. 12, p.12) to disruption of the human relationships involving the people killed and to fear on the part of all possible victims—i.e. to much human suffering." It is easy to conclude from such a thesis that abortion is justifiable. But the same propositions can be used to justify murder of born humans. Therefore the thesis is wrong.

To prove the point consider when Mr Southon's definition would allow killing: Killing is allowed (according to Southon) when the human relationships involving the people killed are not disrupted and there is no fear on the part of all possible victims.

Case 1 A newly born child is not wanted by its mother (or father). No human relationships exist (if sufficient care is taken), the child does not fear death nor can any child in similar circumstances. Therefore it is justifiable to throw this viable life into the incinerator or practice vivisection on it (for the advancement of knowledge of course!)

Case 2 An older man or woman has no living relatives or friends (a sort of hermit perhaps). Provided one can ensure that neither this person nor any others in similar circumstances can possibly know of their impending destruction it is perfectly justifiable to exterminate them.

Case 3 A primitive race of people is discovered in a remote part of the world. Since the outside world does not know of them and if steps are taken to ensure that the world cannot get to know of them, then it would be (according to Southon's principles) perfectly moral to exterminate them provided the method chosen for the job made death of all members of the race simultaneous so that none would experience fear.

Case 4 Mentally retarded orphans who had formed no attachments to their nurses or guardians could be exterminated.

These few cases by no means exhaust the possibilities. I must conclude therefore, that since Mr Southon's thesis actually permits killing of "born humans" in some circumstances, then, if this is wrong, his thesis is wrong also.

SHOPWORN PARADOX

In fact, what has happened, is that Mr Southon, in an outburst of vestigial intelligence has blundered into a rather shopworn paradox. He is unwilling (apparently) to claim that killing of humans is intrinsically wrong. This principle is absolute, being unchangeable in essence in time or space. It is therefore, in a sense, beyond our frame of reference. It has (woe to our 19th century savants!) connotations of the Deity or some other Forbidden Being. But Southon claims (by inference perhaps) that most killing is wrong. What killing is right then? Clearly society or Southon has to decide this. Our society is on the verge of saying that foeticide is permissible. The Nazis decided genocide was permissible. Russian Communists destroy the intelligensia. Since different people or societies will have different ideas of what killing is permissible, the end effect is that most killing is right. Thus the paradox is that if you say most killing is wrong you end up by concluding that most killing is right. Therefore it is necessary that there exist a moral principle which is independent of the whims of man. Therefore I say, as a convinced humanist, that to kill is intrinsically wrong.

IS FOETUS HUMAN?

To demonstrate beyond doubt that Southon's contentions (regarding abortion to be specific) are just rubbish, I have yet to establish that the foetus is human. Consider the moment of birth. All are agreed that just after birth the foetus is human—a child exists. But what is the foetus just before birth? The demonstrable evidence is that no intrinsic change in the foetus takes place at birth. Therefore, if the foetus is human just after birth it is human just before. To justify abortion, therefore, it has to be shown that at some point in its development, prior to birth, the foetus becomes human. Prior to this point abortion or foeticide could possibly be justified. But the evidence of physiology and the study of chromosome characteristics shows that the foetus at every stage in its development following the first day or so after conception is identifiable as a human and not (to use Mr Southon's inimitable metaphor) for example, as a rat.

The inescapable conclusion is, therefore, that abortion is homicide and is therefore wrong.

But I can hear the anguished cry, "What about the consequences of the unwanted child (to quote Mr Southon)?" "The strain on the whole home, the child's insecurity and resultant disturbed development? (Aren't these) compelling reasons for liberalizing the law?" One of the things I can say, Mr Southon, is that your concern for mother and child is laudable—one day you may graduate as a humanist—but there is no excuse for homicide. Before I am accused

of callousness let us view the matter rationally.

(1) Excluding rape, the responsibility for conception of a child belongs entirely to the mother and father, wed or unwed.

(2) In the case of the unmarried mother, her plight arises because of her knowing or unknowing irresponsibility and society's hypocritical condemnation of her.

(3) The child, when born can be adopted. This is a satisfactory arrangement for most children and does not make the child any more or less insecure or make its development any more or less disturbed than a child in an ordinary family. Admittedly some children will not be adopted either because they have some deformity, are coloured, or perhaps adoptive demand does not equal supply.

EDUCATION NECESSARY

Concerning (1), its truth is evident, but education is necessary so that all will understand it. Concerning (2), the job of the humanist is to liberate society from its tendency to hypocrisy. In this respect some of our laws (which embody the attitude of society) do need to be changed. For example, our social security system does not provide for any assistance to the unmarried mother who wants to keep her child. Finally, with regard to (3) it is clear that that problem is one of providing better, more loving, more compassionate assistance to those children who remain orphans.

In no case therefore, is murder of the child at the foetal stage necessary. We don't kill people just because they might have to endure some hardships in life. But we don't do much about eliminating the hardships either. This is in fact a job for the revolutionary humanist.

GOD'S LAW

Southon goes on to joust with "objectively unverifiable statements" (e.g. about "God's Law"); "That the minority of active religious people have (no) right to prescribe legislation (because of) their long tradition of internal disagreement, heresy trials, inquisitions, religious wars etc." Now I may be wrong, but I do believe I detect a Freudian influence here. Belief in God (according to Freud) is an illusion, religion a neurosis, and the practice or practices of religion neurotic, repetitive, compulsive, stereotyped patterns of behaviour. Thus "God's Law" is an illusion. Because religion is a

fewer contradictions. It seems that the introduction of the Nazis into the argument is purely for its emotional effect.

Attacking the Humanist Society on grounds of lack of deeds and by comparison with the Salvation Army is ridiculous; the Society's length of time in existence, membership numbers, and monetary resources do not allow it to do more social work than it does. Secondly, the Humanist Society has no policy on abortion, and, even if it did, attacking the Society instead of the arguments put forward in favour of abortion or opposing arguments against abortion, is irrational.

It is true that some of the plight of the foetus lies in insincere face-saving by the community, and everything should be done to change this side of things. Nevertheless, this does not make the suffering likely to be experienced by the unwanted child, if it is allowed to be born, and others concerned any less real or any less a reason for preventing the pregnancy from going to completion.

Because a given assertion is made by youth and rarely encountered in older people is not a reason for denouncing it. The reason for including the doctor in the decision-making is quite clearly to state the medical grounds for or against the proposed abortion; that is probably why Mr Southon "bothered to throw in the doctor".

The relevance of legal activities in China is dubious. If Professor Liley is referring to

neurosis, religious people have no right to prescribe (or propose) legislation. Because religious behaviour is compulsive and neurotic one would expect to find such excesses as "heresy trials" etc. But all this is fallacious. Freud can be shown to have made a fundamental error here called "the fallacy of psycho-mechanistic parallelism". Apart from this, we have already seen that the only rational principle regarding murder, is in fact, an absolute moral law. Since this law is the same everywhere in our space-time (understanding of it can change of course) then one may properly conclude that it is a property of some other Being—God perhaps. This is a proof of God's existence, of course, but rather a demonstration that such a belief could be rational and objective. I might add that for Southon (or anyone else) to state that God's existence is objectively unverifiable is nonsense, because no one has yet demonstrated objectively that God does not exist.

Southon also seems to think that religious people have no right to prescribe legislation. I agree. But this was not what was going on at the meeting Southon describes. (As if a small group of people could prescribe the laws of this country!) As far as I can see these people were exercising their democratic right to promote their point of view—a wholly proper thing to do—unless we desire a fascist society.

STUPID SLOGANS

Finally, these heresy trials, inquisitions and the like. Amazingly enough, supposedly intelligent people still believe these stupid slogans. I'm not, I hasten to add, denying that such things took place, or making excuses for them, I abhor them—but all their existence proves is that men were men. That is, no matter how clear the moral principle, a man's application of it depends on his understanding of it in the framework of his historical place in the evolutionary chain.

Thus, Mr Southon, I have shown that your premises are false, your conclusions wrong and your humanism tarnished. I have also shown that the rational person (a true humanist) must condemn abortion as homicide, must struggle to change the laws of this country which persecute the unmarried mother, must strive to help the unwanted child and must be compassionate towards those in trouble whatever the cause. Finally, Mr Southon, it would be a salutary exercise for you as a science student, to report facts without bias and draw conclusions which are less glandular and more intelligent.

compulsory birth control by sterilisation, this has nothing to do with the subject in hand, and again it seems to be an attempt to rebuff a suggestion by associating it with something else, the idea of which is emotionally repugnant to many people.

An attack on atheists (or religious persons, Mr. Southon) in general must also be regarded as a substitute for criticism of views or arguments. A distinction exists between atheism and humanism, one part of which is some belief that humanists are their brothers' keepers, a feeling also very strong in China—this is purely in reply to Professor Liley and may not be a necessary part of arguments for or against abortion.

Mr. Southon's suggestion that the speakers had consistently failed to consider the sociological consequences of abortion was, I think meant to refer to the points they had put forward at the meeting. More concentration on arguments and views as stated, rather than upon the activities and backgrounds of those stating them, would be a step towards resolving the question of abortion.

Is Professor Liley suggesting that the prospect of a lack of ability to outsell capital investment in the West by Japan, is an argument against legalising abortion in New Zealand? Also, the concern of the French in 1904 for the declining rate of increase in their population is completely opposite to the present concern of most of the world for the effects of the population explosion. Again I am only pointing out the specious use

being made of facts to cloud the real issue; the connection between the cost of a protein diet in Japan in 1945 or the infant health and mortality of 1904 and the termination of unwanted pregnancies in the overcrowded world of 1970 is not made clear by Professor Liley.

Finally, Mr Southon definitely did not claim to have discovered a "curall" for social ills. This kind of exaggeration of the views of the opposition should not be forthcoming from either side. At least of all from supposedly reasonable people. Professor Liley has stated: "Personalities are not a commodity with which I am professionally competent to deal and therefore I avoid them." I am not sure what this was intended to mean but it could be taken as an injunction to keep this controversy above petty wrangling and to make some effort to look objectively at the facts and feelings involved.

Regarding Lawrence Southon's review of the inaugural meeting of the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child in issue 12 of Craccum, I cannot see how a second year chemistry student could have the knowledge of physiology to doubt Prof. Liley's statements on the human personality of the foetus. I do not know whether the foetus has a human personality or not but I am more inclined to believe the statements made by a Professor of Perinatal Physiology than those made by a student of an irrelevant subject.

S. Thomas
second year Chemistry student

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Authority and Democracy

As the madness of the centralised-technological state becomes more and more the living case for anarchy, a wider appreciation of the principles behind this alternative becomes more important. But anarchism, when being discussed, is usually not only maligned but very much misconstrued. At a recent series of meetings, various speakers, themselves either anarchists or at least acquainted with what are in fact the tenets of anarchism, presented outlines of different aspects of the anarchist approach. Hopefully, this will stimulate, and provide a basis for, relevant discussion of anarchism.

