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Free to students

NEED IS THE COURAGE TO FACE THEM







The Viet Nam war has forgotten its beginning as politicians plot dubiously for its public end. An end perhaps just public enough to satisfy dissenters. Nixon withdrawal plans are broadcast on international television, but news that the entire South Viet Name coastline has just been parcelled up for bidding, has been carefully hidden. Oil, you see; maybe more than enough to fuel a squadron after squadron of B.52's. Heaven knows that B.52's are going to remain years after the last miserable American combat soldier has left. And even apart from such immediate concerns, oil is oil, is cheap wealth in this case, is another politic reason for staying just a little longer.

Tomorrow's Mobilisation will be the largest ever seen in this country. More hours of organisation have entered its preparation than any former demonstration. For students, the day will also be one of boycotting lectures, as a gesture of protest. A day also for observing the reactions of pious academic liberals, who are prone to utter much and present many remits at many conferences, but who, at time of writing, have refused to support tomorrow's boycott. Too radical, they say, not the right time, they add; and hundreds of meek little students will dutifully attend their lectures; two pages of diligent note-taking to please the almighty gentlemen will mean more than a day of activity or even contemplation, against the War.

Our curious comfort, our insulation, our carefully trained techniques of vacantly turning off our minds whenever a hint of discomfort suggests itself. Our pre-occupation with any other activity.

And the Mobilisation has been so important to student politicians, that somehow, Anti-War posters were carefully removed from the Student Union, especially for the visit of Mr and Mrs Ogilvy. Silly, careful little points of deference to the nice comfortable and sentimental idea of royalty. Students flocked to catch glimpses of the inflated pair; students still remembered to wear red poppies some days after. Note: royalty is a visible and grotesque denial of a genuine egalitarianism, of a genuine brotherhood among men; the R.S.A. careful to set up a stall right outside the University is somehow also careful to repress the glories of war and the heroism of death, while supporting the stand of the National Government in favour of allied presence in the Viet Nam war. Ah, there's a fine tradition there. Red is the colour of blood, a noble liquid, unless it happens to flow within yellow bodies. And princesses are noble creatures, superb embodiments of display to the world that we can fete a person because of her birth, and not care whether the rest of the world lives or dies.

The rest of the world tends to die. We have bad tendencies of either conspiring in favour of destruction, or self-innocently not bothering to notice. A psychological trick: 'It doesn't concern me.' Ah, but somewhere in our cocoon spinning throughout life, some iota of the tangible meanings of human devastation might strike home. And how much self-pity will we be able to indulge in? And how much can William Calley? Because, despite all these emotional mumblings, each one of us are in some way responsible for every atrocity committed throughout our lives. In our mumbling emotional little ways, we are perhaps the final human statement on this planet. The human race might not miraculously survive its bombs, its pollution, its starvation. But even surviving all these things, I perceive the death of those gentle human qualities which make living in this world barely tolerable. Tomorrow, there is a Mobilisation. Because most of us have not bothered, some hard working individuals have prepared a vehicle of human statement for us. Go.

Distribute copies of this week's Craccum to the disbelievers; engage them in furious debate; convince them of their criminal compliance.

## STAFF



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# Courage to mud farmers! Cl

JAMES K. BAXTER

I have heard that a Maori chief could not make war without the consent of the members of the tribe expressed in popular agreement on the marae. Among us it is different. Our government can make war without a referendum. Our participation in the Vietnam War does not necessarily have the support of the majority of our people.

I sat behind two young Maori soldiers on a bus. They were discussing in detail and with great enthusiasm the kind of machines they were being taught to use in the army—trucks, helicopters, guns. They also spoke about the Vietnam War. It was a How conversation, not a Why conversation. I remember that they talked for some time about booby-traps set by the Viet Cong along the jungle tracks.

As far as I could gather, they were in the Army because their friends were in the army, and because they had a great interest in the army machines. Perhaps they had found it hard to get work in the New Zealand towns. There is another factor. In recruiting young Maori men into the army, the Government somewhat cynically capitalises on the toa, or warrior tradition of the Maori's. I say it is cynical because of the gross neglect of Maori veterans. After the pains of their war experiences, many come back to a jobless position, to the pubs, and to the ignorant fists of the police. Some of course come back in their coffins.

### PM's LAND GRAB

I offer the simple comment that it was not the Vietnamese mud farmers who annexed the Maori lands. Furthermore, it is not a Communist party boss but our local authority figure, Mr Holyoake, who is acquiring, through discreet intermediaries, acre upon acre of the remaining Maori lands on the shores of Lake Taupo, so that he can create, for his own financial profit, a millionaires' tourist paradise. These little habits need to be discussed. When American tourists are dropping cigarette butts and lolly papers among the Maori graves, the local Maori people will be free to reflect on the paradoxes of power politics—that Holyoake is alive and has the land and the money, that some of their sons are dead and more of them jobless, and that our Allies in Vietnam have arrived peacefully in New Zealand to spend money catching trout and breaking tapu's. We will have

here a modicum of the difficult peace which our Government has told us we are fighting for.

The key point, for me, is not the atrocities of the Vietnam War—the War indeed has the contours of one prolonged, immense atrocity—but the unending battle of human beings to avoid being forced into a coffin of servility. When it was famine time in Vietnam, the mud farmers used to trek into Saigon like ghosts, and stand watching while members of a semi-affluent middle class fed themselves behind the plate glass of restaurants, and die there of hunger. Or else a farmer might sell his best looking daughter to the travelling agent of the town brothel owner, so that the rest of the family would survive, since the landlord wanted the same rent, famine or no famine.

### ONLY PEASANTS

Once, at a rally in Wellington against participation in the Vietnam War, I heard a Vietnamese girl student get up and speak. Her sincerity, her fire and beauty and partisanship, and above all her courage in a semi-hostile group in the middle of a country which has never been kind to foreigners—these things moved my heart to a strong sympathy. She spoke with passion about the members of her family who were in their graves after battle with the Vietcong, and urged us to change our attitude. But she unwittingly spoilt her speech by concluding with the words—"who are the Vietcong anyway? They are only mud farmers".



Baxter... we are prostituting a people

Her brothers had not died in famine. Neither she nor her sisters would have to work in a brothel.

I am not a political man, at least not in any narrow sense. I can see clearly enough that Government by a group, dominated by Vietcong elements, will tend to a new social and political power structure with new dangers of enforced servility. Yet the mud farmers of the world

are carrying guns now and planting bombs in restaurants, and, where they have control, emptying the death houses and the brothels. May God give them courage in their dying! We have no right to intervene against them. It is time we got to work to set our own house in order, before the dispossessed of our own country start carrying guns in the street.

## Apologies

### NOTICE OF APOLOGIES ONE

In 'Craccum' Volume 45, Issue 6, accusations were levelled in my Editorial, against certain members of the University Senate. While the principle stated within that Editorial cannot be retracted, that of this University's incompetence to judge any person by his 'character', I must indicate that I wrongly accused a member of the Senate, of participating in such incompetence.

The Professor of Chemical And Materials Engineering, in no way raised or supported the judgement of 'character' that was put forward by the Senate.

My accusation was erroneous, founded on insufficient evidence, and is hereby retracted with apologies offered.

### TWO

In that same Editorial, I also imputed an incompetence to the Dean of Law. Because of the circumstances of the case which have since revealed themselves, I can no longer impute such to him, and must here also, retract and apologize.

### THREE

I still feel however, that Senate discussed the matter concerned with insufficient objectivity and that the judgement based on 'character', defied all the ideals which this academy ostensibly espouses. The principle I outlined is not retracted nor apologized for.

BUY YOUR COPY OF  
CHAIRMAN MAO'S 'LITTLE RED BOOK'  
FROM

## progressive books

DARBY STREET  
HELP US OUTSELL JESUS

Dear Mr Chan,  
The University is of the opinion that it may have suffered a great deal of damage by the publication of your article on Mr Colin Arlyn Lum. At the time of your publication, the matter was being considered by the University in Committee. As your publication contained grave inaccuracies, we make formal request that you publish in full, and only in full, the following statement which has been authorised by the University:

Publicity arising from the application by a student to transfer from the University of Otago to the University of Auckland has been brought to the attention of the Council which makes the following statement:

Among the measures which the Council has been forced to take to regulate the number of students which can be accepted for enrolment has been one to restrict the transfer of undergraduates from other New Zealand Universities in certain faculties including the Faculty of Arts. Under the relevant University Regulation such transfers are now granted only if there are "compelling circumstances", and notice of this restriction on the transfer of students was sent, before the end of the 1970 academic year, to all other New Zealand Universities for the information of their students. The Regulation is published in full in the University Calendar.

Subsequently to this notification to other New Zealand Universities, a student of Otago University applied to transfer to the University of Auckland to complete his course for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In terms of the regulation he was asked to provide evidence of his "compelling circumstances" to justify admission to this

University. He gave two reasons which, on examination, proved to be unfounded. He established no other reasons to satisfy the Council that there were, in his case, compelling reasons to justify his admission to the University of Auckland and accordingly his application was declined.

D.W. Pullar  
Academic Registrar

Dear Mr Pullar,  
I thank you for your letter and the concern of the University Council, although I must point out that you cannot 'formally request' me to print anything at all. The circumstances of the particular case however, are quite outstanding, and were not known to myself, or fully known to other members of this University. As far as Mr Lum's case is concerned, I cannot help but feel that Council heaved a sigh of relief that it had found new information to exclude Mr Lum on grounds less contentious than those of 'character'. While I appreciate that this University must take note of its swelling population, I suggest that it is not necessary to demand 'compelling circumstances' from an individual requesting enrollment in a course not overly populated. English III Additional is by no means over-crowded, and by its specialized nature, tends to attract only hitherto successful students, genuinely concerned with literature and language.

I must note, Mr Pullar, the detached air with which University Government surrounds itself. University Council members are not familiar with student feeling on campus, nor do they seem particularly desirous of so familiarizing themselves.

Yours faithfully,  
Stephen Chan

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# rs! Chemical destruction of South Viet Nam

L.R.B. MANN

This article focuses on just one aspect of U.S. policy in Vietnam: chemical destruction of plant life. Compared with the better-known means of waging war there, such as machine-gunning and bombing, this may not seem very important, at first sight. But in fact this method of warfare has done and will do a lot of harm to the Vietnamese. A careful study of the details reveals much about the aims and effects of the U.S. government's policy. Also, this aspect of the war should be of special concern to New Zealanders, for reasons discussed below.

Over five million acres<sup>1,6,15</sup> of South Vietnam has now been heavily sprayed with plant-killing chemicals. This is the U.S. military's own figure. It represents 12% of the total area of S. Vietnam. The U.S. Department of Defence (sic) commandeered the entire U.S. production<sup>2</sup> of the main plant-killers 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, in 1967 and 1968. In July 1967 it was announced that contracts totalling U.S. \$57,690,000 had been awarded for the coming year's supply to the U.S. military of chemicals for destroying crops and other plants. For the following year, this expenditure was estimated<sup>3</sup> at U.S. \$70,800,000. Even the mighty U.S. chemical industry was unable to fulfil the military demand.<sup>2</sup> In mid-1967, N.Z. newspapers published suggestions that the New Plymouth firm of Ivon Watkins-Dow was supplying plant-killing chemicals for the war. We will return to this point later. To date the U.S. has dropped on Vietnam 6 pounds of plant-killers for every man, woman and child<sup>4</sup>. One American squadron which works full-time at this is unofficially named "Ranch Hand"; its motto<sup>7,18</sup> is "Only You Can Prevent Forests".

Official U.S. statements have always emphasised the image of "defoliation" (removal of leaves), which is pictured as a mere defensive measure, denying enemy soldiers the cover of the jungle. But the U.S. military themselves admit<sup>5,6</sup> that before 1970 they had sprayed plant-killers on at least 500,000 acres of S. Vietnamese crops. This represents 7% of the total acreage under intensive cultivation. Other estimates<sup>7</sup> give even more disconcerting figures. Many different crops have suffered<sup>8,9</sup>; notably, S. Vietnam used to export rice but more recently has been importing it, mainly from the U.S.A.

Previous wars have shown that when food is in short supply it is civilians, not troops, who suffer most. Dr Jean Mayer, Professor of Nutrition at Harvard and a noted official adviser to the World Health Organisation and the U.S. Government, has made a scholarly study<sup>8,10</sup> of starvation in this and other wars. He concludes that destruction of crops is not even militarily useful. It will strike first and hardest at children, the elderly, and pregnant and nursing women; last at adult males, and least of all at soldiers. The main effect will be to add to a flow of refugees already far beyond the capacity of the programme to care for them. (Although reliable figures on refugees in Indo-China are hard to get, there certainly are millions.)

## BIRTH DEFECTS

It has often been claimed by manufacturers and users of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T that these chemicals do not directly harm humans. News leaks in October 1969 forced the U.S. government to release reports<sup>11</sup> of studies done for it in 1965-66, showing that laboratory animals given doses of commercial 2,4,5-T equivalent on a weight basis to a few thousandths of an ounce in a human bore 39% deformed offspring. The effect on humans has not been measured directly; it might be less than these experiments on rats and mice would indicate. But on the other hand, it might be greater. For example, thalidomide is 50-700 times more harmful to human foetuses than to those of some other mammals. During the time that these research results were suppressed, millions of pounds of 2,4,5-T had been dropped on Vietnam; considerable amounts had also been spread about the U.S.A. and N.Z.! During this same period, too, several Saigon newspapers had reported increased monster births in sprayed areas, and had suggested there might be a causal connection. Perhaps this was a reason why these papers were later shut down by the Saigon government<sup>12</sup>. Scientists have calculated<sup>11,13</sup> that Vietnamese women could be dosed by the Americans' aerial spraying with 2,4,5-T to an extent comparable with the doses given to the rats and mice in the experiments. Later it was found that one of the impurities in the 2,4,5-T was an enormously potent cause of foetal deformities. The concentration of this impurity in currently-produced 2,4,5-T is much lower, but still significant. In any case, U.S. government scientists have shown that even specially-purified 2,4,5-T is itself a danger in this respect.

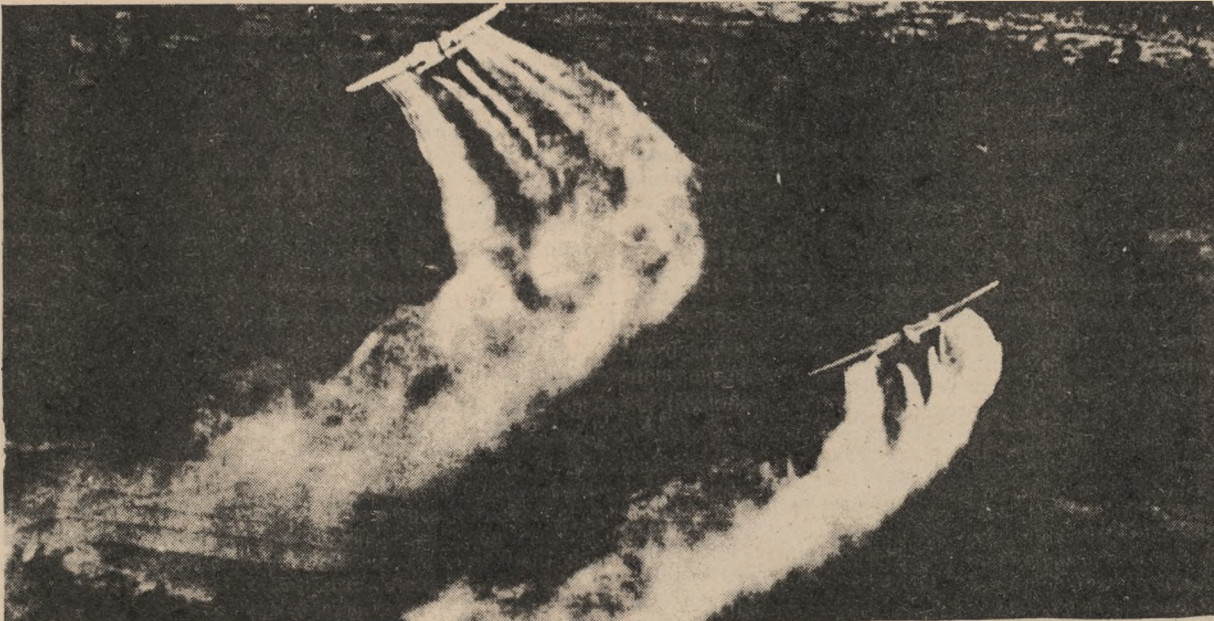
In April 1970 the U.S. Department of Defense announced a ban on the use of 2,4,5-T in Vietnam, because of the danger of foetal deformities. But hundreds of acres of farmland in Vietnam have continued to be sprayed (TIME, 2 Nov., 1970).

