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**THE WORLD'S
MOST ADVANCED
SOCIETY HAS
FOUND THE ANSWER
TO PEOPLE'S WAR :
ELIMINATE THE PEOPLE**

LABOUR IN '72

We might believe that for some several past elections the New Zealand people have been partaking in a travesty. After all, who can choose between two tory parties with almost inseparable involvements in mild social-democracy? In fact, the New Zealand people might almost be congratulated for distinguishing the one party true to its principles; the National Party of course, insofar as principles might be distinguished in its pragmatic and sidestepping meanderings. Really though, if political parties must be two-faced, conniving, untrustworthy, deceptive, irritating and amusing, they should at least attempt these goals with professionalism. The National Government has thus succeeded admirably, and its makeshift shadow, our true friend the Labour Party, keeps on trying.

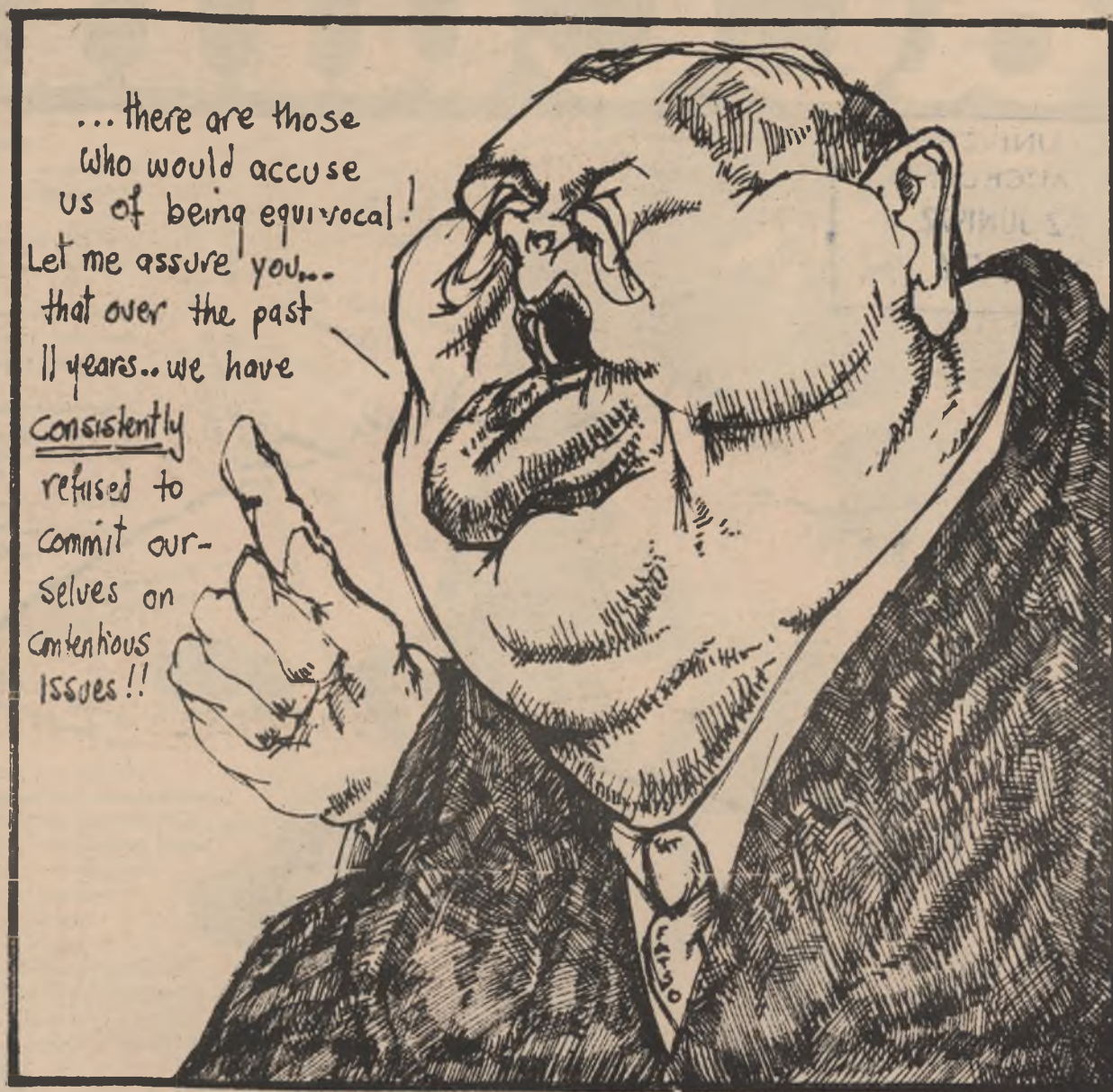
The picture that emerged clearly from the Labour Party Conference, was a studied but badly executed portrait of "how Labour might win in '72 if Labour sinks low enough onto its belly", which in the case of Party Leader Norman Kirk, might be a humour-filled spectacle. A classic picture of ineptitude in fact; after all, having dominated the 1971 Conference, Labour youth were meant to remain faithfully silent for 1972. "If you won't crawl, at least leave alone those who will."

Oh, but it was a marvellous Conference! Sitting blandly in press rooms, sneaking past door-keepers who would not accept Craccum cards despite the most cheery smiles (I wound up flashing a stolen Sunday News pass), being invited to lunches at Parliament to act as aberrant decoration, making the gossip columns of the Sunday Times (are Stephen Chan and Ngahua Volkerling really in love?), drinking free whiskey like it was going out of fashion, following suddenly the greater luminaries from bar to bar - hearing the true state of the union. I rather like Wellington.

Shall I be serious then? But how can this Conference be taken in true seriousness? Could they have been in earnest? Do they really believe their preposterous games? Will Labour win in '72?

No, Labour won't win that is; but I shall attempt to robe myself with my usual and impenetrable seriousness. It is widely understood, by those who have counted polls for millenia past (guess who!); or rather, singularly understood by he who has counted polls for millenia past and faithfully believed by all those who compassionately await oracles, that the recent electoral boundary changes distinctly favour National. This means (I am told - for I also await an oracle) that even if Labour were not combating so disadvantageous a popularity rating (42%, a small enough percentage to ensure loss of another

...there are those
who would accuse
us of being equivocal!
Let me assure you...
that over the past
11 years.. we have
consistently
refused to
commit our-
selves on
contentious
issues!!



two Labour seats), on absolutely equal footings of image and reputation it would require at least a 5% swing to barely give Labour victory; 7% to give Labour a workable majority. I am told (I believe!) that such swings are unlikely in modern electoral times.

It would seem then, that the certain Labour stance of piously liberal respectability during the campaign (distinguished with ingenuity from the National stance of piously benevolent respectability), could hardly provide the dramatic momentum needed to gain and consequently mismanage power. Do not disbelieve however! Only misbelief is required. In already respectable areas, Labour will propound endearingly progressive policies: Education and Social Welfare would both receive massive overhauls and fundings if Labour became the distributor of all things good for the soul.

The disturbingly prevalent signs of latent arch-conservatism (as a more pernicious derivative of Labour's glossy mild and surface conservatism) are confirmed when Labour's defence, finance and labour policies are scrutinized. Oh, but we might all write long essays then, on the deep subtleties that occasionally distinguish Tweedledum and Dee. International relations too: Vive La Suid-Afrique!

But here a drop of salacious undercover discovery (exclusive to Craccum!). We all know (those of us who even realize that this organisation exists) that the Socialist Action

League are good cheery lads, given to naive belief in Trotskyism and transparently clumsy attempts at political manoeuvring. Fine. One of S.A.L.'s t.c.a.a.p.m. was the lodging of an application for affiliation to the Labour Party. Alright. Now, when the matter was discussed at Labour caucus, what should President Rowling do but produce dossiers on every S.A.L. leader and activist, in support of a motion not to allow affiliation. Ah, but the Brigadier will Not lose his employment.