—Ralph Grant.

This article is an attempt to give some meaning to the terms Authority and Democracy and to show how authority arises in a democratic state. My approach will be largely analytical but I hope that it will result in making clearer some of the important features of the kind of society we live in, and how some of its offensive features might be changed or removed.

Considerations of authority are central to anarchist theory, and Bob Nola's analysis of authority and its place in present democracies is presented in full. The main points made by other speakers have been summarised, more or less inadequately, especially Roger Oppenheim's concept of the commune-based society.

All speakers, however, will be present at future meetings to discuss their ideas further.



Bob Nola

What does authority mean? Often it is assumed that authority is the same as power—but this is not always correct. So it is necessary to distinguish different kinds of authority.

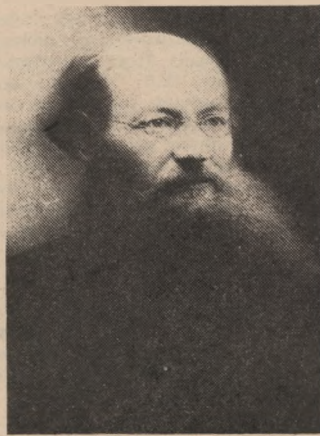
First, some of the senses in which a person can have authority. For example, if we are ill we go to someone who is an authority in medicine and not a quack; or if we want a bridge built we go to a certain kind of engineer and not a violinist. This sense of authority is that of someone who is an expert in a particular field—and we do not quarrel with the fact that there are experts. Such people are said to be authorities by virtue of possessing certain knowledge or skills.

DISTINCT

There is a second kind of authority which is quite distinct from that of a person being an authority, namely the sense in which we say a person has authority. A person may have authority in many ways e.g. by virtue of a rule or law, by the willing consent of others, by having a position in an organisation, or even by being an authority in the first sense. For example, a person knowledgeable in medicine or bridge building may acquire a certain position of authority—and hence the ability or right to exercise certain powers—in medicine or bridge building to bring about certain goals he, or others have in these fields.

Normally we do not find the first kind of authority troublesome. However, we may not always be able to recognise an alleged expert (and the two kinds of authority he may have) unless we know something about the expert's field of knowledge, the grounds on which his having authority should be based. It follows from this that an alleged expert's field of knowledge should always be open to enquiry and challenge, either from another expert or from someone else who thinks he has good grounds to challenge the expert. A person who is an authority (in the first sense) may either respond to criticism if it is well based, or he may deny that his authority is open to criticism and resist challenge—in which case we would say that such a person is authoritarian.

The second kind of authority leads even more easily to authoritarianism. A person who has authority, or who is in a position of authority, should also respond to criticism or challenge and be willing either to modify his actions or to relinquish, limit or share his authority if the grounds on which his possession of authority are questioned. But a person who has authority may deny that the credentials of his authority are open to criticism or deny that criticism is even possible (or if permitted, rendered ineffectual). An authority in this case makes itself inviolable.



Kropotkin

"... we always find that institutions, even the best of them, that were built up to maintain equality, peace, and mutual aid, become petrified as they grow old. They lose their original purpose, they fall under the domination of an ambitious minority, and gradually they become an obstacle to the ulterior development of society."

Thus the two kinds of authority may either be open to scrutiny and effective challenge (i.e. it is non-authoritarian) or it may be closed to scrutiny and challenge (i.e. it is authoritarian). The criteria for authoritarianism here are unchallengeability, infallibility or sacredness of authority (of either kind).

The closed or authoritarian variety of authority can arise in society in several ways. It may arise because others, meaning you and me, fail to check the credentials of authority and let lapse our role as critics of society. Or a person may give authority to his actions mainly because he has become influential or has access to power and coercion and not because his actions arise from authority based on skill and knowledge (which is more open to criticism).

So far I have spoken of authority only as it applies to persons. But institutions and organisations may also have authority in the same sense as persons. And these institutions may become authoritarian and makes themselves inviolable authorities by not responding to critical challenge from other persons or institutions, or by successfully disarming it.

But institutions can be authoritarian in ways different from persons. For example, a school or a state can be authoritarian in that the rules and regulations constituting either of these may give authority to only some members and not to others who are precluded by the rules themselves from having authority or even having too critical a role of that authority. Authoritarianism arises in such cases not because those in authority are authoritarian persons (though this is often the case) but because those who submit to such authority prefer a servile role. In fact servility and authoritarianism thrive on each other.

COERCIVE POWER

Some organisations in society, such as the Jehovah Witnesses, are authoritarian in this way. They can be avoided by most members of society in that it is possible for one to reject the whole framework of thought within which they operate and to remain unaffected by the coercive power that such an organisation has over its members. But it is not possible to avoid other organisations in the same way. I am thinking here of schools, one's chosen job of work in some organisation, perhaps the Church (though its authority, unless one is Catholic, has waned)—but above all the State.

It is almost impossible to escape the reach of these institutions. And it is precisely in education, politics, government and religion that authoritarian attitudes arise, and that claims of authority (of either kind) are the most suspect. Ritual and Mystification is extensively used to bamboozle and perplex those who wish to question the grounds on which claims to authority rest. Worse of all, in the case of the State many attempts to judge the grounds of authority are thwarted by closed committee decisions, secrets that can't be released until years after decisions based on them have been made. . . . in fact that whole paraphernalia of limited access to decisions in politics and government. In atmospheres such as these authoritarian attitudes arise too easily. If what I have said so far is correct there are two kinds of authority either of which may be open and responsive to critical challenge. But these same kinds of authority may be authoritarian in that they remain closed to criticism or give the appearance of being open but effectively disarm any critical challenge directed against them. Both of these kinds of authority are distinct from power. Authoritarian organisations or people may exercise their authority without force of coercion. We may, if we want, call this the possession of power—but it is more like the ability to achieve some particular goal in the absence of effective challenge.

ABILITY TO COMPEL

Power, in an important sense, arises through the ability to compel by the use of force or coercion. In this sense a closed authority, such as the Rugby Union or a business corporation, does not necessarily have power. If such organisations persist in activities which are strongly criticized, then their ability to persist may be found in a number of things ranging from misguided support to influence upon some other organisation (e.g. Government) which has effective power either to support or prevent these activities. But these organisations do not as such have coercive power even though they may be authoritarian and exert strong influences in society.

The organisation which does have both authority (in either sense, and which may be open or closed) and power is the State. I will leave undecided the factual question whether or not for any given State it is other outside States which have effective power, or within the State itself other organisations such as the military, business corporations, the church, the police etc. have effective power along with, or over and above, the State and its government. If the answer to this question is 'yes', the role of power in the State is primary and that of authority (of either kind) is secondary. And almost certainly the power that is exercised will be justified either by some system of laws or some system of repression, or, as is more common, some prevailing political theory or ideology, such as *laissez-faire* capitalism, monopoly capitalism (state or private) or totalitarianism, etc.

Now the reason why I think that the State, especially the democratically elected State (not to mention totalitarian states), has power and authority and is authoritarian into the bargain will emerge when I discuss the several meanings that the word democracy can have.

The word democracy is one of the words everyone likes—no one likes to have his friends, let alone his enemies, call him undemocratic.



Unfortunately the word covers a multitude of sins—there is a philosopher associated with democracy and a reality that hardly deserves the name—certainly it is not at all.

What the ancient Greeks meant by democracy was the people themselves government of the citizens of a town or city by the representatives—themselves and not through elected representatives. The representatives exercised their own political authority and did not, as in our political issues, government, leave themselves to be governed by representatives. Democracy is be

Whether or not this kind of democracy actually existed is a matter of opinion. I do not know—certainly Plato and Aristotle did not think it was a good idea. But the fact remains that we have inherited the myth that our modern democratic state functions like a Greek democracy but with a few minor adjustments. The word democratic used to describe both forms of government does not imply that what is referred to must be the same. The change from town to modern State makes a fundamental difference. The definition is

For the Greeks the idea of a democratic state is inconceivable. The form of government is democratic then, *ipso facto*, the State is democratic. There be no such thing as a State, in our sense of the term, which is democratic—for in a democracy the State disappears. So what we mean by democracy is not the same as what the Greeks meant. They mean the same is a myth.

There are still some other myths about democracy that are worth pointing out. One of these myths arises from attempting to define democracy as an ideal and then to see the ideal as reflected wholly or partly in reality. As it really is. However it is not useful to define democracy as an ideal. We may, if we wish, view the various possible systems of government as a hierarchy, at lower levels in the hierarchy. But such a hierarchy at best expresses merely a preference for one system over another and does not tell us what in fact democracy is.

MEANS TO DECISIONS

What I am arguing is that the many possible systems of government are methods, or institutionalised arrangements, for arriving at political, legislative and administrative decisions. As such, a method of democracy is not an ideal. Now it may be the case that we can give democracy a definition (as I will do later) as a particular method of government and then realise that due to human frailty or whatever such a method of government, can never, will never, come about. This we may think of the Greek concept of democracy—and perhaps it is in this sense that democracy is an ideal.

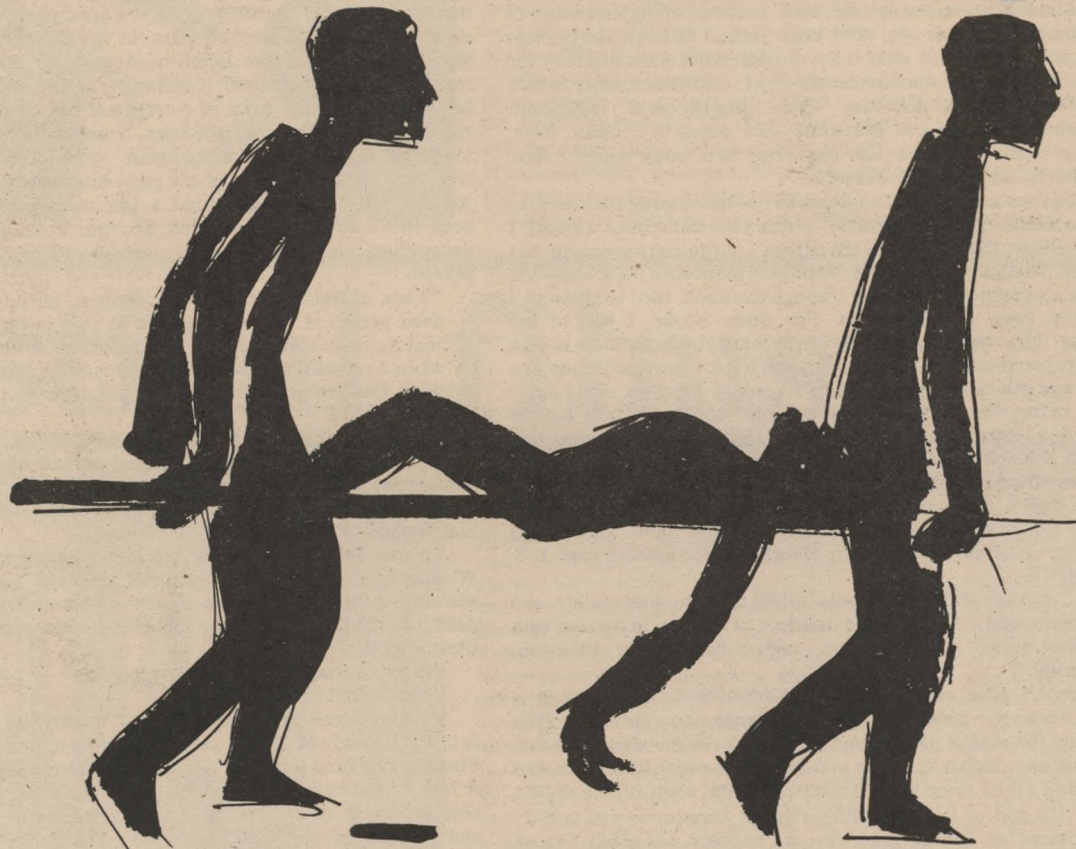
What I want to emphasise is that the many possible systems of government are methods for arriving at political decisions. We may praise one method above another but this does not tell us what in each method is.