## LONG-TERM ECOLOGICAL EFFECTS

Apart from the immediate destruction of crops and possible maiming of babies, there are serious possibilities that for many years to come the countryside will be less able to feed the Vietnamese people. American zoologists have found that bird life is almost absent from defoliated mangrove forests<sup>14</sup>. Some forests sprayed as early as 1961 have still shown no signs of recovery<sup>5</sup>. Plants sprayed with 2,4-D may accumulate enough nitrate to harm animals which eat them<sup>14</sup>. Although destruction of crops, which has been carried out on a large scale, is more directly harmful to civilians, it is fair to point out that the plant-killing campaign has concentrated on forests. But New Zealanders should be the last people to believe claims by the U.S. military and the defoliant manufacturers that defoliation of forests merely denies cover to enemy soldiers. We know only too well that damage to our country's forests (by deer and opossums) has cost us millions. Some of the types of defoliant spread in Vietnam are very persistent<sup>15,16</sup>; but even after the concentration of plant-killers in the water and soil has decreased, there is no guarantee that desirable species will re-colonize the area. Pests such as giant bamboo make take over. Many rivers and canals in Vietnam have been stripped of their border vegetation; this may decrease the supply of economically important fish and shellfish<sup>14</sup>. Chlorophenols produced by natural degradation of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T may make water unpalatable to stock when present in concentrations as low as one part per thousand million<sup>15</sup>. These substances could also kill soil microbes, contributing indirectly to erosion<sup>15</sup>.

Perhaps the worst of the possible long-term effects is the awful prospect that soil may become permanently useless. From 30% to 50% of Vietnamese soils<sup>5,17</sup> are of a type which can turn into a brick-like substance known as laterite, if they are deprived of the organic covering which protects them from severe weathering. The potential for laterization is greatest in soil which was already disturbed before the plants were killed. Cropland, as well as bombed and bulldozed areas, falls into this category. The permanence of

laterite is well illustrated by the famous temples at Angkor in Cambodia. These are made primarily of laterite and have lasted nearly a thousand years. Obviously, land which has been turned into this brick-like substance is not the best for agriculture! We do not know how much of Vietnam will be ruined in this way, but the danger of it constitutes yet another reason against the wholesale killing of plant life.



## RELEVANCE TO NEW ZEALANDERS

1. Most of us believe as we've been told that North Vietnam invaded S. Vietnam which then asked us to help her defend herself. Our mass media have consistently stressed the claim that the purpose of the U.S.A. (and N.Z.) in sending troops was to protect the people of S. Vietnam.

But the truth is that, even using the U.S. government's own statements, anyone who cares to delve will find that the Americans' actions cannot possibly be protecting the Vietnamese. This is seen to be the case with a number of high-level U.S. policies. The more spectacular ones like the indiscriminate bombing are better known. To kill plants may seem relatively innocuous, but is in fact another important example of a practice which must hurt far more civilians (especially women and children) than soldiers.

2. As a rather minor matter, New Zealanders should ponder on recent press reports of damage to crops and people caused around the Waikato, Rotorua and Northland by the spreading of one or more of the plant-killers which have been used in Vietnam.

3. Scores of nations including New Zealand (but not the U.S.A.) ratified the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting chemical (and biological) warfare. This treaty expressed the world-wide revulsion at the use of poison gases in World War I. While I am not suggesting that the letter of this agreement has been broken officially by our troops in Vietnam, there is evidence that we as a country have violated its spirit, by contributing to chemical warfare. N.Z. press items in mid-1967 suggested that the New Plymouth firm of Ivon Watkins-Dow was supplying plant-killing chemicals for the war. It was widely believed by workers in the company that this was so, and that their bonus derived in part from the resulting profits. Mr Holyoake was, as usual, simply not aware. Mr Len Reid of the Council on Vietnam wrote to the company, asking whether the rumour was true. The reply did not answer the question, but did go to some length in attempt to justify the use of defoliants in Vietnam as beneficial. (It is ironic to notice on the company's letterhead that its telegraphic address is "Fruitful".)

Ivon Watkins-Dow is 50% owned by the American Dow Chemical Co., which is notorious for supplying defoliants and napalm to the war. Have New Zealanders been making chemicals for this purpose, and are they now doing so? If we are, that would seem incompatible with the spirit of the prohibition on chemical warfare. In two letters and one interview, the chemicals manager of Ivon Watkins-Dow has declined to answer these questions for me. What is the truth?

4. New Zealanders are not (so far as I know) taking part in the actual spreading of plant-killers in Vietnam. However, our present government does actively support the U.S. war. When we realise that atrocities against civilians are not rare accidents but regular practices of the Americans in Vietnam, and that the war cannot possibly benefit the Vietnamese but is in fact destroying them, should we not withdraw from the war-at once, and denounce it? Every citizen should investigate the facts of the Indo-China war fairly and dispassionately. Scientists have a special duty to be objective in finding the facts on technical issues such as the effects of plant-killers. Emotion must not bias such investigations. But when facts such as those I have quoted

Dr Mann spent the latter half of the '60s studying chemistry and biochemistry in the U.S.A. He is a lecturer in Biochemistry at the University of Auckland.

here have been brought to light, it is in my opinion irresponsible to remain thereafter morally disinterested. Here is the heart of the matter: we are in effect saying to the Vietnamese "If we left you alone to run your own country, you'd probably elect some sort of Communist government; therefore we're going to kill you, to stop this." If our present leaders feel that they themselves would rather be dead than Red, that's their business; but they make that decision for others, and then kill them. This is surely wicked.

If you want to do something about this, write to your M.P. (Parliament Buildings, Wellington). He or she does care what you think.

\* \* \*

## APPENDIX: TECHNICAL DETAILS

The main plant-killing chemical dropped on Vietnam is mixed 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, generally effective on forest, brush and broad-leaved crops. Longer-term control is achieved with "Agent White", a mixture of tri-isopropanolamine salts of 2,4-D and picloram (Dow's "Tordon"), a very persistent compound which is not approved for use in the cultivation of any American crop<sup>5</sup>. "Agent Blue" is especially good at killing grasses such as rice. Its active principle is cacodylic acid; this compound is 54% arsenic.

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BOYCOTT

LECTURES

MOBILISE



# from the WHITE HOUSE

## Dave's Desk

One of my dreams has been to hire out the Civic Theatre and recreate the amazing vaudeville atmosphere of yesteryear. Apparently silent movies used to be preceded by a 'flesh and blood' variety show, the last remnant being the Civic organ, which was removed several years ago.

We approached the manager of the Civic some time ago, but the figure of \$1,000 was too much for us to cover, so we had to forget about the idea for a while.

Earlier this year I heard that the Arts Centre planned to hold their own Arts Festival later in the year, so I got in touch with Jim Stevenson, head of the New Zealand Universities Arts Council (NZUAC), who as very keen, and promised me \$500. Bruce Kirkland and I sold the idea to Amalgamated Theatres and last Friday we finally were given permission to go ahead. We were unable to get the theatre for a Friday, Saturday, or Sunday so we have booked it for either the 5th or 6th of July (Monday or Tuesday). The Civic holds 2000 people, and if we can obtain a grant from the Auckland Centenary Committee we will charge \$1.00 a head.

The Civic is the perfect place to hold such a show, the atmosphere is appropriate. We intend to open with an hour of vaudeville show featuring magicians, jugglers, chorus girls, trick cyclists, lunchtime entertainment bands and other novelties. Tiny Thompson, the 22 stone singing blacksmith, and a personal friend of the organisers will sing The man on the flying trapeze in purple tights; and following the show a Marx Brothers movie will be shown. It should be a good do: I will let you know how things are going, from time to time.

I would like to make a few comments on Capping: firstly, I think there is a place for capping, not as a beery, toilet-humour, old hat, student prank style thing, but more as a cultural-based non-stop carnival, which should emphasise students doing things together, rather than showing the public how funny they are. If we must have a process, how about something relevant rather than the same cliché-ridden old shit, which we see every year. One student, Reg Nicholls, planned to build 1000 coffins for this year's process, as a protest against the Vietnam War, but this has been severely rubbished because the Capping Controller won't give him any cardboard. What a pity, for Reg has a lot of support, and his imagination was a refreshing change to the dull pricks on capping committee, who every year get all 'hung up' over Massey University selling their capping book in Auckland—Kevan Hall, Capping Controller, was pissed off that no-one went down town and bashed up the Massey sellers, but personally I admire the way that Massey students travel all over the country to sell their books. Good on them! It makes you wonder why Auckland doesn't sell in Palmerston North doesn't it? Two weeks ago sellers from Canterbury took thousands of Canterbury's 1970 Capping book, over-printed with "Massquerade" and sold them in Palmerston North. This is much more effective retaliation (if we must retaliate) than bashing up innocent Massey sellers. (While we're on the subject of capping books, be sure to read the special review/preview of the 1971 book, elsewhere in this column).

I hope first year students won't expect too much from Capping, and I would hate anyone to be disappointed. Although this University has grown out of the old "chunder guts" days, no capping controller has seen this. They call upon students for ideas, and every year some bright spark suggests putting soap powder in the fountain (fair go!—I was unofficial stunts controller one year, unofficial because the exec wouldn't ratify me, and three people came up to me and suggested this!!) Well if you are a real "shit-stirrer" why not try my variation: filling a fountain up with turds, urine, and toilet paper. This must be the ultimate "stunt", and is guaranteed to cause quite a stink.

That's all for this week, except that I have several records left up in the common-rooms, in my possession. Owners may claim them from me.

PRESIDENT DAVE NEUMEGEN



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# Capping Miscellany

## AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY ARTS CENTRE CENTENNIAL CULTURAL FESTIVAL

During the week of Capping (May 3-8) the Cultural Societies of the University will be presenting combined activities at the Arts Centre, 24 Grafton Road.

We hope our small Arts Festival will provide some relief from the more irrelevant banalities of Capping Week. We also intend them as one contribution to the City of Auckland Centennial.

The daily programme from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. will include recorded music, films, photography and painting exhibitions. We hope that people will bring their own records. There will be a selection of nearly one hundred films (both features and shorts).

Monday 3rd	Blue/Jazz Concert	8.00
Tuesday, 4th	Folk Concert	8.00
Wednesday 5th	Panel Discussion of Five Easy Pieces Living Theatre Centennial Production Louissana Story (R. Flaherty)	6.00 8.00 10.00
Thursday, 6th	Living Theatre Centennial Production Dance Piece Battleship Potemkin Ivan the Terrible	8.00 10.00 10.15
Friday, 7th	Living Theatre Centennial Prod. Peter the First (V. Petrov) Lenin in Poland (S. Guketvitch)	8.00 10.00

On Monday Wednesday and Friday, at 2.30 there will be a playing of the Royal Shakespeare Production of "Marat/Sade".

Among the films available to be shown (on request) are: The Grasshopper, Potemkin, Marcel Marceau, Several American Undergorund films, Begone Dull Care, Blinkity Blank, Short and Suite, Snow.

### COME ALONG AND SEE AND HEAR

Additions or alterations to programme will be posted on Arts Centre Notice Board outside the University Bookshop.

THURSDAY, APRIL 29: Capping Magazine sales.

FRIDAY APRIL 30: Capping Magazine Sales.

Free University I: St Pauls Crypt. Topic Man and his Environment. Speakers: Dr Underhill, Prof. Spedding, Mr Frank Low, Mr Brian Coffey, Dr J. Brown, Prof. Morton, Peter Melser and Mike Ansten. On legislation to prevent pollution—the Mayor. On Environmental Harmony—Dr MacDonald and Dr Fraser.

Capping Dance in the Caff.

SATURDAY MAY 1: Film Festival—8.00 pm L.L.T. Dr Strangelove. 30c Admission.

SUNDAY MAY 2: Crippled Children and Orphans Garden Party.

MONDAY MAY 3: Aucksford Union Debate: Topic That women are a frivolous sideline to the University and should be kept out of all serious affairs. Speakers: Mr G. Newsom, Sir Dove-Myer Robinson, Stephen Chan, Prof. Reid, Dean Rymer and Tim Shadbolt.

Free University II: St Pauls Crypt. Topic: Politics in New Zealand. Introduction to the two party system. Speakers include Shadbolt Bassett, Gill, Gair.

Free dance and films in the Caff 9.00 pm.

Film Festival L.L.T. 8.00 pm Romeo and Juliet.

TUESDAY MAY 4: Boat Race 11.00 am. Car and scooter rally to Devonport. Ferry available to follow the boats.

Free University III Topic: The Rights of the Individual. Speakers include: Dr A. McNaughton, Pat Hohepa, Jonathon Hunt, Brian Brooks.

Film Festival L.L.T. 8.00 pm. The Pawnbroker.

WEDNESDAY MAY 5: Free University IV Topic: Religion and Man. Speakers include: Rev Rob McCullough, Father O'Sullivan, Stephen Chan, Dr Grahame Jackson, Rev Dr Robert Thompson, Rabbi Tovlor. A comparative study of different religions. Dr Jackson on primitive religions, Dr Quigley on Philosophy or needs of man for religion.

Film Festival L.L.T. 8.00 pm The Kid and Laurel and Hardy.

Harbour Cruise Social 7.30 pm from the Ferry Buildings. \$2.00 single and \$4.00 double.

THURSDAY MAY 6: Process 12.00 noon. Opening Ceremony to follow.

Charity Collection.

Autumn Fair.

Film Festival L.L.T. 8.00 pm. The Graduate.

FRIDAY MAY 7: Graduation Ceremony.

Grad Ball 8.00 pm at the Peter Pan \$10.00 double.

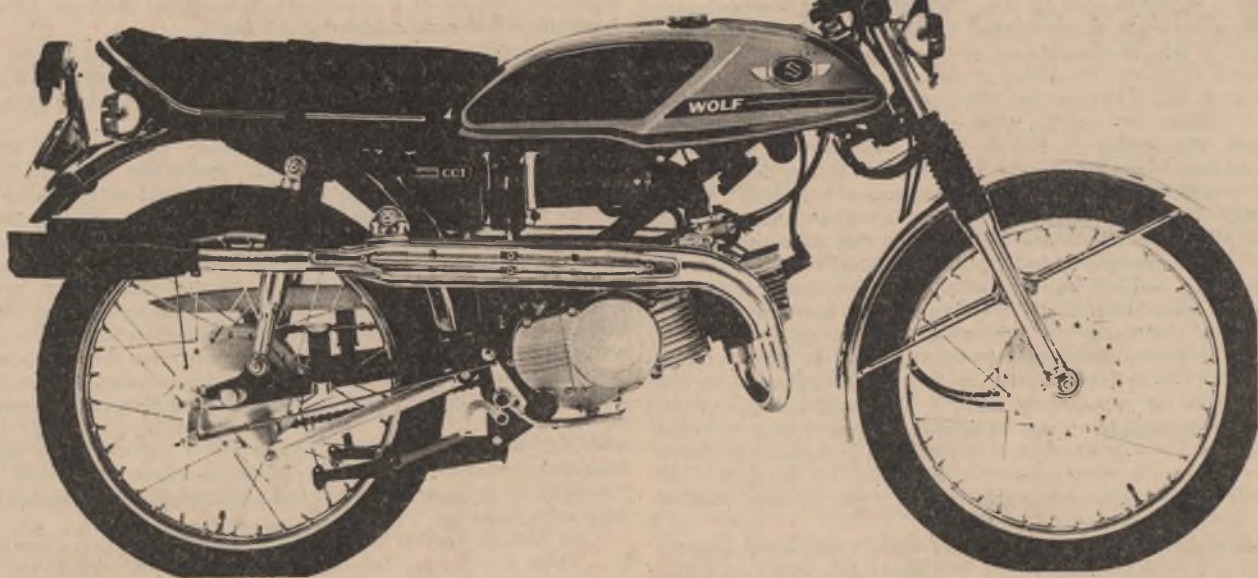
Film Festival L.L.T. 8.00 pm.

SATURDAY MAY 8: University Choir in the Town Hall 8.00 pm.

Film Festival L.L.T. 8.00 pm. In the Heat of the Night.

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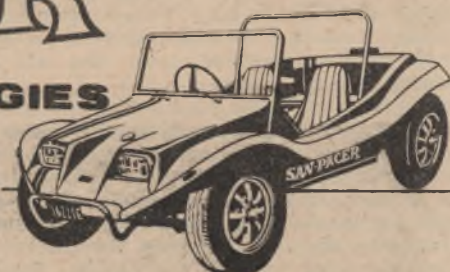
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# Redeployment in Sth East Asia

MIKE STENSON

The headlines have looked decisive enough; an infantry company and a 26 man SAS Squadron withdrawn in 1970, the artillery battery to be withdrawn in May 1971. Only 264 New Zealand servicemen will be left after May and we have been implicitly led to believe that their withdrawal is only a matter of time—a few months or perhaps a year at the outside.