And of course, it was President Rowling and Vice-President Bennett (Labour's resident token

Maori) who castigated the youth delegates, privately admonishing them, in certain terms, not to press their claims too far. The youth delegates did of course. Congratulations Garth Houltham, who, on the night before the Youth Report was delivered with all its empty rhetoric and radical fire, was in a bitter and cold sweat, not to mention a raging temper. "Will I or won't I? Will I sink all prospects of a political future for the sake of a momentary stand for my principles? Do I really want to be an M.P. before I'm thirty?" Congratulations Houltham. Labour Party hierarchy has an indefinite memory.

suave Mr Rowling will be one of two things. Either Minister of Finance (dear Mr Tizard will be fopped off to a junior portfolio), or Leader of the Opposition. Such a daring prediction! One at a time: Tizard has not been coming across at all well as Labour's finance spokesman. In fact, he seldom comes across well as anything. And it's Rowling who's slowly beginning to take over Labour issues concerning finance. But the man's an economic conservative! More Muldoonery with a change in expenditure preferences only. And, naturally, carried off with a far more attractive image. American media politics are here at last!

But if gargantuan Normie tumbles at this election, he will certainly be deposed. Certainly not by the Party's left wing though; far too powerless though vacuously vocal. Oh no; but our only hero with a paunch and with a twinkle in his right eye, has carefully built up a power base and while quite content to serve Normie in an actual Government, really would find it unbearable to suffer the man another three years in opposition! From the ugly conservative to the one who uses Gardol!

And even though it has become the trend to satirize Brian Edwards, we might congratulate his stand too. A very strong and forthright stand for abortion law reform: a speech that required three extensions of time, that had Mr Kirk striding off the stage, that immediately completed his (Edward's) alienation from the Labour 'circle', that immediately alienated all chances of his election in Mirimar (75% Catholic).

On a whole, or should I say, in their entirety, attacks from younger delegates against the Labour brass were ineffectual, clumsy and irritatingly naive. David Shand, another poor young man of high ideals and destined to lose the contest for Wellington Central, made one such attack but made it in complete and forgettable isolation, having totally neglected to ensure follow-up speakers in support.

But back to President Rowling, who chaired most of the Conference sessions and who cleverly put a polished chairman's gloss over anything vaguely controversial: in 1973, our trendy and It was Rowling of course, who superbly choreographed the Conference debate on abortion (debate? more likely a carefully manipulated piece of theatre). The recipe: let it drag on for an hour; make sure all the nasty radicals speak first; copiously ignore the really dangerous radicals - just let Kedgley jump up and down for forty five minutes while looking every direction but hers; allow a build up of two speakers who are against abortion law reform; introduce the Norman Kirk, giving his only speech to a remit all Conference, and giving it with falacious figures, giving it for fifteen minutes without bell-calls; then ask the Labour spokesman on health, who doesn't want abortion law reform either, to give an 'unbiased' summary; then conduct a speedy vote while chortling at all the unsuspecting radicals who've just been trounced again! Absolutely marvellous stuff! Who needs a circus anymore?

Oh, and the dumping of Hirschfeld was choreographed too, but everyone knows that. A sign of absolute caution though. No risks for election year. Hirschfeld might not have uttered a radical word during his term, but he might in the future; and moreover, Hirschfeld tends to think too! Thinking, latently radical members of Bill Rowling's executive? Never!

It's also a more morose sign of misplaced faith, Riding into the Conference, that fine sparkling Wellington morning, leaving my breakfast of cheese and olives in my penthouse overlooking the harbour, Hirschfeld told me that he knew he was doomed to lose re-election. What could he do about it? The powers had moved and that was that. Needless to say, the man was bitter and announced his bitterness to the media; but some nights later, during my last party on my last night in Wellington, drunk and exhausted, I perceived our young man in a corner, busily pronouncing on the Labour Party as a viable institution for Real Change in '72.

Why should I try to be serious if I want to give up despair?

STEPHEN CHAN

UBS

SALE

GRINDS ON

NEWSFLASH

Craccum is reliably informed that

dashing, debonair, Phil Thwaites

renowned bookshop manager and

darling of the 3rd Light Mounted

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THE RUBBISH PROBLEM IN AUCKLAND

Local government never was much of an action-packed outfit, but now a new game has arrived to amuse our wise and knowledgeable leaders. It is known as "Bury Your Neighbour" and it is suitable for playing in any large city.

The "game" in question is the problem of rubbish disposal. This is not a new problem of course, (some ancient cities were buried in their own rubbish!) but only recently has it been important in New Zealand. Next time you take out the household rubbish try to imagine a rubbish tin 400 feet high and 400 feet in diameter. This is the size of the tin that would be needed to take the 1.6 million cubic yards of rubbish that Auckland households and industries produced last year. The volume of our exports is continually increasing (at this point in time, to complete the familiar quotation) so we can expect this year's rubbish heap to be even greater.

SURVIVAL

Rubbish disposal, something we too often take for granted, is a responsibility of local bodies (you have heard of them I presume?). Currently the most widespread method of disposal is with rubbish tips. For obvious reasons (if they aren't obvious go and find out for yourself) rubbish tips are put in secluded places where they are seen and smelt by only a few people. The problem is in finding suitable secluded places. In the past "useless" mangrove flats have been the prime victims. Nowadays we realise the value of such areas as an essential part of a harbour. Still, the local bodies can be comforted by the thought that San Francisco Bay was one third filled before there was sufficient public outcry to halt this reclamation program.

Rubbish tips in tidal estuaries have been justified by the promise of a nice playing field when the tip is full. All very well, but these wilderness areas are more valuable as they are in a city the size of Auckland than as large expanses of grass. Make a point of having a closer look at some of Auckland's remaining tidal estuaries before they all disappear. Anyhow, what we are not told is that land over rubbish tips is suitable for little but grassy expanses.

Meanwhile our local body officials search for holes in the ground in which to put the rubbish—largely a matter of praying and hoping. The answer to the problem, considered ecologically and economically, is with recycling the rubbish (i.e. using it again). Basically recycling involves the recognition of the finite nature of the earth. Instead of thinking of wastes, rubbish, refuse, effluent, etc. as disposal problems they are considered as resources. If you mistakenly believe that the earth's resources are inexhaustible consider the following points:

1. If resources are plentiful why do foreign mining companies prospect in such tabu New Zealand places as Coppermine Island, the Poor Knights, Egmont national park and the Fiordland national park?

2. In 50 years time (assuming current usage rates continue to increase exponentially as between 1960 and 1968) the world's resources of all metals except iron and chromium (which only last another 40 years anyway) will be depleted. Moral: sell your mining shares within the next 50 years.

3. In 30 years time the demand for petroleum will exceed the remaining reserves. This will solve the automobile air pollution



problem if nothing else does.

4. World phosphorous resources will only last another 60 years. After that it's goodbye to the farmer's best friend superphosphate.

5. A prime cause of the Indochina war is that South east Asia is one of the few remaining unexploited mineral resource regions of the world.

In spite of these facts the technologists cry "fear not!" One of their suggestions to delay resource depletion is to start mining the immense low grade ore deposits that make up the Rocky Mountains. This would work well, we are assured, on a "sustained yield" basis by removing one mountain per decade!

Whether world resources last hte next 50 years or the next 500 years they are finite and unless conserved future generations will suffer because of our thoughtlessness. Recycling is economically feasible in New Zealand since private enterprise is currently involved with it. An Auckland scrap metal firm works by picking bits of metal out of the Whitford tip! There are numerous small-scale businesses involved with the recycling of metals, glass, paper, and certain special items (e.g. rags and sacks). What we need now is a complete recycling program and this is something that the Auckland Regional Authority is investigating. There are a number of problems with this scheme, however. Firstly, although recycling is better for you, me and people in general, it reduces that all-hallowed quantity known as gross national product and thus is not compatible with the

growth-oriented policies of many industrialists.