What distinguishes democracy from other forms of government is the extent to which those who are ruled are consulted when political decisions are made. In all systems of government, democratic or not, the 'will of the people', or what the ruled wish, is not always ignored. But neither is it always consulted, even in a democracy (except the Greek kind of democracy or an anarchist state). Precisely how the will of the people enters into political decision making is the important factor that distinguishes one kind of democracy from another.

ANOTHER MYTH

One further myth about democracy. There is a definition of democracy proposed by some philosophers of the Enlightenment. We think characterises our modern democratic state perhaps better than both go under the same name. I will call this definition the classical doctrine of democracy and it goes as follows: The democratic state is that society in which the method of arriving at political decisions is one in which the people themselves decide issues through the election of representatives who then assemble to carry out the will of the people who elect them. (I won't argue whether or not any particular political system is

L'ORDRE



RÈGNE

kind of competition not admitted into the arena of clashing interests would be that whose purpose was to call a halt to the whole idea of such competition.

BEST SUITED

Pluralism of this variety has its roots in certain liberal theories of society. A pluralist society has suited best those forms of capitalist society which are also elected democracies. Pluralism is not well suited to those forms of society which are socialistic and tend to restrict the autonomous activity of certain groups in society.

In pluralistic society government can result in at least two ways: (1) The role of government is that of laying down rules for competition and conflict between groups. Ideally, but not necessarily, the rules should be such that no one group gains an unchallenged monopoly over some aspect of the national life. For example, government lays down rules under which business organisations and monopolies compete amongst themselves and with workers over powers, rights and interests. The role of government here is that of a referee and its decisions are open to influence, pressure and even justice. Government can in this way protect and increase the liberties of citizens or restrict them.

(2) Government is the resultant of conflicting pressures that can be put on those in a position of influence in government departments or political parties i.e. government is the focal point at which the various pressures exerted by groups within society are registered and resolved. Politicians are then forced to accommodate themselves to the pressures exerted by a number of opposed interests and to achieve some kind of distributive justice for those concerned, or simply to accommodate themselves to pressure forgetting about distributive justice.

How does authority arise in a democracy and how does an elective democracy become authoritarian? If my brief sketch of a pluralist society is correct, political decision-making results directly from governments' laying down certain kinds of rule or responding to pressures. What is crucial here is the extent to which the State, and groups within society which create effective pressures, have authority, become authoritarian, exercise influence and wield power. Since a pluralist society is composed of competing groups, then it is essential to ensure that no one group (government included) acquires for itself unchallenged authority and power to act freely from all kinds of criticism. To the extent that some groups in society pursue their interests free from strong criticism, these groups are authoritarian and influential, and to some extent wield power.

DOMINANT GROUPS

To see how authoritarianism arises within a democracy it is important to note that some groups in society are dominant pressure groups either with direct influence upon, or power to determine, political decisions, and that other dominated groups do not have effective authority and power and are excluded from the political decision-making process. For example, in the United States issues such as civil rights, poverty and pollution were the interests of a few individuals and groups whose influence was entirely outside politics. Slowly these groups developed in political tactics and successfully converted large numbers of people to their cause, and grew in influence. Suddenly Kennedy took up civil rights, Johnson discovered poverty and launched the Great Society campaign, and Nixon realised one morning that the U.S. was being polluted to death.

The fact that some of these programmes have achieved little or nothing is also another important aspect of a pluralist society. Dominant groups who have political influence and authority usually can easily disarm or ignore any potentially damaging protest directed against them. Such groups may have considerable ability in influencing or creating opinion; or in creating, or resting upon, an ideology in terms of which their own power and authority is justified. It is then easy to show that any challenge to such groups is really an attempt to subvert a particular national way of life, and then to rely on the backing of a silent majority which is servile to power and authority or content with the way it is exercised. In this way protest about the Vietnam War has been on the whole successfully undermined.

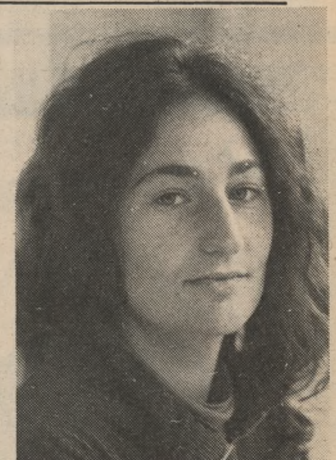
RARELY GENUINE

The trouble with a pluralist society is that it is very rarely genuinely pluralist. According to the tenets of a pluralist society any group has the right to say in policy-making decisions and a share in the benefits. It is true to some extent that all kinds of opposing groups manage to co-exist; communists and fascists, militarists and pacifists, atheists and the Church etc. Freedom of speech (but not always action) is also guaranteed so that the informed opinion is tolerated along with the stupid; and misinformation and propaganda is tolerated along with the truth, which may as a result fail to be noticed as the truth (and purposefully so).

Some of these groups may aim to qualitatively change a pluralist society into something else. But within a pluralist society there is a very clear line drawn between those groups whose interests are acceptable and responsible (sic), and those whose interests are not. Enough gestures are made to placate the opinions of these latter groups, but no response is made to their criticism if it touches too deeply the well-established power and authority of the former groups.

Protest and dissent within society is then more than just a legal right extended to people by law. It is part of the means whereby the political decision-making processes are kept free from the authoritarianism, the exploitive practices and the unchecked pressures or particular groups. So dissent within society should not only aim at exposing the activities of the groups and the myths and the servility which keep them in positions of power and authority. It should also aim to present dissent, protest and criticism as part of the idea of a society free from authoritarianism and autonomous power.

Jane Hanne dealt with what she took to be a central tenet of anarchist theory and in clarifying it sought to explode two myths about anarchist society which arise from a misunderstanding of this tenet.



People easily recognise the anarchists' central aim of destroying power structures, but many people, even among those calling themselves anarchists, fail to consider that this must always have a positive implication—the building of a free society based on co-operation. And the creation of such a society cannot come before the demise of the present system because of the stultifying and debilitating effect of relationships of power, domination and the subsequent exploitation.

As Sartre shows, it is a human being's actions which make his personality, which in fact make him, and those acts are the results of

cont. P11

defines democracy as: that method of process for arriving at political decisions in which certain individuals (elected representatives) acquire the authority and power to make political decisions by means of a competitive struggle for peoples votes (once every 3, 4 or 5 years).

This definition of democracy is a far cry from that of the Greeks or the enlightened philosophers. Gene is the belief that the people decide political issues. What they do decide is who among a group of competing representatives will make political decisions quite apart from consulting the general will or the common good—except when an election threatens. In fact what people decide is which party of representatives among two or three competing parties will misrepresent them for a number of years before running the gauntlet of public opinion once more, appropriately manipulated or not.

MINIMAL ROLE

In this kind of democracy the role of the electorate as such is a fairly minimal one. It is certain party people who have effective immediate power and authority and not those they allegedly represent. On occasions they remember the electors by referring to their role in parliament as the Call from the People. But this serves to beguile the electorate, give their representative function a quasi-religious veneer and to disguise the fact that voters don't decide issues.

The myth of democracy is that the Greek or classical conceptions of democracy actually describe our method of political decision-making whereas a matter of fact the reality of that process is quite different. I am loath to call it democratic, for that is to ruin a good word which has a respectable history from the Greeks to some of the Enlightened philosophers. Instead I shall call it 'pluralist' (which I shall define shortly). Some have called our decision-making process democratic pluralism but this is perhaps because democracy is an O.K. word and therefore it ought to be prefixed to all names used to refer to our society. Occasionally I may lapse into this usage but not because I think that the adjectival tag adds anything significant.

Schumpeter's definition of democracy serves to show that voters do not make political decisions (in fact how could they when three years of decision making is collapsed into a three-yearly vote). But what this definition leaves out is how political decisions are made outside the process of electing representatives. This extra-elective process I call 'pluralism' and I mean by this the following. Our western capitalistic form of society is made up of a number of competing groups, organisations and institutions such as political parties, big and little business, trade unions, the Rugby Union, universities, farmers... even drop outs, all of which exert some kind of pressure on society and all of which clash with one another in various fields of interest. Some groups perform their function and achieve their goals directly (such as the local football club) but others (such as the Rugby union, businesses, farmers, etc) are organised as pressure groups to influence other people, other groups, and government to achieve their ends. The resulting pressure exerted may take many forms; it may be just enough effort to guarantee its existence (e.g. a small business), it may be a substantial effort to carry out some large scale activity (the Rugby Union), or the group's aim may be to achieve a certain amount of wealth and political influence and control. All of these groups to some extent influence the decisions of government—certainly not the hapless individual and certainly not the general will, which was never conceived as a pressure group.

COMPETITION THE ESSENCE

The basic tenet of pluralism is that competition between different groups in the same spheres of interest is the essence of society. In the competitive tussle for influence or power, or just the right to exist, many groups may disappear, fail to be effective, or flourish—and with changing social and economic conditions some groups are doomed to extinction, or perpetual failure, while others grow and flourish. The overriding characteristic of such a society is that anyone can enter into the competitive arena—and this despite the very fierce competition taking place which effectively excludes many groups from getting into the arena in the first place. In such a way the ideal of capitalism is extended to all i.e. *laissez-faire* competition. The only

ins—there is a philosopher actually proposed such a definition in this y deserves the m—certainly it was the intent of many.

acy was the people themselves who decide issues through their elected ty by the representatives—thus creating the myth that through one's elected tives. The representatives it is always possible to influence the final outcome of ot, as in our political issues. Certainly this is what politicians like us to think presentatives democracy is because it flatters the electors, offers politicians an ally existed a opportunity of evading their representative duties, and, importantly, did not think ables them to crush opponents in the name of the people—not to nains that we ention the people themselves.

state function In criticizing this definition of democracy I in no way wish to adjustments designate those thinkers who proposed it. They proposed their theory ever, that the democracy within the framework of a certain conception of an government do lightened rational man. If these framework assumptions are true The change en I think the definition of democracy is a good one. However, if difference. he definition is stripped of these assumptions and presented to us as is inconceivable account of what democracy is, and moreover what we have got, fact, the State we are being duped by a piece of misleading ideology.