But the infantrymen have not and will not be permanently withdrawn and stationed in New Zealand. They will be redeployed to Singapore—Malaysia on a rotational basis. It was from Singapore that they were despatched to Vietnam; it is to Singapore that they will eventually return on overseas service. And it is in Singapore—Malaysia, not Vietnam, that the future pattern of New Zealand defence strategy in Southeast Asia is being determined.

On the face of it, the Singapore commitment as part of a five power defence agreement is infinitely preferable to that in Vietnam. The objects are officially defined as the encouragement of stability and regional cooperation; the bogus antithesis of communism and democracy has been quietly relegated to the background. The military presence has been requested by the two Asian governments concerned and none of their immediate neighbours has protested. Both governments are infinitely superior in terms of administrative efficiency and popular support to that of South Vietnam. The troops' function is at present deterrent and diplomatic rather than active. The claim that we are thus expressing our identification with the basic problems and fate of part of Southeast Asia is credible enough to warrant closer examination.

Diplomatic rationales for the military commitment are superficially very reasonable. Diplomats, as distinct from politicians, privately express the belief and hope that the troops will never again be used on active duty. Their role, they say, is to act as a temporary (how temporary they refuse to say) catalyst for military cooperation between Malaysia and Singapore. Without the presence of outsiders, it is argued, Malaysia and Singapore could never cooperate on military matters. Discussions would end up as eyeball to eyeball confrontations probably leading to exaggerated suspicions and military escalation.

The diplomats may be right. Without having participated in such conferences it is virtually impossible to tell, but the recent decision to split Malaysia Singapore Airlines indicates the difficulties of cooperation between the two step-children of British colonialism.

## QUESTIONS

Nevertheless we are entitled to ask a few questions. How long is the mediation to last? Is it in fact checking military escalation? Is the defence of Malaysia-Singapore genuinely indivisible? Is there not a possibility that the troops will be drawn into military conflict? Are the diplomats' aims those of the armed forces or of the politicians? Are the diplomats in effective control of foreign policy? Is the encouragement of stability by means of a military presence the most appropriate goal of New Zealand foreign policy?

Lee Kuan Yew talks in terms of 5 years, others of an interim period until a great power guarantee can be arranged. New Zealand officials and politicians, however, seem content with the reply that we will stay as long as we are wanted and leave when we are asked. No timetable for the completion of training for the Malaysian and Singaporean forces has been prepared. No suggestions seem to have been made that if the two countries cannot cooperate within another two or three years there is nothing further that the ANZUKS can usefully do to assist. The implications of such attitudes for a country which allegedly wishes to 'help shape events' are extraordinary to say the least. The Malaysians and Singaporeans are left to call the tune while we pay the piper. Is this evidence of susceptibility to Asian sensitivities or is it an indication of the absence of real policy?

## NOT CHECKED

Meanwhile the expansion of ground forces in Malaysia and Singapore has certainly not been checked. In both cases they are expanding with unprecedented rapidity. Navies and air forces are growing less rapidly, mainly, it would appear, for lack of money, technicians, pilots and captains. So far there has been no escalating response in neighbouring countries yet the role of the ANZUK presence as a deterrent to arms escalation is dubious at best. It hasn't actively promoted escalation in the fashion of the Middle East. Nor has it effectively hindered the trend.

That the defence of Malaysia and Singapore is indivisible has become part of the conventional wisdom of military planners. But when one asks defence against what there is no reply. No challenge to their territorial integrity is expected in the near future. In the case of Malaysia the expansion of her armed forces was announced immediately after the May 1969 riots and clearly relates to internal unrest. A continuing decline in Malaysian interest in defence cooperation has ensued since that time. The support for the ANZUK arrangement now comes primarily from the Singaporeans and one detects here quite different interests. Singapore fears three possibilities; firstly, invasion from Malaysia, secondly, political or commercial bullying from Indonesia or Malaysia backed by the implicit threat of armed force and, thirdly, the domination of her sea route life lines by one major naval power. The ANZUK arrangement is regarded as no permanent solution to this problem, at best buying time for the development of an accepted regional balance of power and preferably also the creation of a great power condominium. Indivisible defence is a misleading slogan. If the ANZUK forces have any role at all it is to deter Malaysia and Indonesia and to buy time for Singapore.

## ASPIRATIONS

In this respect the Israeli analogy is unpleasantly appropriate. The basic ingredients of an immigrant population of different racial stock, with a distinctive culture and a characteristically immigrant determination to survive and prosper in the midst of more traditionalist and politically unstable societies are all there. As in the case of Israel, Singapore's aggressive self-confidence and rapid economic expansion often act more as an irritant than as a solvent. The fundamental question which needs to be asked is whether the ANZUK presence encourages the Singaporeans to adapt to their milieu or whether it engenders an unwarranted self confidence and blunts their sensitivities to the attitudes and aspirations of their neighbours. I am inclined to think that it does the latter.

The dangers of this role should be readily apparent. The troops may look safe enough squatting in their barracks or playing war games on the peninsula but in the event of conflict over water, fishing, or oil rights, not to mention racial violence, it will be exceptionally difficult to isolate the ANZUK naval and air patrols and even the infantry groups from contact with an aggressor. The Malacca Straits are too

narrow: Singapore is too small. If Singapore is attacked or stages a pre-emptive strike can the ANZUKS simply cut and run? The predicted looseness of the new 5 power agreement should reassure no-one. The physical presence is what counts. Allies don't withdraw as soon as their friends are attacked. If they come into direct contact with an aggressor withdrawal is virtually impossible.

We may hopefully assume that our diplomats are moderately well-informed, that their methods are relatively sophisticated and that they genuinely aim to induce regional stability. But what about the armed forces? In their case, there is every reason to believe that the recruiting advantages of overseas secondment and the strategic value of forward deployment and tropical training are of overriding importance. Thus the frequent reference to the Kota Tinggi jungle training school and the undisclosed sum which we are to pay in fees for its use. The troops are there in order to be ready for action and deployment to any part of the region. Singapore was chosen as the new headquarters base not merely because it seemed more internally stable than Malaysia but because it is the major regional communications centre.

As for the politicians, it is readily apparent that a mere handful have the sophistication of the diplomats and that all are influenced by a random association of traditional military links, the concept of forward defence (associated with fear of China as well as of communism), the idea of loyalty to Commonwealth (even socialist) neighbours, and gropings towards a new relationship with Asia. But the decision itself and the support it has received from Mr Kirk indicate that past relationships continue to dominate. The new verbal commitments are those of economic development, trade and education; the practical realities are still those of a substantial military presence both in relation to the total size of our armed forces and to the total value of our trade links with Malaysia and Singapore. These attitudes are all the more significant at a time when politicians are establishing much more direct links with their Asian counterparts and are becoming less dependent on official advice. The politicians will be making the crucial decisions.

## GREATER RISKS

In short, the function of the ANZUK presence is equivocal, viewed in differing lights by different groups. But we may conclude quite definitely that the backing of diplomatic goals by means of a coordinating and deterrent military presence involves far greater risks than we have been led to believe. Malaysia and Indonesia are in a state of flux. Singapore is the object of envy and racial antagonism, an irritant as well as the source of modernist ideas. Moreover, the permanent presence demonstrates the continuing influence of the concept of forward defence. The object is admittedly preventive and non-combatant at present; the potential is manifestly that of active operations anywhere in Southeast Asia.

At best the role is negative, buying time until the region 'settles down'; at worst it is provocative, prolonging that misleading dichotomy between the free or democratic and the unfree or communist states of Asia. Above all, it fails to deal with the central issues of directly stimulating social and economic change, of checking population growth, and of developing mutually beneficial inter-relationships. Military commitment is largely a one way process. Trade, investment and educational exchanges involve two-way interaction. The time is surely ripe for Vietnam mobilisers to go beyond agitating for military withdrawal and to map the outlines of a campaign for active New Zealand involvement in development and change not only in Southeast Asia but also in the nearer Pacific Islands.



A gentleman guarding our cenotaph from further scurrilous graffiti

—Ruffo

# Workers and a lunchtime war

P. BALDRY

## AUCKLAND VIETNAM COMMITTEE

Ever felt that the surge of activity created by organising a march down Queen St. on mobilisation days fizzled out well before the desire to "do something" had been quenched? We have a serious proposition to put to you. For several years now members of the Auckland Vietnam Committee have squelched onto building sites, braved the hazards of ship's gangplanks, or what you will, and with skill hardly credible, have ferreted out lunchrooms wherever they may lie; all in order that we may raise the issue of Vietnam and argue the toss for half an hour while the workman ate their lunches, in some cases not made any the more digestible by our intrusion.

We have a few times been "balled" off the job, a few times left to an ovation (absolutely true), but always we have left satisfied it was not a waste of time.

We have learned a hell of a lot about Vietnam, about that section of the community which has no means of sustenance save the sale of its labour (I am told that "working-class" is a most hackneyed term) and about ourselves. Look, it really is worthwhile, approach it with honesty and the knowledge that you don't know it all and it will mean something to you. It will cost you one lunchhour a week or a month, as you will, but we urge

you to contact us at Box 5479 and at least give it a go. If you decide to venture into this activity without contacting us, fine, but I would timorously present you with one thought for the week.—While it could be true that persons of a low I.Q. enter only the labouring classes (I myself feel a nitwit can be found anywhere), it is certainly not true that all persons of a high I.Q. are not to be found in the labouring classes—Or, in those famous words of Mr Muldoon's to the uneconomic farmer, "Don't be cocky." However, if you do do it, and drop a note to Box 5479, or phone 678-570, it will be worth it.

## yes you can



The Poncho Bar made great headway, during the three weeks of the Easter Show dispelling the doubt that the male figure in all its butchness cannot wear a Poncho. Disbelievers were dared to try. Did, and were convinced. Daphne Calderwood and her team of crafts people wowed anyone, male or female, who were looking for original gear. What can compete with people who design and make the gear themselves, and then sell it at prices that are just plain fair? The Poncho Bar make gypsy gear, hand crocheted ponchos, men's crocheted waist jackets, midi and maxi jackets, and assorted other original gear. You can be the wearer of a Poncho for as little as \$12.50. Original, hand made by people who care, and that's before the student discount of 10%. Even if you don't want to buy anything, get along to the Poncho Bar, and breath in the non-commercial atmosphere. Aesthetically, whether you're in love with clothes, or otherwise, it's a relief.

## PONCHO BAR

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## CRACCUM TECHNICAL EDITOR

Applications are open for this position and those interested should apply to the Stud Ass Office before next Tuesday, May 4.

## Students:

Ensure that you are enrolled on the City Council Roll (different from the National Electoral Roll).  
Local Body Elections are in October



## Support

The Auckland University Students Association (Inc) would like to extend their thanks for the support received from the following sponsored in the recent Mystery Envelope Appeal. In particular we would like to thank James Sanders Advertising Ltd and L.D. Nathans Ltd for their very generous assistance.

We would also like to thank—  
Prestige Promotions Ltd, Levene & Co. Ltd., Duncan Robertson Ltd, The Leather Look, Spooners Gallery, British Office Supplies Ltd, Park Avenue Restaurant, Grafton Oaks Courtyard Inn, Speedo Wash Car Valet, Kerridge Odcon Corporation, Tiki Coffee Lounge, Seven Seas Coffee Lounge, Kaleuala Health Studios, Biro, Bic & Gollin (NZ) Ltd, Bette Murray Shoe Salon, C.H. Leighton Ltd, Auckland City Store, Civic Automotive Electrical, Leo O'Malley Ltd, Price's, Minal Coffee Lounge, H.M.V. Records, Joanne Drew Figure Clinic, Danske Mobler Ltd, New Zealand Scenic Tours Ltd, Japanese Bath House, Burnett Jones Ltd, The Hungry Horse, the Hi-Fi Centre, Maitlands Knitwear Ltd, Jennifer Julian, Innes Jewellers, Market Road Services, Surfside Ballroom Ltd, Anglo Engineering Ltd, The House of Beauty, General Foods Corporation, Viking Health Studios, Shootown, Watts Sports Depot Ltd, Stephens Letraset Ltd, Whitcombe & Tombs, Fisher & Paykel Ltd, His Lordships Vault, Olympic Stationery Ltd, United Dry Cleaners & Laundry, John Bolton Ltd, Motor Specialists Ltd, Stuart's Pharmacy Ltd, Flair Knitwear, Homedrxn, Furniture Craft Ltd, Wrigley S. Ltd, Auckland Rugby League Club Inc., Tanner Couch Ltd, Arthur Yates Ltd, Chandris Lines N.Z. Ltd, Scripto Pens Ltd.

W.J. Spring  
President, A.U.S.A.

## PROTECTIVE REACTION



We must remember that saving men's lives is more important than saving face for the Government—Senator Edmund Muskie.

It's a long and terrible war, but saving face means as much more to the Asians than life. Life means nothing, but nothing to them. I love America and I

would hate to see her lose face anywhere in the world.—Lady Cromer, wife of the new British Ambassador to Washington.

N.Z. HERALD

## Viet Nam Vet

Isn't it time the war stopped? Who can even attempt to calculate the amount of suffering created by this war and all others? It's time for all peoples to speak out against the war! Forget the political aspects and first view the war through human eyes.

All of you have seen photos and read stories of the suffering of the Vietnamese people. But what about all the others we sometimes forget about. What about your young men who march gloriously off to war only to return in a plastic bag or on a litter. Think of the young mother who greets her senseless and maimed husband or the mother who weeps over the flag draped over the coffin of her son.

Even those who support the war do so only half-heartedly—do any of them volunteer to push an amputee through his ward in a veterans' hospital or attempt to cheer a young man whose face has been viciously scarred by napalm or white phosphorous. No, they remain satisfied supporting the war by belligerently arguing it over a glass of beer at their favourite pub. Is it fair that a young man should spend an important portion of his life living in mud, breathing the stench of death and hearing screams of wounded men. No, he should be spending his time enjoying a walk in the countryside doing the things he wants to do.

### MYSELF

You may have heard all this before, therefore I shall tell you of myself, and my experiences in the war. In August 1967 at the age of 19, I began a 13 month tour of duty in Vietnam with the United States army. At that time I began the hell of a war. I've seen young men wounded and killed, I've seen innocent children horribly burned and maimed, and I've seen the senseless destruction of villages, fields, and livestock. All this is the immediate result of the war, but think of tomorrow and the years to come?

Upon my return to the United States and discharge from the army I began treatment at a veterans' hospital in Long Beach California for an arm injury and a skin condition resulting from service in Vietnam. It was at this hospital that I began to see the long term effects of the war; the young men trying desperately to walk on artificial legs, the basket cases dying senselessly in a ward filled with other mutilations of human life. It is a sad sight and one which many people are unaware of. But it exists!

I was also given the opportunity to see the families of young men who must manage with the disaster that has befallen them. How can you tell a multiple amputee or brain damaged man that he has given much for his country and should be proud, while at the same time his old friends are enjoying the life a young man so fully deserves?

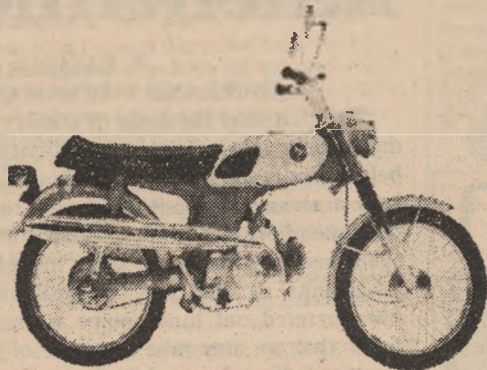
It gets to be damned depressing when I go to a party or receive word that a kid I went to High School with is now dead or has had his hands blown off. Don't you think it's time all of this senseless butchery stopped? I do! For once in your life, stand up and let your voice be heard. It's time for all of us to get together and end this war. Support the mobilisation against the war.

TERRY A. TABOR  
(formerly specialist 4th class  
U.S.56702737 U.S. Army  
now resident in N.Z.)

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"I believed Lyndon Johnson when he promised not to escalate and not to send American men into battle in Vietnam. The President telephoned me right after the election to thank me: "Dr Spock, I hope I will be worthy of your trust." Within three months he betrayed all of us who trusted him by doing exactly what he had promised not to . . .

