

## Muldoonery: the toxic effects of gin

Over the past two weeks, daily and weekly newspaper have carried reports of Mr Muldoon and his appearance in a Gilbey's Gin advertisement concocted by Ogilvy & Mather. That advertising agency has used political figures as promotional devices around the world. Australian Army Minister Peacock, was forced to submit his resignation last year, because O & M featured his wife in an advertisement for bed sheets.



Muldoon ..... the aftereffects

Leader of the Auckland campaign against the Muldoon advertisement, lecturer, Mr Michael Neill, told Craccum that the advertisement involved what he considered "a breach of propriety, something that was likely to bring the House into disrepute". He said that he first decided to act on the issue after discussions with Air Commodore Gill of Waitemata who expressed his concern on the advertisement.

The action undertaken, centres on the Police Offences Act Section 24: "Any person shall be liable to \$100 fine if he advertises or causes to be advertised a notice containing any word or mark implying that such person or any business conducted by him is connected with or under the patronage of any Minister."

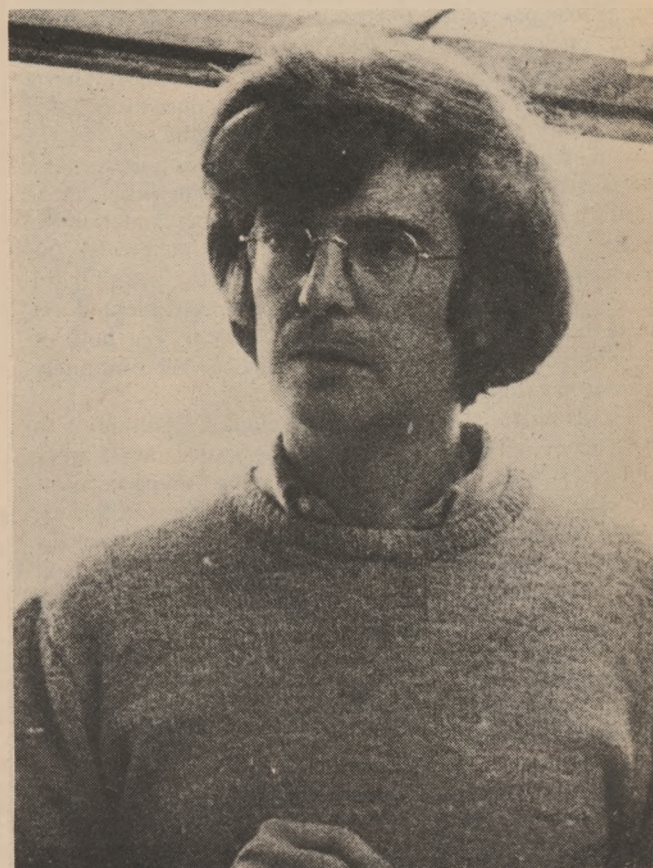
Mr Muldoon could possibly be construed as a party to the offence. The offence itself seems to lie with either Gilbey's or O & M. These are possibilities admitted by the Attorney-General. Any final decision however, must be made by a court of law. Any Minister subpoenaed to appear in any court can refuse to attend any particular court hearing, begging 'the need of the nation'. Mr Neill has decided not to make this issue into a court case.

The point of Mr Watt, Deputy-Leader of Labour, appearing in another Gilbey's Gin

advertisement, does not make Mr Neill excuse Mr Muldoon. Mr Watt appeared in a corner of the advertisement, was not mentioned in the caption and was not near Sir John Gilbey. The Muldoon advertisement showed the Minister immediately in contact with Sir John and mentioned in the caption. "Mr Watt has placed the matter in the hands of a solicitor" said Mr Neill.

### QUESTIONS

Mr Neill said he had read comments by Conrad Bollinger, questioning connections between the liquor trade and politicians. Bollinger cites the case of a Royal Commission being prevented from investigating the Trade Defence Fund in 1946. This fund is subscribed to by manufacturers and hoteliers but nobody knows just where the money goes to. "I am not suggesting" said Neill "any corruption on the part of the Minister. I am simply concerned that the public is uninformed on such matters and



Michael Neill ..... a defeat for the powers

that questions raised have never been answered".

As part of his explanation for appearing in the gin advertisement, Mr Muldoon said that "the gin factory in this case is saving New Zealand \$2,000,000 a year in overseas exchange". This is very worthy, though not so much in the light of other figures.

Tobacco in this country saves \$20,000,000 per year; rubber goods excluding tyres \$14,000,000; ice-cream \$10,000,000; soap \$8,000,000 and pharmaceuticals \$18,000,000.

"I sincerely hope" said Neill, "that the Minister does not appear in advertisements

concerned with underarm deodorant".

### PLOT

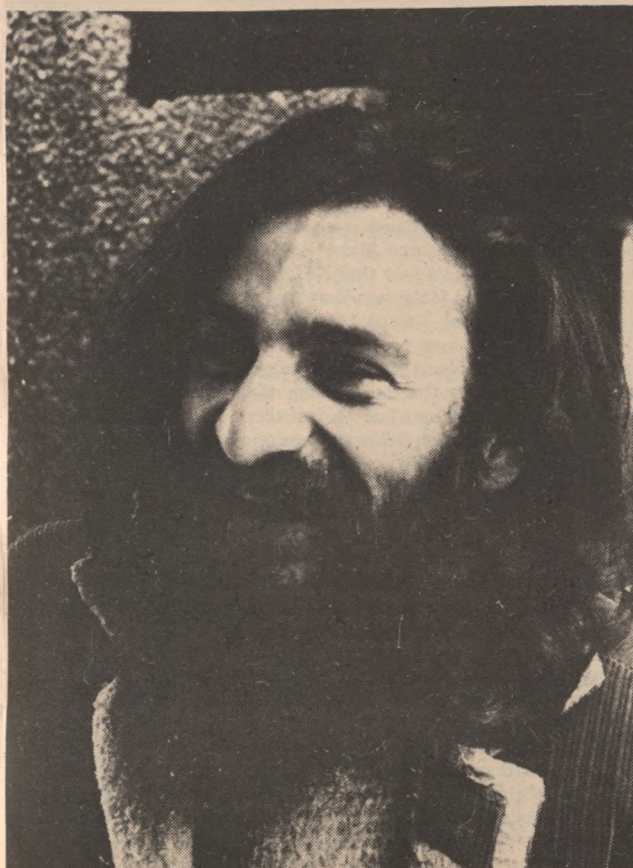
As for the "Labour Party plot" mentioned by Mr Muldoon, Mr Neill stressed that he was not a Labour Party member, he had never communicated with Labour's Mathieson and that his petition refuses signatures from Labour MPs and Executive members. (A petition form appears on page 7).

"This affair simply drives home yet another nail into the coffin Mr Muldoon has over the years been constructing for himself under the impression that it was a safe deposit box" concluded Mr Neill.

## Loss and increase

ASHOK BOLGAVIND

In a state of panic, the Executive raised the cafeteria food prices as from the first day of this term. So if your daily consumption comprised of a delicious cottage pie, which cost you 28 cents last term, you would now have to pay 40 cents, and the same for mince & spaghetti. Almost every meal has gone up by an average of 8 cents; almost all the prices are now in the range 35-45 cents. Even 4+20 pies have shot up from 15 cents to 18 cents. Sandwiches, apples, cheese, raisins, the lot, have gone up by 1 cent, cakes by 2 cents. Lucky are those who indulge in the luxury of tea and coffee drinking, they still cost the same!



The price increase is an attempt to keep losses in the Cafeteria to \$10,000 for the year! (hope!!) In this respect the increases seem justified (the last major price increases were in 1966 and the bursaries went up in 1966/67) but the timing of the increases is ghastly. The raising of prices during the year has always been deplored and is an unwise move. Changes from the beginning of the new academic year are less harmful.

In the future, the Association will have to look at itself in relation to its aims, objectives and policies, and work out its priorities and decide accordingly how much it will spend in providing services, whether that is all it wishes to do, what else at how much. At the moment it spends 77% of its finances in running itself. But one thing is certain: there isn't enough money to go on as we are doing!

### THE FUTURE

A few turns likely in the future are:

a. A meal price spiral as a result of spiralling wages and food prices.

b. An increase of subsidy for the Cafeteria: the present Association subsidy is a dollar per head and has been so since 1966/67.

c. On the other hand, the removal of all subsidy, making the 'plebs' pay for their feed. It should be noted that all other universities, except Massey, provide meals at a cost relative to ours and Canterbury subsidizes only 50 cents per head. It should be further noted that most other universities have outside caterers who are there to make a profit! Whereas we are providing a service

and making a drastic loss! (\$7000 already of the budgeted \$10,000).

If the subsidy stays at a dollar, and there is no change from the present, then a rise in student fees is inevitable if we are to have other necessities. The present \$10 (the other \$10 is paying off the Student Union) is the lowest among NZ universities.

Soon it will have to be decided what is going to happen in the future. Suggestions and ideas would be most welcome. Perhaps you could start reducing the present expenses in the Cafeteria by

- Bringing your plates back to the work counter.
- Disposing your trash in the bins.

c. Bringing back the \$1000 worth of cutlery you've flogged!

Attempts by certain members of the Executive to maintain the present price of their health-giving foods such as yogurt and apples, were all brushed aside with the argument that the expert work involved in drawing up the price increases, setting out a comprehensive turnover/cost/in-

creases of all items could not allow anything to be discussed in isolation.

The rise in food prices reflects the financial state of AUSA. Loop-holes have appeared in the tight budget of 1971. Unforeseen deficits of about \$15,000 have occurred thus far. As one Executive member put it, we could lose \$30,000 by the end of the year.

so we were making this scene and this dark gray and button-down fronts up and it's the fuzz and it grunts I want a word with you and so we make it to this empty room and it says you just came in from Hamilton and I say yeah and it says you been pushing and I say pushing what and he says we know you been pushing, who's the man and I know it's all gone and I say Paul's Book Arcade and he says that's fourteen years, we must stamp out books

# PAUL'S





At the eleventh hour, the Craccum Administration Board, informed by members of the Association Executive of disturbing financial straits, decided to limit this issue of Craccum and subsequent issues to twelve pages.

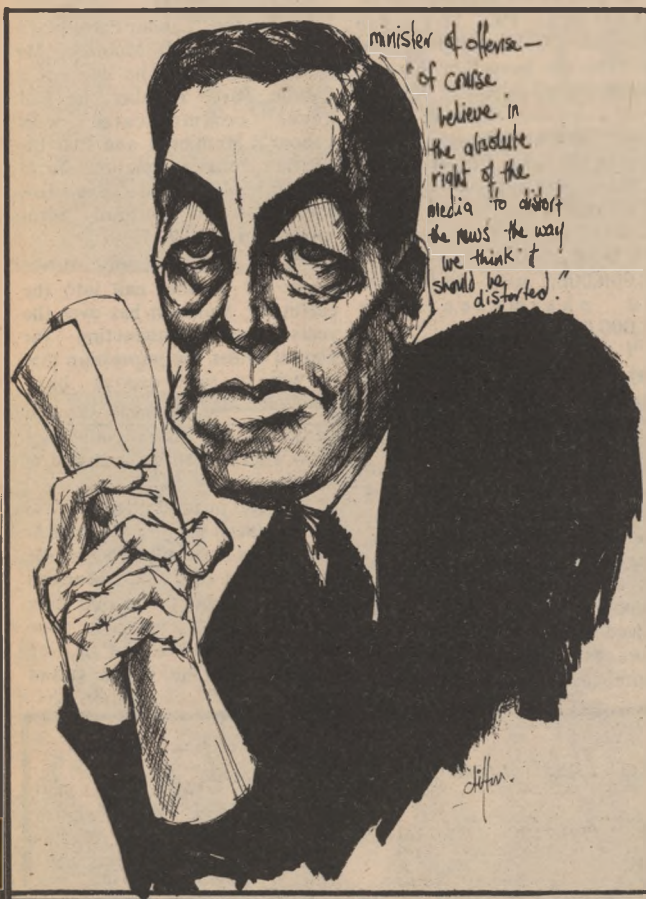
Appointed on the basis of editing a sixteen page paper and from the first issue having enough literate material to fill sixteen pages three times over, the dictate has placed me in a difficult situation. Mr Richard King, the paper's Technical Editor, resigned because of academic interests and a disgust with insufficient funds to produce his concept of a quality publication. This first issue for the second term saw my decision to carry on as Editor, the appointment of Mr Roger Fowler as Technical Editor and the problems of where to put what copy, what to exclude and how to editorially balance such a small paper. For Mr Fowler, the headaches are more precise. How on earth to cram all that I have given him, into the smaller space available and yet make his arrangements graphically coherent. For both of us, producing a twelve page Craccum has been infinitely more troublesome than expected.

Funds or no, Mr Fowler has announced his intention to experiment with layout after he has settled into a work routine. So that he can do this and so that thypaper might still retain a pretence to being edited, I have decided to use large essays covering specific topics. This issue discusses the slightly appalling NZUSA Council and Apartheid. The next issue features a lengthy section on the Bengla Desh resistance and the issue after that is largely filled with an essay on new intellectual perspectives to art, written by Hamish Keith.

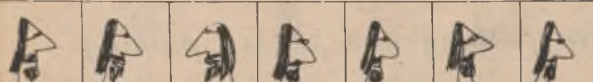
This means that unsolicited contributions will be kept to a minimum, letters will be given less room and the Association might save some of its ill finances.

Make no mistake about it: AUSA is very very badly off with money. Executive members are suggesting an immediate increase in student fees, to be collected in this term!

The next issue of Craccum will contain a report on Craccum's skirmishes with the Executive and an analysis of the Association's plight.



## STAFF



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	Rob White house; Max Wallace.