WHAT ASSUMPTIONS?

What are some of the assumptions that go with the definition? rstly, there is the idea of a common good which all rational men can ree upon. This assumption we may not accept, but not because ny that are some people may want something else other than the common good. ne democracy was (and still is) a very strong compulsion to argue that if all or partly in se are rational then they cannot but reach the same conclusion on nocracy as an eters of morality and politics. However it is commonly recognised there are irreducible differences in values no matter how rational cy, at the tra are—and this a philosopher of the Enlightenment would have short of the and difficult to countenance (certainly if it was man's rationality cracy, law it is at stake).

ut such a Secondly they assumed that, again, if men are rational, then there for one sy be such a thing as a discernible general will. But these days we do in fact dem even speak of democracy as the will of the people but have ped to something less profound, viz, the will of the majority. se are quite distinct. The will of the people is more subtle being a ik of desires, aims and goals. The will of the majority is simply the biggest number of people want even if it is only 18% as in election of Thieu in Vietnam a few years ago.

us the will of the people is not the same as the will of the rity; but is there such a thing as 'the will of the people' that an ed representative, if discerning enough, could detect which is than a bundle of vague impressions which arise from slogans, al ignorance and half analysed beliefs? That is, is the general will and definite on a whole range of political issues and formed y from propaganda and pressure?

hat some of the classical theorists underestimated was the extent hich the will of the people becomes insignificant besides the own and irrational forces which shape the wills, desires and goals ople. The general will is meant to be unsullied by all these forces Marx, Freud and others have correctly pointed out condition the

of particular men or men in groups. To some extent then the cal conception of democracy fails to give an account of how al decisions are actually reached in our society. They assume, y, that people hold a definite rational opinion on every question hat they make this opinion effective in a democracy by choosing entatives who will see to it that the willed opinion is carried

PEOPLE'S POWER

in the classical conception of democracy the selection of representative is made secondary to the primary purpose of the ocratic method of government which is the ultimate power that people have in deciding political issue. Let us reverse roles here say that what the people primarily do is to select representatives that it is these who do the deciding. The role of the people now is to make political decisions, but to elect representatives who form vernment and who then make decisions.

This seems to be a definition of democracy, that fits reality better. nect J. Schumpeter (in his Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy)

Craccum's arts

SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE/KURT VONNEGUT. Jr. / JOHNATHAN CAPE.

Like some Moorish temple, this book is a compelling succession of arabesques: led by your eye, your brain finds it difficult and perhaps unnecessary to determine what is the outside, what is the inside of the patterns. Also there is that apparently light, effortless quality, which makes any critical discourse seem sluggish and redundant. Slaughterhouse-Five is also economic—186 pages of a clean, fresh, promising scent, not quite like any other new book which I have smelled lately. Large type, looks well.

One bad scene, though. Ted Sheehan has taken away the cover, to make the block for the illustration which you see here. As a result, I am left without the endpapers, the author's photo and biography, but worse still, without a bookmark. With new hardbacks, I generally use the front coverslip until halfway through the book, then swap over to use of the back one thereafter. For other books, I like to use something thin, firm, and elegant. Anything cheap or limp is vile; crinkled paper money is the end. For this book I have had to use one of those tear-out printed prefaces to a book of Snowtex and I don't feel any better for it. So you see a book's cover need not just be considered a superficial, prestige thing. With its elegant, red and yellow on a black ground cover out at the blockmakers, the review copy looks stripped, smaller, vulnerable and a curious icy green, with Jonathon Cape's jardiniere & flowerhead device shivering gold like an obscenely exposed birthmark at the base of the spine. Should you consider my attitude effete, open Slaughterhouse-Five at page 178, para 2, line 10.

What... the function of the novel might be in modern society, and one critic said, "To provide touches of colour in rooms with all-white walls." Another one said, "To describe blow-jobs artistically."

The book's title comes from Schlachthof-fünf, an abbatoir in Dresden, where the central figure, Billy Pilgrim, and other U.S. POWs are held at the end of the Second World War. In the slaughterhouse cellar these men shelter from the massive fire-bombing which wrecked Dresden and killed some 83,000 civilians on the night of March 9th, 1945. By the end of the book, Billy Pilgrim, teamed up with a N.Z. Maori captured at Tobruk (and who, improbably, has a full face of Moko in 1945...), are digging up huge "corpse mines" of cadavers out of the ruins. Yet for a large preceding part of the book, Billy Pilgrim is not in War-time Germany at all. To quote the opening of Chapter 2:

"Billy Pilgrim has come unstuck in time... Billy is spastic in time, has no control over where he is going next, and the trips aren't necessarily fun. He is in a constant state of stage fright, he says, because he never knows what part of his life he is going to have to act in next."

The catalyst for this phenomenon was Billy's travelling through a timewarp, through, over and into time & space, to the inhabited planet of Tralfamadore (or a Daft Realm...?) in only an instant of Earth time. As he goes on to explain:

"The Tralfamadoreans can look at all the different moments just the way we can look at a stretch of the Rocky Mountains"

Billy, thereafter (at least in the sense of LINEAR time), freaks out to appointments with himself (he always stays Billy Pilgrim) in his early life, his civilian middle-age, his elderly life and Tralfamadore, where he is mated in a space zoo to another time-and-distance abducted earth person, Montana Wildhack. They are caged by the intelligent, telepathic Tralfamadoreans in an Earth-type geodesic dome. At another time on Earth Billy makes his way to another geodesic at the foreseen occasion of his assassination. But the wartime sequences follow a direct line of events from the massive German capture of American and Commonwealth troops at the end of the Battle of the Bulge, through to the end of the war.

The horror of the fire-bombing of Dresden was so total, in

hindsight so inexcusable, that as a subject of art it possibly defies graphic interpretation. It may only be effectively viewed through a narrow door of idiosyncrasy, just as a solar phenomenon can only be safely seen through smoked glass. In Alain Resnais' film Hiroshima Mon Amour (1959) the Bomb of August '45 is off-camera and the reflections of a French girl, recalling her shaven head at the war's end, her nostalgia for the town of Nevers and her Japanese lover allude to the event. Similarly, a decade later, Norman Mailer's Why Are We in Vietnam? is ostensibly a zeit-geist monologue-rave by a Texas teenager, about himself and his game-hunting experiences in Arctic Alaska: yet within this format a fair metaphorical answer to the book-title's question is provided. So, too, Vonnegut views Dresden's destruction and its aftermath through Billy Pilgrim's time-warped psyche:

"When a Tralfamadorean sees a corpse, all he thinks is that the dead person is in bad condition in that particular moment, but that the same person is just fine in plenty of other moments. Now, when I myself hear that somebody is dead, I simply shrug and say what the Tralfamadoreans say about dead people, which is 'So it goes.'"

So it goes. This is the most frequently repeated phrase in the book, not always referring to the dead, either. At first this repetition is a strain, like an overdone ingroup joke; then it becomes a sort of magical catch-call between the writer and reader, and finally prayerful and hypnotic... maybe.

The guileless holy-innocent style comes nearer to story-telling than Writing with a big WR. As a result, phantasies emerge and vanish without strain or prompting, like glowing bubbles in a gently active fluid. A childlike quality of metaphor often provides some lovely illustrations:

"He didn't look like a soldier at all.

He looked like a filthy flamingo."

Slaughterhouse-Five possesses that quality of past, present and future all slowly shuffling, card suits in Time's pack. Vonnegut, like Thomas Pynchon, possesses the genius of selective, sardonic phantasy. A Jewish chaplain punctures his hand in an accident. A great French chef dies, and at the funeral, his surviving kinsmen sprinkle parsley and paprika on the body. So it goes. The bug-eyed zoo crowds at Tralfamadore fill the air with telepathic squeals, whenever Billy has a piss, like kids watching an earth-zoo ape; a cage Gulliver could well have occupied. (Billy and Montana do have a big cloth thrown over the dome, like a bird-cage, to induce their breeding instincts. (it works.)

A few little boomerangs are thrown out into the Dreamtime and return, too. Andre Le Fevre, one of Louis Daguerre's co-workers produced what can be assumed to be the first blue photo in 1841, and was arrested for trying to hustle it in the Tuileries Gardens. At the trial, wouldn't y'know, he pulled the usual old trick of Mitigating Artistic Significance:

"When asked which myth he meant to represent, Le Fevre replied that there were thousands of myths like that, with the woman as a mortal and the pony as a god.

He was sentenced to six months in prison. He died there of pneumonia. So it goes.

Further down the time-line, one of Billy Pilgrim's mates is carrying the print in Germany towards the end of the war, and much later, in a central Manhattan porno-pic & Art Film depot, amid all the wealth of still & movie 20th cent. looksies, the old silverplate spirit of '41 is still on the, er hoof; a sort of Rosetti stone in Porno culture it is kept beneath the counter for connoisseur customers. Le Fevre is in a bad condition just at the moment, but the pony and girl are both well. So it goes. Immortality is where you chose to find it. . . .

Cheers & Godbless, Kurt Vonnegut.
DON BINNEY.



*This isn't the cover—Sheehan lost it.



M.A.S.H./Director: R. Altman/Plaza

The avant-garde New Left critic David Kisler argues that M.A.S.H. is just a prop for the Establishment. He says that it aims to show war as a funny joke, no-one really having to work or die hard, in fact no-one gives a damn about the war. Look at it this way—instead of starting from the premise that war is evil or that war is good business, concede that human beings are very stupid and/or very funny. Essentially then, M.A.S.H. is a very funny film. It combines elements of black comedy, satire and pure slapstick with totally refreshing (heave a sigh of relief) unpretentiousness (a rare quality). There is an abundance of beautifully synchronised slapstick mostly involving Hot Lips and the image of the Red Blooded American Male—a Bible bashing celibate hastily adapts his religion to include his satisfaction unaware of the microphone under the bed to relay all details over the intercom system. And the collapsing shower tent, the farcial football

game, the Last Supper send-up and golf games, and buckets and buckets of mashed bloody guts. All this and a witty script—if it is a script—the cast are so convincingly incongruous that it could be just a series of brilliant ad-libs. If there is a Message (which is what you seem to want—isn't it that people are going to disbelieve to the point of ridicule any situation into which they are conscripted against their will? At least 'suicide is painless' etc, and a matter of free choice. The abuse and misuse of regulations and Government funds (Milo in Catch 22) is as acceptable in this situation as the intercom blasting out Japanese versions of American wartime pop-songs, orders and announcements about movies, all of them garbled and irrelevant. It's not as if they don't know there's a war going on—after all, somebody keeps landing helicopters on their golf course. It's just that there exists no apparent reason, no cause, only effect. If it's that bad, it must be funny, and according to M.A.S.H. it is. J & L. Daly-Peoples



THE ELVIN BISHOP GROUP / CBS stereo

That looks like Gerard M Hopkins' pig, so dappled and beatific, but it's electric and smoking a liquorice joint or flashing a penlight—or both, around revolves the vicious circle and out comes a stoned burglar pig. Candid little snaps of the group doing their various things (Alberto Giaquinto banished in miniature to the other side). John Chambers, drum basher, has complemented his Afro and lengthened his moustache with some clumsy pen strokes. Steve Millar, disagreeably surprised at his involvement with such ragged mediocrity. Art Stavro, spaced-out, as boring as his bass runs and Applejack who does what harping is needed, here practises his rendition of the fabled Jim Morrison scene.