"During the Nuremberg trials following WW II, our government maintained that a person who is given orders which entail crimes against humanity is obliged—legally as well as morally—to disobey those orders and to disobey his government . . . our government is committing crimes against humanity in Vietnam . . . . . It is the war which is illegal."

Dr Spock. Feb. 1968, awaiting trial for peace activities.

# The Rhetoric of genocide

KEN RICHARDSON LIZ BOWER SUE CARPENTER



Melvin Laird . . . inventing a language

SECRETARY OF DEFENCE, ROBERT S. McNAMARA: 1965.

"We can stand a 5-yr war, a 10-yr war, or a 20-yr war! I speak for 24 million men who are in the armed forces today who I guarantee can stand it, and I think the 180 million who stand behind them can stand it."

## VIETNAM SOLDIER IN A LETTER TO SENATOR FULBRIGHT.

"I went to Vietnam a hard-charging Marine 2nd Lieutenant, sure I had answered the pleas of a victimised people. That belief lasted about 7 weeks. Instead of fighting Communist aggression I found that 90% of the time our military actions were directed against the people of Sth. Vietnam.

Much has been written about the terror tactics used by the Viet Cong. From my own experience, the terror and havoc we spread makes the V.C. look like a Girl Scout picnic. We are engaged in a war in Vietnam to pound people into submission to a government that has little or no popular support."

JOSEPH ALSOP—AMERICAN COLUMNIST 1954—

"It was difficult for me, as it is for any Westerner, to conceive of a communist government's genuinely 'serving the people.' I could hardly imagine a communist government that was almost a democratic government. But this was just the sort of government the palm hut (Viet Minh) state actually was while the struggle with the French continued. The Viet Minh could not possibly have carried on the resistance for one year, let alone nine years, without the people's strong, united support."

1945 VIETNAMESE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—

"They (the French) have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood. . . . To weaken our race they have forced us to use opium and alcohol. They have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land. They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests and our raw materials."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO THE 1953 U.S.

GOVERNORS CONFERENCE:

(REASONS FOR HELPING THE FRENCH)

"Now let us assume that we lost Indochina. . . . The tin and tungsten that we greatly value from that area would cease coming. . . . So when the U.S. votes 400 million dollars to help that war, we are not voting a give-away program. We are voting for the cheapest way . . . to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of the most terrible significance to the United States of America. . . . (the loss of our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indochinese territory and from South East Asia.)"

GENERAL WALKER BEDELL SMITH—U.S. DELEGATE

TO THE FINAL SESSION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

ON VIETNAM—JULY 21st 1954.

" . . . it (U.S.) will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb" the Agreement.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER—IN 'MANDATE FOR CHANGE' (THE REASON WHY ELECTIONS WERE NOT HELD IN VIETNAM AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS)

"I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held . . . possibly 80% of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than (pro-Western Emperor) Bao Dai."

In 1957—before the civil war broke out—the International Control Commission reported the first violations, the beginning of the illegal U.S.—Saigon military build-up."

"The violations of articles 16 and 17 mentioned above concern introduction into Sth. Vietnam of U.S. military aircraft, a few aircraft wheel tyres, 1,000 revolvers and 610 cases of revolver ammunition."

## REBELLION IN THE SOUTH

SATURDAY EVENING POST—JANUARY 6th, 1962.

"Many of Diem's officials came to regard their government jobs as open licences for larceny. They often extorted money from the peasants, demanded protection money from the Merchants, and manipulated the prices farmers got for their crops."

MALCOLM BROWNE, ASSOC. PRESS. MAN IN VIETNAM—

CONCERNING SAIGON-APPOINTED DISTRICT CHIEFS.

"As the chief tax collector, conscription officer (that is, one-man draft board), judge, county prosecutor, police chief, contract officer and everything else rolled into one, (the District Chief) literally has the power of life or death over his subjects. If someone else chooses to give him a hard time, that person is apt to be arrested as a Viet Cong agent, and no-one is likely to be the wiser. That person may rot for months or years in some provincial jail without trial or further investigation, or he may be shot on the spot. Similar pressures can be brought to bear on entire families, even on entire hamlets."

JEAN LACOUTURE, FRENCH JOURNALIST

DESCRIBING PRISON TREATMENT:

"Hundreds of students of both sexes had been subjected to ill-treatment. Many had been forced to drink soapy water until they suffered internal damage. At the detention camp at Le Van Quich 40 prisoners at a time were thrown into a cell in the hot sun. Other had their nails torn out; still others were blinded."

PHILIPPE DEVILLERS, FRENCH HISTORIAN —

CONCERNING REIGN OF TERROR UNDER DIEM, 1958.

"Round-ups of 'dissidents' became more frequent and more brutal. . . . a certain sequence of events became almost classical: denunciation, encirclement of villages, searches and raids, arrests of suspects, plundering, interrogations enlivened sometimes by torture (even of innocent people), deportation."

'U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT'S' 1961 WHITE PAPER

CONCEDES THAT THE REBELLION WAS NOT

SUPPLIED FROM NTH. VIETNAM:

"By hitting such targets (police stations, army outposts etc.) suddenly and in superior force, the Viet Cong are able to assure themselves of a supply of arms and ammunition. . . . The weapons of the Viet Cong are largely French—or U.S.—made, or home made on primitive forges in the jungles."

GENERAL PAUL D. HARKINS, COMMANDER U.S. MILITARY FORCES IN VIETNAM IN 1963

"The guerillas are obviously not being reinforced or supplied systematically from Nth. Vietnam, China or any other place."

"Secretary of Defence, Robert S. McNamara stated in early 1965 that the Nth. Vietnamese forces in Sth. Vietnam consisted in their entirety of "400–500 members" of the "Second Battalion of the 325th. Division of the regular Nth. Vietnamese Army." In other words, although our government claimed that Nth. Vietnamese intervention had turned the tide against Saigon, less than 1% of the enemy were Nth. Vietnamese at that time. The other 99% were Sth. Vietnamese."

## HOW THE VIET CONG (N.L.F.) GET THEIR SUPPORT

U.S. AMBASSADOR, HENRY CABOT LODGE— NEW YORK TIMES FEB. 27th. 1966.

"For years now in S.E. Asia, the only people who have been doing anything about the little man at the grass roots—to lift him up—have been the communists."

RICHARD CRITCHFIELD—WASHING.STAR FEB 5th, 1966.

"The people most likely to be hurt by radical social change are in charge of carrying it out. . . . The minority of the Vietnamese who have run the country for centuries (are being asked) to share their wealth and political power with the peasantry they have always ignored or exploited."

R.W. APPLE JR.—NEW YORK TIMES AUG. 7th 1967.

"Weary of the war and cynical towards it, many of them (Sth. Vietnamese army) work a 4½ day week, leaving their troops at noon Friday and repairing to Cantho or Danang or Saigon in search of diversion. It is not uncommon to see two dozen off-duty army officers taking their ease of a Saturday night in Maxim's, a frightfully expensive Saigon nightclub."

Watching one such group drive through town in a long black car recently, a Vietnamese student commented, "Nguyen Huu Tho doesn't live like that." Mr Tho is Chairman of the National Liberation Front.

MAX CLOS, CORRESPONDENT FOR THE FRENCH NEWSPAPER — FIGARO:

" . . . When the Viet Cong began their revolution in 1959 and 1960, it was opened with a wave of terrorism: officials and private persons loyal to Saigon were assassinated. Government propaganda strove mightily to exploit these facts to arouse popular indignation. This backfired. In most cases the peasants had helped in the brutal liquidation of the men. Instead of murderers, the terrorists were considered dispensers of justice."

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL U THANT—

"Immediately after Burma's independence in January 1948, the Burmese communists went underground and started a widespread insurrection. The Burmese government dealt with this internal problem by its own means without asking for any outside military assistance. . . . The Burmese Communist Party is still underground after 17 years and still illegal. But let me tell you that there has not been a single instance of outside help to the Burmese Communists, (and) Burma has over 1,000 miles of land frontier with mainland China. . . . Not one American life has been lost in Burma. Not one American dollar has been spent in Burma in the form of military assistance in the last 17 years. We should ask the question? Why?"

LIN PIAO, DEFENCE MINISTER, CHINA:

"In order to make a revolution, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, but leans wholly on foreign aid, no victory can be won."

## THE WAY OUT

SENATOR SMITH, (ON THE SEATO TREATY)

"To establish an organisation modelled on the lines of NATO. . . Such an organisation might have required the Commitment of American ground forces to the Asian mainland. We carefully avoided any possible implication regarding an arrangement of that kind."

RICHARD GOODWIN—ADVISOR TO PRESIDENTS

KENNEDY AND JOHNSON—

"Neither our fellow-signers, including France and Britain, nor John Foster Dulles, who drew up the treaty, nor any American President has believed or been advised that (the SEATO pact) required us to send fighting men to Vietnam."

AMBASSADOR KENNAN:

"There is more respect to be won in the opinion of the world by a resolute and courageous liquidation of unsound positions than in the most stubborn pursuit of extravagant or unpromising objectives."

PROFESSOR HOWARD ZINN, BOSTON UNIVERSITY— ON ELECTIONS:

"Would give the present government virtually no voice in the future of the country, because it has—without U.S. backing—virtually no strength. It would give the Buddhist groups an important voice, because they represent significant numbers of people, whose support any future government must have, and it would undoubtedly give the National Liberation Front the major voice."

## THE DESTRUCTION OF VIETNAM

NEW YORK TIMES, SEPT. 5th, 1965.

" . . . a woman who has both arms burned off by napalm and her eyelids so badly burned that she cannot close them. When it is time for her to sleep her family puts a blanket over her head. The woman had 2 of her children killed in the air strike that maimed her"

FRANK HARVEY, AUTHOR OF "AIR WAR—VIETNAM":

" . . . a woman on recovering from some kind of attack, a

grotesque, scarred nightmare creature except for the smooth untouched breast the child is sucking at . . .

BERNARD FALL — 1965 RAMPARTS:

"The napalm (that was just dropped) was expected to force the people—fearing the heat and burning, out into the open. Then the 2nd plane was to move in with heavy fragmentation bombs to hit whatever—or whoever—had rushed out into the open . . . We went in a third time and raked over the village with cannons . . . I could see some of the villagers trying to head away from the shore of their sampans. The fillage was burning fiercely. . . .

It is difficult to judge if there actually were any Viet Cong in the village, and if so, if any were killed . . . It happens very often in Vietnam that, as a current joke goes, the FACs (Forward Air Controllers—the men who choose targets and supervise attacks) have their facts wrong, that the raid information is stale, that there may have been communists in the village—but the day before . . . Or maybe not at all!"

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE 1965 — NOV. 17th

"Suddenly I felt a searing heat on my face. An American fighter bomber had misjudged the communist positions and dropped a load of napalm. The flaming jellied gasoline, impossible to shake or scrape off once it hits the skin, splashed along the ground in a huge dragon's tail of fire less than 25 yards away. Screams pierced the roar of flames. Two Americans stumbled out of the inferno. Their hair burned off in an instant. Their clothes were incinerated . . .

It was an hour before a medical helicopter could get into the area . . . A medic asked me to help get the man into the helicopter when it arrived. I held a leg of the most seriously injured man. I wasn't tender enough. A big patch of burned skin came off in my hand"

Congressman Clement Zablocki (D. Wisc.): a hawk on Vietnam, travelled to Vietnam in 1966, and was briefed by U.S. military spokesmen. On his return to the U.S., he reported to the House Foreign Affairs Committee that six civilians died for every Viet Cong in some search and destroy missions. He estimated that there are, overall, twice as many civilians as Viet Cong killed.

The U.S. has reported killing about 55,000 Viet Cong each year for the past few years. If we use the conservative figures of two civilians for every Viet Cong, this means the death of at least 100,000 civilians each year. This is thirty times the number of victims of Viet Cong terrorism that the U.S. listed for 1967. Using the standard military ratio of two wounded for every dead, The U.S. causes the wounding of ¼ million civilians each year.

Large areas of Sth Vietnam have been declared "free strike zones"—areas, according to photographer James Pickerell "in which everyone is supposed to be a Viet Cong soldier or a VC sympathizer." Anything in a free strike zone is considered a legitimate target for American air or artillery attacks—houses, cattle, fields, and, of course, all the people who live there. Yet, Pickerell points out, "many of the people thought to be sympathizers stay in the Viet Cong areas because they cannot afford to leave what little land they own."

In these zones, American planes are carrying out a large-scale program of crop destruction with the stated aim of starving the Viet Cong troops. Jean Mayer of the Harvard School of Public Health commented on this program:

"I can flatly say that there has never been a famine or food shortage . . . which has not first and overwhelmingly affected the small children . . . Adults, and particularly adult men, survive much better than the rest of the population . . . Destruction of food thus never seems to hamper enemy military operations, but always victimizes large numbers of children . . . To state it in other words, my point is not that innocent by-standers will be hurt by such measures, but that only bystanders will be hurt."

According to U.S. Air Force manual "Anything, person or place is a legitimate target if it helps to destroy the will of the enemy to resist."

Malcolm Browne, Associated Press reporter, in Vietnam believes that the Vietnamese people will not surrender. "To win in Vietnam, we will have to exterminate a nation"

A F-4 fighter bomber pilot in Danang speaking to Frank Harvey: "We should start at the DMZ (De-Militarised Zone) and kill every man, woman and child in Nth Vietnam."

In The New Legions, "Green Beret" hero Donald Duncan quotes a U.S. military adviser: "So a few women and children are killed and a prisoner died under interrogation—tough shit. Teach them a damned good lesson. They're all VC or at least helping them—same difference. You can't convert them, only kill them. Don't lose any sleep over those dead children—they grow up to be commies, too."

## CONCLUSION

For a few of you, this article will have merely reaffirmed your hate and disgust for our so-called leaders, the people who are prepared to exterminate a race for material gains. For others, we hope to have instilled or greatly amplified the distrust of conventional news media. If so, but you are still unsure then get more information from other than accepted channels—you could be wrong.

Fundamentally all that is needed from anyone is:—

Vocal (and knowledgeable) support of the 'Anti-War Action Society'. Talk to all the people you know who are capable of reasoned judgement and human emotion, and encourage them to seek information for themselves. Even more importantly, make everyone (this includes people outside the University, parents, friends, etc.) aware of the situation, so that effective concerted action may be taken at any time. (e.g. a demonstration involving large numbers of people from all walks of life, may be taken seriously—who knows until we try!)

The 'Anti-War Action Society' prints weekly newsletters—they will keep you informed. Further help will be welcomed. If you can give it, see Tony White, C/- International Affairs Office, or ph. 605-656 (evenings)



It was only there in Vietnam that I began to understand to what extent I had been fooled by the American myths of democracy and freedom for all. The contradictions of: free fire zones, search and destroy tactics, torture of prisoners, saturation bombing of civilians, etc., became impossible to harmonize away by clever rationalizations or euphemism. I began to understand that this was a peoples' war of liberation and that the so-called Vietcong were in fact the Vietnamese people. I didn't have a solid political analysis of the situation, but the one thing I understood instinctively, was that to the Vietnamese people, the American presence in Vietnam, was not part of the solution.

My presentation is entitled, "Exposing U.S. War Crimes Through Veteran Organising". What that means simply, is that during the last year, a number of Americans, including myself, have been engaged in organising Vietnam war veterans to speak out against the war and to tell how they were forced to become executioners for a policy of genocide. They feel that individual and low ranking GI's are being scapegoated for a war crimes policy created and implemented at the highest levels of the American government. These veterans, who to the Nixon constituency—the middle Americans—represent the last credible segment among the youth; have one unique advantage over traditional peace and anti-war people. They speak about the war concretely—they tell of their own experiences and disillusionment with a society whose integrity they never before questioned, and whose motivations they can no longer trust. I am such a Vietnam veteran.

All military intelligence officers are first trained as infantry officers so I spent my first thirteen weeks in the Army at Fort Benning, Georgia, training in the skills of conventional warfare and small unit tactics and leadership. Military training in the U.S. is geared to reinforce America's already institutionalised racism. We learned and were encouraged to refer to the enemy by derogatory labels, like gook or gink. It is a subtle process of self-dehumanizing and dehumanizing of the Asians, calculated to turn out the good soldier and to shield him against the traditional western humanistic instincts in which he is ideally steeped. Thus armed, he will obey the lawful orders of his superiors, because authority becomes synonymous with good, and he will carry out the mad policies employed by his unit against the non-humans.