## NZUSA Council at Lincoln :

Twice a year, the New Zealand University Students' Association holds a Council. The first of these for 1971 was held between May 14-16, at Lincoln College, Canterbury. To this imperial dias came the assorted imperial rulers. From Auckland, Bill Spring, Mary Kirk, Rob Garlick, Rodney Lyon, John Woodroffe, Wendy Adams, Dick Gyde and the Editor. These and other constituent delegates were housed in tall towers with central heating. This heating tended to be erratic. Either it was so hot and unable to be turned off, or not turned on at all, in which case two miserable grey blankets made little impression against the Lincoln winter. Lincoln food was infinitely more abysmal than our own. Lincoln students have bad habits of staring incredulously, of hammering on doors early Sunday morning, asking for the Prayer Secretary.

"When Winter had gone and Spring came back, The sensitive planet was a leafless wreck." Shelley

Of all the delegates from Auckland, Spring and Garlick were the most vocal. They seemed to be the only two from Auckland with a concept of Council in mind, and the only two to have really done their homework. Auckland's poor financial state was expressed most certainly in many of the financial discussions. Apart from that, Spring slipped into a pragmatic stance and tried to express S.R.C. policy. Of the other Auckland delegates, Woodroffe impressed at International Affairs Commission and the two Education delegates, Adams and Gyde, failed to impress at Education Commission with any other than naive idealism. That Commission spent some time trying to decipher why their business was not impressing the major delegates at National Commission. There seemed to be some scorn bred out of hardened political expertise, directed from National Commission, against the post-secondary school, amateurish muddlings of Education Commission. A case of ideals and pragmatism clashing. In fact, this difference characterized proceedings for all four days. National Commission spent so much time discussing grammatical corrections to motions, that a scheduled session labelled 'tactics', which was meant to have worked out ways to implement those motions, had to be cancelled.

To be a delegate at Council, one has to adopt a Council frame of reference. All the various constituent presidents managed to adopt that frame admirably. Chairman David Cuthbert, perhaps the most seasoned and hardened of all those present, nonetheless became frequently disconcerted when his fellows would continue long and tedious debates over minute points.

For the uninitiated, Council is divided into various commissions: National, International, Finance, Education, Welfare and Accommodation. These commissions hold their meetings at the same times, in different rooms. The President and one other delegate from each constituency, sit at National. Motions from all commissions are finally ratified together at a Plenary. A great deal of discussion is thus given time. Reporting Council though, becomes a rather fragmented affair. The Editor attended National and Finance. The International, Education, Welfare and Accommodation delegates have written reports of what happened at their respective commissions. The idea of this article is not to give a detailed record of all that transpired, but to leave impressions of the gathering. Students have frequently asked exactly what NZUSA does with its dollar-a-student levy. NZUSA has in turn, frequently asked why student papers have carried no accounts of its activities.

### NATIONAL

National Commission began with reports from the six constituencies. Lincoln is negotiating for its own licensed Club on campus and seems likely to be given a go-ahead. Auckland might do the same next June, when the Graduates' Club simply must go. Victoria seems to be having its own financial difficulties. There, the President volunteered a decrease in his own salary as his gesture of real participation in expenditure cut-back. Otago has moves afoot to see that only cases involving academic performance, are ever brought before their University Council. Waikato is selling contraceptives across the counter at their Student Union offices.

A discussion then arose on the state (or non-state) of buildings on campuses. Victoria's Graeme Collins, put forward the concept of staggering courses, so that buildings could be used year-round and not overcrowded for nine months of a year. Spring replied by saying that students could not attend university year round. NZUSA Vice-President Charles Draper, suggested that students should never accommodate Governmental lack of foresight. Sooner or later, he said, Government will have to grant large enough bursaries for students to attend university year round. To this, NZUSA Honorary Vice-President Mike Law, indicated that 80% of all expenditure on buildings was for fixed facilities for research. It was not good enough to suggest sharing out existing buildings over a longer period, he said, new buildings simply have to be built. Canterbury's David Caygill



Rob Garlick ..... selling out the insurers

snapped that Government was using costs only as a political foil. He said that the country has no will to continue an open-door policy. We are at fault, he continued, for not comparing our investment in education, which is only one third of overseas standards, to the inordinate expenditure on Skyhawks. Like so much of the debate that was to follow, the matter fizzled out there.

The Student Leader Grant, which is administered by the United States Embassy came under fire. Debate centred around the rejection or otherwise of NZUSA nominee, Peter Fletcher. Many delegates suspected that Fletcher had been excluded because of his background of political radicalism.



Wendy Adams ..... raw idealism was all

Spring asked that NZUSA should demand of the Embassy, that it should use no political bias in making its selections. Normally, NZUSA nominees are immediately accepted. Fletcher was the first to fail the Embassy approval. Spring asked for an Embassy written guarantee. Caygill retorted by saying that any guarantee would be as sincere as one from Nixon himself. NZUSA Administrative Officer Errol Millar cautioned that sheer circumstance might have affected Fletcher's nomination. There were more countries than places in the Student Leader Grant, he said, perhaps it was New Zealand's turn to miss out.

Caygill and Spring launched separate motions requesting NZUSA to withdraw from the scheme. These were defeated. Unease is still felt over this matter however. The next move is up to the U.S. Embassy. Auckland, said Spring, will refuse to nominate any of its students for the Grant. The Grant is a guided tour of the United States, with emphasis on the major interests of the successful applicants. An Auckland student Michael Volkerling, who once gained the Grant, returned to New Zealand saying that the entire debacle was one of U.S. propaganda.

The next business concerned the magazine ID. ID has been rumoured to appear from time to time, but has completely failed to do so. It was to have been a fortnightly publication, sponsored by NZUSA, to replace the now defunct Focus. Draper announced that it "has taken so long, it is a disgrace". The Company Memoranda necessary to register the private company which is to administer ID were finally approved at a later session. NZUSA wants the magazine to operate ostensibly as a private concern, so that NZUSA will never be faced with another law suit, of the kind that helped to bury Focus.

### OF THOSE NOT WHITE

Next business concerned the status of overseas students. Motions were passed suggesting that sponsored overseas students who marry New Zealanders, should be able to remain in New Zealand after their graduations, provided they are willing to repay the bonds they studied under. That an open door policy should apply throughout N.Z. universities for both local and overseas students. That a survey should be undertaken to determine the needs of overseas students in this country. Later sessions deplored the activities of certain embassies spying upon, and interfering in, the activities of overseas students. Special concern was expressed over the activities of the Malaysian Embassy in trying to force Malay and Singaporean students into separate camps. Cuthbert said that NZUSA was conducting a lengthy correspondence to the Malaysian Embassy over this matter. "We have to keep writing" he said, "because they refuse to reply".

On the subject of those not white, the discussion then moved to a consideration of problems that confront New Zealand Maoris and Polynesians. Spring moved a motion that all those arrested be informed of the accusations laid against them, in their own language, and that NZUSA should make submissions on this matter to the Criminal Law Reform Society. This was passed. NZUSA also will ask that the training schemes for young Maoris from rural areas, be extended to those from urban areas. Other motions included concern over maltreatment of Maoris and Polynesians arrested by the police, concern over the lack of widely published writing by Maoris on Maori Tunga, that Maori representation in Parliament should be raised on a pro rata basis, thus giving seven Maori seats, that all attempts should be made to enter Maoris onto their electoral roles.

On the last point, Caygill pointed out, that according to Professor Chapman, 100,000 Maoris are not entered on the roles. Caygill also asked that entitlement to vote as a Maori should not be according to blood tests as the definitive procedure now stands, but according to the cultural affiliation felt by the individuals concerned.

Spring asked that the concept of Maraes should be fostered, not according to the European vision of a community hall, but according to true Maori communal feeling. Ted Nehia, Tamatoa observer from Christchurch stressed that a Marae concerned with spirit of communion, and had nothing to do with the industrial society's

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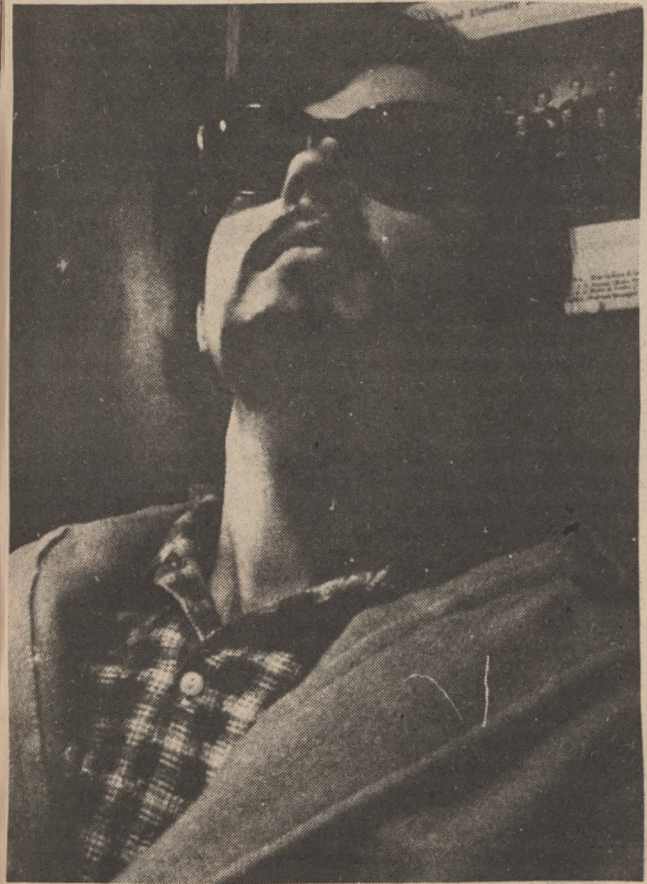


# A gathering of pragmatists and cowboys

tendency to isolate and compartmentalise into cold, clinical buildings. Massey's Gary Emms explained that Student Unions could be used on a Marae basis. "In Palmerston North," he said "there's a great deal of feuding between the Hell's Angels and the Mongrels. Now the Mongrels are mainly Maori kids who've had a bad deal. We've been inviting the Mongrels to eat with us, talk with us, sleep in our Union building, generally letting them have the run of the place."

Spring has always spoken well on the Maori question (or should it be the European question?), but it seems unlikely whether he would follow Massey's example. A certain amount of paranoia administers the Auckland Union building.

At this stage, I feel that rational discussion began to cease. Up to this point delegates had allowed their sincerity to manifest itself above all else. From here on, the flaunting of grammatical expertise seemed to occupy all minds. Graeme Collins seemed especially guilty of this, accompanied by Massey's second delegate, Victor Soeterick. David Caygill managed occasionally to second motions, and then to abstain from actual voting, having his abstention recorded furthermore.



Waikato's Swan "NZUSA deserves only contemptuous silence."

## CONGRESS IN THE SNOWFIELDS

Discussion now considered the future of Congress. Some months before, NZUSA had announced the cessation of Congress. Immediately, students registered their dissent. Both Caygill and Spring were instructed by their respective S.R.C.s to have Congress reinstated.

Cuthbert began the debate by insisting that despite the NZUSA decision, Congress could still be held. "The only difference," he said "is that it has been struck out of NZUSA's constitution. But if this meeting wants to call a Congress, well it can call a bloody Congress."

Emms spoke ridiculing the established concept of Congress. "If you want to educate the world, you get out and educate the world. You don't pick out a bunch of elitists and send them to an elitist gathering at Curious Cove. But if you want to keep it, well then, keep it. It makes a lot of money, ha ha ha."

Caygill endorsed Emms by saying "Only 150 people can go to Congress each year. The place can't hold any more. I don't want the present arrangement maintained. But if you've got a substitute, I suppose I can vote for that and please my S.R.C."

Rather violent argument broke out between the constituent presidents and Congress Controller Clare Donovan. Ridicule was thrown upon the elitist tendencies of a necessarily small and isolated gathering. "Why don't you have the silly thing on top of Mt Ruapehu?" asked Gary Emms. Clare Donovan's only argument was to point out the enjoyment gained from previous Congresses at Curious Cove.

After much bickering, the final compromise was announced as a congress, somewhere, sometime, at some cost, convenient to most students and the speakers, to be decided by the congress controllers in consultation with the National Executive of the NZUSA. What it all means, is that Congress, as previously known, can be known no more. The task of organising a substitute congress, to fill the conditions of the Council resolution, seems daunting. It is not too adventurous to say, that NZUSA will not conduct any future congresses at all. Curious Cove at least, was a hand-down from the past. Nowadays, if students are not already aware of social problems, no congress or number of congresses will inform them. NZUSA feels that the time has come to act on social issues, instead of to merely talk about them. At least, that is what NZUSA maintains, and what NZUSA spent a great deal of time talking about.

Before the next major item of business, a number of capsulized matters were dealt with in a perfunctory manner. NZUSA plans to affiliate to the Abortion Law Reform Society, will continue to censure the Government for its inadequate public detailing of activities conducted by U.S. military bases within New Zealand, will call for the removal of all media censorship, will ask that students be given the right to record students' associations fees and academic texts and equipment, as tax deductible items, will encourage student newspaper editors either to refuse their \$95 scholarships from Rothmans, or to donate the sum to HART. This last decision was made in the light of clear evidence showing the amount of Rhodesian tobacco used by Rothmans, in contravention of trading sanctions against Rhodesia.

## PENIS SECURITY RAISED

The next major item of business concerned Women's Liberation. In fact, this 'item' caused heated debate over two sessions. Male delegates began to consider various motions in a chauvinistic manner, laughing at every available semi-pun and interjecting crudities. The grammatical structures of the motions were ridiculed, entire motions were rejected out of hand and a good time was had by all. NZUSA Education Vice-President Marian Logeman, arrived from Education Commission, just in time to catch the tail-end of the discussion. She immediately demanded that the motions be reconsidered with all the women delegates to the various commissions present. David Caygill proudly announced that most of the motions were grammatically unsound. Logeman then asked that all discussion be recommitted after she had rewritten the motions.

The following session heard the motions reworded and presented by Logeman and the Editor. The facetiousness continued, notably from Massey's Victor Soeterick, who seemed intent on brandishing his Catholicism as the world's final, redeeming, sarcastic arbitrator.