Ubiquitous Crabshaw—coterie name for Elvin Bishop—disports thrice beneath his pig picture and in a grainy blow-up on the back. The crass primitivism of his painting characterises Bishop, from his affectation of overalls to the quasi-country blues peddled on this album. Once an indifferent rhythm guitarist for Paul Butterfield, he now props up his own facade, as is the fashion.

Electric blues people claim affinity with traditional blues and jazz by imitating the dialect. They discovered a very profitable version of the 'gig'; the evanescent supergroup, an assemblage of pin-ups who get it together—briefly—for lucrative promo monstrosities. Where in the frenzied transience of modern blues, can you find such a brilliant genealogy as John Coltrane out of Miles Davis out of Charlie Parker? each with enough genius to develop more progressive forms from their creative associations. Bishop certainly didn't learn much by playing

with Mike Bloomfield.

His idea of country music is rhyming a few words like 'dog' and 'frog', dragging out semi-talking blues which rely upon an uninspired guitar phrase when the lyrics fail:

I talked to her so sweet, Here's how I talked to her. . . .

Here's how I talked to her. . . .

(docile, dulcet pluckings)

I'm gonna have to get tough with this woman."

Here's how I'm gonna have to talk to her. . . .

(frantic, fortissimo twang)

If music be the food of love, this is meagre fare and Elvin's not gonna convince anyone.

Reviving some ethnic formulae:

If you wanna little honey baby

Get it from me. . . .

And giving the songs some Down Home names; *Tulsa Shuffle, Sweet Potato and Dad Gum Ya Hide Boy.*

Steve Millar gets away with Jimmy Smith organ breaks until the others find out and hound him into their banal norm. They could have decided whether to be consistently pretentious (with Bishop as another blues chauvinist) or plain tedious.

Record companies probably increased their prices in order to subsidise such dismal failures. Elvin dwells in the Craccum office, waiting for a desperate votary come all ye faithful.

Richard King

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UNIVERSITY CONTEMPORARY DANCE COMPANY / directed by P. Grant

The director's aims are high and sincere, dance is a very under-rated art form and expressive medium, however even in his programme limitations were obvious. He is also working under a grave misunderstanding, apparently thinking that creativity needs no nurturing.

Mr. Grant's dances were a mixture of classical and contemporary styles showing well disciplined dancers often performing very interesting lifts but still with the coldness and distance of the ballet trained dancer. This limited their ability to communicate to the audience and such training may have something to do with the themes of the difficulty in communication.

The second movement of *The Cage* which I felt to be their best piece, showed a couple trying to find the movements which suggested the 'best' relationship for them when suddenly the first girl entered and the dance abruptly ended. This ending indicated the dancer's lack of understanding of the motivations behind their movements and this was apparent in their other dances.

Dancers in *The Movement* and *Music Origins* suffered from some

very childish choreography, together with their own lack of training and self-consciousness. It is interesting to note the differences in their types of movement—often more asymmetrical and angled than the predominately open and extended (though not always finished) movements of the others. Both groups tended to avoid torso movements.

The Teachers' College dancers explored a few different themes but the possibilities of movement in these were not fully developed and as in the first movement of *The Cage* the music wasn't used to its best advantage.

The first two movements of *The Rope Dance* showed a limiting choreography for both the dancers and the rope, however in the third movement they were able to build up greater intensity with more use made of the rope.

Pour Amuser was fun but it would have been better if the light effects of the Nerve Centre were danced with the strobe light instead of merely as a backdrop.

The overall impression was pleasing especially discovering that there are people, not professionals, trying to improve the image of dance as a serious art form—Linda Taylor

Festival films



Crimes of the future

In the final week of the Auckland-Adelaide Film Festival will be screened some of the most interesting and important films of the last 10 or 20 years. "Mouchette," "The Confrontation," "Les Biches" and "The Days of Matthew" are four films which should not be missed. The others are all fine examples of their genre, especially "Don't Let the Angels Fall." The only films of dubious merit might be "A Woman for a Season" and "Crimes of the Future."

While there is much for the avid student of films in this year's festival, it seems that there is also a trend towards material with wider audience appeal. Portrait of a Boy and The Voice of the Water are demonstrative of this trend. They are both well made, absorbing and intelligent, but much less demanding viewing than, for instance, the work of Bresson.

Portrait of a Boy is a simple and sympathetic narrative of a 15 year old boy. Episodes of his daily life move against the background of Nazi-occupied Denmark. Strongly linked themes unite these episodes—sex, war, heroism and death all combine in and out of Jim's fantasy world—sometimes humorously titled ('Being a Hero' and 'The Dream About Lis')—which are patently comic or 'Death' which is terrifying. Jim is suspended between his world of childhood—football, bicycles, strips of shiny silver, paper, worms, pins under the skin, soldierly heroism and the future of adult responsibility where war means only death and terror and the dark, fascinating mystery of sex is revealed. There is no vast gap between the worlds, one is merely further along the road than the other—he loves Beethoven as his parents do and his father is not too old to kick a ball around the garden or to laugh at silly jokes about Hitler while the children watch Nazi pomp satirised in Len Lye's Lambeth Walk. There are no gimmicks in this film but the balance is held skilfully throughout by musical themes and sound, and by the fine acting.

The Voice of the Water, a documentary about the presence and effects of the rivers and sea on Dutch life, is also a simple and very humorous film. It is most appealing when the narrator retires and leaves the screen to the inhabitants especially the children. Their total absorption in the importance of a swimming lesson, faces screwed up in abject misery at the prospect of putting their heads under water, 'like real swimmers', is brilliantly captured. The stammering and voluble eel-fisher 'I feel a presence', radiates a contagious enthusiasm as does the boatman at Rotterdam, steeped in tradition. Tradition is in fact central to this film. The water in all its aspects, from humour to tragedy, profoundly affects the life of Dutchmen in ways of which we had no inkling. In its scope The Voice of the Water is breathtaking, indeed one wonders how so many previous travelogues have managed to miss so much.

The only film of Claude Chabrol screened before in this country my knowledge has been *Le Beau Serge* (screened by the A.U. Film Society two years ago) which was one of his earliest films. Elements of this early film persist in *Les Biches*, the personal relationships never fully explained are understood, the strange quality of characters and their actions. Throughout the film there is a disparity between the acts and appearances. The three main characters impinge on each other unsure of whether they are acting or being acted upon. It is the working out of the relationship and the more abstract qualities of

appearance and reality that lead to the climax and the changing of roles by the two females.

All Bresson's characters are in some way estranged from their worldly situation. Michael in *Pickpocket* is unable to comprehend what he is doing, his profession seems logical but only in his own abstract world which has no reasonable relationship with the outside world—with his girlfriend or the inspector. Marie and Balthazar in *Au Hazard Balthazar* are seen more as victims of the world than of themselves. They are persecuted and degraded by the world which seems to have no compassion. Mouchette cannot accept her world either, she is doomed to die and the film is concerned with the working out of her destruction. In the midst of religion and a supposedly religious atmosphere there is to be found no compassion, the individual is forced to fend for himself. Mouchette cannot accept the religious trappings because she understands what people are really like. The love for her mother and hatred of her father shown in the beginning, indicate the whole spectrum of human relations which she must experience before her ultimate death. Bresson concerns himself with people, with the hypocrisy and cruelty which is so often called religion or good conduct. His characters cannot really be identified with, but one feels compassion for those who wish to live their own lives but are forced to live with the lives of others.

It is the superb manner in which Bresson articulates the feelings and emotions which inhabit his films that one finds most important though. Bresson distrusts actors to the extent that very little emotion is generated in the dialogue of which there is very little. Bresson prefers to visually construct a montage of gestures, signs, and symbols. These powerfully present feelings and emotions, the movement of hands, of eyes, the structure of objects and their relation with people all are beautifully orchestrated. Bresson is one of the few directors who attempt to relate throughout the film his many sequences and shots and it is his ability to do this which makes him important. Many feel that his films are too banal and obvious, that dialogue and visuals are mere repetitions of each other. Bresson is constructing dual worlds, the world of reality and the undercurrent world of symbolism which interact, influencing each other and exposing in depth, human relationships and personal fears and feelings.



Confrontation

The Confrontation may appear to be even more obscure in its destruction of plot and linear development than did *The Red and the White*. What story there is involves the meeting of two groups of students, revolutionary and 'conservative' and various forms of authority. Jansco's vision of the world throughout his film is a vision that sees the stupidity of men. The Confrontation can be seen as a critical working out of the ideals and merits of socialism but the film can hardly be seen as an exhaustive study of this ideology. What the audience is aware of is the confusion and the lack of understanding which the various groups show. This is not a film about the 'generation gap' either, Jansco uses the youthful protagonists to indicate the ever present, never-changing conflicts involved in the working out of a system by the various groups are indications of the inability of human groups to achieve accord. Jansco is a pessimist, in *The Red And The White* warring factions produced no heroes, all are ultimately vanquished, there are no winners. The only chances of success are seen in the small scenes of relationships being worked out



The days of Matthew

on the personal level, even these fail when outside influences prove too strong. There is the chance of decent human survival but Jansco sees there will always be conflicts which divide and destroy.

This feeling for the human situation is also expressed in Jansco's filming. The audience is whirled both visually and mentally as groups and individuals change, encounter obstacles, retreat and advance. One is never sure of what is happening, only conscious of the divisions and confusions. Jansco's method relies much on his background as a documentary maker, he prefers to observe rather than become involved with his characters, unlike the documentary film maker however instead of clarifying realities he confuses them.—John and Linda Daly-Peoples.



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Porn & cultural decline

BY WYSTAN CURNOW

This bit's being written in Toronto. Toronto, Ontario, Canada; one of the world's fastest growing cities. Population: two and a half million. Big as New Zealand.

As I arrived Futz got banned. Futz: four-letter euphemism for f...s. Deals with men and pigs fornicating. An American play. Simulation of intercourse (intercourse: eleven-letter euphemism for f...ing) ON STAGE! According to a reviewer who has seen IT simulated on stage many times over, the men never get erections. I had been curious about that. Good to know, I guess.