Mike McCusker, a former Marine Sergeant and combat reporter with the First Marine Division in Vietnam explains in his testimony before the Citizens' Commission of Inquiry the attitude of his Division Commanding Officer, a Major General, concerning the Vietnamese people. The General said, in an off-the-cuff interview, that the Vietnamese society was ignorant and superstitious, the children were raised as thieves and liars; we could do nothing with the old; the children themselves should be taken from their families and indoctrinated all their lives in government camps. When a man like this, in a high position of responsibility applies these criteria, the results we have seen are not surprising.

After finishing the infantry course, I was sent to the counter-intelligence officers' course at Fort Holabird, Maryland. I stayed there for approximately three months, when upon completion of the training, I was assigned to a military intelligence unit at Fort Hood, Texas. Here I learned how the military intelligence and Criminal Investigation Division harassed and punished those soldiers whose views were even moderately progressive. For example, those who were caught reading or possessing any movement or anti-army literature were given extra duties and subjected to constant search of their personal property. Those who actively tried to discuss their views were either court-martialed on trumped up charges or given other than honorable discharge from service. According to the Army, a thinking soldier is a poor soldier. I silently supported those courageous men and women who were organising enlisted men at a local coffee house and even went as far as not reporting so called suspicious persons or activities or writing "half-truths" in my reports. But I was still not moved to the type of concrete action that affected my own life. The real issues had yet to affect me personally, physically, emotionally, I had the liberal intellectual's moral perspective on the war, racism, and American political repression in general.

From Fort Hood, I was assigned to the 11th Brigade military intelligence team, American Division, as the team chief. I arrived in Vietnam on November 20, 1968. At the time of my arrival, I was familiar with the many alleged reasons for American presence in Vietnam. Throughout High School and University, history professors had explained the complicated Domino theory, which I, to this day, have never understood. The necessity of containing communism and the Chinese was also emphasised. The Chinese and Vietnamese, we were told, valued life far less than western man and were therefore thought to be war prone and reckless. Later the argument was advanced that we were in Vietnam to prevent VC atrocities and terrorism and lastly, it was—we are here to achieve freedom and self determination for the South Vietnamese people. It's difficult to assess to what degree I still believed any of these arguments, when I arrived in Vietnam. I suppose it would be safe to say that I still believed that my government, though by no means perfect, would try to do what was best, and so I went, as I told my friends, to see what it was really like.

After five months in Vietnam, my health and morale deteriorated. I was evacuated with TB in April, 1969. After several months in the hospital, I went back to Graduate School in New York City, where I at once began to relate to student and campus politics. At one meeting I attended, a Vietnam veteran spoke of a group that was trying to collect testimony from war veterans to show that atrocities like My Lai were not isolated, but wide-spread, and the inevitable result of our war policies. This group was the Citizens' Commission of Inquiry into US war crimes in Vietnam. Since March, 1969, when I first testified before the Citizens' Commission in New York, I have been working steadily as a veteran organiser.

Following the public disclosure of the Song My massacre in November, 1969, it was suggested by Ralph Schoenman, former Secretary General of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal, that it was time to present similar testimony in forums within the U.S. These forums would specifically demonstrate that the My Lai massacre was not an isolated aberration but rather the logical result of military strategies and objectives of the U.S. command in Vietnam.

The first commission was held in Annapolis, Maryland in early March, 1970, followed by commissions in Toronto, Canada (for deserters), Springfield, Mass, New York City, Los Angeles, California, Boston, Mass, Baltimore, Maryland, Buffalo, New York, Minneapolis, Minn, Portland, Oregon, Philadelphia, Pa., finally culminating in the National Veterans Inquiry, which was held in Washington, D.C., on December 1, 2, 3, 1970 at which over fifty Vietnam vets testified on every aspect of the U.S. aggression in Indochina. These hearings have all been open to the press and public, including members of the Pentagon's Criminal Investigation Division and at each, the members of the working press and all others, have been able to fully cross-examine those testifying. All of the men testifying have provided detailed information concerning their backgrounds, current occupations, addresses, as well as copies of their discharge papers, unit

served with in Vietnam, length and date of tour of duty, decorations, and all other basic material relating to their service in South-east Asia.

In addition, the Commission has sponsored three hearings at which active-duty officers in the U.S. military announced their intention to bring charges under the military code for the war crimes policies implemented by their commanding officers. We have opened an office in the suite of Congressman Ron Dellums, Democrat of Berkeley, California. This office, with an extensive war crimes display, is quite unprecedented and has generated considerable interest and controversy on Capitol Hill. The political analysis on which our work has been based was developed as our experience with veterans deepened. There are almost three million U.S. soldiers who have served in the Indochina theatre since 1961. With the exception of career soldiers (a small percentage of this total) all survivors have returned to their homes and jobs. The disclosure of the My Lai massacre and the Administration's response to it, have served to create a real crisis of conscience for most of these men. While virtually all officials are convinced that an atrocity was in fact perpetrated, the official line from Nixon and the Pentagon on down has been that the individual responsible soldiers will be tried and punished for their illegal acts and that this will dispose of the issue. It is our perception that all Vietnam veterans understand the realities of our military strategies in Indochina; i.e. that men in the field are operating under tactical field policies and procedures conceived and designed at the highest levels of political and military leadership. Certainly, lowly privates and lieutenants do not make policies or define military objectives. Despite this commonplace, the Administration and the Brass have chosen to isolate a few GIs and place them on trial for their lives for their role in My Lai. It has also been our experience that a version of this view is widely held by many liberals and other anti-war activists. That is, they feel that because, theoretically the GI in Vietnam could refuse to participate in war or implement war crimes policies, it is reasonable to punish him if he does not refuse to submit to orders. Such a view of course, fails to take account of the age, social experience, military conditioning and indoctrination of the young combat soldier, to say nothing of the conditions of combat—where everything is subject to a discipline born from intense fear.

As we approached veterans, somewhat apprehensively at first, we discovered that there was deep resentment over the paradox implicit in the Army's My Lai prosecution—i.e., that a soldier is compelled to conduct and carry out military policies such as search and destroy, free fire zones, no prisoners, pacification and relocation and the like, but if the horrendous results of these policies arouse too much public clamour, that they will be held responsible and prosecuted. In a word, we have sought to shift the veterans' focus from concepts like personal guilt to institutional responsibility—so that the blame for the atrocious conduct of U.S. and puppet forces is fixed where it truly belongs—on the highest levels of civilian and military leadership.

We concluded that for combat veterans, many of whom are workers infected with virulent forms of patriotism and racism by virtue of their class position, to speak out publicly denouncing acts and policies they have been compelled to commit in Vietnam would represent a considerable escalation in their own power and ability to act collectively against an institution that had cruelly oppressed them and their brothers and sisters. In fact, we have been able to organise or reactivate dormant veterans' groups in several cities initially around the issue of their speaking out on U.S. genocide.

Over the past year, we have amassed hundreds of testimonies covering virtually every aspect of the war of genocide being waged in Vietnam. We have provided vet speakers for many groups, schools, universities, etc. Our ability to generate substantial public attention (particularly in the press and on TV) has also increased substantially. Our approach to the media has been along the following lines: 1) the subject matter—war crimes policy—is so strong so deeply implicates the Government—that it speaks for itself—political interpretation is not necessary; 2) political statements and opinions must be presented as news—not political rhetoric; 3) vets are extremely credible—even to their hostile audiences—especially when they speak of their own experiences.

Our record of accuracy is best attested to by the Pentagon itself. Members of the Criminal Investigation have been present at almost every regional inquiry and the National Inquiry in Washington. Over the past year, they have interviewed and in some cases, taken statements from CCI witnesses. Yet they have never once denied or repudiated the credentials of any of the witnesses testifying. At the Washington hearings, they issued the following statement after checking the testimony through their computer banks: the statement appeared in an Associated Press release:

The Pentagon, while saying it does not dispute the credentials of Osborn or of the 50 other Vietnam veterans testifying during the three-day inquiry, has declined comment.

There will always be, of course, some information concerning the events being disclosed that is virtually impossible to verify. We believe that if a Vietnam veteran is willing to provide us with military papers, occupation, address, family background material and is willing to subject himself to extensive interrogation by our co-ordinators and is willing to state his accusation in the full scrutiny of the national press and the Pentagon agents, knowing the grave legal and non-legal risks involved, then, we have a similar obligation to let him present his case to the American people.

So far, I have made continuous reference to what I have designated as U.S. war crimes policies. In order to explain what I mean by this, let us examine that type of behaviour that might be

# THE CHAPIN



# FOR A BIG OD

## MICHA U



Michael Uhl, a graduate of the University of California, was commissioned in 1967 as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army. In November 1968, he was in Vietnam. In 1970, he testified before the Commission of Enquiry into U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam. Since then, he has been working as a Veterans organizer.

considered a war crime under the current interpretation of international law. Under sub-section b of the sixth principle of Nuremberg, formulated in 1950 by the United Nation's International Control Commission, war crimes are: 1) violations of the Laws of War, including murder, ill treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian populations of or in occupied territories; 2) killing of hostages; 3) plunder of public or private property; 4) wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages or devastation not justified by military necessity. The list that I have read could also be the answer to the question: What have been the results of the U.S. policies in Indochina?

Professor Edward Herman, in his book "Atrocities in Vietnam: Myths and Realities," points out that the wording of the principle makes no distinction between 'face to face' and impersonal killings of civilians. Certainly, saturation bombing with B-52's in civilian populated areas is no less a war crime than ground operations massacres, just because it is impersonal in nature.

The questions that come up most often when a Vietnam veteran testifies about his experiences are: Aren't you really just saying that war is hell, or, don't war crimes occur in all wars? There is of course, aberrant behaviour in all wars, but it is important to emphasize the difference between individual acts of terrorism and a conscious policy of genocide. I'd like to point out that during the entire time I was in Vietnam as a counterintelligence officer, I never saw nor even heard of a DRV or NLF atrocity—and I was certainly in a position to hear if such incidents had occurred in my area. The American government and press would like nothing more than an opportunity to slander the NLF or DRV by widely publicizing any hint of Viet Cong terrorism. Instead they have had to resort to fabrication. The classic example is Hue during Tet, 1968.

What follows is a description of what happened in Hue according to two Americans, one a former high level Defense Department official, and the accounts of two Saigon government officials. These references appear in Herman's recent book. According to Townsend Hoopes, former undersecretary of the Air Force, 80% of the buildings had been reduced to rubble and in the smashed ruins, lay two thousand dead civilians. Three quarters of the city's people were rendered homeless and looting was widespread, members of the ARVN being the worst offenders. Famous combat photographer Davis Douglas Duncan tells how "the Americans pounded the Citadel and surrounding city almost to dust with air strikes, napalm runs, artillery and naval gunfire, and the direct cannon fire from tanks and recoilless rifles—a total effort to root out and kill every enemy soldier. The mind reels at the carnage, cost and ruthlessness of it all."

Concerning the pacification of a Saigon province, which killed 350 people, the New York Times, in a story about the civilian casualties that resulted from the pacification, stated that thousands of innocent people were killed and thousands more were relocated.

Without concern for the political figure, the American position, it was necessary to kill thousands of innocent people, to cloud the issue. Obviously, the American atrocities, which employed the same tactics, were justified.

Let me now mention the passive conventional American military presence in Vietnam. In his book, I mention the civilian deaths, which were reasonable to the American military. What exactly these casual victims and the American military provide the framework for the most total lack of compassion, purchase of land, and in his enlightening

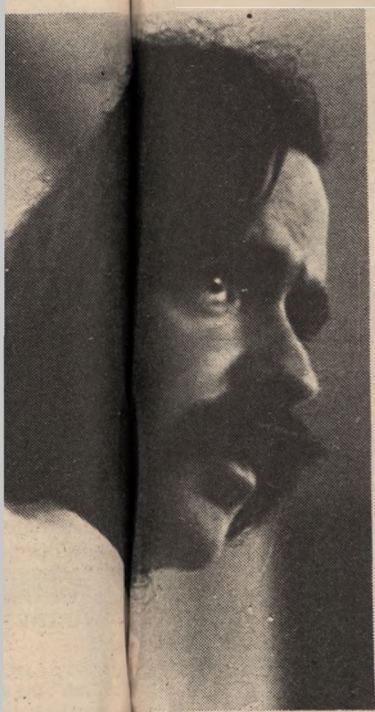


# CHAPLIN PRAYED



# NO BODY COUNT

CHAS UHL



Uhl, a graduate of Georgetown University, was commissioned in 1967 as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army, and in 1968 was sent to Vietnam. In March, he testified before the Citizens' Commission on U.S. War Crimes in Washington. Since that time, he has been working full-time for the Vietnam Veterans of America.

Concerning the alleged Viet Cong atrocities, Ranger Captain Phan Huu, a Saigon government precinct chief in Hue, estimated that the Viet Cong killed 350 people, sixty percent of whom were soldiers, the rest civilians. Doan Cong Lap, Hue police chief, said there were two hundred killings attributed to the NLF. Lap also stated that civilian casualties that resulted in retaking the city were 3776. American sources, however, quoted figures on the Viet Cong victims in the thousands, and these were based on a secret document that had been replaced until nineteen months after the incident and just happened to be replaced at the same time as the My Lai massacre was announced.

Without condoning the NLF assassinations aimed at eliminating political figures, it is difficult to reconcile the self-righteous American position in light of the fact that in order to liberate the country, it was necessary to destroy it and to indiscriminately kill thousands of innocent civilians. So America has capitalised on an alleged atrocity, which clearly does not reflect the policy of the U.S. to cloud over the real issue, its own barbaric behaviour in that country. Obviously, a conscious policy of terror on the part of the NLF would be in total opposition to its interests. On the other hand, American atrocities occur on a daily basis and are derived from those policies employed in an attempt to gain a military victory for the so-called Allies.

Let me now discuss concretely what happens when unlimited and massive conventional firepower is applied. The results on the Vietnamese people have been devastating. Keep in mind also this question, which I won't cover: What does the acceptance of these war crimes policies, cloaked by euphemism, say about the state of American society and its institutions?

In his book, Herman conservatively estimates the number of South Vietnamese civilian casualties between 1965 and 1969 to be 116,000 killed and 2,232,000 wounded. By now it would not be unreasonable to assume that one fourth of the South Vietnamese population has been killed or wounded as a direct result of the American military operations and policies.

What exactly are these policies, strategic and tactical, that account for these casualties and the total non-attempt to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants? There are certain principles that provide the framework for American aggression and demonstrate an almost total lack of constraint on how American and non-American troops, purchased or non-purchased, conduct their military activities. In his enlightening essay, "After Pinkville", Noam Chomsky

describes the development, also known as urbanization, as follows: "It is important to understand that the massacre of the rural population of Vietnam and their forced evacuation is not an accidental by-product of the war. Rather, it is of the very essence of American strategy." The story behind it has been explained with great clarity and explicitness by Professor Samuel Huntington, chairman of the Government Department at Harvard and, at the time, 1968; Chairman of the Council on Vietnamese Studies of the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group. Writing in "Foreign Affairs" magazine, he explains that the Vietcong is a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as the constituency continues to exist. Huntington feels that the only way to destroy this constituency is by the direct application of mechanical and conventional power—on such a massive scale as to produce a massive migration from countryside to city where, now totally demoralized, the peasants are placed in concentration camps and slums and are more easily controlled by the Saigon regime. Whereas before 1965, it was estimated that eighty-five percent of the South Vietnamese population resided in rural areas, it is now estimated that fifty percent of the people have been forcibly relocated and bombed into the disease infested camps in urban areas. Thirty percent of this same population are considered refugees according to Senator Ted Kennedy's report on the refugee problem in Vietnam.

Samuel Huntington realised that any social structure existing in the countryside of South Vietnam provides the liberation fighters with a base. He realised that the liberation fighters were of the peasants and that their loyalties were freely given.

Another one of Nixon's Southeast Asia advisors, Herman Kahn of the Hudson Institute, perceived that the United States was faced with a dilemma—how to silence the irksome anti-war movement and at the same time, permit the war to continue until the United States achieves total control of Vietnam. His ingenious solution was to withdraw United States troops, and to replace them with ARVN's and machines—and to, in his words, "instrumentalize the battlefield." This would allow the United States government to announce the eventual withdrawal of all combat troops; the catch is that all combat troops seems like all troops, but in fact, it's not more than 300,000 men. This leaves 200,000 so called support troops (Artillery units, bombers, etc.), and advisors and technicians. These troops would be removed from the field and relocated in fortified strongholds, which would secure the bases around the cities, the cities themselves, and the East Coast, thus implementing the enclave theory.