Secondly, a satisfactory recycling program needs to operate on a regional basis and the eighteen boroughs, toru cities and one county in the Auckland area will not cooperate with each other. They prefer, instead, to keep their problems to themselves. Examples of problems are:

1. The efforts of the North Shore Drainage Board to improve sewage disposal facilities are being hampered because the six local bodies involved will not work together.

2. The Auckland City Council has stated that it opposes any ARA regional rubbish disposal plans.

3. Other local bodies are making individual arrangements ON A LONG-TERM BASIS to continue using rubbish tips (c.s. contracts with D. McL. Wallace Ltd).

The reason for the lack of cooperation is that working together on a common problem infers that local bodies are inefficient and inappropriate in the contemporary Auckland situation. The Auckland City Council has an extra interest for it considers itself the most important ruling authority in the Auckland area and competition from the ARA is not welcomed. If the public realises the truth about the matter this may be the end of our present system of local government.

Meanwhile our local body officials play kings of their own little castles and the rubbish gets deeper around us...

BRIAN FISH



THE IMPACT OF THE ARMCHAIR ON WESTERN THOUGHT

...in which the final result was a stampede on armchair wholesalers, which proved to be the ultimate disrupting factor leading to the collapse of Western Civilization.

A refusal by upholsteres to work more than five hours overtime per week led to chronic shortages of this essential commodity (in a labour-intensive industry!), with the consequent stultification leading directly to moral and intellectual bankruptcy.

However, Fred Boffin claims that the sudden and enforced change of shape of the bureaucratic bottom, as effected by the graduation to armchairs in the upper echelons of administrative structures, has been shown by psychologists to cause significant (degenerative) changes in neural impulses to the brain, and the consequent rupture of the vital organs of society.

Boffin's position is, however, not taken seriously by Harvard structuralists, who have investigated his friction and stress points, and come to conclude that Boffin must revert to stools, or at least low-backed couches, if he wishes to avoid skinning his elbows and knees.

An interview with Boffin's mother, Mrs Ethel Boffin, put the blame for Fred's peculiarities on deficiencies in his early toilet training, and possibly sibling rivalry.

Mrs. Boffin is a rather shapely widow of 58 who now lives in Ipswich, and enjoys making Danish pastries, for which she won second prize in a contest in 1964. She still likes to get out and "shake a leg", she says. Her phone number is Ipswich 775-3001.

HOUSING

- (1) Studass has some money
- (2) Money devalues
- (3) Property does not

There are a group of us who would like to see this money invested in houses for students to live in. The rents could be fair and would pay the mortgages. We would like to buy houses close to varisty and gradually accumulate several adjacent properties so that when several generations of students have lived in and left them the land can be cleared and student villages, or flats of whatever is wanted and needed can be built.

To do all this we need -

- * People to see houses and check that they are habitable.
- * People who can arrange finance and can tell a good buy when they see it.

Dear Sir,

I wish to make it clear that I was the author of the article published in last week's issue entitled 'Anti-War Conference Blues'. My name was omitted from the original article when it was typed. I would like my authorship recorded as I believe that nobody should be shielded from criticism by the simple expediency of anonimity.

Yours,

John Woodroffe

NOMINATIONS are called for the position of -

**PRESIDENT
ADMINISTRATIVE VICE PRESIDENT
WELFARE VICE PRESIDENT
TREASURER**

Nomination forms are available from AUSA Office

Nominations, in sealed envelopes, to be given to the Association Secretary.

NOMINATIONS CLOSE ON FRIDAY, 16 JUNE 1972.

ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD ON MONDAY & TUESDAY 17th & 18th July

IMPORTANT NOTICE DISCUSSION MEETING

ON
"BOB LACK'S PROPOSED
NEW CONSTITUTION AMENDMENTS"

**B28 FRIDAY 1.00
COPIES OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTION
AVAILABLE IN STUDASS OFFICE**

**FRUIT AND VEGETABLE
CO-OP.
THURSDAYS
QUAD 12-2.30 PM
COME AND BUY AND HELP**

**ENJOY THE THROB
TONY GUAST
MOTOR CYCLE REPAIRS
& MAINTENANCE
ROOM 203 S.U.B.
1 PM WEDNESDAY 21st
FRIENDS WEDNESDAY
WORKSHOPS**

**SEX LECTURES
TUESDAY 20th B.28 1PM
MR RUSSELL HALEY
LOVE SEX AND MARRIAGE
IN POETRY**

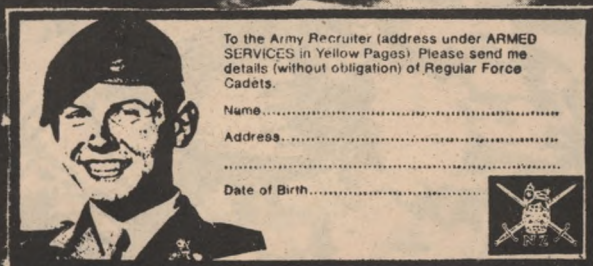
**WEDNESDAY 21st B.28 1PM
PANEL DISCUSSION
PROFESSOR WERRY
NGAHUA VOLKERLING
SEX IN THE FAMILY**

**CONTACT
NEXT TO BOOKSHOP
CAN HELP WITH
PRACTICALLY ANY
PROBLEM OR IF IT
CANNOT, WILL FIND
SOMEONE WHO CAN.**

FREE UNIVERSITY
continuing Social
Construction on Authority.
Tuesday June 20th "The
Effects of Authority on the
Child from the Womb to the
age of Majority" and the
manifestations of emerging
Authority in the child. Also
the interplay of social
response and child reaction.
This is at the Synagogue Hall
of Bowen Ave from 1 to 3pm.
Open forum will follow and
prepared contributions from
the floor are welcome.

Now Shaddys gone we
need a Chief reporter.
more to sniff around
outside than within the
University. Come up and
see us.

I joined for the sport!



The Editor,
Enclosed with this is a duplicate of the letters I sent to the Department of Labour and to the Minister, Mr Thompson, and an explanation of my refusal to undertake military training according to the National Military Service Act, 1961.

Yours faithfully
Geoff Stone

Dear Sir,
I write this letter to inform you of my decision not to serve my term of military training. My situation is as follows:

I was balloted in the mid-year 1970 group but received and accepted a deferment until the January intake of 1973. As a result of either a developing or activated conscience I can no longer accept the obligation as dictated to me by the National Military Service Act.

My objection to the Act is based primarily on an objection to our own foreign policy and the fact that the Military and its participation in various treaty agreements, is the most important active agent of foreign policy. I consider the various concepts of "forward defence" to be little better than euphemisms for neo-colonial and/or imperial activity.

New Zealand foreign policy perseveres in alignments with nations which are depriving Asian and Indo-Chinese nations of the right to self-determination. Despite publicised reductions and withdrawals of combat troops from South Vietnam military and economic support for that government and regimes in other spheres of the Indo-Chinese conflict has been continued, perhaps even increased. I am ashamed that New Zealand is a participant in this.

Militant action for national or individual self-defence is, I believe, justified, but in the present situation New Zealand's military and foreign policy is not oriented towards that. It is largely for this reason that I am unable to register as a conscientious objector. In addition to this however, I refute the validity of any Committee's decision as to the sincerity of belief of any individual.

My action is one of moral conscience; I will refuse to undertake military training or participate in any para-military organisation while New Zealand continues present foreign alignments.

Yours faithfully,
Geoff Stone.

THE RIGHT TO REFUSE C.M.T?

Letters and actions like this are no longer rare. My position is exceptional only in that it has taken me since 1970 to write this, several times the letter was almost complete.