Finally, motions were passed to the effect, that women should have equal employment opportunities with men and equal training opportunities, that equal pay should be awarded for equal work, that until the social order changed, extra finance should be available to women for their tertiary education, that both males and females should have identical choices of secondary school courses, that the allocation of women into narrow sexual and domestic roles, by many educational texts, should be discouraged, that women should have the right to finally decide on matters concerning their sexual lives and the bearing of their children, that abortion should be available on demand to all women from qualified medical practitioners, that contraceptives should be freely available and charged to Social Security and that all legal discrimination against women should be repealed.

Marian Logeman, afterwards, very much relieved, gave this statement to Craccum. "The first session on these motions was an utter farce which continued even when the motions were recommitted. Discussion often descended to banality. This was what upset me most about the whole issue. Several of the delegates could not see that this was a vital issue. They showed the same attitude that they condemn in other members of the community, when the question of Maori rights is considered. Some delegates were grossly insensitive towards the issue of the subjugation of women. Several would guffaw at the tiniest hint of a dirty joke. I use 'dirty' deliberately, because these people regarded anything sexual as something to be sniggered at. Sad comment on the maturity of most delegates. Nevertheless, persistence and rewording achieved the final happy result."

The final session of National Commission, apart from motions asking for the removal of 'obscene' language, as an offence from the statute books, and asking for the replacement of the armed forces with a force for civil defence and international aid (Caygill: "We have three whole battalions, Australia has nine, Malaysia has twenty five. What do they need us for?"), considered little of interest, apart from a few mummings on publications.

Many student newspaper editors are refused admission to university council meetings. In Auckland however, the situation is free, although much Council business is conducted in committee. Many student newspapers also have difficulties with printers. Problems of censorship and bad service predominate. Otago's Critic endures a very haphazard and whimsically based censorship from its printer, Canterbury's Canta cannot obtain reliable delivery dates from its printer, Victoria's Salient has had an entire centre spread cut out by its printer. Auckland has no trouble with its printer, apart from a rather early deadline for copy. Auckland apart however, it seems that most New Zealand printers are conservatively oriented and out of touch with the liberality that informs world publishing.

## FINANCE COMMISSION: THE TREASURY GROANS

"Moloch whose mind is pure machinery! Moloch whose blood is running money!" Allen Ginsberg.

This session can best be described as a novel experience. Presidents either kept quiet, or were told to by their treasurers. Discussion centred around two major issues, both involving a singular principle.

The first of these issues dealt with a proposed survey among students, to discover where students spend money, how they lose money, when they want money, and whether an NZUSA savings scheme could be implemented. Debate arose as to how much NZUSA was acting with its own coffers in mind and how much out of genuine concern for students. The cost of any such survey was also queried.

Originator of the scheme, NZUSA Vice-President Fred Baird, said that the survey would cost \$1400. It would be run, he said, on an academic and sociological basis, not on any local constituency level.

Garlick asked of Lindsay Wright's previous survey and why a new one was needed. Caygill answered that Wright's had been a static survey, whereas Baird was hoping to study an overall cash flow. That point settled, Garlick and Caygill argued over what money was to be used to finance the survey, and again, whether NZUSA was really interested in the cash flow of students. The final upshot was approval for the survey, provided it would concentrate on the cash flow of students and not whether or not NZUSA could operate any savings scheme. Finance for the survey, it was decided, would come from interested commercial bodies (the B.N.Z. has expressed interest), from interested constituents (Caygill decided to commit \$200 from Canterbury), and from reserves gathered by the Student Travel Bureau.

After the decision, discussion continued on the direct benefit of NZUSA to students at large. Gary Emms proclaimed "When you work out a scheme to get cheap pies or cabbages for students, then you'll have proved your worth. But as for fucking savings schemes, well, Massey won't have anything to do with it."

A motion was put, that all NZUSA commercial ventures should be run independently of any direct or indirect levy to constituents, outside of the dollar-per-student present standing levy. The motion was lost.

## INSURING COMMISSIONS

Two gentlemen from Price-Forbes Brokers now entered. Price-Forbes act as the agents for the NZUSA insurance scheme. Life insurance is the major enterprise there. I found this particular discussion more nauseating than any other. But NZUSA pontificated about the benefit to students of low premiums, an absence of hawkers on campus, and NZUSA's own slice of commission, so if you must insure and thus validate your lives and/or your superfluities, well then I suppose you must. Moreover, with life insurance I understand you

Rodney Lyon ..... the tedium of welfare



can choose and pay towards, any financial estimation of the worth of life that you wish. The stance of Auckland's delegates on this matter was a far cry from Auckland's original antagonism to the scheme and to the concept of life insurance in general. Both the Rudman and the Law regimes refused to have anything to do with it, declaring it all as capitalistic humdrum.

Auckland's Garlick opened the questioning by asking Price-Forbes for a larger share of the commissions. When Price-Forbes tactfully refused, Garlick very promptly announced Auckland's withdrawal from the NZUSA scheme, saying that AUSA had found other brokers who were prepared to offer better terms.

This tended to upset other constituent delegates who had previously sat convinced by the well-prepared platter from the Price-Forbes representatives. Discussion now ranged about amounts of commissions, promotion of insurance schemes (to earn more commissions), and which companies could offer the largest commissions...

After an hour of this, it was decided that NZUSA would pressure Price-Forbes for an increase in commissions, would enquire of other brokers and firms, would make an appropriate choice.

To be fair, occasional remarks were made about various benefits to students. Moreover, in the strict field of political bargaining, only Garlick showed any modicum of expertise. Most NZUSA delegates, happy to entertain political pretensions, for hours on end, with their own peers, were immediately overcome by the smooth rhetoric of insurance salesmen. Massey's Treasurer, Graeme Lindsay, at stages, literally begged for Price-Forbes pamphlets and posters, while the two salesmen calmly nodded smug approval.

## THE CALIBRE OF THE DELEGATES. OR: WHAT KIND OF GENTLEFOLK EXIST IN THE NAME OF YOUR INTERESTS.

It struck me that most constituent delegates paled in the light of the research and political expertise displayed by NZUSA's National Executive. Most of these Executive members spread themselves over various commissions. Only David Cuthbert and Charles Draper were consistently at National Commission sessions. Cuthbert with a constant air of agitated chairmanship and Draper forever cold, almost glacial, and precise in half syllables and authoritative pronouncements. Education specialists, Lindsay Wright and Marian Logeman, are both extremely fluent in their field, and were not hesitant to violently chastise constituent Education Officers for too much waffly day-dreaming and not enough concrete work. Fred Baird is a trained sociologist and Cultural Affairs Officer Jim Stevenson, is probably the most able administrator of any arts body in New Zealand.

But politicians will be politicians, and bickering must have its day, especially with the supposed representatives of those students they supposedly politicize on behalf of. Waikato's President David Swan, spoke few words all four days of the Council. Most of Waikato's presence was felt through its International Affairs Officer Don Wright, close crony of HART activists Trevor Richards and John Woodroffe.

Victoria's President Graeme Collins, appeared as a capable administrator with a passion for apostrophes and correctly inserted commas. Much the same can be said for Canterbury's Caygill. Caygill is running for Christchurch City Council this year, and has thus learnt to say a great deal without any substance that could be construed as overly radical. Neither Lincoln's Ross Gunn, nor Otago's Ebraima Manneh, made much impression on Council, although Manneh's literacy was a truly delightful relief from the dry cut and parry of other delegates.

The most interesting delegate present, was undoubtedly Massey's Gary Emms. Emms looks like a tall cowboy wanting to be back in his movie. His approach was probably closest to the students he was meant to be representing. His most striking quality is an ability to hold together a students' association, without a worship of bureaucracy, although his successor will have a difficult time trying to make sense of all that has transpired. Emms will allow any NZUSA Executive member to sleep in his Union, along with assorted Mongrels and street urchins.

With that, I shall end my report in NZUSA's Council at Lincoln. Other reports follow.

THE EDITOR



# NZUSA continued: inflated doggerel

## ACCOMMODATION REPORT

This was an extremely productive working session. Discussion centred on the proposed National Accommodation Trust, which it is hoped, will assist financing student housing schemes in each university centre, the money being invested or donated by business firms, private individuals and some student associations. Auckland moved that an economic feasibility study be undertaken concerning the centralized/decentralized management of the scheme before any final decision is made to set up the Trust.

Constituents agreed over questions such as the use of tagged monies and the fund-allocation criteria. These include general educational needs; regional educational needs; relative profitability and economic viability; the need to spread funds regionally; contemporary priorities and the range of residential types.

Accommodation Commission also directed the Accommodation Officer Rick Smith to present submissions to the UGC advocating the extension of student housing subsidies to include a parallel scheme of flatting communities which Government has indicated it is willing to consider

MARY KIRK

## WELFARE REPORT

It is unlikely that the Welfare Commissions of 1971 May Council will go down among the all-time-greats in the history of NZUSA. Swamped with paper and reports that nobody had read; obstructed by an argumentative Vic Soeterik (Massey) for one and a half sessions before the arrival of the proper Massey delegate; and generally lacking in experience and knowledge apart from a couple of exceptions, the Welfare delegates muddled through the business somewhat randomly, but occasionally doing useful things.

One of the main issues dealt with was the setting up of a domestic volunteer scheme within New Zealand; it was decided that NZUSA would sponsor a meeting, to be called before Winter Council 1971, to initiate planning of any such venture, which would provide assistance in the "wilderness on our own doorstep" as one American expert has put it. Secondly, the Welfare Officers carried out useful investigations of the Creches at each constituent, and urged the Universities to accept responsibility for the financing, equipping and managing of such institutions. The right of Student Counsellors to recommend an aegrotat pass on the same basis as registered medical practitioners was also upheld, as was the principle of the establishment of Safety Committees at each University

RODNEY LYONS

## EDUCATION REPORT

This being the first time that I had attended an NZUSA Council, I was not quite sure what to expect when I arrived there. I suppose that I had vague hopes that the standard would be rather better than our AGMs and SRC meetings. These have an almost congenital disease of verbosity and long-windedness, in addition to an insidious habit of paying great attention to matters of absolutely no interest while almost completely ignoring matters which deserve the most careful study and scrutiny. I had hoped that May Council would be better than this: as it turned out, it was far worse. At least SRC takes only four hours: the Council lasted four days.

However, I shall try to confine my comments to the Education Commission, which is the subject of this report. Our first meeting was perhaps the most instructive of all: it was adjourned after 20 minutes because the NZUSA representatives had failed to turn up. The second meeting was devoted to a consideration of reports from each of the constituent Ed. Officers on their work up to the present time. The main difficulty here was that only two of the Ed. Officers had prepared a written report which could be considered before everybody actually arrived at the Council (I am pleased to report that Auckland's Ed. Officer was one of the two who had prepared a report beforehand—congratulations, Wendy). For the rest, we had to rely on verbal, off-the-cuff generalisations. This was all moderately interesting, but often repetitious and mostly boring.

The following meetings were devoted to a consideration and revision of NZUSA policy relating to Education. This involved three things. First, going over existing policy and deleting what was no longer relevant (probably necessary but very boring); second, amending and revising existing policy (probably necessary and not quite so boring); and third, considering remits to be included as new policy (very necessary and very worthwhile). The following are some of the more interesting of these:

- That a full-time Education Vice-President be appointed to the NZUSA staff as from January 1st, 1972. This was decided because it was felt that the tasks which the present E.V.P. is being called upon to perform cannot be dealt with adequately with the E.V.P. is also working in a full-time occupation. (We may soon need some position like this here as well, if the present trends are to continue, and it looks very much as though they will).
- That NZUSA call on the government to define the aims of its educational policy to the public. It was quite a battle to get this motion through. It was carried by the chairman's casting vote both at the Education Commission and at the Plenary session. Auckland voted against this motion because our Exec, in its infinite wisdom, had previously voted against it. Don't ask me why, but I am sure that, if, next time you catch sight of Bill Spring and ask him about it, he will be only too happy to explain himself to you.
- That NZUSA, believing that end-of-year examinations are educationally unsound, calls for the abolition of all such examinations in Universities in New Zealand and their complete replacement by a system of internal continuous assessment. The Education Committee is working on this idea as it's major project for this year. It is also worthwhile noting that, as from next year, Victoria University will completely abolish end-of-year exams in all stage one subjects, this being the first step in a process of total abolition at all stages.
- That NZUSA asks all constituents to call upon all lecturers to:
  - justify their present teaching techniques,
  - examine the relevance of the content of their courses to the present-day world and its problems,
  - and relate both of these to the mental and physical skills which the course is intended to develop.

This motion is basically an attempt to get lecturers to critically re-examine the courses they are teaching and ensure that the course can be shown to be relevant to today's society and the issues which it faces.

After the Education Commission had carefully considered and modified such motions as these until they were finally in a form acceptable to most of the delegates, we were then forced to watch the Presidents sitting down with the (apparent) express purpose of pulling each one of them to pieces. Fortunately, they were not always successful in doing this, so many of the motions were able to get through relatively unscathed. I am still at a loss to see why it was necessary at all. Surely the point of having a commission on a particular subject is so that it can make some rational and well-thought-out policies on that subject. subject is so that it can make some rational and well-thought-out policies on that subject.

Commission they may have then been able to understand the reasoning behind the motions we passed. As it was, only one of them came to one of the meetings and even he did not stay very long. (No, it wasn't Bill Spring).

As regards the Council as a whole, I feel that a great deal of time was wasted on minor matters of little overall importance. If it had had better direction and more efficient organization, it could have achieved twice as much in half the time. As Lewis Carroll puts it:

*"Here, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."*

RICHARD GYDE

## EDUCATION REPORT 2

May Council was much the same as Winter Council last year and undoubtedly will set the pattern for Winter Council 1971. Remits were put forward by one or two people. Those who did not put forward remits themselves but who came seemingly purely there was a Council meeting which required delegates, or to haggle over the paltry ideas of those who had any, probably will have as much to report to their constituents and of a similar quality to their participation in the proceedings. The reason some people did not participate by bringing forward remits etc was that the bureaucratic process of remits, plenaries, correct wording of motions and so on was fragmenting the spirit behind the concerns of the people until all was useless. I agree with this to a large extent but would add that for those who thought along these lines maybe they could produce, for the next Council, some ideas on how to reorganize it. The present structure cannot work while we have people who are uninformed and not prepared to get in and make it work, but until we get a viable alternative and get people to fully participate in the existing structure, NZUSA, at least with respect to education, cannot operate to its fullest capacity.