To reduce the weekly body count of dead GI's that was making such upsetting copy in the U.S. newspapers, Kahn suggested using sensors. Sensors are light, heat, noise and smell detectors for enemy movements. The sensors are attached to a computer at Tan Son Nhut, a major military airbase near Saigon. This computer automatically sets off a F-105 aircraft, over which the pilot has no control, which flies to the sensed area and bombs everything there to bits. The logic behind this is that everybody out there is enemy, which turns out to be most of the Vietnamese population. To date, 1.78 billion dollars have been spent on sensors. The military has asked Congress for a total of 20 billion dollars in order for sensors to be operational around every enclave. They call this the "Project to Save Lives" or Vietnamization, clearly even more cynical than its precursor, Pacification.

What follows are excerpts from some of those testimonies; detailed descriptions in the veterans' own words of the application and results of these policies.

Don Engol was a Marine Corps captain and helicopter pilot who flew over five hundred combat missions in Vietnam. He relates the following story: "This one day in April of 1967, I had finished flying early, about five o'clock. I was sitting up on the bunker eating my C-rations when I spotted two F-4 Phantom jets coming out of the west. These planes, it's pretty easy for a pilot to pick out planes, I mean it's your job you know, you're afraid of everything that moves when you're in the air so there was no doubt about recognition. We were in Khe San and right south of us was a village called Long Ve. It was an armed, government village with a helicopter pad clearly marked which was quite distinguishable from the air. These two F-4's, and this was not a free fire zone, just pickled their bombs on this village, they really lowered the boom. We flew till one a.m. in the morning trying to pull out survivors—we pulled out approximately 150 casualties. Most of the people we just left because they were dead. It was just women, children and old men. They used cluster bomb units on them, napalm, anything you could think of." Don also told of how he had flown many missions into Laos as early as February 1969.

Major Gordon Livingston, a Doctor and a West Point Graduate, served with then Colonel George S. Patton in the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment. Livingston tells how physicians, whose roles as non-combatants is clearly outlined in the Geneva Convention, used such drugs as sodium penothol or susoneal coline, a drug which induces paralysis, in attempts to elicit information from prisoners. These war crimes policies were so well integrated into Patton's unit that even the chaplain prayed for a big body count. Livingston relates

the following story: "It occurred about February, 1969, and the specific words of the prayer went as follows: The standing order of the regiment was 'to find the bastards and pile on.' This was printed on signs in every bivouac area. And that in fact, is what the chaplain prayed for when asked to pray for a large body count. He said, 'Help us, Oh Lord, to fulfill the standing order of this regiment. Give us the wisdom to find the bastards and the strength to pile on'."

First Lt. Larry Rottman served as the Information Officer for the 25th Division, Rottman, in his testimony, describes in vivid detail the results of Operation Junction City, which began on February 22, 1967, and ended on May 16 of the same year. These are his words:

"By June of 1967 the entire nine-hundred square-mile Elephant Ear area had been declared a free fire zone, meaning that anything that moved in it would be shot, burned, or killed. Flying over that area in helicopters I could see how the defoliation had reduced the jungle to just barren soil and dead trees. You probably all know how a typical operation of this kind occurs, with air strikes and so on and so forth. I'll just give you a few figures. The Operation Junction City for the 25th Infantry Division began with B-52 bomb raids which dropped a total of 16,000 two hundred, five hundred pounds bombs. There were also 1,757 air support sorties by Phantom and Sky Hawk attack bombers. The jets expended 1,648 tons of napalm, 1,104 tons of other kinds of bombs, and countless hundreds of thousands of 2.75 rockets and machine-gun fire. After the prepping, the objects to be searched for by the ground crews: They looked for weapons, foodstuffs, medical supplies, bunkers, tunnels, or anything that could be of use to the enemy. Villages, hamlets, or any other signs of life were to be completely destroyed. Houses were burned, food confiscated, poisoned or urinated on; household items smashed, livestock killed or mutilated, banana trees and gardens destroyed, burned, uprooted. Twenty-one villages in Tay Ninh Province were destroyed during this operation at Trai Vai, Zamet—and I won't go through all of them, I have a list of twenty-one if you're interested. You can see them. I brought the map with me, the Joint Operations Ground Map, which you can obtain from the government map bureau, number 1501GNC487 which is standard issue to all ground combat units. I have the map here, I'll be glad to show it to anybody, as well as the villages, later on."

One occasion, Rottman serving in his capacity as information officer, was present during a briefing between General Westmoreland and the Commanding General of the 25 Division concerning body count. Rottman stated that official MACV policy was to obtain a body count of two thousand enemy per week. He says that to meet this figure, each division was given an unofficial but very real quota of Viet Cong to report killed. During a visit by General Westmoreland in 1968, just the week following the beginning of Tet, "I heard him tell the commanding general that the 25th Division needed to put more emphasis on body count, 'I want more bodies', that's a direct quote. The commanding general of the division passed on the pressure to brigade commanders who passed it on to battalion commanders to company commanders to platoon leaders, squad leaders and on down until every man was affected by this body count obsession."

Bart Osborne worked closely with the CIA in the Planning assassination programme. He relates certain interrogation techniques that were successfully used to gain information. "I went along twice," Osborne tells, "with the Third Marine Division when they would go up in helicopters and take two detainees along. They used one as a scare mechanism for the other. If they wanted to interrogate detainee A, they would take someone along who was either in bad health or whom they had already written off as a loss—take both these Vietnamese along in the helicopter and they would say, they would start investigating Detainee B the one they had no interest in, and they wouldn't get any information out of him and so they would threaten to throw him out of the helicopter. All the time, of course, the detainee they wanted information from was watching. And they would threaten and threaten and, finally, they would throw him out of the helicopter. I was there when this happened twice and it was very effective, because of course, at the time the step one was to throw the person out of the helicopter and step two was to say, 'You're next.' And that quite often broke them down and demoralized them, and at that point they would give information. Sometimes the information was accurate; sometimes this was considered an ineffective method of investigation. Sometimes the Vietnamese, when threatened with things like the towel treatment or the telephone treatment or in one case, the helicopter incident, would start babbling anything at all and would say whatever you, he felt, wanted to hear, and this, again, was ineffective. But that was the modus operandi used, and those were the incidents that I actually was involved in."

Charles Locke, who testified at the Citizens' Commission's National hearings in Washington, served with C Company, 1/20 Battalion, 11th Brigade, American Division. Locke was only nineteen and what we call a grunt, an infantry rifleman, when he served with this, the same unit that Lt. Calley was in, but this was two years after the My Lai massacre. The men in Locke's unit wore helmet bands with the motto "Remember My Lai." When asked by an American journalist what this saying meant, Locke responded that, "My Lai was an example of what should be done over there, what the higher echelon wants done over there." Locke never had any formal education on guerilla warfare, yet he knew instinctively what the Brass was up to with principles like pacification. He stated it simply. "It's a sea of people over there, and they've got to dry up the sea in order to get the so-called bad guys." Pacification is genocide, America's Final Solution.

To obtain the goals of Pacification, Americans have knowingly founded and accepted as instruments of national policy the following:

- Undeclared war.
- The most intensive and indiscriminating bombing in history, what added up to on the order of three times the ordinance expended by all the participants of World War Two.
- The calculated and planned use of political assassination.
- The declaration of up to one half of a country as a free fire zone.
- The use of defoliation and herbicides as weapons of war on a massive scale.
- The forced emigration of peasants to cities of saturation bombing and evacuation at gunpoint.
- The daily announcement of a body count as a barometer of national success.
- The systematic use of torture to elicit intelligence information.
- All of these allegations are supported by the testimony of the hundreds of Vietnam veterans who have testified publicly about their experiences, during this last year in hearings around the United States.





# FIVE EASY PIECES EPISODE THREE

Bobby rose early the next morning to prepare himself for the drive and the ferry ride to the island. He told Rayette that she would have to wait for him at the motel. As he prepared to get into the car, she walked out after him:

*"Why can't I come out with you to your family's house? Now give me one good reason."*

*"I have to see what's going on first. My Father's sick, you understand? They wouldn't be prepared for me bringing anyone."*

*"So how long do I have to sit and twiddle my thumbs in this place?"*

Bobby sighed:

*"Look, Ray—if you can't do what I'm asking you, why don't you just take the money and go on back south with it."*

Rayette ran over to the car:

*"Oh, Hon, don't talk like that."*

*"Look, will you try and understand. This is not something I want to do. Jesus Christ, you ought to know me well enough for that."*

Rayette stepped back at once:

*"Sorry, Honey."*

Bobby relented for a moment, and they kissed noisily. Then he climbed into the car.

*"It'll be alright,"* said Rayette, managing a smile. *"I mean, there's stuff for me to do. They got magazines in there and TV—all right?"*

Bobby nodded and started the engine:

*"I'll try and call you in a couple of days."*

He drove out of the motel. As he glanced in his rear-view mirror, he could see Rayette standing, a forlorn figure, by the door of the rented cabin. He felt a pang of renewed guilt, as if the world was closing in on him. He braced himself to take what lay ahead.

Everything was just as Bobby remembered it, from the fresh sea air of the ferry-ride to the healthy dampness of the thickly wooded island. He felt a pang of sad nostalgia as he drove slowly up the snaky road that lead through the trees to the old house, built like an English country house with its porches and terraces, and the lawns that led to the sea.

It was as he remembered it in other ways too, as his car slid to a halt in the drive. The house seemed at first silent and deserted, but then he could hear the sound of music as the piano played quietly from one of the music rooms that led off the comfortable lounge. He went quietly into the house and let the music roll over him. Cautiously he opened the door from where he heard the sound of playing and saw his Brother Carl, his neck in a frighteningly large brace, standing over the piano where a willowy, but beautiful blonde girl was playing quietly. Bobby did not disturb them, but shut the door quietly again. The girl, he thought, must be Van Oost. Good for Carl.

He went across the living room and opened another door. There was a wheelchair in the centre of the room, facing away from the door. His sister Tita was leaning over it, scissoring away at the hair of the man in it. She saw him and stood back, smiling a welcome. Bobby smiled in return, then walked round the front of the chair to look at his Father, a mixture of love and hatred filling his heart.

The old man looked just as Bobby remembered him, the long white beard of the Patriarch, the smiling, twinkling eyes belying the sternness of the features. But now the eyes were blank and stared back unknowingly. Bobby looked up at Tita:

*"He doesn't even know who the hell I am."*

Bobby met everybody over lunch in the dining room. He was aware of several tensions as he sat down to the meal. The tension that had always been there between Carl and himself, he greeted as an old friend, but there was other tension; between Tita and Spicer, the burly male nurse who looked after his Father, perhaps, and a new soscouse between himself and the girl who had come to learn from and live with Carl, Catherine Van Oost. As the meal progressed made difficult by being eaten in the presence of his Father, a man already three-quarters dead, Bobby was aware of Catherine's penetrating glances. At last she broke the silence between them:

*"I was just going to ask Bobby, Carl, how long it's been since he's been away from here."*

*"Three years."*

*"It's more like two,"* grinned Carl.

Tita tried to argue—that was the way it had always been, but Carl argued with her. Catherine said:

*"What have you been doing since then?"*

*"Odd jobs of work here and there. Nothing too interesting."*

*"And you no longer play at all?"*

Carl interrupted. He always had done, as long as Bobby



Spicer the Sailor

could remember, as long as someone had been interested in Bobby:

*"Just before my accident. Just after I'd come off tour with the Betanhtaller Quartet. Father and Herbert and I had a summit conference concerning you."*

*"Where was I,"* snapped Tita. *"Polishing silver behind the coal bin?"*

*"Well, I don't know where you were, Penis-envy."*

*"I hope I didn't hear that,"* snarled Tita, staring hard at her plate.

*"Nevertheless, Bobby. They wanted to hire a detective to ferret you out. And I talked them out of it, because I felt that whatever you were doing, you had a perfect right to do—no matter how nonsensical your adventures might be. It was as simple as that, Robert."*

*"I really appreciate it, Carl."* He turned to Catherine: *"How long have you been here."*

*"Only two months."*

Carl laughed and laid a proprietorial hand on her shoulder. Catherine shook it off and rose:

*"Carl, if you're finished, I think I'd like to go and do some work."*

They got up, and, at the door, Carl turned:

*"I hope you feel right at home, Robert."*

*"I feel fine."*

That afternoon, Bobby wandered round the grounds, remembering all the old hiding places, all the happy places of youth and growing-up. He found Tita looking for him and they stopped to talk:

*"He has ways of communicating, Robert. I can tell when he's expressing approval or disapproval from his eyes."*

*"Yeah, some range. I can't take much more of him, sitting there like a stone."*

*"It's not that bad,"* said Tita sadly. *"Will you stay a while?"*

*"I don't know,"* sighed Bobby.

It was the next day that Bobby saw Catherine again. He had looked for her at breakfast, without asking any of the others, and at last, he met her in the drive:

*"Hi, I've been looking all over for you."*

*"You have? I went riding."*

*"Riding. That's dangerous, you know. You play the piano all day, then jump on a horse. You can get cramps."*

*"Well, I like to ride. Rain or shine, I do it as many times as I can get. It's very invigorating."*

Bobby shrugged:

*"Well, I don't like to get too invigorated myself—what else do you do?"*

*"Well, there's fishing and boating. There's concerts on the mainland. I feel silly telling you. You probably know better than I what there is to do."*

*"Nothing,"* snapped Bobby.

*"Nothing?"* Well, it must be very boring for you here."

*"That's right"*

*"I find that hard to comprehend. I don't think I've ever been bored."*

*"What are you doing right now?"*

*"I plan to take a hot tub and soak myself. After that I plan to read some music and rest for a while."*

*"Tomorrow, then?"*

*"Tomorrow is a full practice day."* She smiled at the look of disappointment on his face, blushing slightly at the implied male flattery: *"But the day after tomorrow I will be free. Carl has hydro-therapy on Tuesdays—will you be free?"*

Bobby shrugged:

*"Yeah, I'll probably be free."*

So Bobby was going to have to wait for almost two days to find out about Catherine, find out whether she could offer him an escape from the trap he felt himself ensnared in, or whether escape through her would be just another illusion, whether escape at all was impossible.

He got through the rest of that day somehow, and the whole of the next, just wandering around, steeping himself in nostalgia and memory. It was on that Monday evening that he relented for long enough to call Rayette at the Motel on the mainland. He signed as he listened to her whining on the phone, and as he quieted her down. He also surprised himself by the guilt he felt when Catherine walked by him in the hall as he was still talking to her. When she threatened to go back south, his answer was a sigh:

*"I have to go now, Ray. I'll try and call you in a couple of days. If you're gone, you're gone. Bye."*

The next morning, Carl was due to catch the noon ferry to the mainland and for his therapy. Tita and Bobby went out to see him off. Of Catherine there was no sign. A table tennis table was set up round the side of the house, near where the cars were kept, and Carl, Brace and all, insisted on playing a game with Bobby before he went. By the garage doors, Spicer was cleaning the old man's wheelchair, and Bobby could not help but notice the side-long glances that Tita gave him as they played.

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# Sir Allen Lane — a boom for the pink press



## PROTEST AND DISCONTENT edited by CRICK and ROBSON PENGUIN

The mass media, gay crier of the global village, has reduced our mothers, fathering the generation of protest; children furiously engaged in the traditional pursuit of patricide. It matters little whether they are treated with outraged rejection (the policeman's boot school) or mothered with Spockian concern (analytical cant on Sundays), Media Man has driven his offspring into the streets. News presentation cannot avoid some factual fidelity, a visual conglomeration of injustice and slaughter, but immediately counters this with commentary and ideological justification. Thus the 'Reds' invariably 'massacre the innocents' and the 'Free World'—with all the grim modulations of apologists—merely destroys life in the heroic task of 'defending a way of life'; anti-personnel bombing becomes the delicate manoeuvre of 'protective reaction'.

But even colour television cannot distinguish the shades of blood on a battlefield, disguise a fog of tear-gas or deny the beauty of Angela Davis. Verbal attempts to do so confound the viewer's eye. The constant spectacle of paraded death and tyranny obscures those professions of necessity; the organs of our society invite disgust and rebellion by accepting the existence of carnage and excusing it with fictitious analysis.

Television, as the Yuppies realised, defies the spectacular process and demonstrations become a visually exhilarating art form. Flowers are stuffed into gun barrels and the flies of erect guardsmen unzipped. Jerry Rubin claims to have radicalised the children of Amerika with news coverage of cops throwing him out of HUAC dressed as Santa Claus.



Getting across the point

Family life serials and newspaper cartoons prove that suburban consumer society is fatally boring and seriously frustrated. Deviations, the source of spurious comedy, are splendidly resolved in a consensus to conform.

Reaction to the sterile and brutal morality of this society celebrated by the media, seeks to establish a new code of behaviour which is both progressive, and in a sense, reactionary; a process of remaking society by considering the superceded successes of history and, where history has failed, by experimenting with alternatives to the present inhumane structures.