I consider that my indecision stemmed partly from a lack of radical or extreme views on the overall situation and partly from the context of the conscription mechanism and its relationship to the military. They seemed to be separate; a few weeks national service was nothing to do with Vietnam or U.S. imperialism in Asia, and calling the enemy 'gooks' or 'cong' is only incidental to the business of killing. There are also a number of strategically placed escape routes—deferment, in the hope that Labour will win the election (and abolish C.M.T.) or registering as a Conscientious Objector. All this presupposes you are even balloted. Overall C.M.T. was cunningly designed—being selective, it was not severe enough to create widespread organised opposition and those who did oppose it could be channelled off into some bureaucratic backwater—yet it still offered some support for U.S. and Australian conscription policies: a coincidence or was the whole damn thing designed in the Pentagon?

A few things started to get through to me and recently I heard Walter Pollard's opening address to the Anti-War Conference—available through co-ordinator Peter Rotherham (ph. 607-702) who promised to have copies printed. It was a damning and credible account of neo-colonial policies in which New Zealand is an active, if puppet, participant. I saw in my role as a National Serviceman a real participation in this.

What can the authorities do? To me as an individual, perhaps a court appearance and a short term in gaol, but it is no longer a matter of dealing with individuals; O.H.M.S. has seen to that. Dissension made public can force this to become a national issue. If you're not convinced that your own minuscule individual dissent will have any effect then read Thoreau's 'Essay on Civil Disobedience' and relate it to Mahatma Gandhi. If C.M.T. is abolished, then I believe it's a small step towards extricating this nation-colony from a whole series of reactionary alignments and treaties.

OFFICIAL PRESS STATEMENT OF THE A.U. NATIONAL CLUB

For your enlightenment...

"The address of the Minister of Defence was part of a lecture series organised by Auckland University National Club whereby cabinet ministers would speak on campus on current issues arising out of their portfolio. The ministers are aware that little electioneering value is gained from the exercise and have no obligation to speak at the university. Regardless of this however, Cabinet most readily agreed with our request for regular speakers. With this background it amazed me to witness the juvenile reception accorded Mr McCready when he spoke at University on Wednesday.

The self-proclaimed gospels of tolerance refused to allow the minister a fair hearing in which to state his case subjecting him to a barrage of flower bombs, paper darts, and staff and student histrionics. (They did use flower and not napalm it must be observed. —Ed.)

Perhaps the paper darts were indicative of the intellectual sophistication of many of those in the audience, most of whom were more interested in amusing themselves by embarrassing the Minister than listening to what he had to say.

The Ministers of Defence may have been defending the indefensible but it is tragically ironic that the same group that protest when their rights of speech and person are infringed, could so blatantly violate the same rights of another person holding a different viewpoint.

Undoubtedly public sympathy will totally itself to such double and the offenders at the McCready address may find the damage they have caused the anti-war movement an expensive price to pay for the short term satisfaction of a few laughs at a public figure.

It will be a sad day for the universities if cabinet decides not to speak on campus, the same so-called citadel of free speech, because of the intolerance of its constituents.

Neil A. Barlow, President of A.U. National Club.



At the SRC meeting last Thursday night a motion was passed not to render an apology to Minister of Offence McCready.

EXERCISE

YOUR LEGAL RIGHT

Register as a Conscientious Objector

For information write or phone
Christian Pacifist Society, or Society of Friends,
12 Frost Road, 18 Ely Avenue,
Auckland 4. Auckland 5
695-541 545-109

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MR P.J. DENECE, PRESIDENT OF THE AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY BRANCH OF THE NEW ZEALAND STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

Mr P.J. Denece, President of the Auckland University Student Christian Movement, today deplored the latest South African Government moves against students as being indicative of the brutality to which the Government will descend. The "crime" which these students committed was to demand equal opportunity for black and white in the field of education. Their "punishment" was tear gas and mass beatings by a neofascist police force. Not content with attacking their fellow humans the police were prepared to commit blasphemy against God by entering the Anglican Cathedral and attacking Church Leaders.

The dilemma faced by the student groups in South Africa is demonstrated by our sister organisation the Univeristy Christian Movement. This Christian body commits the sin of multi-racialism because about 70% of its membership is black and the rest are coloured or white. Its activities against apartheid have resulted in the banning of two general secretaries. Its annual conference from July 10th—16th could be its last. A select parliamentary committee is trying to uncover evidence supplied to ban it. Opposition to apartheid is construed as anti-democratic and precommunist. Furthermore if cracking students' heads open is not sufficient, the South African Universities may be closed down according to Mr Vorster.

The New Zealand Student Christian Movement is trying to raise \$1,400 over the next fortnight to enable a delegate to be sent to the conference. We have discussed the project with the Prime Minister and he is entirely in agreement with what we are trying to do. He has often spoken of bridge building. We see this as our attempt at bridge building with our fraternal allies who so obviously need some sign of our support and concern. Mr Marshall agrees with this and encourages us to send a representative. If any reader wishes to help donations can be sent to the New Zealand Student Christian Movement Special Fund 1972, Box 9792, Wellington. The Trustees are the Reverend Wilf Ford of the Methodist Church and Bishop Baines of the Anglican Church.

P.J. Denece
(President, A.U.S.C.M.)

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INDOCHINA REPORT

NUMBER ONE JUNE 1972



What is actually going on in the Indo-China war today? How did Kiwis get into it? What has it cost us? When are we getting out?

Many of us are asking questions like these. But the answers we get are often confusing and contradictory. Auckland University Staff Against The War have asked some writers to give clear answers, based on Western sources of acknowledged reliability. Their conclusion is that New Zealanders have never really been told by their local news media what the war is like, or the reasons why we joined it and are still in it.

Is the Indo-China war virtually over? Troop withdrawals have given many of us the impression that the end is in sight. But in fact neither the U.S. nor the N.Z. government has actually undertaken to get out of the war, let alone given a date for withdrawal of all its troops. American bombers have been pounding Laos, especially since they decreased the bombing of northern Viet Nam. While "seeking no wider war" President Nixon has repeatedly attacked Cambodia. Seven years after the first Kiwi troops were sent to Viet Nam, we still have some there.

The war is not virtually over. Hundreds continue to be killed every week. We may well ask how did this mess come about? This newspaper will tell you the facts on what the war is actually doing to the people of Indo-China, how we got into the war, how much it has cost us, and what we can do about it.

WHAT THE WAR HAS COST YOU

Mr David Thompson, who was until recently the Minister of Defence, has stated that 35 New Zealanders have been killed in the war, and 187 wounded. What has anybody got to show for these tragic losses?

Mr Thompson also states that the war has cost the public \$17 million and that the further cost this year will be another \$2 million. Those figures would be appalling enough - but they are certainly low. Mr J L Hunt MP has stated in Parliament that the true cost of the war to us has been about \$50 million, and this figure has never been challenged. In fact, if we look at the government's own official records and estimates of expenditure, we find:-

*For the year ended 31 March 1971, cost of having troops in Southeast Asia was \$11,561,125.

*For the following year, the estimate is \$12,850,000 (and you thought we were getting out?!).

*When all we had in Singapore was a garrison, rather than a training centre for the Indo-China war, the annual cost was below \$4 million.

*The government's estimate of expenditure on

armed forces overseas, for the coming year, is \$40,865,000.

Now let's compare these massive war expenditures with other things our public funds might have gone into:-

*The estimate for Health Dept running costs (medical benefits, drugs, etc.) for the coming year is \$50.6 million.

*The total estimate for school land, buildings and equipment in the coming year is \$36.1 million, down from expenditure of \$39.3 million in the previous year.

*The total grant for buying school library books (also down from previous years) is less than \$0.3 million.

*The total universities budget is \$36.1 million.

And so we see that while important social enterprises in New Zealand are being run down, more and more of our public funds have been spent on war. The government has never given the people a clear figure on the actual cost to them of the Indo-China war, but it may have been as high as \$10 million per year, and has certainly totalled at least

\$50 million.