However, for some, and here I am thinking specifically of education, May Council had some good points, in that dissatisfaction with the present structure and how the Commissions were handled by the higher echelons was voiced. Also some of the discussions which took place both in and out of the Commission may have given some people a greater insight into some of the theory underlying education.

With respect to education commission because of bad timing or sheer disinterest, the presidents of many of the constituents, (including Auckland), never bothered to attend an Education Commission. These same people, being the ones to finally ratify or otherwise at plenary session the proceedings of the commissions, then deemed themselves, at plenary, sufficiently versed in the arguments and feelings of the commissions to discuss the remits before them. Perhaps I am being unnecessarily hard on the presidents. This is purely because they have full voting rights on all things. My comments, however, include everybody and some more than others. There appeared to be very little interest on the part of any one commission for any other, and little attempt to view each commission in relation to the totality of the ideas of all the commissions let alone the students they ere meant to be representing. Each commission, I feel secretly believed its end was the only end, and those ends which involved money or the government were more likely to get a hearing than those which did not regardless of the ideology behind the discussion. Also, once more reverting to education commission, whether it is because it is harder to be emotional and ideological about the process by which we become what we are, or whether it is because people cannot see education in relation to political issues such as drugs, womens lib., Viet Nam, education is lacking a vocal and attention gaining following both at constituent and at national level. This, I feel, is to some extent due to the fact that most of the people at university, and consequently at NZUSA level who have the ability to argue a case or create issues, go straight to SRC or similar groups where there is a greater opportunity for people who have ideas to rave about them without having to spend endless hours on unnoticeable work such as writing and addressing letters, filing bits of paper and so on. With Education Committee the reverse has happened. We have a number of good workers and no rational ravers or holders of great block theories. I wish the thinkers and talkers would devote more time to the process which is creating the people's mental, and as such its social, destiny.

WENDY ADAMS

## Bathing beauties to crash

Once again we are seeing the Miss New Zealand contest, where one girl is chosen to be the most beautiful woman in New Zealand. And for what purpose? To sell N.Z. overseas, and 'beauty' products within N.Z.

Don't you think it rather sad and sick the way women are used to sell things? Rather—the way women's bodies are used. For the girls in this competition aren't being judged on the merits of themselves as people—but as 'beautiful' bodies with incidental charming personalities.

Beauty contests are degrading to both the contestants and all women in our society, for they highlight the female role in society as being decorative and passive—as opposed to the active and productive male role. They treat women as animals, measuring their bodies; by superficial standards of beauty. And all women are presumed to try and live up to these standards set by beauty contests.

This contest is a symbol of the way our society uses and oppresses women, for it points out a way for women to attain status, while commercially exploiting them at the same time.

Women have so few ways of gaining status in our society and this particular way—that of being judged for one's surface 'beauty'—is unfair, unproductive and trivial.

All women get out of it are false values, for in trying to play the Miss New Zealand role, one builds one's ego and status through surface beauty—what one sees in the mirror—instead of through true human values such as self-awareness and concern for other people.

Women's Liberation is not anti-beauty but anti-beauty-contest. An art dealer doesn't judge a Rembrandt with a Gauguin—he accepts them for what they are—individual works of art.

Why can't our society accept women for what they are—people. Instead of trying to impose these false standards of artificial beauty—and in so doing, commercially exploiting them.

Therese O'Connell

## DEMONSTRATION

There will be a protest of concerned women and Guerilla Theatre outside the Town Hall on the night of the Miss New Zealand judging.

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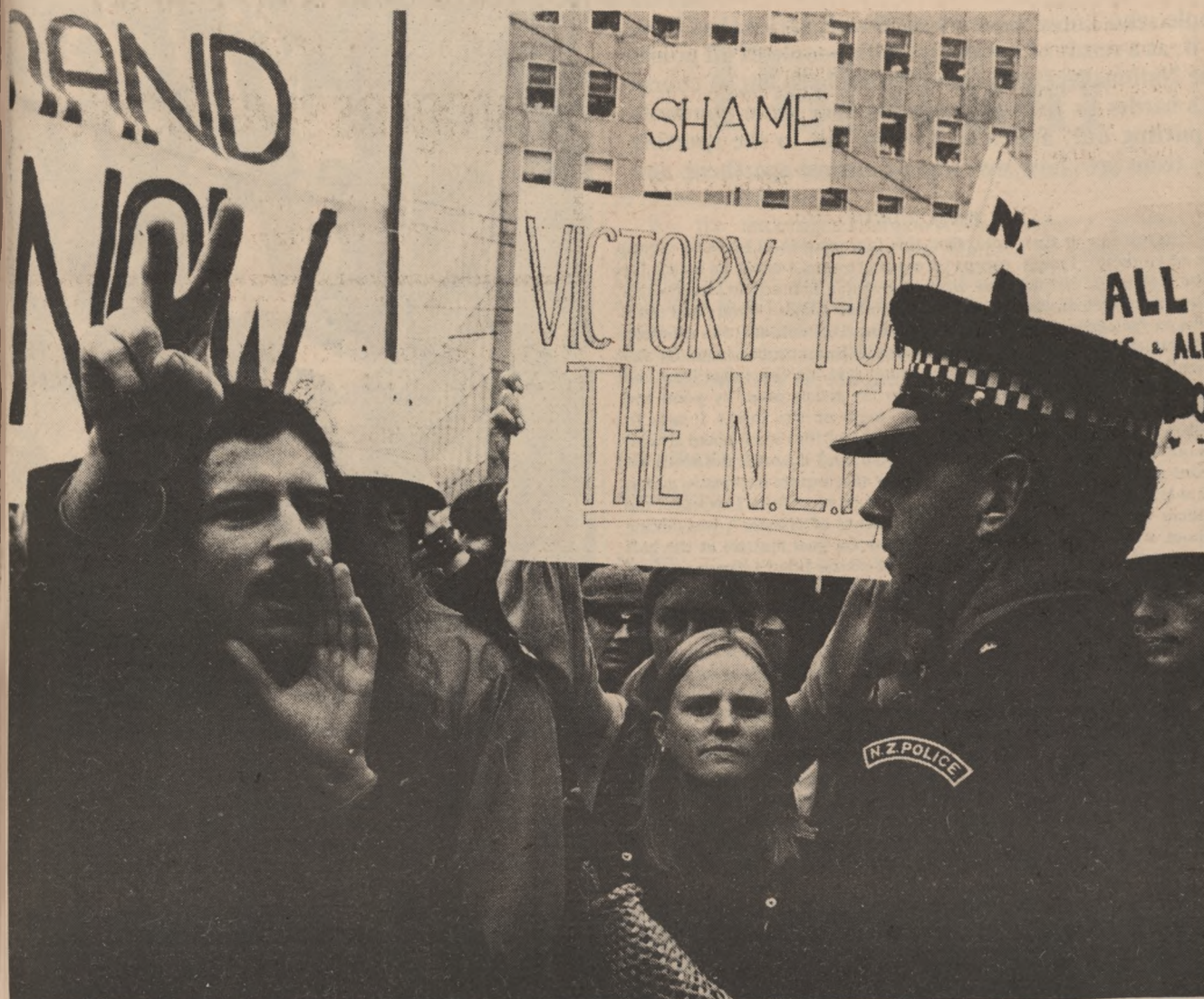
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# The direction of WAR AND PROTEST



PETER ROTHERAM

Over the last five or six years, with the world-wide upsurge of disgust at the US, NZ, and Allied presence in Indo-china, a long and often bitter argument has ensued in the anti-war movement over the strategy and tactics the movement should be employing.

In NZ over this same period the anti-war movement has been a rather haphazard business. Like all movements there have been high and low points—spontaneous upsurges like the week of activities around the Cambodian invasion and Kent killings; and a long series of pitifully small Friday night demonstrations. However, despite these inevitable fluctuations, the NZ anti-war movement has had no conscious strategy; there has been very few serious attempts to build the movement, to increase the number of people participating in it, and to broaden its organisational base.

But now we have April 30 behind us. For the first time a Mobilisation was actually built around a conscious strategy—a strategy of mass action. It was an attempt to drag the anti-war movement out of the blind alley it had been in for a number of years. And it obviously succeeded in doing this.

Although few would argue that the April 30 Mobilisation was not a tremendous success, it would obviously be wrong to assume that its impact and example means that all will be plain sailing from here on. Apart from the organisational problems of bringing that many people, and more, out on the streets in future, there can be little doubt that success or failure will depend more than ever before on one vital factor—strategy and tactics.

## ULTRA-LEFTISM

The following article is written in response to this development. I will be dealing with one of the main arguments around the strategy/tactics question, an argument with which we have already had some experience, but which is bound to gain in importance and intensity in the near future. I will be arguing in favour of the NZ anti-war movement continuing the example of April 30 and having a conscious strategy of mass action; and, in doing so, I will discuss and hopefully refute one of the opposing strategies often proposed for the anti-war movement, a strategy I will call, for want of a better term, ultraleftism.

Briefly, here are some examples of the types of action I would call ultraleft:

- The proposal that we should somehow shock the NZ soldiers returning from Vietnam by throwing our bodies (splattered with red water paint) in front of them as they marched up Queen Street.
- That we should have sat down in Queen Street during the demonstration on April 30. Because we did not do this the march did not make its point effectively enough.
- That we can stop the War by holding up business as usual, by sitting down in main thoroughfares, invading government offices, etc, etc, etc...

At first glance these and similar proposals for action often appear quite reasonable. After all, we all want to make our point effectively as possible, we all want to show people that we mean business. But one very interesting and undeniable factor flows from all these different proposals—they are all directed at the few people who have already radicalised, and tend to exclude the many whose political consciousness is just beginning to be raised. Not one of these proposals relates to involving more and more people in the anti-war movement.

Surely the most effective way we can make our point, the best way we can show we mean business, is by mobilising thousands of people from all sections of society and bringing them out on to the streets. Not one of these proposals is even vaguely aimed at doing this.

In fact, many ultraleftists openly admit that they support such activities because they do not think it is possible to build a mass movement. They see the vast mass of people as stupid, gullible, and unable to drag themselves away from their television sets. Hopefully



the hardest expressions to invoke joy in the hearts of all

the massive turnout on April 30 has made some begin to re-assess this 'theory'.

Ultraleftism is also to a large degree elitist. Because the kind of activities proposed usually relate only to the few who have already radicalised, these actions are generally planned by a tiny group. Large numbers of people can not be involved in the practical work of building them; new sections of society, new organisations, etc. can not be brought into the anti-war movement.

Obviously, when you follow this strategy the movement stays small, isolated, a radical fringe. In my opinion this was one of the worst mistakes the PYM made when it dominated the NZ anti-war movement. The kind of actions proposed simply did not relate to people whose political consciousness was just beginning to be raised. Remember the red flags, the 'Victory to the NLF' slogans, the 'Smash the State' chants. These actions related only to a hardened core, and therefore the anti-war movement never grew. It stayed small. It stayed isolated.

## HARD CORE DISILLUSIONMENT

Probably one of the biggest tragedies was that even members of this hard core often became disillusioned with the anti-war movement. They saw that the movement was not growing, they became bored with a pathetic little march down Queen Street every second Friday night, and so they often dropped out of anti-war activity altogether, and became pessimistic and cynical.

Very well, some will say, so you can criticise ultraleftism. But what does this strategy of mass action mean?

It simply means mobilising the maximum number of people involving them in collective action. We do not talk down to these people; we organise actions at their present level of understanding, attempting to involve more and more people all the time.

This is where demonstrations play such an important role—the peaceful and usually legal demonstrations so many ultraleftists are tired of. Of course the anti-war movement should not be simply a series of 'demos'; but that does not mean demonstrations have no place at all in the movement. For example, the April 30 Mobilisation was more than just a demonstration—it was a process of concentrated

anti-war activity over a period of at least six weeks. But the demonstration on the night of April 30 did play a crucial part in the whole Mobilisation, and similar demonstrations must play an important role in future action.

Those who cry 'Jesus, not another demonstration!' are looking at things completely subjectively. They are tired of demonstrating themselves and forget that demonstrations (massive demonstrations, not those composed solely of one or two hundred radicals) help other broader layers of people to radicalise. They forget the impact demonstrations can have on the average person. They forget that demonstrations are what helped many of today's radicals to radicalise in the first place.

An extension of this idea that demonstrations are pointless is the argument that we must find 'new forms of action'. Once again, few would disagree that the anti-war movement must constantly look for new tactics, new methods of presenting its case. This is the urgent task of any movement which wants to expand and grow. However, many of the people who propose these 'new forms of action' tend to counterpose them to the need to build a mass movement. They look to gimmicks and stunts as a means of by-passing the difficult job of building this movement. We should all agree that 'new forms of action' are needed, that publicity stunts, etc, are very important; but we should never see them as a substitute for building the mass movement. We should see them only as tactics, means by which we built this movement.

Unfortunately, it must be continually emphasised that it is only through mass action, where there are thousands of people acting collectively around a common cause, that people really feel their power, a power which raises their consciousness and helps them to understand their potential to end our complicity in the War. You could feel that kind of power in the 15,000 people marching in Auckland on April 30; you never feel it while participating in a small publicity stunt or carrying out some 'new form of action', however imaginative or 'new' these activities may be.

Now who are these masses of people I have been talking about?

## WORKERS

Obviously, it is the university students, the high school students, and so on. But above all it means the working class. This class, unlike other groups, has the power to physically force our troops out of Vietnam. It does not have to play games, run around and call the cops 'pigs', throw things, etc. It simply has to stop production.

While the university and high school students have an important role to play as the initiators of action, as the catalysts for more extensive action, we must remember that the working class is the most important section in the building of a mass movement. In sheer numbers, and especially in its day-to-day relationship to the cogs of this society, to the productive forces of this society, the working class has a power the students can never have.