One recent definition of pornography is this: the presentation in verbal or visual signs of human sexual organs in a condition of stimulation. The simulation of stimulation. But pigs' organs?

The local Toronto censor sat through four showings of Chelsea Girls—that's three and a half hours per sitting—at the Global Village—even McLuhan can be rendered provincial—and then he banned it. It was only scheduled to be shown four times. Had his cheesecake and sour grapes and eat them too. Canadian censors are something to write home about. Out west, Canadian west, they fired one for corrupting little girls.

TOOK IT OFF

Last time I was here—1966, or three years ago—there was a big controversy in the newspapers over the purchase of a great big Henry Moore sculpture for the plaza of the new Town Hall. And that Town Hall is very daring and modern. But you have to draw the line somewhere. On the plaza there's a great big reflecting pool; all concrete and Reckett's Blue water. Keep off the water a sign would say. But today, a few weeks ago in summertime a few Hes and Shes took it all off and flaunted their naked bodies in the water; and the great big Henry Moore not so far away, and the daringly modern new Town Hall not so far away either.

Meantime, in Rochester, upstate New York, population 350,000, our friendly neighbourhood—neighbourhood, that is, of second generation Poles and Irish lower middle-aged middle-class Americans—moviehouse named the Coronet for an age of Kings and Queens not knowing what movies to show. Was closed down for showing a lesbian movie for three months to packed houses. Tried Swiss Family Robinson, Walt Disney double-bills even; interspersed with Westerns—sadism on the frontier—and Italian movies on Sundays: Il Divorce, Italiano-style; the Life of Mussolini. It's the truth. All short runs I fear: nothing succeeds like excess, nothing exceeds like success, outside of Disney, there is no pornography.

Meantime, they're f...ing in the streets of Madison, Wisconsin. According to my New York Times, that is. All the News that's Fit to Eat.

SHEEP SHOWINGS

Meantime, Canada leads the world in petting. According to Vance Packard—popular sociologist with market-researched name. Foreplay for what? And they're masturbating to Ulysses in New Zealand. Men and women alone. It is an innovation in censorship, friends: Women—Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; Men—Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. On Sundays they have special showings for sheep. An expatriate, ex-patriot can dine out on that. Portnoy's Complaint in plain wrappers stamped HIS and HERS. Enough to make Roth righteous?

And, meantime, they're group-groping in New York. So who says pornography does not corrupt? High-brow-low-brow-soft-core-and-hard-back. I know all those positions. Item: on Moscow's late, late, show the other night they presented clips from Chelsea Girls. Andy Warhol, first Capitalist Realist. Will the Five-year plans to achieve bourgeois respectability in Russia succeed just when it is lost in the West?

Some say that literature can't be pornography, that pornography can't be literature. I don't buy that. I used to buy Evergreen Review. Partly because I was confident each issue contained work of "literary merit" and partly because I was confident each issue would appeal to my prurient tastes, would stimulate me sexually, and corrupt my morals. I'm on the side of the censors on this matter. And there are others, too. Ned Polsky, Philip Reiff, Morse Peckham. But Polsky has other illusions. In his essay, "On the Sociology of Pornography" he argues that pornography, like prostitution, is simply and always an "escape-valve" which serves to maintain a culture's sexual taboos. But it all depends. Reiff says, in The Triumph of the Therapeutic:

There remains a tension between controls and releases, even when the releases are devised cleverly enough to allot to the controls their superordinate function. A cultural revolution occurs when the releasing or remissive symbolic grows more compelling than the controlling one; then it is that the inherent tensions reach a breaking point. (p.233-4).

When The Saturday Evening Post folded a few years back, Evergreen Review became a mass circulation magazine.

Anyway, I was always taught that the arts were subversive and that as many people as possible should be exposed to them. To subvert, corrupt, and thus, to civilise; that's what I've been taught. Of course, many—most, perhaps,—in the art army, were and are, great pussy-footers. Sir Herbert Read, world-famous anarchist!

Let's say this: for almost 200 years now the cultural elites of the West have battled the two value systems upon which European civilisation has, for the most part, been built. The Christian and the Enlightenment value systems. These locate value and authority in principles outside the Self—in God or in Nature or in Society or in a combination of these. For almost all this time, this battle could be views as an "escape-value" action and rationalised under the rubric of accepted value systems. This view won't work much longer. As this becomes evident, arguments pro and con censorship become more and more farcical, the terms of the debate increasingly trivial and out of touch with the real issues. Acquiescence in the controlling symbolic is a matter of maintaining standards of taste, acquiescence in the remissive symbolic becomes a matter of freedom or of aesthetic taste.

It used to be confusing to learn that literature corrupted and to find no evidence around me of its doing so. Then I learnt that you never do. Until a long time after. It just takes a long time. Nietzsche took 50 years to make the cover of Time, but he made it. Over a hundred years ago, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote "do your thing, and I shall know you," and only now is it a teenybopper catchphrase.

IN FLIGHT

A modern society obsessed with sex is a society in flight from other-directedness, groping for inner-directedness. Freud was the greatest modern pornographer. "Where id was, ego shall be." But psychiatry is other-directed. "Where id was, super-ego shall be." Your shrink is no Freud, but a secular father confessor. He is a censor. And so say to him: "Let id prevail over ego." Because the tensions are very great. Because we can't really know what we are doing. We are Beautiful Losers, Updike Couples.

A modern society obsessed with violence is a society acting out an empty controlling symbolic threatened by the in-roads of a releasing, remissive symbolic. Dr. Spock is responsible for anti-war protests. I'll bet Mayor Daley is no permissive parent; I'll bet J. Edgar Hoover beat the shit out of his kids.

Drugs are pure inner-directedness. They are as abhorrent, as anti-rational—translate: as anti-social—as attacks upon genital imperialism. Yet they smoke pot in the suburbs, sniff glue in the school playground. I used the stuff to make model airplanes—bombers, fighters, aak, ack, ack, ack—boomboom boom. Dropping acid in the high rises. The sweet smell of excess hangs over dance halls, public parks, movie houses, night clubs, campuses and concert halls. I hitched a ride to campus some months back with a roofing contractor. Asked me if I could get him some stuff, he did. My God, I thought, a roofing contractor who wants to get high!

ROCK IS ART?!

Popular music isn't entertainment anymore. (Interpolation from New Zealand, 1970: Russell Clark, one of the four judges for tonight's national final of the battle, says that all the groups who have battled through the semifinals are concentrating on "good, honest, pop-rock music. I think that underground music was a bad trend," he says. "Most of the kids who professed to liking it didn't understand it anyway. Now the trend in New Zealand is to rock-beat music in the style of the Creedence Clearwater revival." Two years earlier in San Francisco, home of headmusic, on election eve at the Republican rally, Art Linkletter introduced Pat Boone with these words: "He started out on the Arthur Godfrey Talent Show and now his name is a household word wherever good clean music is played." The bad, dirty, dishonest and incomprehensible music referred to by the censors is not entertainment. It's art, friends. My god, what is the world coming to?!) It's art; yes, and art in our time is inner direction. These kids carry on like f...ing Oscar Wilde's or something. Yes, dandies. The Beatles: we're more popular than Christ. (said dissingenuously). And: They're going to crucify me. It was a nineteenth century notion that, with the decline of Christianity, art would take the place of religion. From Wesley to Woodstock.

To the children of the American rich, to many rich kiddies all over the West, the compelling symbolic of late 18th century Sentimentalism and Gothicism, and of early 19th century Romanticism is a releasing one, taking them out of the controlling symbolic of their parents' 18th century Enlightenment rationalism. It may be that they will drag the West kicking and screaming into the nineteenth century. Panic will continue to sweep through the streets as it does today; executive suites will be defiled as they are today. The prisons will fill, the Beatles will be crucified. My friends will continue

to be tear-gassed, some may go to jail, some may have been sent to war. Yet the Fugs (four-letter euphemism for f...s—youth culture is pornoculture.) the Fugs will try again to exorcise the military spirits, the pornographic will flourish.

But in New Zealand? It's not really quite the same. We are not the vanguard. But did we not break down the controlling symbolic of the work ethic in New Zealand? Oh, yes, we did and we may take pride in that. The 40 hour weekend remains our goal. Too soon. Team sport filled the vacuum. We do not have either the affluence nor the education to force our paganism to some logical conclusion. No sign of the polymorphous perverse polynesian that I can see. Point being we continue to mortify the flesh. Men and Women living together happily married bachelors and spinsters. If we touch one another it is either to excuse ourselves or beat each other up.

UTILITARIAN SUPERGO

There is the homogeneity. The scheme is all but uniformly acknowledged. We are all common-sense, practical, straightforward people. A utilitarian superego, no id, and no ego. The homogeneity ensures that events which embody the contradictions, the lunacies of the value scheme are either kept under greater control or simply unrecognised by all. Even the cultural elite is blinded by it. Most of the professors, the poets and artists, for all their faults are good jokers. They go to the boozier. Smallness reinforces homogeneity and so tends to act as a controlling device in and of itself. Smallness compels conformity.

Pornography, you will gather, relates to inner-directedness. Not necessarily, nor in an obvious way. Western pornography really dates from the Renaissance and has been produced ever since in greater and greater quantities and at all cultural levels. Each pornographic work reflects its time and cultural level. Cleland's Fanny Hill, Frank Harris's Lives and Loves, de Sade's Justine; all three of these, for instance, reflect Enlightenment orientations. The Enlightenment is also the source of current bourgeois values. A problem. Why are they dangerous books? Why do they appeal to inner-directed man, the post-Enlightenment consciousness and appal outer-directed man? Pornographic content is an historical variable, like art. Point one. Point two: since bourgeois culture is so resolutely other-directed, the inner-directed man, the Romantic, is an alien faced with the problem of cultural transcendence. Let me now quote Morse Peckham:

For the individual pornography facilitates the first stage of cultural transcendence, the disengagement from the police-evasion syndrome. (or, the releasing/controlling syndrome, to use Reiff's terminology). . . Those who fear and hate pornography are right; its mere existence can, though it need not, facilitate social disengagement, cultural challenge, and external cultural transcendence.

Meantime in New Zealand. Being written June 1970 is the following. Apollo is an All Black. Apollo reigns supreme in New Zealand. Apollo will guard our shores against all who will bump and grind on the margins of our taste. Apollo holds the key to the footy-shed, the key to the city, to the sociology of New Zealand. To an extraordinary extent we have moved the Protestant ethic, the masculine principle, off the job and onto the footy field. And into the pub; Apollo on a pub crawl, Apollo in a pub brawl. Pouring beer over naked women. Bottle-proud and women hating. From Capping to Squash Clubs. What kind of cornucopia is the drinking horn? But we have our hippies, too. Listen to Leslie Fiedler:

All around us, young men are beginning to retrieve for themselves the cavalier role once piously, and class-consciously rendered to women: that of being beautiful and being loved.