We have important building to get on with in our own country. There are children in N.Z. who look like a Corso advertisement. There are still school classes with 40 children (and teachers out of work, "surplus" because the government can't find the money to employ them). Our health system is being deliberately run down. The prison system is a scandal.

You finish the list! We ought to be getting on with humane work, rather than killing thousands of miles away.

And included in the humane work should be far more constructive aid to poor countries. As a fraction of our GNP, New Zealand government foreign aid is disgracefully low. Compare that government budget of \$40.865 million for overseas armed forces in the coming year with the government's estimate of its foreign aid in the same period: \$7.7 million. How must we look to the underdeveloped countries? Our effort overseas is overwhelmingly military and destructive, rather than humanitarian and constructive.

REASONS FOR THE WAR

by Robert Mann

To understand the reasons for the War, we have to look back into the history of Vietnam^{1,2}. I have ignored witnesses which might be hostile (such as Russian newspapers); my sources, listed at the end of this article, are all reliable Western experts.

The Chinese ruled Vietnam for a thousand years, which did not make them popular there. They were overthrown in 939 AD. The Vietnamese then successfully resisted foreign domination until the French took over late last century. Various groups staged independence revolts throughout the period of French rule. In 1941 the Independence League ("Viet-minh"), led by the communist Ho Chi Minh, began the final revolt against the French, who were collaborating with the Japanese. The Americans initially aided Ho but soon changed sides and by 1954 had given many hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid to the French. In fact, near the end of that war the U.S. was paying 80% of the French costs. Nevertheless, the Vietminh won the decisive battle of Dienbienphu in 1954, the French sued for peace, and the famous Geneva Conference created international accords for peace in Vietnam.

A temporary military cease-fire line (the 17th parallel) was drawn; the French withdrew to the south of it, the Vietminh north. The Geneva accords envisaged a neutral, unified Vietnam, and scheduled general elections throughout the country for 1956. An international control commission (India, Poland and Canada) was set up to supervise the carrying out of the accords.

The temporary withdrawal line was not intended to be a territorial or political boundary. However, in the zone south of the line the French and the U.S. soon set up and supported an illegal military government in Saigon under Ngo Dinh Diem. The U.S. sent increasing amounts of troops and other support to Saigon, rising to \$20 million per day by early 1966. By now the U.S. government has spent on the war over \$5,000 for every person in the southern zone of Vietnam³.

In 1965, the N.Z. government sent troops to the war. The Kiwi effort was never a spectacular number of troops (about 550 at peak) but has cost the N.Z. public to date about FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS. According to government figures, 35 Kiwis have been killed in this war, and 187 wounded.

Discussion of the war has become so confused in our media that we must separate the various issues and consider them one by one. I will now state, one by one, the various official reasons which have been given for U.S. and N.Z. participation in the war, and will discuss each of the reasons in turn.

Reason 1. "Following the 1954 Geneva Conference, hundreds of thousands of refugees 'voted with their feet' by moving from North to South Vietnam, indicating the unpopularity of the Vietminh."

Those who went south make up only about 6% of the population in the southern zone. 80-85% of them are Roman Catholics, many of whom had fought for the French



"There's absolutely no evidence that any people of Indo-China could invade us, or want to."

against their own countrymen¹ (e.g. Marshal Ky, who incidentally was born in Hanoi²). The migration from the north of a small fraction of its population may show that the Roman Catholics disliked the Vietminh; but does not prove that the Vietminh were unpopular with the majority of Vietnamese. In fact President Eisenhower said in his memoirs⁶ "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indo-Chinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been heldpossibly 80% of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh".

Reason 2. "Owing to disturbed conditions in the south and the unwillingness of Hanoi, it was impossible to hold elections in 1956 as envisaged at Geneva."

Many times, from 1955 to 1960, the Vietminh (regrouped north of the line, under Ho Chi Minh, their capital Hanoi) called for free general elections by secret ballot, under the supervision of international inspectors, and for unhindered campaigning for all Vietnamese throughout their country. The Saigon regime refused even to discuss such proposals, partly at least because Ho would have been very likely to win such free elections. This probability of Vietminh victory through democracy was viewed by the U.S. government as a "well-laid trap"⁷.

Reason 3. "The present war basically began with a decision in 1959 by North Vietnam to invade South Vietnam."

This has been a key argument of U.S. and N.Z. politicians, who have claimed that they are only sending men to repel aggression.

But most Western experts affirm that the guerilla war in the south began in 1957 or earlier, for these reasons:-

(a) Diem banned all opposition, even non-communist; jailed a leading non-communist (Dr. Dan) for the 'offence' of being elected to a legislative seat; provided for jailing indefinitely anyone found to be a "danger to the state"; and in 1956 abolished elected village councils and mayors, installing his own men instead. In the absence, then, of legal opposition, even for the staunchest anti-communists, all opposition to Diem had to be underground⁸. The voting staged by Diem suffered from such defects as showing in some districts more votes for him than there were people on the roll⁹.

(b) People who had fought against the French were 'mopped up' by arrests, tortu

re and plundering under Diem^{2,9}.

(c) Diem refused to hold elections for the re-unification of the country.

(d) Diem re-installed big landlords whom the Vietminh had ousted. Peasants then found themselves billed for impossible back-payments of rent.

In summary, it was not North Vietnam, nor even local communists, but Ngo Dinh Diem who drove the whole southern countryside into revolt.

Ironically, the Pentagon Papers¹⁰ (a study of the origins of the War commissioned by Robert McNamara when he was Secretary of Defence and released by Dr. Daniel Ellsberg in 1971) confirm that the Saigon regime had for many years been interfering militarily in the northern zone by commando raids.

Reason 4. "North Vietnam is the main source of weapons and men for the Rebellion in the southern zone."

Firstly, we must ask what would be wrong with this, if it were the case. Suppose some foreigners started war on Christchurch, wouldn't Aucklanders have a right to go and help their countrymen?

But in any case, the assertion is false. Let us use the U.S. government's own figures — they certainly won't be trumped up to make the U.S. case look bad. They show that by 1965 (when the U.S. had scores of thousands of troops in Vietnam) the total number of infiltrators from the North was, at most, one fifth of the rebel army in the South. The U.S. government White Paper of 1965 was able to specify only six infiltrators who had been born in the north. The Pentagon Papers say that, in the period 1956 to 1959, "most of those who took up arms were South Vietnamese and the causes for which they fought were by no means contrived in North Vietnam".

As for weapons, even U.S. figures showed at least until the last few years, that rebels (called "Viet Cong" by their enemies) used mainly captured American arms.

The most damaging evidence against the claim of the American and New Zealand governments that the war began as an 'invasion' from the north was given by Senator Mike Mansfield, leader in the U.S. Senate of the majority Democrat party, in a speech at Yeshiva University, New York, June 16 1966: "When the sharp increase in the American military effort began in early 1965, it was estimated that only 400 North Vietnamese

soldiers were among the enemy forces which totalled 140,000 at that time". This statement, quoted in reference no.5, was checked by reporters who obtained Pentagon confirmation that the Senator's figures were correct.

Reason 5. "North Vietnam was the first and most frequent violator of the Geneva agreements."

The neutral International Control Commission reported quite the opposite⁹. It was the Saigon and not the Hanoi government which, from 1954 onwards, committed large-scale violations of the Geneva accords.

Reason 6. "North Vietnam demands that the South be turned over to the Viet Cong, who are run by Hanoi."

The actual programme of the National Liberation Front (the correct name for the rebel coalition in the South) in fact calls for democracy and neutrality. While there is no doubt of considerable communist influence in the NLF, there is no good evidence that, after their years of fighting, the NLF (who are mostly southerners) would simply turn over everything to some far-off party in Hanoi. In fact, during the early years of the NLF's revolt, Hanoi criticised and failed to support it¹.

Reason 7. "The U.S. tried to negotiate for years, but Hanoi refused."