Self-styled conservative governments are peculiarly progressive in the fields of technology. By maintaining a system of economics which concentrates wealth in the hands of the compliant few, human development is seen to depend upon promoting areas of prestige, simultaneously providing more contracts for the industrial rich. Cars, clothes and houses are subjected to the niceties of 'fashion' which dictates a mindless process of discarding one model for the next. The terror of obsolescence motivates the capricious whirl of the wealthy and secure the aspiring poor to a system with glittering rewards. Such governments have engineered great steps for mankind in space extravaganzas and military sophistications; laboratories are chosen to test the latter and depleted stocks can be resupplied by obliging armaments

manufacturers. Advertising is the apotheosis of this diminishing economic spiral. Wealthy businesses can afford vast campaigns thus capturing a market to provide more capital for bigger displays... the people are lulled by subliminal titillation and a new species of insidious rich enter the arena to perpetuate the process. Some reflection on the tangible rewards of such progress is offered by the number of Americans—rural, black and poor—who believe the moon landings to be a giant fraud perpetrated in Arizona.

Protesters have been demanding that man and his environment cease to be regarded as the playground for the rich and their machinery. Their progress is revealed as aggressive violation and diminution of human dignity; the possibilities of mankind have not been truly enhanced by the adulation of technology. A new 'Age of Enlightenment' is confronted by the humanists of a new 'Renaissance' who would remind the world of traditional values to be regained and a quality of life to be discovered before mechanical madness descends like Pope's 'dread empire' restored and 'universal darkness buries all'.

Once the bomb spectre created paranoia enough for a generation, what kind of neurotic monster are we conditioning in the present child whose air, earth and water are poisoned by the rapacious, whose ears record the heroic applause bestowed on murderers of whole villages, whose heart races at a night knock on the door, believing that he is persecuted for finding peace in the burning of a weed. Society is crippling its heirs and mutilating inheritance.

The best essay in the Penguin collection *Protest and Discontent* is Arthur Koestler's *Rebellion in a Vacuum* dealing with the part played in the destruction of young minds by education. Koestler finds the dictionary definition of education—'intellectual and moral training'—extremely offensive and demands that the process of education must 'catalyse the mind' instead. The present intrusion leads to 'experimental neurosis' expressed in violent rejection or a dulling conformity open to easy manipulations.

An international educational conspiracy is dominated by three 'Rs'. (i) **Reductionism**: in which view a man is *nothing but* a complex biological mechanism, his behaviour *nothing but* a chain of conditioned responses, art is *nothing but* a substitute for goal-inhibited sexuality. (ii) **Ratomorphism**: the tendency to project animal characteristics discovered in research into patterns of human behaviour. We are variously seen as extensions of Pavlov's dogs, countless rats, Lorenz's aggressive geese, and Morris's monkeys. Their conditioned reflexes have become paradigms for man's condition. (iii) **Randomness**: life is regarded by this school, as merely the result of random mutations preserved by natural selection and reinforcement (a condition of Brownian motion recognised by Jackson Pollock, John Cage and William Burroughs in their creative processes).

Koestler sees the emphasis on these beliefs tending to eliminate meaning and values from life—'the result is an existential vacuum'. He cites the appearance of a new psychological disorder, the frustration of the "Will to Meaning". Student rebellion is directed against a frustrating social environment which increasingly ignores meanings to fulfill and values to actualise.

Other essays in the collection are more specialised and examine *Varieties of Socialist Thought, Protest among the Immigrants, The Trade Union Movement, Protest in India, France, Japan and USA*. A Philosophy professor from LSE writes an extraordinary work on *Myth, Ideology and Revolution*, worth reading for its absurd conclusions arrived at by disinterested semantics. The call for 'commitment', he decides, requires the exclusion of intellectual experiment and exploration, sexual experimentation is permissible, he notes with the air of one who has penetrated and exploded a myth. A word too on the exasperated liberal from Leeds who recoils from Mark Rudd's speech to his university chancellor 'Up against the wall motherfucker, this is a stick-up'. Professor Hansen finds 'a clear complimentary between the language of the gutter and the behaviour of the guttersnipe... surely the most remarkable crudity uttered by people claiming membership of an intellectual elite'. Personally I would chose General Curtis Le May's gleeful desire to 'bomb the Vietnamese back to the Stone Age' or Spiro Agnew's blithe acceptance of ghettos as rather more remarkable crudities.

Mr Penguin is being very generous to the left, the young and the dispossessed, in providing a steady diet of Pelican specials to gorge screaming mouths and satisfy appealing hands. Someone suggested that it's all part of the Man's universal plot to keep the malcontents in bookshops, libraries or up late each night engrossed with diversionary obsessions. But this book's most compelling contributor, Koester again, finds, at least, the conviction and motivation of the rebels, 'a wholesome achievement'. All Power to the Penguin Generation!

RICHARD KING



King... the dialectics of rebellion

## Wedde's poetry & the passion

### STATIONS OF THE CROSS ARRANGED BY KIER VOLKERLING MACLAURIN CHAPEL

"My throat as dry as pottery". Red growing out towards us, growing on the pews, on our faces, above us and behind. The crowd—our ears hear sounds of suffering—very real—amber fires glooding to our sides. "How does it feel to be down?"

In the darkness of the chapel we are still and quiet. "Blue mother" Blue roof—there is sorrow yet to come. With dying sound/dying colour... we hear of Simon. With gentle sound/gentle colour... Veronica/"blue veined lily".

With noise of anguish, amber fires and tears of red and the lamenting of the women. We are parched and we know of the dust on His face. Wailing... reaching up and up... we are encased with wailing. There/climatic rush of light and sound/outside and within. Lights kill one another. A final cry and darkness... our attention on the cross. "I thirst" red, blood red upon us. "It is finished" amber fire grows and grows. "I die" we are left to darkness. Cold blue of tomb fills every part around us. "Stone surrounds cannot contain you". There is promise of return.

This recounts a little of the contemporary presentation of the *Stations of the Cross* returned to MacLaurin Chapel after a debut in 69 and absence last year.

The presentation in '69 of the poetry and sound of Jack Body and Ian Wedde had been pleasing and memorable, Kier Volkerling's arrangement of it this year, with his emphasis on visual experience didn't disappoint me.

The seating arrangement at the Chapel was changed for the occasion, pews grouped towards the centre, the audience no longer looking towards the sanctuary with its high white cross, we were inclined to see and hear above and below and around us as well: thoughtful on Kier's part who remembered how much the '69 audience had missed by frontal vision only.

The evening I went there were pitiful few there to participate in the experience, apparently the two following nights saw larger gatherings. Everyone who did go is bound to agree that Kier's presentation showed his capabilities at presenting a visual experience well worth seeing. I hope we see more of his presentations.

PAULA WORTHINGTON





**EARTH/EARTH**  
An exhibition of Landscape Paintings at the  
Barry Lett Gallery

**BINNEY, ILLINGWORTH, McCAHON,  
SMITHER, WOOLLASTON**

"... an exhibition of landscape painting that paid homage to the land and a catalogue of comments that decried its continued destruction," is what the Barry Lett Gallery has gathered together here. The cries of rage from the artists give the impression that they are showing us the land as they may never see it again, in their written statements. Except for Woollaston's statement at the end it makes very heavy reading. He writes, "... I can't agree that 'ugliness' is synonymous with what man does to the landscape or 'beauty' with unspoiltness ... I fear that the cult of unspoiltness being 'scenery' is possibly a romantic inheritance from the Eighteenth Century very much thought of as a source of touristic revenue."

In the approach to the landscape and in the means of representation we have on the one hand the raw, spontaneous (in the sense of painting directly from the land) works of McCahon and Woollaston and on the other the more contrived, very tightly controlled works of Binney, Smither and Illingworth. The first come close to incoherence at times while second are in real danger of being dominated by their mannerisms.

I sense with McCahon and Woollaston a strong emotive response to the presence of the land before them. Woollaston's paintings, especially *Blackball in Autumn* have a tense muscularity about them. With both painters the air is a charged active element. Space is regarded as filled rather than empty, there is an active inter-relationship between all of the parts. McCahon's works here are of sunsets seen from the clifftops of Muriwai, and are more involved with the sensual aspect than anything else.

Binney, Smither and Illingworth break the land down to simple hard-edged forms. For each of them these forms have become their trademark. In contrast to the other two the view of the land here is detached, essentially that of an urban dweller with a nostalgic eye on the country-side.

Binney's best works here are his drawings, where the heavy black line that he uses to delineate his forms articulates rather than controls the forms as in his paintings. In his paintings bounded flat areas work against rather than with thick, green areas of impasto representing the bush.

Smither paints hills that are smooth, barren, almost dead. In *Waipata Diggings* the earth stands tensed against an airless sky with a feeling almost of paranoia. In *Sarah Assisting Thomas in his first Stand Up Pee* the hills are like a theatre back-drop. In an indirect way his paintings are a protest against the disappearance of a simpler life. Illingworth's paintings are similar, but Illingworth retreats into a simulated naivete behind which is a lurking cynicism.

The earth as an element containing underlying male and female entities is the recurring motif in his precisely painted works. They are close to being decorative. Like the preceding two, the forms he uses in painting the land are in danger of becoming as lifeless as he feels the land is itself becoming.

**GORDON CLIFTON**

**GODARD**

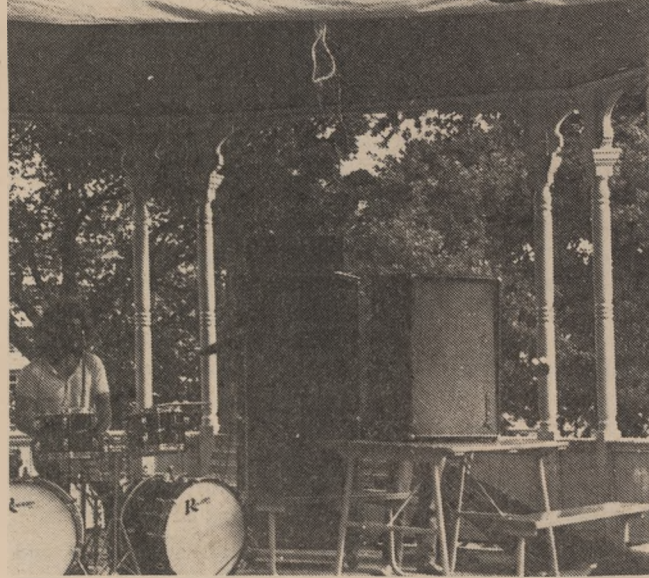
**"Sympathy  
for the  
Devil (1+1)"**

**VEGAS THEATRE**

Friday, April 30th

# Following the leader all the way from Belsen to My Lai

**MOBILISE  
AGAINST THE WAR  
APRIL 30**



A concerted effort

—Andrew Riddell

## Whoredom

'This poem was written by Thomas Merton, and, it's a groovy poem, and it really says a lot to me.'—Lenny Bruce.

My name is Adolf Eichmann.  
The Jews came every day  
to bathe they thought would be  
fun in the showers.  
The mothers were quite ingenious.  
They would take the children  
and hide them in  
bundles of clothing.  
We found the children,  
scrubbed them,  
put them in the chambers,  
and sealed them in.  
I watched through the portholes  
as they would doze and chant  
'Hey, mein Liebe, heyyyyy'  
We took off their clean Jewish love-rings,  
removed their teeth and hair—  
for strategic defence.  
I made soap out of them,  
I made soap out of all of them;  
and they hung me,  
in full view of the prison yard.  
People say,  
'Adolf Eichmann should have been hung'  
Nein.  
Nein, if you recognize the whoredom  
in all of you,  
that you would have done the same,  
if you dared know yourselves.  
My defense?  
I was a soldier.  
People laugh  
'ha ha. This is no defense,  
that you are a soldier'  
This is trite.  
I was a soldier,  
a good soldier.  
I saw the end of a conscientious day's effort.  
I saw all the work that I did.  
I, Adolf Eichmann,  
watched through the portholes.  
I saw every Jew burned  
and turned into soap.  
Do you people think yourselves better  
because you burned your enemies  
at long distances  
with missiles?  
Without ever seeing what you'd done to them?  
Hiroshima ...

Auf Wiedersehen

**HEARD THE ALARM CLOCK SCREAMING  
WITH PAIN COULDN'T FIND MYSELF  
SO I WENT BACK TO SLEEP AGAIN**

**IN THE YEAR OF THE PIG  
PRODUCED AND DIRECTED BY  
EMILE DE ANTONIO (1968)  
BLOODLETTERING TIME : 1½ HOURS**

Quote of the film: "Blessed are the peacemakers," Hubert Humphrey.

### Characters:

Foster Dulles, Ho Chi Minh, L.B.J., Giap, Fr. Daniel Berrigan, Humphrey, Curtis Le May, Richard Nixon, Marshall Ky, Diem, Mme. Nhu, Salisbury, McNamara, Senators Joe McCarthy, Dirksen, Gruening, Clark, Col. G.S. Patton III, Viet Minh, Viet Cong, N.L.F., U.S. Army, Vietnamese, Japanese, British, French and Allied troops, Buddhist Monks, Students, U.S. Airforce, Westmoreland, C.I.A., Seventh Fleet, Political Scientists, Halberstein, DeVeillers, North Vietnamese militia, Van Dong, the Vietnamese people, J.F.K., Eisenhower, Thieu, State Department of U.S., and extras.

Emile de Antonio's "In the Year of the Pig" produced in a semi-documentary format, with capable assistance from American politicians, whose spiels on the "problem" of Vietnam border on the insane, is an important historical-political analysis. American credibility is negated by the positive moral statement that this celluloid trauma evokes.

Some of these paunchy-faced, now departed, pseudo-politicians have the swine-fever, in mind and soul, especially when an American senator swears that he'd rather have "one dead American boy, than fifty Dead Chinks." Death has become highly mechanised, man no longer being responsible for his acts, as he has become desensitised by weaponry that kills at the squeeze of a trigger. The burning Monk, the selective assassinations, the psycho-social bombing of populated areas, torture, execution, dying soldiers, the razing of villages, tearful children and cringing geriatrics are our endowment, our wretched harvest because of indifference, and the failure of the Man to realise the humanity in his brothers.

Colonel G.S. Patton III lauds his soldiers as being a "bloody good bunch of killers", while an American politician is convinced that the Vietnamese are "willing to die as all Orientals are". I give this movie a purple heart recommendation, and propose that all National Party politicians, and regular Church-goers, Engineering and Political Science students, and any other ignorant resident of the Welfare University see the bloody film. Who would have thought that one would hear an admission from a U.S. intelligence officer that the "attack" by torpedoes in the Gulf of Tonkin from North Vietnamese boats was a factual fraud? The sight of the incinerated Monk in a Saigon street may one day be re-inacted in the student union quadrangle, for who knows whether your children witness the madness, and weep in their beds at night, (even Calley wept in court).

See this documentary, as it is a part of the world that was, and is a great fillip for those intending to be arrested and locked in Central on April 30. I never realised that death had a clucking sound—but what could one expect from a Pig that has squealed out the truth, and is being roasted on the reel of history? Ky's answer to a question on the lack of freedom in Saigon, is countered by his reply:

"We'll make the people feel free". The tragedy is that the Vietnamese are free game even for a lethal helicopter-gunship nick-named 'Birth-Control', but there is some hope left as Fr. Daniel Berrigan is now probably praying for the last days of Superman, in his cell in the heart of liberal America. (Oh, and by the way Nixon has just lost his daughter. Another one up for the law school.)

### Postscript:

Colonel G.S. Patton III who featured in the 'Pig' and commander of the 11th Armoured Cavalry Regt. used to exhort his soldiers to "find the bastards and pile on", and in fact told his staff that the "present ratio of 90% killing to 10% pacification is just about right". When Patton left Vietnam he gave a party at which he dangled a peace medallion around his neck and carried around the polished skull of a Viet Cong with a bullet hole above the left eye.