A vitally important aspect of this whole mass action strategy is the kind of central demand around which we try to mobilise people.

A union struggle gives an interesting example of how to raise a demand. Does a union, in the course of a struggle, raise a demand like 'Smash Capitalism'? The men leading that union, along with a number of rank and file members, might actually believe in smashing capitalism. But do they raise that demand? Of course not. They raise a demand for higher wages, or better working conditions, or for the employer's books to be opened, depending on the concrete conditions of the struggle. They do this because although a few members of the union may understand what smashing capitalism means, they realise that many other workers do not know what such a demand means—it is an abstraction to them, it just does not relate to their present level of consciousness. How can you unite men around a demand which most of them do not even understand? On the other hand, a demand for higher wages, or better working conditions, or for the employer's books to be opened, is something the majority of workers can relate to. These are all concrete demands. Men can unite and struggle around them, and their political consciousness will rise in that process.

In the anti-war movement some propose a central demand like 'Smash US Imperialism'. A few people in the anti-war movement might actually comprehend what the term Imperialism means; but, like the demand 'Smash Capitalism', to most people it is an abstraction. They simply do not understand it.

Others want a central demand like 'Victory to the NLF'. This demand apart from turning away a large number of people who are just beginning to radicalise, but have not yet reached conclusions supporting the Vietnamese right to self-determination, is also pretty abstract. And it most certainly does not relate to the level of consciousness of the vast majority of the people.

Obviously, both the above demands are ultraleft in their orientation. Neither of them are directed towards building powerful mass movement. They satisfy the aspirations of a few radicals, and then, apart from being incredibly vague, exclude large sections of society which could otherwise be brought into the anti-war movement.

Bearing in mind the glaring faults in the demands raised by the ultra-leftists, and taking account of the lessons we can learn from a trade union struggle, we can therefore say that the anti-war movement must have a central demand that is concrete, that relates to people's consciousness as it stands at the moment, and allows us to involve and mobilise as many people as possible.

## WITHDRAWAL

The only demand which fits this bill is 'Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal'. It is not an abstraction. It is concrete. And it gives us the opportunity of building massive actions which involve the maximum number of people—from the Christian pacifist, to the Marxist who supports the Vietnamese revolution. All anti-war forces, barring the most sectarian, can work together around this demand.

The April 30 Mobilisation saw a qualitative change in the NZ anti-war movement. A year or two ago the maximum number of people we could mobilise in NZ amounted to little more than five thousand. But now we have accomplished the seemingly impossible—we have had thirty-five thousand people out marching on the streets in opposition to the War! With anti-war sentiment growing throughout NZ, there is no reason why we cannot mobilise that many people, and more, in the near future. But it will not happen as the result of a tiny group printing a few thousand leaflets and calling a demonstration. It can only happen if we build these actions over a lengthy period of time, involving as many sections of society as possible. It can only happen if we have a conscious strategy of mass action.

We must face the fact that the strategy/tactics question will play an immensely more important role in the NZ anti-war movement than ever before. This will mean being able to identify the shortcomings of ultraleftism, and recognising that the adoption of such a strategy would lead the movement back into a blind alley. It will also mean acknowledging that if the anti-war movement is going to have the power needed to force an end to our presence in Indo-china, it simply must have a strategy of mass action.

## EDITOR'S NOTE:

Although my sentiments differ somewhat from Mr Rotherham's, I must admire Mr Rotherham's clarity and organization. 'Ultraleftists' and other Leninistic slurrings are invited to reply to Mr Rotherham.



# Apartheid: a player and the question of colour

An address delivered by Tony Abrahams during his recent visit to New Zealand.

John Woodroffe laboriously transcribed the text for Craccum.

Now tonight I'd like, with the tolerance of people who know more about South Africa than I do, to talk a little bit about apartheid, as I saw it, as I got it, as a result of interviews with people of all points on the political Spectrum in South Africa; including the Nationalist Government Politicians, but of course with a greater emphasis on the opposition, because it's harder to get their point of view from handouts and glossy magazines the Government are expert at putting out, and then to link this to the sporting sphere, and what I saw and what other members of the team saw, how we came up against apartheid, and link it a little to the New Zealand issue.

We've discovered in Australia and no doubt it's the same in New Zealand up to a point, that a lot of people think that the system goes to separate toilet facilities or whatever, and don't understand at all the thorough going nature of it, the basic unworkability of the policy, or the result it is bringing about.

I interviewed, I suppose, with formal and informal interviews some three hundred people. I think probably more than a person who lives in South Africa I was able to get a pretty good idea of what was going on in South Africa and I suppose I say that as a forerunner to people who may ask me questions along the line "How could you possibly know if you've been there for only three and a half months? I've been there all my life and I say it's too complicated."

This is always amusing in a sense for if you haven't been there you'll get the same person saying "You haven't been there." So each time they demand that little more of you and try to pull the cup from under you in that way. I feel as a consequence of my interviews, as a consequence being travelled around South Africa to such a degree—we travelled about 17½ thousand miles in South Africa—that, more than a lot of white South Africans, perhaps more than the vast majority; I got a chance to see South Africa as it really is. I found this is in arguments with White South Africans that they did know very little of what was going on in their country because as White people they tended to have only Servant-Master contact with the black person in South Africa and the non-European person generally.

## BANTUSTANS

In relation to the large proportion of the population namely the African section of the population which numbers around about 13 million out of a population of 20 million (consisting also of coloureds, about 600,000 Indians and 3½ million Whites,) in relation to this large proportion of the population, the Africans, what is ultimately envisaged is the division of a certain section of the country into what are called traditional homeland areas or Bantustans; and when these are finally created the idea is put that the African will be able to develop in these areas in his own way, to his own standard and without interference by what is called petty apartheid, by a rigorous system of laws which harass the African at the moment; and even, I think, the South African government will admit this is the case, that the African is harassed at the moment, but on the basis of the fact that these Bantustans or homeland areas are going to be established, the South African government, in the Republic of South Africa, outside these homeland areas treats the African as an immigrant. Now in a sense, I suppose, that's wrong because not only does the African not have any rights—I suppose it's true to say he has anti-rights; What this means and what I saw and what other members of the team saw is, for example, he has to carry a pass. Now the pass book was the catalyst to the massacre of Sharpeville in 1960 in which the South African police panicked at a police station at Sharpeville and machine gunned 69 Africans and wounded another 180. This was as a consequence of a peaceful demonstration against those pass laws. Now the pass book is not a sort of passport. What it does is to annotate every single factor about the African—whether he's paid his poll taxes, whether he is entitled to stay in a certain area, what his work is, how long his contract is, where he belongs to as far as a reserve area is concerned, what his race is and so on and so forth. And it is said as a consequence of these, because they are so technical, because it's so easy for them to be out of plumb, that around about 2,000 Africans are arrested every day. As Helen Suzman told me it is an interesting figure that 88,000 Africans are daily in prison in South Africa. Now this is in a population of 20 million people, whereas in Britain with a population of around about 50 million people there are only around 25,000 people in prison daily.

## SIRENS AND CURFEWS

This is one reflection of South African society which Mr Vorster tells us is essentially a peaceful society. ... When we were in Bloomfontain for example, as know doubt the All Blacks heard also, you'd go to dinner each night with the sound of a wartime siren ringing in your ears which rang at 8.30 and then again 8.45 and after this time any African in Bloomfontain would be challenged by the police and if he didn't have permission to be there because of the nature of his work then he'd be arrested. Now this is all part of apartheid, all as a result of the apartheid system. What else follows? Well anyone going to South Africa, if he has eyes to see the results of apartheid are evident in that system of laws which is called petty apartheid, a whole rigorous system of laws which completely divides the races, on the grounds of the colour of their skin. It begins with that act, The Immorality Act, which says that making love across the colour line is immoral, making love on one side of the colour line is OK, I suppose you could say this is moral, it is only immoral if you are of different races. This is a representation of the phobia that South Africans have about race, the white South Africans that is, and especially the Afrikaaner, this fear of miscegenation. Also of course we and the All Blacks and any other team that goes to South Africa would have seen the every day well known aspects of petty apartheid. The separate park benches, the separate entrances to banks, the separate beach facilities and so on. What people don't often realize that to mention separate does not mean equal and it doesn't necessarily mean the blackman or the non-European has facilities. In relation to beaches for example, in Capetown the White population is not the majority of the population in this city but it has 75% of the beach area and the Black and non-European beaches only begin at a distance well removed from town; and as the President of The Progressive Party in Capetown told me the beaches are not safe by any standard. These are just little aspects of apartheid that are easy to see, but which it seems, so many White New Zealand and Australian business men going to South Africa and being shown around by guides, being feted by the White South African government or by white organisations, either refuse to see or don't see. You only have to look below the surface and you see those things, and you can't remain convinced any longer that apartheid is a good thing, or that it works, or that it provides any body on either side of the colour line with the opportunity to live in a normal social way. Whether there were two facilities, one for white, one for non-white, it was invariably the case that the non-white was less, and often it was the case that it didn't exist at all. Whenever anything needs to be done, whenever anything needs to be carried the Black man is looked for.

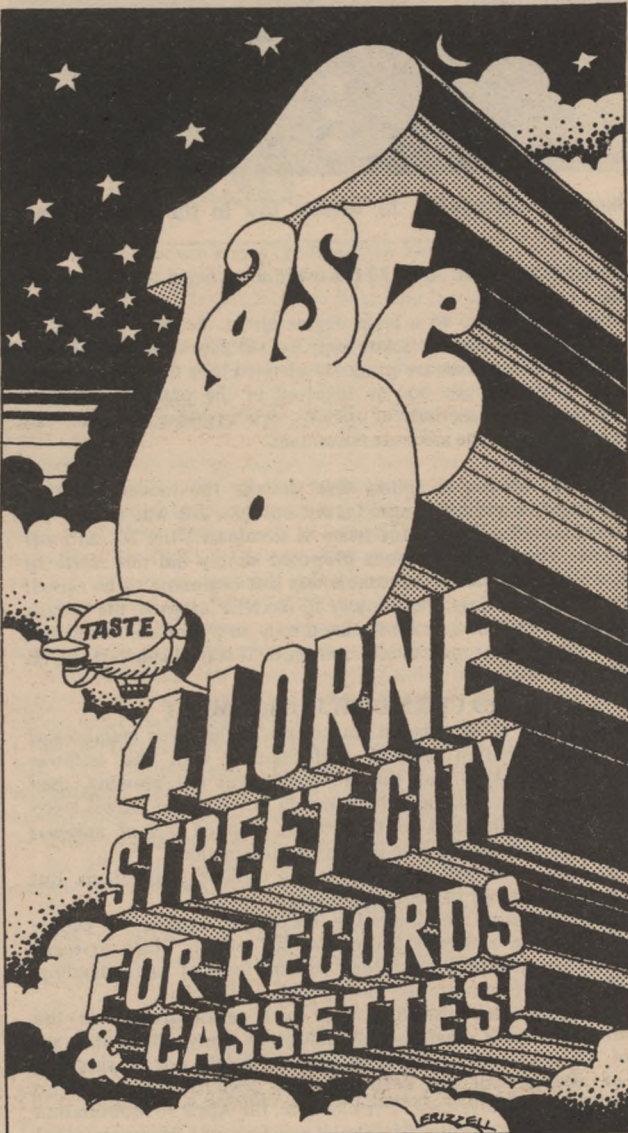
## EDUCATION

In relation to their education this (domination of black by white) is very evident. I might digress for a minute here. I wrote an article for the Melbourne Herald a few weeks ago and in that article I mentioned the difficulties of education for the average African family and some one in the audience in a later debate came up with this as a question against me, with something that they'd been primed with by the South African Embassy and this person gave me this letter later and the South African Embassy had taken my article point by point and written down their own version of some of the things I said. In relation to education they mentioned the fact that somewhere around 6 out of 7 African children are at school; and if you're not really on your guard you'll settle for this and say that's quite impressive and in fact this point demonstrates a great deal of what John Lawrence, the fellow who wrote a book called "The deeds of disaster", was talking about when he said the South Africans are past masters at the half truth rather than the blatant lie. Now of course I don't like sneers and if you're expecting me to give emotional stories of what we saw and heard on tour you are going to be disappointed because I don't have to resort to this and I don't like to in the sense that only after a string of these stories can you get any discernable pattern of racism; because I don't think in any society you can bring out individual stories can say "look, this is representative of the society, isn't it bad." You can do this in relation to South Africa but it's not my method and it's not what I like to do. But in relation to the South African government I think it's fair to say that they have followed and assimilated the use of the tactics of propaganda used by Germany during the war, Nazi Germany with a number of members of the cabinet and the Prime Minister members of the Auswienland during the War which was a Nazi organisation and undoubtedly they're using this sort of tactic too, in relation to some of the things they present in relation to South



John Woodroffe ..... dedication will include transcription

Africa. Now as far as the number of children at school are concerned what isn't said when this figure is given to you is that after two years the drop out rate is somewhere around 50% and if you don't believe me have a look in the Institute of Race Relations Handbook for 1968, which will show you these figures and show you the appalling



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drop out rate, the appalling method of teaching of these children with what is called a double session being an official educational policy, that is, so many children go to school in the morning, and that teacher doubles for a second session of three hours, with some of the children if they're young enough being too tired to take part in the second session and the teachers efficiency being debilitated, of course the teachers efficiency is considerably debilitated anyway—she usually hasn't got a degree because she hasn't had the opportunity to get a degree and the child's efficiency is debilitated by other factors, like the absence of a proper diet, like the absence of money to get text books, and the absence of parents at home to see that it goes to school at all. These are all aspects of apartheid and they are not things I'm pulling out of a hat, being the general rule rather than the exception.