Until April 1965, the U.S. rejected the possibility of negotiations, and actually turned down seven offers from North Vietnam, the most famous being those revealed by the French foreign minister, the Italian foreign minister, and Adlai Stevenson¹¹.

Since mid-1965, by contrast, the U.S. government has been saying that it wants to negotiate. But it has always included conditions which it knew to be unacceptable to both Hanoi and the NLF. For example, Presidents Johnson and Nixon have always insisted on "an independent South Vietnam". As has been shown in detail by Asia expert Professor Franz Schurman and others¹², every time pressure mounted in Saigon or Washington for a negotiated settlement the Americans suddenly escalated the war on the North. Then, too, the U.S. repeatedly refused to negotiate with any but "the government involved" — a pointed exclusion of the NLF.

But at last we saw the Paris Peace talks begin. They never accomplished anything important, except to show the world that the Nixon government was still not willing to leave the people of Vietnam, north and south, to settle their own affairs. The negotiations became a tragic joke, and the fact remains that the only way to stop the war is for the Americans and their allies like us to cease making war on Indo-China.

Reason 8. "U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, which began in February 1965, has been necessary to (a) force the North Vietnamese to end their support of the NLF (b) force Hanoi to negotiate (c) increase the morale of the Saigon government".

(continued on opposite page)



Elsewhere in this newspaper we give an eyewitness account of a New Zealander who saw what the bombing has done to civilian areas of North Vietnam. But authorities up to and including McNamara (President Johnson's minister of war) admit that the bombing has had negligible effect on the supply of men and materials such as do flow from the north. Many experts think the bombing stiffens the resolve in Hanoi, as it did in London during the second World War. But even if the bombing of North Vietnam did produce a desire in Hanoi for negotiations, it is doubtful whether this would create the same desire in the NLF, who are doing most of the fighting in the South.

As for the morale of the Saigon regime its army desertion rate has always been colossal. For example, in 1965, 113,000 South Vietnamese soldiers (about 20% of their armed forces) deserted.¹² But even if morale in Saigon could be guaranteed by the bombing, that would not justify the large-scale slaughter of civilians which is entailed in the kind of bombing which the U.S. has done. A legitimate source of morale for the Saigon government would be getting elected by a free vote. But in South Vietnamese elections, even *neutralist* (let alone opposition) candidates are suppressed.

One main effect of the bombing has been pointed out by a former U.S. assistant Secretary of State: "When you bomb a village of 3,000 people which perhaps five Viet Cong have infiltrated, you are going to create a lot more than five Viet Cong by the time you are finished bombing."

We are all disgusted by Nazi reprisals which killed hundreds of civilians in villages where a few resistance fighters were thought to be. How much better has the U.S. policy in Indo-China been? We were all shocked by the My Lai massacre; but it has been a systematic American policy for many years to bomb any village near which somebody fires a rifle up at an American plane. This was eyewitnessed by a reporter of the London *Observer* early in 1966. An American spotter plane is shot at; the position of the nearest village is radioed to an aircraft carrier; the Phantoms blast off and are over the village in minutes; the village is wiped off the map with that especially inhuman weapon napalm (jellied petrol which sticks to the skin and burns horribly). Varieties of this policy are described by a supporter of the war, Frank Harvey, in his eyewitness account "Air War-Vietnam".¹³

Reason 9. "If South Vietnam falls to the communists, it will, like the first in a row of dominoes, lead to the fall of all the neighbouring countries."

Many well-known historians have pointed out that this theory lacks historical evidence, and that the triumph or defeat of revolts depends mainly on how repressive are the governments in question. The eminent Australian expert Professor C.P. Fitzgerald says¹⁴ that "the presence of Western forces immediately justifies the activity of all who oppose them under whatever banner. This has been the great strength of the Communist parties in these countries. Where the West has wholly withdrawn, the Communist party soon loses ground."

Even the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) realised this. The Pentagon Papers reveal that in June 1964 President Johnson asked the CIA: "Would the rest of South East Asia necessarily fall, if Laos and South Vietnam came under North Vietnamese control?" Given LBJ's well-known obsession with dominoes, this was what is known as a question expecting the answer

Yes. The CIA's answer, however, was less doom-laden and more level-headed than any public pronouncements being made by officials at that time. It said in part: "With the possible exception of Cambodia, it is likely that no nation in the area would quickly succumb to communism as a result of the fall of Laos and South Vietnam. Further more, a continuation of the spread of comm-



unism in the area would not be inexorable."

What New Zealand should do in South east Asia is give the kind of aid which, when there is enough of it, makes totalitarianism the same dead letter it is in N.Z. itself: school medical supplies, and so on.

Reason 10 "N.Z. must pay an insurance premium now to assure us of U.S. aid in the event of future invasions of N.Z."

It may be true that our defence against a big invasion would need foreign aid; but can you believe that we might be invaded in the foreseeable future? "The Japs gave it a good go", you may say, but the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, today, are not the highly-developed industrial war machine that Japan was 30 years ago. We have to face today's realities. There's absolutely no evidence that any people of Indo-China could invade us, or want to. Then why should we waste \$50 million to insure against a negligible risk?

2½ Hiroshimas a day...

And even if we did get invaded, which is not on the cards, do you really think that a U.S. decision whether or not to help us would depend on our sending a few hundred troops to Vietnam? The insurance policy just doesn't exist, so why should we pay for it?

Actually, if you are willing to trust the Americans to look after us, they have already promised to do so in the ANZUS and SEATO treaties, for what those are worth. There's no need to pay another \$50 million and 35 Kiwis dead - we already have the Americans word.

Even countries which have had billions in aid from the U.S. have not sent troops. Yet

we who have had none are supposed to feel that we owe it to the U.S. to join their war. There are also many countries nearer than we are to Vietnam (for example England!) which have declined to join in.

Reason 11. "New Zealand was asked by the government of South Vietnam to help repel aggression".

When a leading government MP spoke at Victoria University just after his party's decision (made without consulting your elected parliament) to send troops, he denied that it was at the U.S. government's request that the troops were to be sent. But when asked the name the head of the Vietnamese government which he claimed had sent the request he could not do so!

In any case, from whichever quarter the suggestion came, New Zealand should have politely declined. There are three main reasons:-

(a) It is wrong to frustrate what is clearly an internal Vietnamese revolt against foreign domination. The Vietnamese won their war to get rid of the French, but have been thwarted ever since in their attempts to run their own country. The succession of Saigon governments could not have maintained their anti-democratic power without heavy support from the U.S. New Zealand should be condemning, not joining in, such interference in Vietnam. The toll of death and misery now being inflicted on the Vietnamese, north and south, by the Americans, is far worse than anything they could conceivably do to themselves after we pull out.



(b) It has now been clear for some years that, although hawks and doves disagree on the morality of what we are trying to do in Vietnam, they can agree on the fact that it just *can't be done*. Can't we see by now that we are unable to arrange our kind of government for them? Despite such horrors as the bombing of many North Vietnamese towns to rubble, only a fraction of the North Vietnamese army has yet joined the war, and the NLF still control most of the South. We should realise, as the English did in southern Ireland, that when most of the populace is against us we just cannot win. This is not defeatism, but merely realism.

(c) Our present government tells us that our treaties oblige us to send soldiers to Vietnam. Apparently they mean the SEATO treaty. But the fact is, the SEATO agreement *prohibits us* from sending troops as we have! Its article IV, para. 2, states that the parties to the SEATO agreement must consult before taking such action as we have; but no such conference occurred before our intervention in Vietnam. The government in Saigon is not a member of SEATO, or of the United Nations; and its very existence (let alone its military alliances) violates the Geneva accords. Furthermore, the SEATO agreement states explicitly (what would have to hold implicitly anyway) that the United Nations Charter takes precedence; and the U.N. Charter makes several prohibitions of the kind of military action we have taken in Vietnam. For example (chapter VII, 39): "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, and shall decide what measures shall be taken".