**JOHN M. GARNER**

**SO SCRUB MY SKIN WITH WOMEN  
CHAIN MY TONGUE WITH WHISKY  
STUFF MY NOSE WITH GARLIC  
COAT MY EYES WITH BUTTER  
FILL MY EARS WITH SILVER  
STICK MY LEGS IN PLASTER  
TELL ME LIES ABOUT VIETNAM**

**ADRIAN MITCHELL**

Ken Rea, creating a new ensemble of theatre within New Zealand. Another example of the theatre has the San Francisco theatre, or G

Photographs c



# Living theatre to celebrate a gloomy centenary



Ken Rea, actor/director/producer/man of theatre, is creating a new theatre—creating it with and out of an ensemble of actors, who together aim to find a style of theatre within a year. An ambitious project. But no theatre in New Zealand has any style of its own—the Mercury is just another example of money-making taste-mongering. No theatre has the intensity of certain overseas ensembles, such as the San Francisco Mime Troupe, the Bread and Puppet theatre, or Grotowski's theatre in Poland. To find the kind

of theatre needed in New Zealand, Ken Rea working from the inside out, has subjected his actors to a variety of styles of theatre, and a variety of acting environments and audience situations. A certain kind of actor is needed—more robust energetic, lively, adaptable. Rea feels that there is not much worthwhile writing for theatre coming out of England and America and that there are enough revivals of older plays about. Therefore he has turned toward an indigenous theatre—most of the scripted work which he will be doing will be with local writers, working with them on the basis of the ensemble's improvisations, doing what the ensemble and the writers feel that there is a need for.

conjunction—Ken Rea is currently co-producing a version of *The Winter's Tale* based on improvisation techniques—but it is Rea's university ensemble which is the radical wing of this theatre. Sally Rodwell, Paul Carew, Janet Chaaffe, Stephen Gordon, Farrell Cleary and Alan Cocker all worked on the Commedia and are now working on *Progress in the Dark*. Regini Werner, John Darville, John Givins and Graham Howie are all new to the ensemble and are performing in *Progress in the Dark*.



Photographs of the group rehearsing

By Alan Kolnik

The experiment began last summer with the ensemble working on a *Commedia del Arte* scenario written about 1660. The script was purely a scenario—no words, no specific actions, no sets prescribed etc. All these had to be worked out by the group. Emphasis was on action and independence from words—a lively, living theatre which performed in the Domain, at beaches and in halls. Thus the audiences were largely spontaneously formed, unprepared and the performance quite unexpected.

The experiment continues on Saturday May 1st at the Arts Centre in 24 Grafton Road. Ken Rea's ensemble is presenting a play entitled *Progress in the Dark: An Auckland Centennial All-bum*. In this play the ensemble has turned more toward social comment, toward a more radical and political drama, creating a little subversion and carnival hysteria amidst the self-congratulatory sobriety of other Centennial 'Celebrations'. The emphasis is again on energy and liveliness as opposed to ponderous verbal theatre. The play has arisen out of a common desire on the part of all involved to make such a comment as this play is. The ensemble has again created theatre for the occasion, for what suits the need. Stylistically it leads on from the lessons of the *Commedia*. The play has been built on fact, embellished and mutated for the purposes of satire and comedy, and the structure had arisen out of the ensembles improvisations. On these improvisations, two writers, Russell Haley and Murray Edmond, have further improvised added various expedient traditional techniques, from the Elizabethan stage, from Arden, from Brecht, from various similar overseas ensembles, and from vaudeville, revue and showground. Thus the play is a mixture of scripting and improvisation, like Megan Terry's play *Viet-Rock*. It is a play for everyone and includes almost everything—so go along and see it.

The play has songs (set by Dave Neumegen), incidental music background slides, mime, dance, and rhymed doggerel verse. A full evening's entertainment it runs Saturday May 1, Sunday May 2, Wednesday May 5, Thursday May 6, Friday May 7 and Saturday May 8. Various episodes will be presented in the streets and in the Domain.

Some of the actors in the ensemble—Sally Rodwell, Paul Carew, John Darville, and Regini Werner—also work at Central Theatre, where attempts are being made to set up a similar ensemble. The two groups work in close





# INKSHED

scrivener's corner



## one

Sir,  
We the undersigned History IIB students wish to acknowledge the stand of Mrs Binney and Mr Graves in postponing the terms test set for April 30th in order to aid those of us who are involved in the Antiwar Mobilisation planned for that date.

We hope this will serve as an example to other lecturers. This is but one way in which lecturers can aid this National Mobilisation.

Brigid Mulrennan  
Linda Mayow  
Petronella Townsend  
Robert Paton  
Murray Lee  
P.K. Mishra

## two

Dear Stephen,

I cannot write on Vietnam. It is the culmination of the Great Lie of our times. It is too much to describe. All we can do now is act. Act truly.

Love,  
Phil O'Carroll

## three

Sir,

The Honourable ROYALS toured the Zoology Department of our university on 21 April. The tour included a set-piece viewing of the Zoo II class in their lab. To avoid giving offence, however, a slight sanitising of the lab was necessary: a demonstrator who has long hair and doesn't wear shoes was removed beforehand. Obviously, he was good enough to teach but not clean enough to be seen by the ROYALS: that at least seems to have been the

opinion of the staff member who engineered his removal. (This staff member had her own hair specially set for the occasion.)

Zoo Student

## four

Dear University Bookshop  
It's so nice to see that you support Womens Liberation.

Presumably this change of heart will be reflected in a sudden rise in the wages of your female staff from 80c an hour to the male rate of 87c an hour. Then the exploitation of your workers would at heart not be sexually discriminatory.

Janet Bogle  
Judy Hamerton  
Lois Ogilvie

## five

Sir,

The confrontation between executive members (1½) and shadow exec members in B28 last week showed perfectly the pathetic state of student politics and the superficiality of the people running them. To spend nearly an hour in meaningless ramblings, petty squabbling was second only to the initial SRC meeting as time-waster of the year so far. Bill Spring tried but it seems the others were there to entertain.

Bob Hillier, you gained the attention of all present and the contempt of some—satisfied!

The sooner those running so-called student politics realise that they are not elected to merely entertain themselves and gullible hangers-on, the sooner some respectability will be given the various offices and fuller student participation will eventuate in these positions.

Bren Schollum

# Share a tear

Linda Daly-Peoples

Dear Miss Kedgely hear my plea,  
And shed a collective tear for me.  
As one of those for whom you speak  
I boldly dare to venture a squeak,  
Of mild protest. And take up nib  
To do my thing for Women's Lib

It has occurred to me to think  
As I contemplate my kitchen sink,  
That those who invented the home appliance,  
On which we now place such reliance,  
(The which you scorn with lofty defiance)  
Might have been doing us a favour  
In giving us leisurely time to savour  
The glories of the revelation  
Which you, with your higher education,  
Are graciously pleased to impart  
To us, who are not quite so smart  
Or fortunate enough to have understood  
The powerful meaning of sisterhood.

Dear Miss Kedgely, your vocab is prolific,  
But you do have difficulty being specific.  
The "narrow predetermined path" at which you rage,  
Leads "irrevocably" to — — — "old age!"  
Women's Lib, one assumes, wards off fatality,  
And leads (irrevocably?) to immortality.  
Or was that just a burst of hysteria  
For the "insecure, vulnerable, anxious and inferior?"  
You see your words are fired with passion,  
In the best Kate Millet fashion,  
But have you anything to offer,  
To supplement the lists of adjectives you proffer,  
Or to justify your repetition  
Of the dubiously useful verb "to condition"?

In no uncertain terms we're scolded  
For being "conditioned, groomed, shaped, moulded."  
Dependence is another word  
Of which your use is quite absurd.  
I take it that your ideology  
Denies the function of biology.  
I would not for the world disparage  
Your smugly bigoted view of marriage.  
Indeed I'm delighted that your attitude to "Mating"  
Is far above "bra-burning" "men or women-hating."  
Your "struggle" is on a more ethereal plane  
Removed from worldly material gain.  
"Sincere and enormously important" you cry,  
Such humility, one could not deny!  
In fact I'm quite forced to admire  
The heights to which your prose aspires  
But what drives readers to distraction  
Is the apparent lack of cohesive action.

And if eventually you do act,  
And turn your theories into fact,  
You have before you a mighty task,  
And I, for one, am sure to ask:

What will you do for the widows of Vietnam?  
Will you liberate the women of East Pakistan?  
Will you give the starving food for thought?  
Will you tell the dying life is short?  
Will you shout to the African "Liberation!"  
Will you tell the negro of aspiration?  
Will you cry to Haiti "Revolution!"  
Will you tell Hiroshima of air pollution?  
For the "castrated, paralysed, blinded" by fear,  
Will you all shed a collective tear?

# AUSA NOTICE

The Student Union is private property which is administered by the Association under the terms of the Deed between the Association and the University.

Therefore,

1. Only members of the Association may speak at Forum unless special prior permission has been obtained from the President.
2. Only affiliated Clubs can use meeting rooms or hold social functions on campus.
3. Non-members of the Association may attend such meetings or functions by invitation only.
4. The public at large shall not be invited to attend any function at all in the Student Union unless special permission has been granted by the Executive of the Association.

W.J. SPRING,  
PRESIDENT

# Intelligence & no nonsense

TERRY CREEGAN  
MEMBER NZ SEAMEN'S UNION

I have read part one of the splendidly erudite and carefully researched article on the Spanish war published in "Craccum" March 26. Among other things it is a considerable contribution towards understanding the essence of the divisions in the Republican ranks, divisions which were tragic in themselves, and which have a stern relevance to all revolutionary people to-day.

The phrase 'Realpolitik' is used throughout the article, and this to my mind sums up the matter. If society finds itself standing knee deep in a field of shit it is no good telling oneself it doesn't stink. Apartheid, heroin, massacre, shipowners, international bankers and intellectual dishonesty are symptoms of a putrid sickness. The illness itself is exploitation of man by man.

Those who attempt to hide or obscure the nature of the disease are criminals just as much as are those who are prepared to use armed force to perpetuate a society based on contempt for civilised human values. 'Realpolitik' i.e. 'dealing with the actual and objective condition' might be the subject of some debate in Varsity, but among seamen boilermakers, and the proletariat, generally, dealing with things as they are in fact is a first law of survival.

Workers are short on idealistic abstracts, long on 'Realpolitik', hence the ease with which workers take to the Leninist view of the State. The strength of anarchism in pre civil war Spain was, in the upshot a free gift to Franco, however noble, self sacrificing and brave the anarchists may have been (and many of them were indeed) they committed the fatal crime of pitting idealism against harsh reality.

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# Quaggs

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Worker-Student alliance is a vital and essential component of the social force that will build our N.Z. in the next century.

Craccum is to be commended for publishing the series on the Spanish war. We can best understand modern times by an examination of modern times. Mr Trussell's work not only evaluates and illuminates a key to present day European and world history, it facilitates and assists the people in their mobilization for tomorrow. It is in the popular interest.



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# STRIKE AGAINST THE WAR

APRIL 30  
ALBERT PARK  
AFTERNOON

MARCH THROUGH  
QUEEN STREET  
AT 7.00 pm

*Christopher Bede*  
STUDIOS LTD.

24-26 Burleigh Street  
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have reserved  
MAY 6th and 7th  
for

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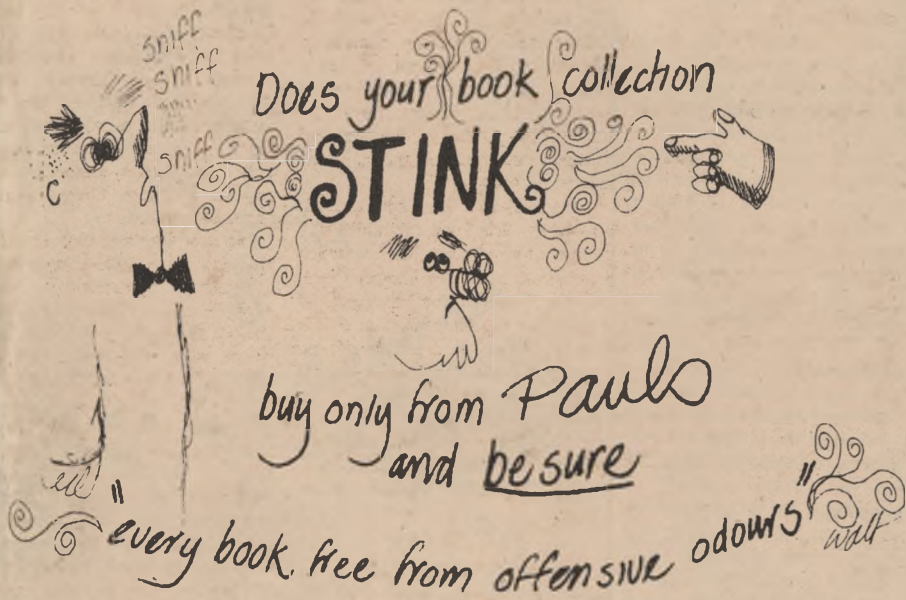
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GLENVALE

TONIGHT APRIL 29  
THE SCRATCH ORCHESTRA PERFORMS  
In the Adriatic Ballroom K. Rd. 8 pm  
(Next to 'Tik Tok' Chip Shop)  
Minimal charge for admission and refreshment



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Give yourself and your family a special treat

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yoghurt



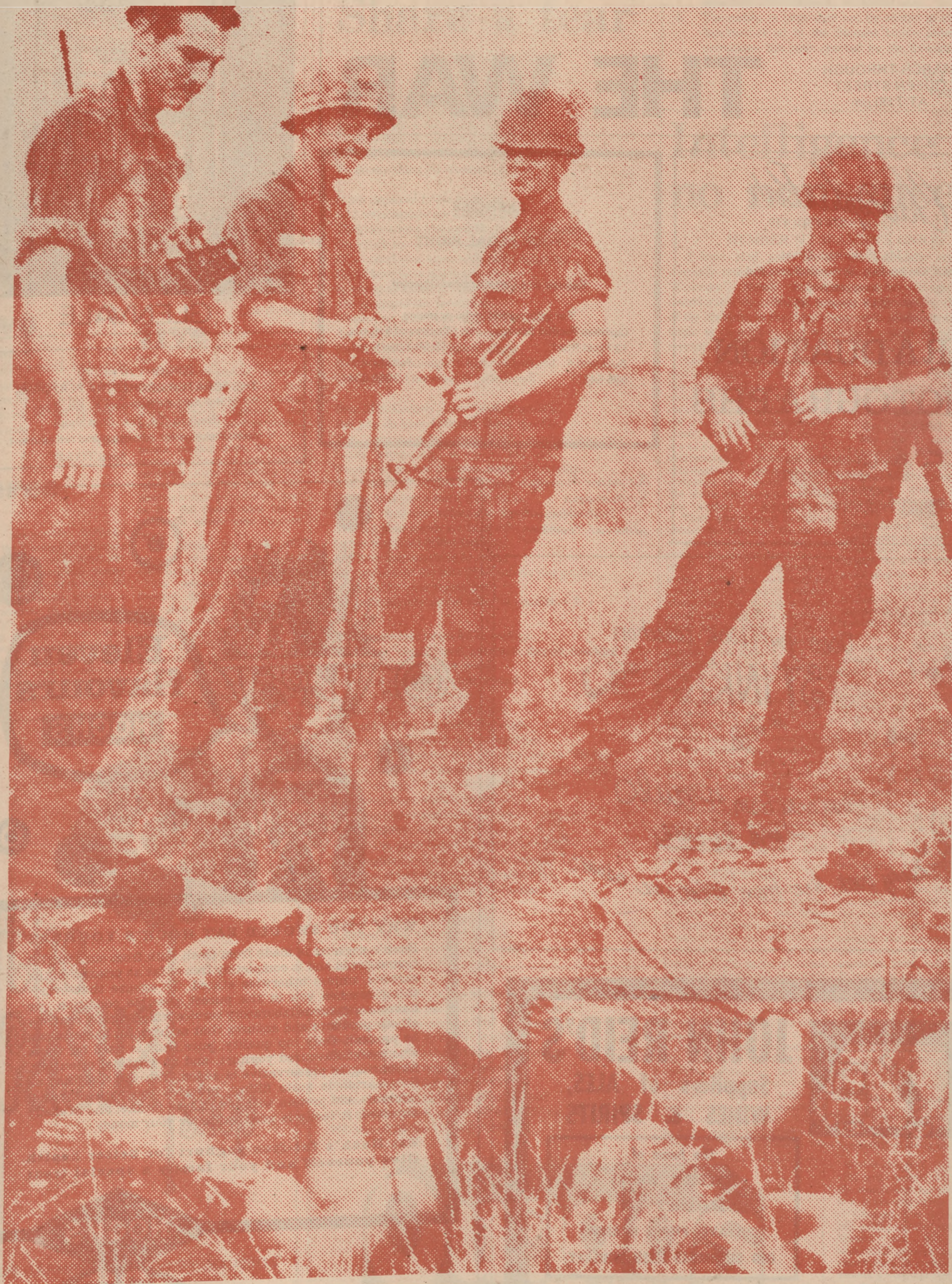
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**their silence perpetuates this joke**

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Handwritten notes and marks on the right margin, including several checkmarks and the letters 'Y', 'PA', and 'AL'.

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