ONLY APARTHEID SPORT

Everybody should know all sport in South Africa is apartheid sport there are facilities for white there are facilities for non-white. For the whites, South Africa being the strange fanatical sports country that it is, the facilities are fantastic. There is no other way to describe them. There are tremendous sports facilities, amazingly good press coverage, all the best money can buy in terms of adequate diet, in terms of sports equipment and of course, until recently, international sporting competition to have the abilities of anyone who is any good at sport to a point where he would be an internationally competitive sportsman. In relation to the blacks it is the reverse of all those things, absence of good facilities, absence of good diet, certainly an absence of leisure time, absence of money, absence of press coverage. We saw in location areas what constituted a soccer field—this was just dust, it had stones on it and there were a number of kids trying to kick a ball around. This is what they mean by having separate but equal facilities. But it went further than this because there is also the question of absence of competition. Now I don't understand what Dr Craven or the NZRFU or the ARFU or anyone else means when they tell you there aren't Africans or coloureds good enough to be in Springbok rugby or cricket sides or any other sport. Incidentally it's interesting to note this is what Ritter von Halt said in 1936 about the German Jews for the German Olympic team—that there weren't Jews good enough to be in that team. It's a classic cry and because its one of the things that can't necessarily be proved the person who said it often thinks its going to be successful.

(Mr Abrahams here instanced the careers of several black and coloured sportsmen who have been successful in international sport).

Anyone that's been on a sporting tour of South Africa will tell you that there is a political use made of you. I've checked this out with a member of the British Lions that's in this country at the moment (\*Mr Abrahams withheld the name but it is available from John Woodroffe if anyone doubts the authenticity of this statement) and I've checked this out with the French team, I've checked it out with the Australian team who went to South Africa in 1963, and certainly by mutual consent it was the case on our tour that South Africa does make political capital out of the presence of a team in the Republic and the continuing sports ties with particularly a rugby team. Now this was very much in evidence in South Africa in one way for instance after match receptions there were constant attempts to liaise South Africa and Australia in fields far wider than the sporting sphere and I gather that this happens here with His Excellency the Ambassador for South Africa in this country who says things like "Let us not lose the friendship made in the trenches during the war", or something to that effect, forgetting of course that his own Prime Minister was busily trying to sabotage that friendship at the time and was interned for just that reason. If you really question the All Blacks on this you might find that some of them who are more honest with themselves would tell you that this does go on. They will also tell you that in newspaper articles there is an attempt to take comments of a complimentary nature by teams when they go to visit Sharpeville, how they use these visitis to say these teams went along as ambassadors for their country, how in other ways you're seen almost as political representatives of your country and by being there you are impliedly tolerating or openly accepting apartheid. This is one of the ways why I and other members of the Wallabies finally concluded it was impossible to continue to play against South Africa.

SEGREGATION

By and large the order of the day (in attendance at football matches) was segregation rather than all-whiteness though the Blacks and non-Europeans generally ere always put in the worst sections of the field, behind the goal posts, usually behind corrugated iron. Twice or three times on tour we saw the use of police dogs against these people who support to a man the visiting team as their sole legitimate means of opposing apartheid, I suggest, and the use of dogs and truncheons was I thought unnecessary. A quiet police rebuke would have been all thats necessary, the presence of a few constables would have sufficed. Once the Africans were hunted out of trees in Petersburg in Northern Transvaal because they were not allowed into the ground and were trying to watch from the trees outside the ground. In 1963 the Wallabies in their last test had the experience of seeing at least four blacks shot and possibly up to 12, no one knows, when the police fired into the crowd late in the game.

Now what are we going to do in a situation like this, wear blinkers as a sportsman, pretend that you're just playing sport or is this apartheid in the sporting sphere. Is it a situation which as a sportsman

you shouldn't be involved in accepting particularly as an Australian or New Zealander or are you allowed to go on pretending that you are non-political and you are just playing sport. Isn't this apartheid in the sporting sphere? I suggest that it is, and I suggest that you can't be a sportsman under these circumstances, you've got to be a human being, you've got to be an individual before you're a sportsman under these circumstances and if these two things are incompatible, and they are in this situation and that's of course the direct reason why I and other Wallabies made their stand and we don't see any way around that.

Petition

To the Speaker and Honourable Members of the House of Representatives:—

We, the undersigned, respectfully present a petition urging the House to censure the Minister of Finance, the Honourable R.D. Muldoon, for permitting his image to be employed in the promotion of a commercial product. The petition is undertaken with special reference to an advertisement for a well-known brand of gin appearing in the Auckland Star on 6th and 13th May, 1971.

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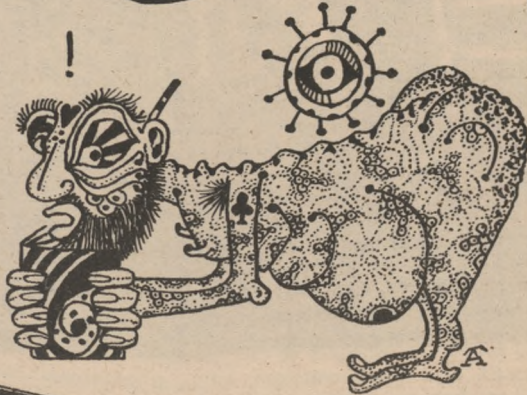
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Containing the Gov't

The Public Service Association on 21 May accused the Government of being responsible for the economic losses which follow from the British shipping lines' decision to cancel container cargoes on the N.Z./U.K. run.

The Association's President, Mr S.J. Rodger, said that the Government had consistently rejected proposals to establish a State Shipping Line for New Zealand, and the country was now reaping the consequences.

"The Government's refusal to set up our own line has meant that over the years the country has had to negotiate from a weak position over shipping freight costs and charges. Shipping costs to New Zealand have escalated phenomenally over the past ten years and have been a major element in contributing to inflation in this country," he said.

Mr Rodger said that the Government's failure to obtain watertight commitments from the British lines about their container shipping proposals meant that the Government had wasted millions of dollars of taxpayers' and local body money. "No amount of official optimism can obscure this," he said.

"Government approval was required before the Harbour Boards embarked on their costly port facilities schemes in expectation of a N.Z./U.K. container service, and it was a serious folly to have let these works go ahead while there was any possibility of the British lines reneguing," he said.

"The Government stands convicted of negligence," said Mr Rodger.

He said that the Government's blind faith in private enterprise solutions to national problems had prevented it from seeing the economic and political advantages of a State Shipping Line which had long been apparent to those countries which had them. "In this case the Government has been protecting the interests of overseas monopolies at the expense of the New Zealand public and local agriculture," said Mr Rodger.



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## Tapela writes to de Nave from Francistown

Dear Kathryn,

I am writing from Francistown 59 miles from the border with Rhodesia. It is a small town but has been likened to Budapest during the last world war. Francistown is the spy centre of southern Africa. On weekends apparently innocent 'tourists' fill the only two hotels and mingle with the innocent crowd. Sometimes they overplay their enthusiasm for racial harmony. These are South African and Rhodesian spies. Even the Portuguese have penetrated this far from Mozambique. Francistown still maintains a refugee camp. You will probably remember that in 1966 I stayed at this refugee camp for five weeks. The place is shabby and depressing.

The refugees in Francistown are forgotten people. One young man from Rhodesia has been staying here from April last year and still the prospects for his rescue look dim. He has a Cambridge School Certificate and has tried to secure scholarships in vain. I wrote to Michael Law to find out if NZUSA could do something for him. I think this is a cause Auckland students could champion.

You will probably be interested in my general impressions of Africa since I returned. I must say conditions here have sobered me quite a bit. Within weeks of my arrival my excitement progressively faded. First there was the Commonwealth Conference in Singapore and Mr Heath's stubborn stand on the arms-sale-to-South Africa issue. It didn't bother me much because African states stood together uncompromisingly opposed to Mr Heath. Then as the delegates were returning home from Singapore there was the ill-fated coup d'etat in Uganda. One voice (even if it was only a voice) from Africa was silenced. Now the Amin regime in Uganda tries to give an impression of liberality. Do not be deceived. Amin rose to power over the bodies of hundreds of people some of which were found floating on Lake Victoria and the River Nile. Because he is trying to marshal some support he goes all the way to resurrect feudalism—reviving Buganda chauvinism, by bringing Frederick Mutesa's body from England. Milton Obote like most other African leaders is not my ideal but he is not to be compared with the semi-literate junta that now rules Uganda.

Africa is currently passing through a very uncertain phase in its history. The leadership which took over from the imperialist powers seems not to have outgrown its politics of protest. They tend to make foreign policy a major issue. I think they should concentrate more on internal development and strengthen themselves silently in preparation for the coming showdown with the white regimes of the south. Sooner or later this must come. But of course a lot of Africa is not ruled by those who led their country to independence. A lot are ruled by military juntas who overthrew the initial leaders. In most cases the military have had a retrogressive effect. Where there has been nationalisation to combat neocolonialism military rulers have often restored foreign control of industry in a bid to secure support from the capitalist powers. Needless to say that army leaders often have a very low political consciousness. One hopes that the next step will be the awakening of revolutionary political consciousness among the masses. This is almost nil at the moment but is bound to rise sooner or later because African society is at present stratifying into classes. Distribution of wealth or poverty is very uneven. In a country like Botswana (a very poor country) wages range from nil to R400 (about \$400) per month. For social change this is an advantage or a disadvantage depending on whether you accept revolution, because it hastens social conflict.

Africa south of the Zambesi presents different problems. These are generally known in NZ although many people tend to be sceptical about the brutality of these regimes. In spite, for example, of the progressively fascist legislation of the Rhodesian regime, a big section of NZ society tends to think that there is a significant difference between the Vorster and Smith regimes. The truth is that the two

regimes are using different methods to attain the same results. For example African representation in the Rhodesian regime is destined to remain 15 in a House of 65. It is obvious that the 15 cannot effect change within the parliamentary system. They are there as show pieces to deceive uninformed world opinion. Rhodesia may as well have no African representation like South Africa.

### DE FACTO REGIME

The Rhodesian regime is now fully entrenched. Like South Africa they have matured so much that they are no longer paranoid about press censorship. The Rhodesian Herald often makes better reading than the NZ Herald. This loosening of censorship illustrates the confidence of the regime and its belief that it has become invulnerable. The projected talks between Rhodesia and Britain are bound to fail unless the Heath administration decides to abandon principle and recognise the independence of the regime. Press commentaries in both South Africa and Rhodesia see no prospect of a settlement since, so far, the British Conservatives have stated their determinism to settle only when the five principles are made the basis of Rhodesia's future Constitution. These principles are:

1. The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed.
2. There would also have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendments of the constitution.
3. There would have to be immediate improvement in the political status of the African population.
4. There would have to be progression towards ending racial discrimination.
5. The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

These principles were laid down by Sir Douglas-Home (Conservative government before the Labour Party came to power in 1964.) With one additional principle, of little consequence, these principles were the basis on which Harold Wilson and Ian Smith negotiated. Since UDI the Rhodesian regime has progressively eroded all these principles and has created the infrastructure of an apartheid state.

These principles are, of course, not accepted by the Rhodesian African who do not want any guarantees which might give Rhodesia de jure independence before majority rule. Rhodesian Africans are only too aware of what happened to the entrenched clauses of the 1909 South African Constitution. There is no indication that those who forcedly seized power in 1965 with the sole intent of stifling African aspirations can be relied upon to keep good faith after they have assumed unbridled control of the state.

### INTERNAL REVOLUTION

It appears that no solution can be expected from the Anglo-Rhodesian dialogue if both sides act as they speak at the present. My view is that a solution will come about through revolution. I no longer think that Rhodesian Africans will have to invade the country from outside and hope to oust the Smith regime. The revolution will come about by the rise of popular unrest in the country. There are signs that this has already started. It only needs intensive sophistication. African exiles are betraying strains caused by frustration. You probably heard that at present they are occupied in bitter factional struggles. This is regrettable but not unusual because of the impatience that often divides exiles.

To the south of Rhodesia is South Africa, also grappling with the race problem. There is instability there that is making Vorster restless. Industrialists complain that inflation problems are directly caused by



Henderson Tapela

the lack of local labour utilization. South Africa lacks manpower because jobs are reserved for Europeans who are too few to fill the posts. Hence the exceptions that allow Coloured (mixed race) to do some jobs hitherto reserved for Europeans. This accounts for the splitting of the Nationalist Party with Hertzog alarmed that Vorster is selling out Afrikaanderdom. Vorster's bid for a dialogue with African leaders is an indication that internal pressures are mounting not only from the Africans but also from European industrialists and professional groups.

You remember our argument against the idea that a South African tour of the All Blacks including Maoris was a concession—the tour would give comfort the racist regime and not contribute to the disintegration of the apartheid system? Similarly, a dialogue with African leaders and South Africa, whilst she relegates her black population to the position of slaves would strengthen and not soften apartheid. One of the reasons for the South African 'forward policy' of course is the desire to boost the dwindling South African trade relations with African states.

Greetings to friends,  
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# Hart to date

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL  
OF H.A.R.T. LINCOLN COLLEGE MAY 13-17 1971

**Over-all Policy:**

THAT H.A.R.T. opposes all sporting contacts with South Africa until such time as apartheid is abandoned.

**Dialogue with New Zealand Sporting Bodies:**

Despite the irresponsible immoral and uncaring attitudes shown by many New Zealand sporting bodies to the question of sporting contacts with South Africa.

Despite the refusal of those sporting bodies to enter into any worthwhile dialogue with the anti-apartheid movement.

Realizing that is is without justification reason or excuse that these bodies are taking unilateral decisions which compromise us both politically as a nation and morally as individuals.

H.A.R.T. Reaffirms its policy of attempting to establish dialogue with those sporting bodies maintaining sporting contacts with South African sports bodies.

THAT H.A.R.T. urges those sporting bodies maintaining sporting contacts with South Africa to indicate their willingness to join with Government and the anti-apartheid movement in a top level conference to discuss all matters relating to the question of sporting contacts with South Africa. To this end, H.A.R.T. resolves to solicit signatures from prominent New Zealanders for a petition urging both sporting bodies and the New Zealand Government to join with the anti-apartheid movement in such a conference.