The Security Council of the United Nations certainly has not authorised New Zealand or SEATO to take military action in Vietnam.

New Zealand is thus *violating*, not honouring, her most solemn international obligations by having troops in Vietnam.

Reason 12 "To advocate withdrawal of our forces from the war is welshing on our boys over there, who are all volunteers anyway."

This is perhaps the most illogical argument of all. The truth is, of course, that if citizens have considered the evidence and reached the conclusion that we should get out of the war, then they have every right and even a duty in a democracy to impress that opinion on their elected MP's. To say "bring our boys home" is in the first place not a personal reflection on then at all, and is in any case the best support they could have, because they would be better off at home than killing (and risking their own lives) in jungles thousands of miles away. The fact that the government has sent only volunteers (many of whom have said clearly on their return that they were in it for the money) has nothing to do with the main point, which is that a few men, without a proper discussion in our Parliament, decided to devote your money to an ill-conceived adventure of no possible benefit to us.

Reason 13 "N.Z. elections confirmed support for the government's actions in Vietnam."

No election has ever been fought on this one issue. It is of course true that the people of our country, who have been badly misled by the present government, have not risen up in mass opposition and revolt against the war; but failure to oppose the war is not the same thing as *supporting* it. Gallup polls in the U.S. last year showed that 73% of Americans wanted all their troops out by the end of 1971, and 51% of Americans thought the war immoral - not just inconvenient, or inflationary, but *immoral*. Now that New Zealanders are learning the truth about the war, perhaps we too will cease putting up with the politicians who get us into it.

Reason 14. "The war is intended to help the people of Indo-China."

New Zealand governments are fond of the image: "brave little South Vietnam, fighting for its freedom, calling on us for help; and since when did we refuse such a worthy request?"

(continued on next page)

INDOCHINA: THE WAR HOTS UP

by Michael Stenson

The regular, well-publicised announcements of American, Australian and New Zealand troop withdrawals from Vietnam might lead us to believe that the war is coming to an end. Many New Zealanders relaxed when the troops came back. They thought that a political victory had been won; that foreign intervention in Vietnam was coming to a close. But is that true? What are President Nixon's real aims? What have American and other foreign military forces been doing in Indochina since President Nixon came to power? What are they doing now? Will President Nixon achieve his aims?

Nixon's aims:

President Nixon's aims are clear. They have been repeated endlessly. They are the same as those of his predecessors. When he was asked at a press conference on 17 April 1971 whether American troop withdrawals meant 'abandoning or materially changing our long-range strategic goal,' he replied 'it does not mean that our interests have changed. It does not mean that our method of contributing to the achievement of those interests has changed.' In a major speech on 3 November 1971 he stated: 'The great question is: How can we win America's peace?.... I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable us to keep that pledge.'

Nixon's Methods:

President Nixon's methods of winning America's peace were clearly foreshadowed in his Guam speech of July 1969. Asians rather than Americans would fight the war on the ground. Meanwhile Americans would continue to supply all necessary economic aid, arms, military advice and, above all, air support - offensive as well as defensive. President Nixon has repeatedly stated that he hopes by such means to 'win America's peace' while reducing America's casualties.

"The record stands clear. President Nixon intends to win America's peace by military means. The withdrawal of most American ground forces has merely altered the nature of the military tactics employed".



Nixon's Actions:

The strength of President Nixon's will to win by basically military means has been shown by his actions since becoming President. When President Johnson decreased the bombing of North Vietnam in October 1968 the bombing was immediately concentrated upon Laos - not just upon the Ho Chi Minh Trail but over the major part of Laos which was not under the direct control of the American-dominated Royal Lao

Government. The bombing was and is indiscriminate. Laos has been bombed more heavily per square mile and has suffered more civilian casualties per head of population than anywhere else in the world. President Nixon continued and indeed continues the bombing policy.

In mid-1970 he extended the Vietnam ground war into Cambodia with a combined American-South Vietnamese invasion. And an attempt was made to repeat the tac-

tic when South Vietnamese troops invaded Laos with massive American air attacks and support in early 1971. Then in December 1971 and early 1972 so-called 'protective reaction' bombing raids against North Vietnam were revived.

If we sum up President Nixon's record in action it looks something like this: Over 400,000 American troops have been withdrawn but there are still well over

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But the truth is that the war cannot possibly be intended to help the people of Indo-China. Look at what it has done to them. American sources^{3,5,15,16} testify that:-

- * Seven million have been rendered homeless;
- * Civilian casualties far exceed one million;
- * 30% of the dead were under the age of 13, according to the South Vietnamese government;
- * Well over a million combatants have been killed or seriously injured;
- * B-52 raids over the countryside have created 23 million craters about 45 feet across and 30 feet deep;
- * The total of explosives dropped by the Americans is several times the total they used in World War II, and is 500 times the amount used by the other side;
- * Timber to the value of \$500 million, and crops enough to have fed 600,000 people for a year, have been deliberately destroyed by chemical spraying.

The other side has also killed, but on what scale? The NZBC News (6.30pm, 9 January 1972) reported 9 killed in a bombed meeting at Qui Nhon, and termed this one of the worst terrorist attacks ever in Vietnam.

Never forget the real American intentions, as disclosed in the Pentagon Papers and printed in the "NZ Herald": 70% to prevent a humiliating American defeat, 20% to contain China, and only 10% to help the people of South Vietnam.

Reason 15. If we withdraw, there will be a blood-bath of reprisals on our allies.

No doubt, when the Vietnamese finally get control of their own country, those who collaborated with the Americans will be severely punished. Probably, if they don't get away out of the country, people like Ky and Thieu will meet immediate firing squads.

But the "bloodbath" the Vietnamese will carry out could not possibly be comparable to the indiscriminate devastation which the Americans continue to produce; at the rate of 10 Hiroshima bombs per month (equivalent explosive power). *The bloodbath is here and now; we are doing it, and it is far worse than anything the Vietnamese will be able to do to themselves after we pull out.*

Reason 16. "The people of Indo-China would be better dead than red."

At last we have come to one of the real reasons for the war. The handful of men who made the decision to send Kiwi troops to Vietnam would perhaps themselves prefer to be dead than red. Then we should say to them, in all seriousness, that they are perfectly free to commit suicide when the sampans sail up the Hauraki Gulf. But these few men

have said to the Vietnamese, the Laotians and the Cambodians, *on behalf of you and me*: "If we left you alone to run your own countries, you'd probably elect some sort of Communist government; therefore we've made the decision for you that you would be better dead than red, and so we're going to kill you now, by the millions." This is the moral heart of the war.

Conclusion

There is no good reason for us to have any part in the Indo-China war. If you think our government has made a mistake, don't wait to vote on it in an election which will also include many other issues. Democracy isn't just a ballot box every three years and keeping quiet in between - it's a continuing process of representation through your elected MP. Bring pressure to bear democratically on your MP and the Prime Minister. (Their addresses are simply: Parliament House, Wellington.) They do care what you think!