Not here, baby. I mean, mate. Cause we're mates. Yes, I've seen the hippies. But what I miss is effeminacy. I mean really sexy, women-soft men hippies. Like Jim Morrison, I mean. That's one kind of pornography we can forget about for a while.

Keith Sinclair, in his essay "The Historian as Prophet", is certainly pointing to the future when he cites statistics showing that the proportion of our population attending universities is now about the 5th highest in the world. We must move towards a more civilised society, we must not suspect elites anymore, he tells us. I suspect the line. It begs the questions: what kind of civilisation, what kind of elite for what? In its external and internal relations, the university institutionalises value conflicts and it is part of that process to pretend or to forget that such conflicts exist. We talk of Knowledge Factories, tip our hat to Clark Kerr and multiversity. We do not say that many of us are dedicated to dismantling bourgeois culture. We talk of more and more students, a bigger and better elite, more and more technocrats. Not about the new mutants, as Fiedler calls them, not about that class of students who claimed F.K stood for Freedom Under Clark Kerr. Not about how we will provide shelter, aid and comfort to those who desire to extend adolescence to the grave, who will abandon the classroom, to quote Fiedler again, for the dionysiac pack, who will turn from forms of social organisation traditionally thought of as male to the sort of passionate community attributed by the ancients to females out of control. That sort of civilisation, that sort of prophecy we keep to ourselves. Worse, we don't even think about it. Censorship comes easily; our masters, our students, our colleagues, and time, co-operate. But make no mistake, if you like dirty books, Blake, dig Elvira Madigan, want to live with Goethe in the ALL, and think Jim Morrison groovy, then the rot has set in and you are part of it.

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Was Jesus an anarchist?.....mon.
Where are you God?.....tues.
Jesus according to Jesus.....wed.
Can a thinking man believe?.....thurs.
Has Man arrived?.....fri.

27th—31st July 1pm L.L.T.

RACING

Periodicals

A few weeks back, a prominent member of the A.T.I. Board of Governors was criticizing students for the vulgar standard of graffiti on our toilet walls. It was very pleasing therefore to note that one of the PUBLIC doors to the Paeroa Members stand is blessed with the same graffiti the generation gap is definitely closing.

Unfortunately that's all one should say about Paeroa, especially if one had \$20 a win on Panza-Chief.

Over the last few months a number of new racing periodicals have appeared on the market. Three that have caught our attention are Bred to Win, N.Z. Racehorses and the Windsor Hoof Beats.

Bred to Win is an Australian quarterly, and is the most expensive of the three publications. It is published by Melbourne Truth and is Victorian orientated. However we feel it is good reading for the Kiwi punter. The first issue was extremely well illustrated with four colour plates and some top quality photos. About a third of the magazine is devoted to breeding in Australia. Articles include one from Bart Cummings describing some of the points he takes into account when buying a yearling. Others discuss sires standing at stud in Australia this season. There is also the usual article dealing with a stud in Australia this season. There is also the usual article dealing with a stud that has advertised in the publication. In this case it is Monomeith Stud which is just out of Melbourne.

Monomeith has its own water bore and this ensures quality pastures all year round. This magazine is more than just another publication for the amateur breeder. Interesting articles about aspects of racing have been included. For example a top British bookmaker discusses conditions in England and the problems that are currently being experienced by his fellows. A veterinary steward, Dr John Bourke, has written an informative article about aspects of a horse's conformation. Many punters suffer by backing unsound horses that either breakdown or develop soreness in races. Even the amateur arts student can follow this article and perhaps cut his losses.

The remaining articles deal mainly with prospects for the major Australian races. As we only get the opportunity to gamble on the big spring races, these are only of minor interest to the New Zealand punter. However one can have a look at the methods used to evaluate a horse's potential, and perhaps apply it to some of our nags.

The New Zealand publications are far less ambitious. Of the two Hoof Beats is the more expensive. Forty cents as opposed to thirty for the N.Z. Racehorses. Both are published by Wanganui publishers, Hoof Beats by Windsor Publications and N.Z. Racehorses by Wilkie Publications. Windsor have been making a major impact on the racing world over the last couple of years, and Hoof Beats reflects the extensive background knowledge that company employees possess.

Like the old Hoof Beats that was published a few years back, this monthly includes a colour photograph of one of our top horses. Last month it was Tempo, this month Game. This obviously appeals to the 'little old ladies' of racing who no doubt see these pin ups as a substitute for their daughters' Jagers and Lennons. Each month there is a summary of some of the more notable feats accomplished during the previous month's racing. For example the June issue included a detailed article about Whiti Te Ra and the racing successes of his owner-trainer, P. Keegan. This followed Whiti Te Ra's superb effort at Trentham. Other articles dealt with Double El, Mike Donoghue's effort at Woodville, the Waikato meeting and highlights from other meetings held during May. For the punter who employs systems to assist his selections there is a ton of information. In the June issue detailed jockey and double analysis were included. There was also a list of the leading sires for the current season and a list of last year's June winners. The July issue also carried a list of July winners in 1969, but did not give an up-to-date analysis of the other statistical information. This is the main criticism one could make of Hoof Beats. It is inconsistent. It seems to us pointless including detailed analysis if it is not going to be updated each month. A second criticism concerns the quality of the articles. On the whole Hoof Beats has a fairly high standard, but some features are disappointing. For example in June, a 'survey of wet weather sires' was highlighted on the cover as a major feature. Yet this survey was really substandard. Half of the page devoted to the feature was taken up with a photo of a lot of unhappy punters placing their bets in the rain. The rest was only a reminder that Bellboroughs, Head Hunters etc do well in the wet and so should Neanderthals, Better Honeys etc. Very few details were included. Given the information available to the publishers, a far more detailed article could and should have been included. However apart from these odd slips, Hoof Beats is well worth your money. It also includes a number of really top articles about racing, including a series of articles by Dave Clarkson describing his trip touring American, British and Irish racing establishments.

N.Z. Racehorses is a cheaper and less ambitious publication. One suspects that much of the magazine is written by the editor. Like Hoof Beats it includes summaries of the previous month's racing. These are more padded by the addition of a large number of photos. Statistical information is also included, and the layout of the 1969 winners is an improvement on Hoof Beats. However this is a personal thing. Hoof Beats lists the horses alphabetically, Racehorses lists them by meetings. An exclusive feature is a background analysis of the major bloodlines represented in New Zealand stallions. Here the layout is atrocious and it is sometimes difficult to follow, but it is updated each issue as more sires arrive in New Zealand. It seems that this publication relies heavily on stud adverts for finance as a number of feature articles about particular studs are included. However these are fairly well written, and information about lesser known studs and sires makes interesting reading. Like Hoof Beats, this publication also devotes space to trotting. On the whole it makes a better job of it. The July issue had an article about Peter Wolfendon and the World Driving Championship in the U.S.A.

Although both magazines are very similar in the type of copy they contain, they tend to be complementary rather than repetitive. Racehorses has the advantage of being cheaper and in the shops a week before Hoof Beats, but Hoof Beats is the more detailed publication. Our advice is don't differentiate, buy them both. If you are like us, you won't pick more winners, but reading these mags takes some of the pain out of losing.—Mike Law, Keith McLeod.

From P.7

choices. If we don't make our own choices we don't make our own personalities but chose to let others make our personalities for us. Anarchists believe that individuals should always be free to determine the patterns of their own lives, to determine their own personalities within the limitations of their physical environment; that they should never be forced to submit the central function of their lives to the will of others.

The most extreme and destructive form of power relationship occurs on the political level. Here the individual is forced to show loyalty, meaning, submit his personality to the will of others whom he probably doesn't even know. The pattern of his life is moulded by power elite who will tell him whom to kill and when, who is his enemy, whom to love, who is his friend, and he can himself be killed or incarcerated if he attempts to follow his own differing conscience.

NO SIMPLE SOLUTION

But the solution is not a simple one of destruction. People who follow up the physical symbols of political power structures, at least in western societies, misunderstand their nature. Because the destruction will only give way to another structure the same, unless a positive evolutionary idea has developed in people's minds—the idea of co-operation and of freedom in the sense indicated above. As people develop this sort of freedom and aim towards a co-operative anarchist society, the structures of power in societies will crumble and dissolve because they will become redundant.

Consideration of this positive demand for a co-operatively organised society should obviate the first myth—that anarchists are individual isolationists who believe that people should seek the utmost personal happiness at the expense of everyone else.

Society must be organised and it doesn't make sense to think otherwise, particularly with respect to complex industrial societies. But organisation doesn't have to be authoritarian organisation, where people are forced to conform and where there is no regard for different views.

A second myth is that an anarchist society would be chaotic and terrifyingly subject to random and casual violence. On the question of chaos: as has been emphasised, anarchists want co-operative organisation, and this would seem to be rather less chaotic than the present system of competitive elitism.

But, of course there would still be violence in an anarchist society. Presumably people would still kill one another, punch one another and break each other's hearts. This exists in societies now and presumably will in the future. But there is a difference not only in degree but in kind between this and the institutionalised violence represented at present by the armed forces and the police force. And this—the worse kind of violence—would be absent.

Roger Oppenheim outlined the need for a qualitative change in the social order, and put forward a practical program for anarchist activity and education within the present society.



Fings ain't wot they us'ter be

They're getting better all the time.

Birds are chirprier. Pubs are brighter, (carry a tie in your pocket),

and Brown is mighty



6150

Anarchism proposes that the human being is central to all considerations; that society develops the total man—he is only fully realised through his participation in social life; and that meaning consists of the sense of worth which each man has.

The state, however, is not equivalent to society—it is only an institution, but one which has the monopoly of power. Further, inequality in social relationships where power is involved deprives the subordinate of his capability of realising his creative-productive potential. The state is institutionalised inequality and is therefore the negation of everything that society is for. But how can the necessary change be effected?

Under classical Marxism, a stateless society comes after a capitalist society via a socialist state which will wither away. Anarchists would argue that it is not in the nature of states to participate in their own dissolution. Neither would they look towards the proletariat as constituting a revolutionary class. Who, then, is to be included in the 'revolutionary class'?

Taking the motivation of revolution to be paid, the question becomes: who feels pain? They are those whose experience of their society forces them to ask WHY? but who get no answer; those who are not yet deadened by alienation or bought off by material comfort; those who are tortured in conscience by the immorality of state actions and in intellect by the unreason of it all.

This class has not emerged as a self-conscious group; its members are often people of ideas, with only short term commitment to action on specific issues.

COLLECTIVE ACTION

It is time, therefore, to draw those members of the revolutionary class who cannot as individuals affect the changes they want, into collective direct action which will do so. Such action remains fruitless and frustrating while it is directed at tinkering with the machinery of social life as it now stands. It is necessary at this point to set up those experiments in anarchism which are the growing point of qualitative change. For with each one that succeeds so the power of the state is subtly diminished.

The kind of alternative organisation proposed is the commune—not a specific type of social organisation but rather a model which many kinds of social organisation can begin to emerge from.