**Diplomatic Contacts with African Nations:**

Given that many New Zealand sports bodies, politicians and public figures are apparently unconcerned at the racial implications of many of their actions and statements.

H.A.R.T. therefore resolves to write to all African Heads of State, informing them of the apparent racist attitudes of many such organizations and individuals, with a view to persuading them of the need to establish diplomatic missions in this country.

**Action:**

THAT Area Officers do organize suitable activities for 31 May (S.A. Republic Day); and for 25 June (S.A. Freedom Day).

THAT the National Chairman do travel to all major centres within the next six weeks with a view to determining the depth of support for H.A.R.T.'s non-violent disruptive tactics.

THAT in the event of any South African team visiting this country, H.A.R.T. reaffirms its clear intention to do all possible to both make all members of the team unwelcome, and non-violently disrupt every fixture in which they play.

**Finances:**

That H.A.R.T. do hold a national fund-raising week, 14-20 June.

**Publications**

THAT H.A.R.T. regularly publish a magazine of comment on the African situation, and that this magazine be sent to those people and organizations in a position to change, in accordance with U.N. resolutions, this countries relations with South Africa.

THAT H.A.R.T. publish a booklet explaining clearly yet comprehensively, the reasons for our opposition to sporting contacts with South Africa. Such a booklet should be widely and actively promoted.

**Some Actions Requested of the New Zealand Government:**

That H.A.R.T. strongly urges the New Zealand Government:

(a) advise all N.Z. sporting bodies maintaining sporting contacts with South Africa to enter into dialogue with the anti-apartheid movement.

(b) to take all measures necessary to ensure that a top level conference between itself, sporting bodies and the anti-apartheid movement be held to fully and frankly discuss all matters relating to the question of sporting contacts between this country and South Africa.

(c) to call for a report from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which will discuss all political implications of the continuation of sporting contacts between this country and South Africa.

(d) call for a report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs which will discuss all the internal implications of the continuation of sporting contacts between this country and South Africa.

(e) withhold visa's from the all-white South African Womens Hockey Association's team due to enter the country this August.

(f) establish a Parliamentary Committee on Apartheid.

(g) to receive a deputation from the anti-apartheid movement to discuss these and related matters.



# IMPRISONED

## NOTES ON POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

According to South African Government figures issued in January 1971, there are 808 prisoners serving sentences under security laws. These are the known political prisoners. Of this number, 769 are African, 15 Asian, 14 White and 10 Coloured. They include Nelson Mandela and Bram Fischer, both serving life sentences; Herman Tiovo ja Toivo, the Namibian leader, and Dave Kitson, each sentenced to 20 years; Dorothy Nyembe and Dr Neville Alexander, sentenced to 15 and 10 years respectively.

The number detained under the Terrorism Act is undisclosed. This Act, passed in 1967, is retroactive to 1962, and the first case tried under it was that of 33 Nambians (South West Africans), among them Herman Tiovo ja Toivo, indicted on political charges in 1967. Persons detained under this Act can be held for an unlimited period: they are held incommunicado and are not permitted to see or communicate with anyone, including their next of kin or their lawyers. No court of law can pronounce on the validity of their detention.

The Dean of Johannesburg was arrested under the Terrorism Act in January of this year. Due no doubt to the outcry at his detention, he has been charged and released on bail awaiting trial. In February it was reported that at least 30 people were detained under this Act. These reports appeared in both South African and British newspapers. However, under the Terrorism Act it is not necessary for relatives to be informed and people may simply 'disappear'. At the trial in September 1970 of Benjamin Ramotse on political charges, it was revealed that he had been detained for over 2 years, having been arrested in 1968. His wife did not know of his whereabouts until he was formally charged.

Public opposition to the treatment of political prisoners was first shown in the case of Mrs Winnie Mandela. Detained with some 40 others in May 1969, she and 21 of the detainees were acquitted. They were immediately rearrested and again detained under the Terrorism Act. This received wide publicity and led to a series of public protests throughout South Africa. People from many walks of life, including particularly students, churchmen, lawyers and academics, participated in these demonstrations.

In September 1970 Mrs Mandela and her co-accused, now numbering 19 (3 had been released), were again brought to trial and again acquitted. This time they were freed. They had spent over 16 months in custody. Soon after their release 14 were served with banning orders and Mrs Mandela, in addition to being banned, was placed under 12-hour house arrest. The banning orders prevent her and the others from attending social gatherings or meetings of any kind during the next five years. Since then, Mrs Mandela has been sentenced to a year's imprisonment for not complying with her banning order: she is appealing against this sentence.

A significant development within South Africa has been the recent establishment of a National Committee for Clemency. The Committee has been formed to campaign for the May 31 amnesty, announced by the South African Government in connection with the 10th anniversary of the Republic, to be extended to include political prisoners 'languishing in jail for convictions deeply held'. Its chairman is an Indian, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, who is married to Gandhi's granddaughter. Amongst its members are Mr Gordon Bond, President of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, the surgeon Dr Christiaan Barnard, the novelist Alan Paton, the Afrikaans writer Andrew Brink, Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr D.D. Wollheim, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and many other churchmen, and many academics, including some from the Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch.



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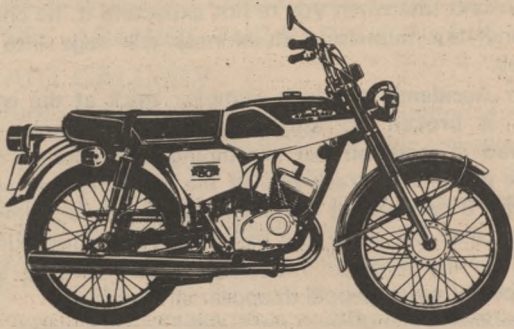
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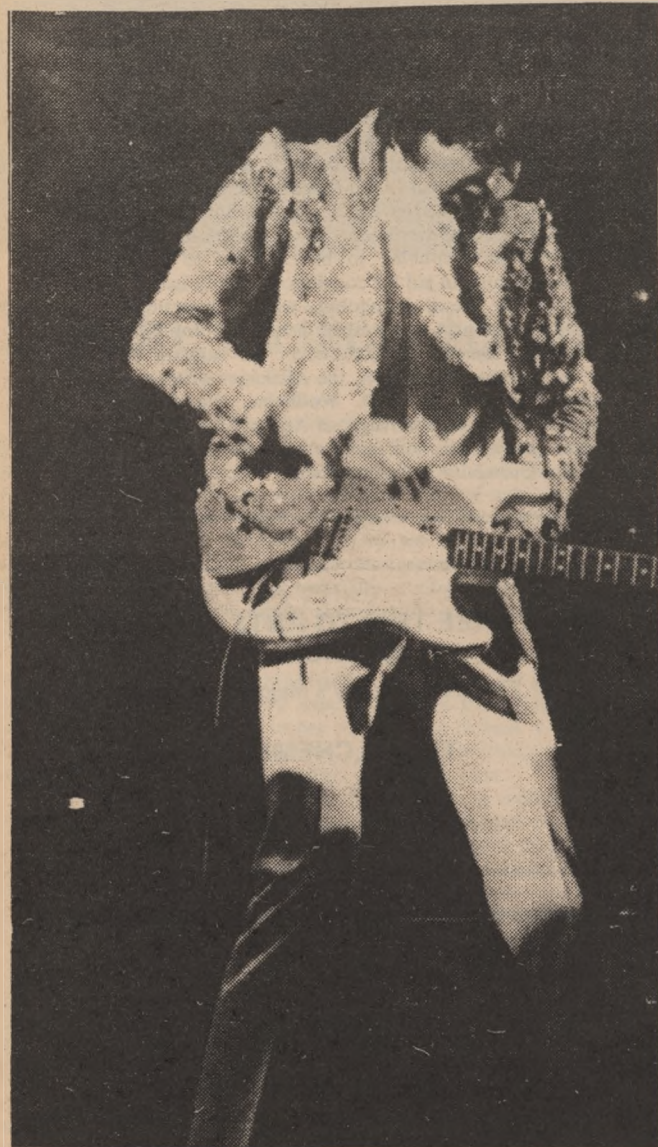


# hanly's creation and the academic flyspots

## HOLLYWOOD DREAM THUNDERCLAP NEWMAN / POLYDOR / TASTE

This is a pretty nifty little record. But it's going to be passed over by all you record buyers out there because it hasn't been hyped, it doesn't have any big stars playing, and it doesn't show you the way. Most people what with everything changing so quick and that, with no time to consolidate your attitudes towards anything, want to be told which is the way to go. This record won't do that because it's reflective in its approach—what I mean is—these guys aren't trying to innovate or be original for its own sake. Even though collectively its a pretty unique sound, individually you can easily tell who the musicians have been listening to. But it's an unpretentious record—nifty songs niftily played.

Thunderclap Newman has three members but they take a bass player on tour with them: Speedy Keen who plays drums, sings and writes all their original songs, Andy Newman on piano and other things like sax's, flutes, oboes, etc and little Jimmy McCulloch on lead, rhythm and acoustic guitar. They don't credit the bass player—it's probably Jimmy. But that's not all, because they do in fact have a star connected with them—Peter Townshend produces them and to a certain extent this is a producer's record, especially on 'Accidents' of which I'll talk later.



Producer Townshend ..... accidental thunderclap

Speedy's songs have that delicate gentle touch that only the English can get into—the English folk/rock bands like Fairport Convention, Fotheringay, Matthew's Southern Comfort etc are very gentle, even when singing Americans' songs. It must be to do with the fusion of black American music with the English song tradition. His voice really fits his music too, being high and dry.

Jimmy's been listening to the West Coast groups and his electric playing owes a lot to Jorma Kaukonen of Jefferson Airplane especially in the second track where there's an over-dubbed duo by him that's a lot like Kaukonen's duo in Hey Frederick on Volunteers. But that's alright—there's worse guys to model yourself on and what he plays is his own, it isn't a pale imitation. His obvious antecedents don't make him any less enjoyable.

Andy Newman, the 28 year old bespectacled, short haired, goatee bearded, expostman pianist is a counterpoint for the other two. All three play in a very understated way so that you never get overaware of what good musicians they are, but it's Andy's piano that really makes them sound unique—he's always catching you by surprise. His playing has the whole history of modern piano behind it, from English music hall and silent movie music through early blues pianists (so Dadson tells me) like Meade Lux Lewis and Fats Waller,

## PAT HANLY / CREATION WORKS / BARRY LETT GALLERIES FESTIVAL EXHIBITION

The paintings in this exhibition show the developments in Hanly's work over the last four years. Developments that began with a rejection of all his previous work, in favour of a method of working determined predominantly by chance. Previous approaches had led him into a cul-de-sac. To break out of this he began to work with as little influence of logic and preconception as possible. He painted, blindfolded in a darkened room by randomly splashing and dripping paint on to canvases. As a result of these experiments Hanly began to see the world in a different light. That which was presumed to be chance-determined (hence chaotic) was now seen to be part of a continuous event presided over by "some omnipotent factor". The catalogue suggests something akin to divine revelation. To some degree these works are attempts to diagrammatically illustrate the workings of this process and to suggest the interrelatedness of everything.

Two of Hanly's early paintings in this manner "Void, Lawless" and "Now and Forever" have a crude action painterly appearance. The scrawls and splashes of paint remain just that. Later, these same gestures represent energy patterns and entropic movements between molecules. As figuration enters the picture the random elements become subordinate to the more rational ordering of the picture surface. Ideas again take primacy.

In most of the paintings silhouettes of plant and human forms are projected onto a "molecular" background.

These are very vividly painted with loud, aggressive contrasts of colour. But because the plants/figures have little substance in themselves they suggest not so much an interrelatedness as man projecting his own image onto "chaos". It becomes repetitious in such paintings as "The Hand, Hibiscus, Real self-portrait, Siddharta", and "Mother and Child". "I AM" works better. A standing Leonardesque figure (similar to one of those in Hanly's Big painting) stands subtly integrated with the background like an element in an electrical circuit.

The strongest paintings are those where the subject matter is built up of solid forms rather than of filled in silhouettes. "Headland" is to my mind the best painting in the exhibition. The idea works at a peak, the strength of the painting lying in a strong overall image whose power to keep ones interest lasts beyond the initial impact. There is a greater amount of invention and improvisation with form in the plant and garden images which prevent them from becoming tedious in the way that the paintings with human subject matter tend to become.

These latter works are at once sentimental and brashly psychedelic, similar to the acid inspired posters and LP covers that flourished a year or two ago.

Hanly is essentially back where he started. It is an increasing tendency among many New Zealand painters to turn what ideas they have into mannerisms. To repeat themselves endlessly. The problem is not one that any single individual solution can solve.

GORDON CLIFTON

right up to Dave Brubeck in his Time Out etc days. The influence of Brubeck's time experiments can be heard in the amazing Something In The Air. During the piano solo, the handclapping to the counter-rhythm is similar to the old Unsquare Dance, on the hit parades in the very early sixties. Andy pares everything down, his numerous choppy little chords nestling in with Speedy's drumming and the bass so snappily—and just when you're not expecting it, he changes again and the humorous clumsiness will sege into soft arpeggios.