The general elements of the model are mutualism and co-residence, and "work" this latter relating to all kinds of production—economic, artistic or literary, or just planting a tree because it is good to look at.

There could be a number of types of communes, all with the common principles of co-operation and non-authoritarian organisation. Most people think of the agricultural commune; but there would have to be as well the suburban residential commune. In the economic sphere, the commune provides the model for organisation of crafts and trades, and for workers' control of the factory.

The point is that communes can be set up in the society as it now stands, and can present a way of life which is the antithesis of life in the outside society. They also manifest the principle of the ends being present in the means—non-violence and non-authoritarianism.

THOUGHT ABOUT BECOMING AN ACTUARY?



The A.M.P. Society invites inquiries from Graduates or Undergraduates prepared to study for the examinations of the Institute of Actuaries. Actuarial work involves the application of mathematical and statistical methods to problems arising in Life Assurance Offices, Pension Funds, Friendly Societies, Banks, Government and Commercial Institutions.

STUDY COURSE

The earlier parts of the examinations cover subjects of a mathematical nature (including probability, calculus of finite differences, life contingencies and statistics) and also financial subjects. The later parts of the examinations deal with the application to professional problems of the principles covered in the earlier examinations. The course of study is demanding, but the rewards are good.

CAREER SCOPE

Notwithstanding that it is the largest mutual life office in Australia and New Zealand (it operates in the U.K. also), A.M.P. is showing remarkable growth. Over the last ten years, business handled by A.M.P. has more than trebled. Such growth means increasing career scope.

WELL REWARDED

The Society gives generous financial assistance to actuarial students in respect of their tuition and examination fees, and awards special salary increases (at present totalling \$1,600 per annum) to members of its staff who gain the degree of Fellow of the Institute of Actuaries. This is in addition to usual A.M.P. staff benefits such as merit rewards, superannuation, housing finance for married staff, long service leave, etc.

WELLINGTON/SYDNEY

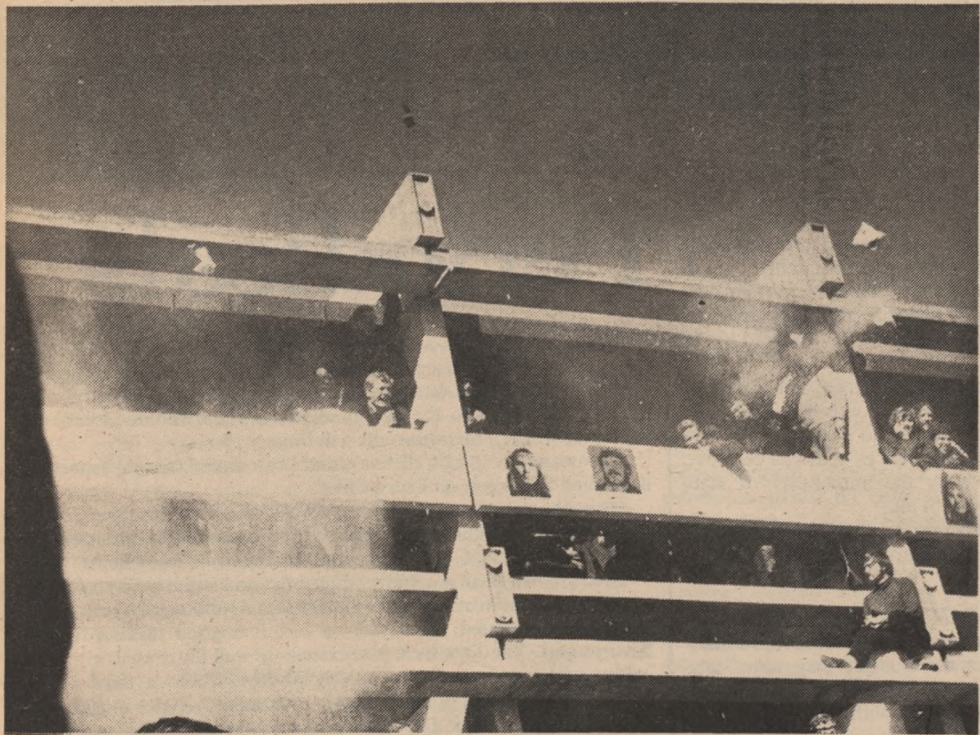
Initially, actuarial students are employed at Wellington in the Society's Chief Office for New Zealand. Special living-away-from-home allowances are paid if applicable. Later, transfer to the Society's Head Office in Sydney is usual to obtain wider experience.

For more information please contact the Manager of your nearest A.M.P. Society Office or write to Mr. P. Paterson, P.O. Box 1290, Wellington.

AMP

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— Alan Kohnik



A facelift for Capping?

BY KEVEN HALL

A section on the front page of Craccum (Vol. 44 No. 14) suggests there is a possibility Capping celebrations may be something of the past. If they do go, what comes in their place—lectures and labs as usual?

Does that mean that we are only here to pass exams after all—despite the arguments to the contrary that the Students' Union attempts to put across to those coming to university and to those already here. You know, the hoary old image of the apathetic student who comes in for lectures but spends the rest of his days at home, in the library, or in the caf.

It is very easy for us students to be critical—most of us are just beginning to realize the potential tool that our minds can be and, like babies flexing their developing muscles we proceed to flex our intellectual capabilities before an audience which, unfortunately, is not always as prone to applaud us as parents are to applaud their offspring. There never has been anything wrong with a critical spirit, but it is the way in which the criticism is expressed that gets us into trouble, and so, while confining my remarks to the Procession in Capping week, I don't want to sound as if I think that all aspects of all previous Process's have gone astray; or that all it needs is a fairy godmother like me to come along and set things straight—I think that most of us are not as naive as that; but I do think that we have lost sight of the *raison d'être* of a procession—namely, a chance for students to let their hair down and have a hang of a lot of fun; and in such a way that the public can share in that fun.

MOPERS

Now when a person is not enjoying himself, he becomes self-conscious and MOPES—and this about typifies a large section of this year's Process! The

students' hearts were not in it. And why? Not because students are not interested in Capping week celebrations, but because of the nature of the procession—political protest is the band-wagon for today, so it is introduced into the Procession. Political protest is serious; not only is it serious, but it can have highly emotional overtones. I think we must all realize that, on certain issues we feel deeply about, we are sensitive beings and, because of our emotional makeup we are going to get upset, or angry, or cheesed-off, (or all three) when we are faced with something we strongly disagree with. Not only does this apply on an individual level, but more so on a corporate level—and it is more dangerous on a corporate level because we tend to band-up with those of like sympathies to our own.

NOT NEEDED

And so it is with Students' Process—we offend people when we introduce a political element into a context in which it is neither expected, nor needed. There are other avenues for political protest—let us give our time to producing a Procession that produces enjoyment: Like plenty of noise (jazz and brass

bands, bagpipes etc.) plenty of buns and flour bombs being thrown—is it too much to ask that we offer to clean up Queen Street after we have been through as a sign of our goodwill to the community?—scraps between floats, digs at Mayors, society (but, oh please, not *always* rude ones), university life (it seems somewhat strange that, although we love to poke fun at, and take the micky out of everyone and everything else, we seem reluctant to apply the same treatment to ourselves.)

Funny the way such a tremendous number of people, both public and students, turn out to see the annual student Process; but it ceases to be funny when we see them turn away in disgust at some of the tripe and drivel we serve up to them. I fail to see where a group of people marching in silent protest at the head of this year's Process fits in to the traditional picture of students' Capping week celebrations. And what is this traditional picture? I suggest that it is somewhat akin to the old-time village fairs of England, where all the people of the village gathered together to enjoy themselves. This university is a village—a village within a larger village. A festival should be a time when we can sink our differences

and, for a while, extend a hand to those who, the day before, we had been disagreeing with on various issues. No wonder we are a "fractionated society"—we end up falling out with those people we disagree with and forming a group of like-minded people around us. The day we cease to get bitter over our disagreements will be a good day for society. So, at least for a few hours each Capping week (and it is only a few hours of one day, of one week in each year), can we not forget our lectures, our seminars, our exams and our politics, and go downtown to inspire some revelry, forgetting those emotionally contentious issues which we have the rest of the year to grow grey hairs over?

NO POLITICS?

It may be imagined from this that, in some mad fit of idealism,

T44

CABARET
IS IN
AUGUST 7th

All flour to the boors

What I like about the engineers is their solid grip on reality. They know that politicians never have anything to say. Like those who interrupted the candidates' talks in the Quad last week with a barrage of flour bombs. Never mind that Kelly Flavell hadn't finished his speech—the engineers knew instinctively that he had nothing to say. Free Speech—as any flour-throwing engineer could tell you—is not meant to be used by politicians. It's only for those who are great rugby players or pissdrinkers. It just seems funny that these happen to be the attributes of only the engineers.

I advocate a hands-off attitude to anything political. This is not so. Life is politics, and politics is life. Whenever you have a dig at Sir Dove-Myer you are being political. No I don't mean scrub all that—that's harmless. I mean let us keep off the more obviously emotional issues—e.g. Cambodia, racialism, abortion, and place them in their correct context. Two things could have made this

year's effort:
(1) the cutting down of the amount of political propaganda and political protest, and
(2) a barage of noise, behind which the students could have lost their self-consciousness and begun to act the goat. Let's not chuck Process out—lest we end up looking back on how much fun it really was.

Chaplain coming

The Evangelical Union has brought a Sydney University chaplain to New Zealand to give a series of talks called "A Teach-in on Jesus" starting next week.

He is the Rev. Paul Barnett M.A., B.D. (Hons) 35, who is currently reading for an M.A. in ancient history at Sydney.

He states:—
Christianity is such a multifarious movement that it is open to an almost endless sequence of criticisms and objections. Some criticisms will be perfectly valid, others may be unfair or even invalid. It is ironical that sometimes the movement is criticized by ideals which it has itself bequeathed to society, like, 'the Church doesn't care about the poor'!

FAIRLY

The movement has nothing to fear from the truth, though it is damaged by half truths and unfair comment. Therefore the Christian pleads that the movement be evaluated objectively and fairly. It is almost an axiom of historiography that the best critic of something is one who is able to empathize with the object of his criticism.

The Christian also pleads that his religion be scrutinized at another and deeper level, at the level of the historic person of Jesus himself.

Jesus was approximately thirty when he was executed in Jerusalem, in the next four decades twenty seven separate pieces of literature were written about him, some by first hand witnesses, the remainder by companions of the first hand



Paul Barnett.

witnesses. Some of the documents are works of unparalleled literary power and simplicity. In other words, Jesus is accessible to scrutiny in a way that few great figures in history are.

SWAY

Has any person in history been so profoundly influential as this young man has been? Whole civilizations have come under his sway.

There was a man who began to scrutinize Jesus for the first time at the age of twenty two. He was struck by two things: at the unbelievable insight of Jesus into life and, how outrageously his more recent followers had misrepresented him. His perfection and insight were such that he could be nothing less than the anointed Son of Man.

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