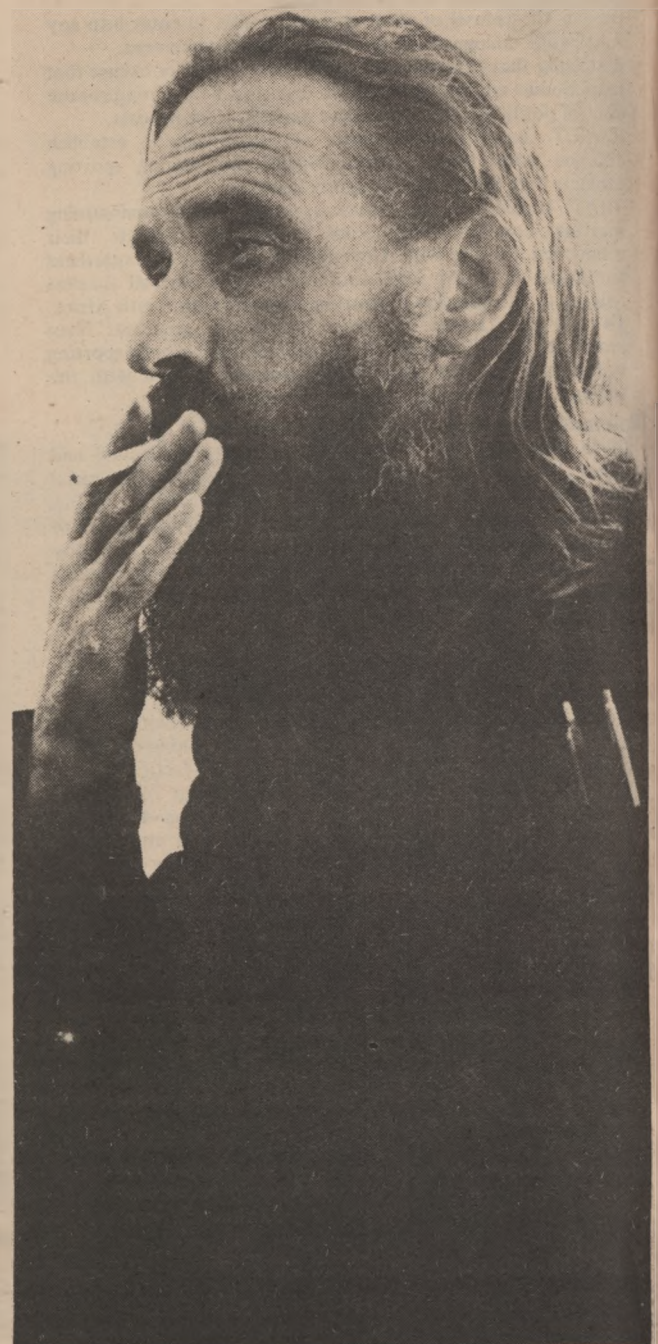
Even Accidents, the long complex track at the end of Side 1 is broken up into sections, each simple when considered in isolation but combining to produce a fairly complex piece. This track has all the elements they use—it starts with 8 bars of just the piano and Speedy's drums and then in comes the vocal, the bass and rhythm guitar kind of falling into the rhythm. The song's a very dreamy thing, about Speedy seeing people disappear all the time:

"I see Simon standing on the railway bridge spotting,  
He's waiting there to see the fastest train,  
Then I looked around, and he was gone, am I to blame?"  
"I see Jimmy climbing on the milkman's van laughing  
On his feet were a pair of Grandad's shoes  
Then I looked around and he was gone—are we to lose?"

From here on it's Pete Townshend's track—except for an 8 bar bridging piece by Andy on piano, the rest is sound effects behind this guy repeating over and over "Life is just a game, you fly a paper plane, there is no end" to the fade out. But you've got to listen to the whole track to get the significance of those last words, if there is one.

If you dig small things like nice old pocket watches and silent movies and enjoy the detail in things around you, you'll probably like this record too.

F. Bruce Cavell



Baxter ..... an imagist  
who must be read firsthand

## THE POETRY OF JAMES K. BAXTER

J.E. WEIR / OXFORD / \$1.25

This book annoys me like a fly, but I can't find much anger to thrust against it. Its adequacies are overwhelming. Its presumptions are subtle under your feet—walk into the foyer of the new Auckland Art Gallery and feel the comfort laid down for your seduction in that carpet. That poetry does, must, aspire to order, that Baxter's faith finally injects the equilibrising shot—the book is rank with conclusions inside presumptions disguisedly wrapped up as questions.

Father Weir—"he (Baxter) possesses an image-making faculty unrivalled by any other New Zealand poet . . ."

Father MacKay—"He (Baxter) has . . . an unrivalled gift for image-making . . ."

Presumably Mackay intends his laudation to be universal.

Flyspots of the academy. N.Z. litcrit as an industry may find itself without primary materials, but right now the Baxter branch of the industry promises to flourish a brief and glorious while. If you want academic litcrit read Owen Leeming's article *And the Clay Man?* in *Landfall* 97) it's 10 times as short as Weir's book and 10 times as interesting and astute. If you don't want to have the bluebottle circling your book, then read the Baxter poems just forward of Leeming's article, the collection *The Rock Woman* and the recent *Jerusalem Sonnets*.

—M.D. EDMOND



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## SENECA'S HUGHES /

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# singing of clouds and tearing out eyes



## BRUCE WOODLEY

Arriving Auckland for Concert Tour June 13 to play one concert only in Civic Theatre Auckland on Sunday night June 27.

27, lives in Melbourne, Leo.

Played guitar from an early age. Now plays nearly all instruments, prefers his 100 year old *Lacotte* guitar to those of the present for its toned qualities.

Began professionally singing folk music in Melbourne coffee bars. Formed the *Seekers* in 1963 went to London—did alright.

Wrote more than 50% of all music recorded by THE SEEKERS. Also penned many other hits "Red Rubber Ball" by Cyrle. "Cloudy" for Simon and Garfunkel. "Love is wine—Love is kind" also with Paul Simon a friend. Has written songs for Neil Diamond, Lulu, "Rattler", Cliff Richards, Mel Torme, Hermans Hermits and also for New Zealand group Fourmuyla, "Lady Scorpio" who also made it in England with the number. Bruce recently wrote "Boom Sha la" for a number one hit and this was covered in N.Z. by The In Betweens.

Bruce is a keen fan of Paul Simon, Neil Diamond, James Taylor, Jim Webb and Paul McCartney. In fact it was McCartney's solo album that persuaded him to try his own. To be released simultaneously in New Zealand on May 7th. Titled "Just Good Friends". Bruce wrote all the songs, plays nearly all instruments and produced it. He is bringing a well known collection of friends with him to provide the backing group for his concert tour in New Zealand. His new song "Lord Save The Land" will be the climax of his concert—it expresses Bruce's concern of what we are doing to the world and he believes that this is already beginning in New Zealand e.g. Pollution. It looks as though Neil Diamond might be recording it as his next single. The song is a very moving expression of Starvation, Defoliation, War and Pollution.



Woodley . . . . "My protest songs concern the environment"

## SENECA'S OEDIPUS / ADAPTED BY TED HUGHES / FABER & FABER / 85 cents

Fatalism can be brought down to a mere decree of the gods. From the outset, there is no doubt that Oedipus is doomed. How doomed and why doomed, is what the play declares. And declaim it does. Eliot was right in noting that Seneca had a very stylized theatre in mind, that actors probably sat in a row and stood to recite, then sat down again. The fatalism is condensed to oratory. In terms of theatre anyway. What Hughes had to do with his loose, poetic translation, was to preserve the formalisms of Seneca's vision and at the same time provide a vehicle that would not alienate modern theatre audiences. The temptation could have been to 'Shakespeareize' the play, to foist a convenient method of acting onto it. Hughes knew that was unacceptable. Fatalism had to lie in the smallest inflection, a hint of a twisting of the tongue. Had to insinuate itself into the audience.

show us  
show us a simple riddle  
lift everything aside  
show us a childish riddle  
i will find the answer  
is that an answer?  
show us

The idea is to make stoics out of every member of the audience. To have people sit and sullenly anticipate a tearing out of eyes, maybe a final conjugal castration. Oedipus, after all, had children by his own mother. Incest is a game of the gods. It is amusing to watch a son fucking his own mother, watching him tear out his eyes because of it, watching him come to grips with the final riddle, to realize that sweeping paragraphs of his own condemnatory oratory apply only to himself. So, making an audience into a group of stoics is a level of success, making an audience into a group of people ecstatically revelling in Oedipus and his fate, revelling with glee, wringing hands tightly together in hideous manic laughter—is a higher level of success.

he lifted his face with its raw horrible gaps  
he tested the darkness  
there were rags of flesh, strings and nerve ends  
still trailing over his cheeks he fumbled for them  
snapping them off every last shred.

Comedy you see. The reverse decor of anything is always what is sought for. Hughes sees this, sees the farcical nature of such intent tragedy. He knows that operating within an absurdity is very pertinent to drama. Eventually, only the gods can be blamed for their manipulations of humanity, their laughter is ultimately answerable. But to whom? The playwright can see through the gods' game. He makes the people of Thebes dance when Oedipus is deepest in his suffering. As if to say 'it's alright you know, I know what you're doing but you don't impress me one little bit'.

Seneca makes the point almost scathingly in another one of his plays. *The Media*:

Bear in mind that in those wide heavens  
Through which you fly  
There are no gods in any existence!

But it's a riddle too. Are the gods really such half-sided stupid non-entities? Does condemnation matter? Or existence? Or life for that matter? And in the case of Oedipus, might he not be better off anyway, blinded and banished? These are Seneca's tricks. Hughes only translates up to a certain point. He knows that each character is only a formal trick to fill up a play, that each character is an empty vehicle for whoever wishes to fill it.

But with fire and verve anyway. Hughes is having his little joke, gleefully watching horrific reactions. *Unity Theatre* in Wellington are going to try it. It might be worth 800 miles just to see what they can do. You could at least buy the book.

STEPHEN CHAN



## FRAGMENTS A MAGAZINE FROM CHRISTCHURCH

LIKE aesthetic titbits of everyday life—watch for the working man on the cover—watch for his silhouette hulk juxtaposed with pines and powerlines—like dig the paper its on like do you groove on twilit graphics, twigs moonlight leatherjacket guitarstrings and the unconscious porny wrap of a towel—like man let's make a revolution on your poor doorstep outa expensive paper, preraph photos and mindzapping changes of print—like, the overalled men in the park are beautiful if you catch them in silhouette at dusk—

LIKE, David Young and David Waddington, lets try and put it together, not to pastiche our urgent sensibilia-triva in a mock-up of today.

LIKE, Sonia Sanchez says—"Show me a revolutionary fuck and I'll send you my ass"—lay that by your heart Gary Langford.

LIKE poems should reify your speech, make your thoughts song, no need to argue with your blush self upon the page.

LIKE the magazine is transparent and the stuff in it too—  
—M.D. EDMOND



"This planet will die so slowly"

## PROTEST AGAINST THE PACIFIC EXHIBITION CITY ART GALLERY

Concerning the *Pacific Cities Loan Exhibition* currently showing at the Auckland City Art Gallery, we feel compelled by the low standard of the exhibition as a whole to publish our unanimous comment and in so doing to exonerate the Gallery from all adverse criticism which it will have incurred from such a venture. Such criticism should be directed towards the Pacific cities included in the exhibition who, by invitation and with a minimum of specification from the City Gallery, have selected work of a decidedly inferior nature to send from their permanent collections. Their response to Auckland's venture can only be considered at best a very half-hearted reply. It could quite easily be regarded as an insult that the Pacific cities should send works of such insignificance and creative dearth; that New Zealand will find even the work of 4th and 5th rate artists something of a revelation, is overtly patronizing.

On the other hand, it may be argued that the works delivered to the Gallery are genuinely representative of the cities taking part.

That the majority of paintings are consistently derivative can be interpreted either as being completely unrepresentative or, more likely, as an admission of creative poverty within those cities. In this way, the exhibition serves to illustrate a mannered and well-established academy and, as

a consequence, loses all intended relevance except as a vehicle for our enlightenment and assessment. It is surely significant that a work by Morris Graves, dated 1940, does not look out of place amongst work executed in the sixties.

Similarly it is indicative of cursory and inappropriate selection in answer to Auckland's request for representative works over the last twenty years, when the cities cloud the issue by diversifying the style, subject matter and date of the paintings to such an extent that it becomes virtually impossible for the spectator to view the exhibition in a comprehensible manner without continually referring to the catalogue in order to discover which works are to be viewed in an historical context. There is no doubt that the works of Morris Graves and Mark Tobey demand a different and more historical approach than do the recent works hanging on either side; and because of this they suffer to such an extent that they are invariably equated with the latter. Unnoticed is the fact that in context the Tobey and Morris Graves were highly original whereas their neighbours are greatly imitative.

Because of the poor response on the part of the Pacific cities, the venture conceived as a celebration of the city's centennial and the opening of the new *Edmiston* wing has fallen well short of its expectations. We believe it is important that such a comment should be registered so that the silent reception of the exhibition should not be regarded by the visitor as evidence of its success.

TEN ELAM SIGNATURES



## Slow redemption : Corso & Biafra

Children of East Nigeria suffered not only starvation during the Biafran War, but deprivation of educational opportunities. With peace, it was estimated about half a million had lost education during the years of war. About three quarters of the 4,000 primary school buildings in Eastern Nigeria were destroyed, and about 300 secondary schools were damaged. About 90 per cent of schools were devoid of furniture and equipment.

As the education system came back to life, many children had to carry their own wooden stools to school on their head. Teachers converted cement walls into temporary blackboards, and in some schools cement blocks served as crude seats and desks.

But for over 20,000 children, life is returning to normal. They now have a roof over their heads as they attend classes, and are being supplied with basic school equipment such as stools, blackboards and textbooks. They are among the first to benefit from the UNICEF-sponsored programme to rehabilitate schools and health centres.

New Zealand is financially contributing to this through Corso, to which the University Students Association is affiliated. Already 1,120 schools are receiving equipment, including a million and a half textbooks, and eventually 600 to 700 schools will have new roofs.

Local materials and labour are being used as far as possible in the programme which is proceeding at

the rate of a school a day. The aluminium and galvanised iron roofing sheets come partly from local purchases and partly from imports, and the programme is making very large purchases of local timber and other items. The work itself is done by 45 construction crews, who are paid in food under the "Food for Work" programme, for which the raw material is supplied by the United Nations World Food Programme.

Since the schools will also be re-equipped with locally produced furniture and bookcases, the programme is expected to have a stimulating economic effect by providing work for hundreds.

And the sight of new roofs on war devastated schools is one of the surer signs of peaceful days ahead for East Nigerians.

Corso made an initial grant of \$50,000 to help restoration of educational and medical facilities and additional funds have been channelled through UNICEF to assist the restoration of primary and secondary education services.



The efforts of Corso . . . . . so much more is to be done

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