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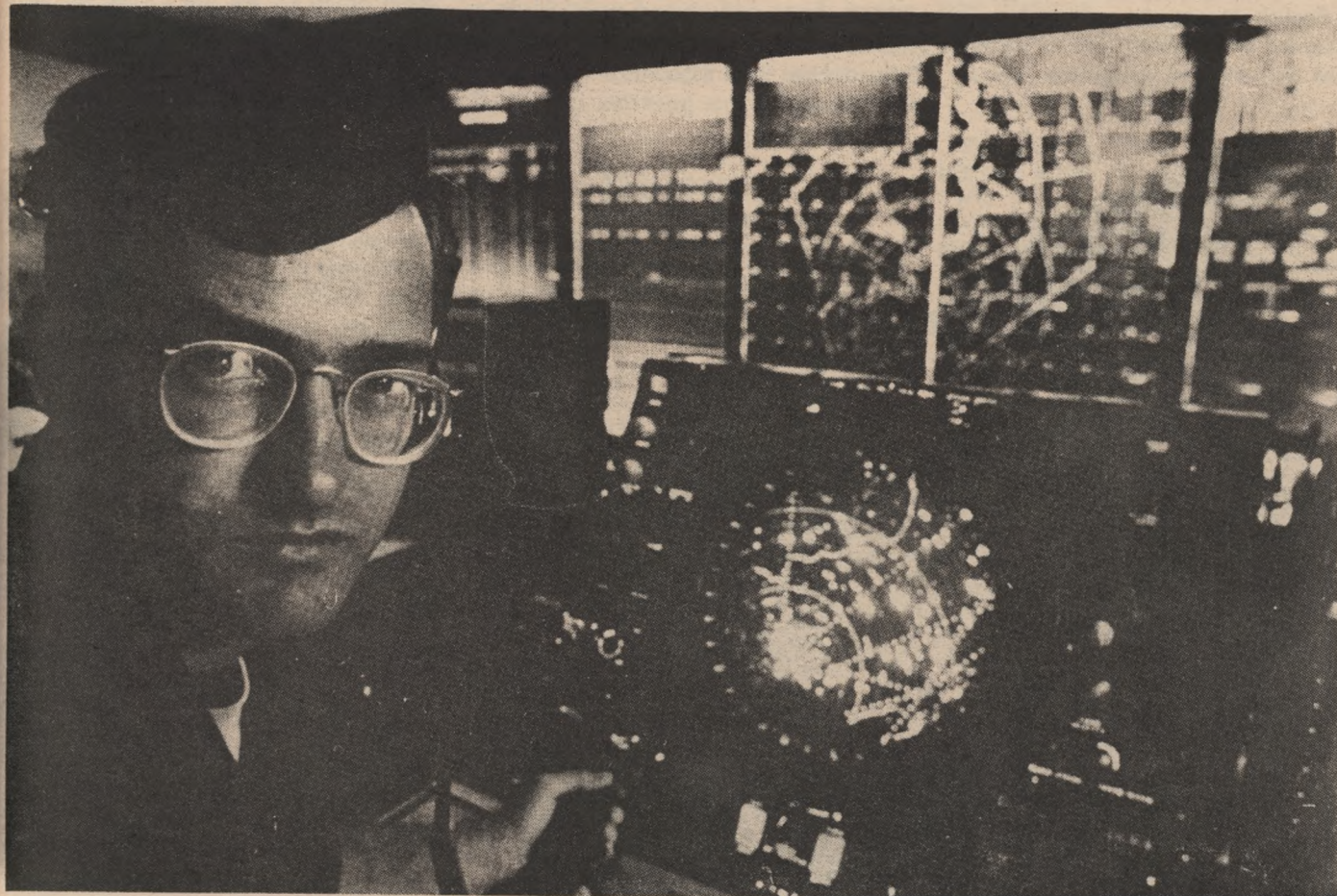
The Vietnamese war and the secret Laotian war were deliberately escalated into the wider Indochina war. Because guerilla activities have been pushed west, the north-eastern part of Thailand is becoming an integral part of the war - with all the associated features of large-scale forcible resettlement.

Seismic and acoustic sensors are being supplemented by metal detectors, 'electronic devices which register a truck's ignition system, and "people sniffers" that detect the ammonia in human urine.' The radioed "beeps" of the sensors are 'relayed by manned and pilotless aircraft which fly lazy circles 24-hours-a-day over Laos and near-by Thailand.'

The signals are digested by a giant

helicopter gunships which operate at night with infra-red viewers.

Two American scientists, Dr E.W. Pfeiffer and Dr Arthur Westing, say that the US is also using a non-nuclear bomb, the BLU-82B, which kills outright all terrestrial and arboreal life within a radius of approximately 3,280 feet (Singapore Mirror 17 January 1972).



forced relocation of populations into refugee camps. Secondly, the prevention of major guerilla troop movements. The electronic war is complemented by Asian ground forces - paid, directed, supplied and trained by relatively small numbers of Americans. Some of these forces, such as the Meo army of General Vang Pao and the Thais and other foreigners fighting in Laos, are mere mercenaries. Backed by massive American aerial fire-power, these armies and the administrations behind them have only been able consistently to control relatively small areas of Laos and Cambodia and not very much of supposedly stabilising South Vietnam. But the Americans persistently hope for more.

The domestic political advantages of this type of war for President Nixon are obvious. Most American troops are withdrawn (although some are being diverted to Thailand), American casualties are drastically reduced. About 50,000 highly-paid US Air Force personnel conduct most of the American action in relative safety from Thailand, Guam or aircraft carriers. Their activities are highly secret and subject to little or no Congressional control. Because of this most Americans, and certainly most New Zealanders, do not realise that they are now conducting wider and more intensive warfare than ever before.

But Will the Electronic War Bring Peace?

Remember that President Nixon wants peace on his terms. These involve the retention of non-communist governments around North Vietnam. The terms have not been acceptable to the National Liberation front, the Pathet Lao, the Khmer Liberation Front or the Government of North Vietnam in the past. There is no likelihood that they will be in the future.

Meanwhile the massive aerial bombing is not working. It has failed to stop guerilla troop movements. It spreads the war to innocent civilians and ever west-ward. It drives more Indochinese and Thais to guerilla action. Having lost their families or their livelihoods, what is the alternative for many? The political attractions of the revolutionary guerillas are in fact not diminished but enhanced by the bombing.

The electronic war is the most graphic illustration of America's bankruptcy of political ideals and organisational forms relevant to Asian societies. It is the attempted substitute of overwhelming force for political failure. But the physical and social disruption which it deliberately creates is the most fertile of grounds for revolution.

What Has the Intensification of the War to do with New Zealand?

New Zealand government decision to withdraw combat forces from Vietnam and

(continued over page)

ment of hill villagers and mass bombing of civilians. The bombing of the North has been revived.

The record stands clear. President Nixon intends to win America's peace by military means. The withdrawal of most American ground forces has merely altered the nature of the military tactics employed. These tactics were being experimented with in Laos in 1969 or earlier and are now being systematically implemented over vast areas of Indochina.

The Intensified Electronic Air War:

The key to the new tactics is saturation bombing of civilian populations in much of Laos and parts of Cambodia, and computerised bombing of moving objects along key transportation lines such as (but not only) the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Michael Malloy described the computerized techniques in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of January 1972 as follows.

Millions of transistorized sensors have been dropped by air into the jungle around the Ho Chi Minh Trail and elsewhere in Laos.

IBM computer at Nakhon Phanom base in Thailand. It translates them into a picture on a cathode ray tube. The image on the glowing tube causes an American officer to give an order; a US Air Force Phantom swoops down on a target its pilot may not even see; a bomb automatically drops from the aircraft at a computer-selected moment.

These bombs are sometimes old-fashioned but many are not. Laser bombs home in on a beam cast by a far distant aircraft. Television bombs home in on targets whose pictures they have been shown.

More serious, because even less discriminate, are the "area denial" weapons which blanket a damaged portion of the trail and kill or destroy the men and equipment sent to repair it. A single canister can seed a foot field area with hundreds of small mines the size and shape of tennis balls. These explode at random intervals for days after they are dropped, or explode if someone jostles the tiny wires they throw out upon landing. In addition there are

This aerial war, as T.D. Allman explains in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 29 January, is above all indiscriminate. Sensors may detect human urine but they cannot tell friend from foe. The essence of the electronic war is that it is directed against the people of large parts of Indochina. It has produced about 1 million bombing sorties and costs about 3,000 million dollars a year in Laos and Cambodia alone. It is, in Allman's words, 'the major cause for making refugees of one-quarter of the population of Laos, and has inflicted throughout Indochina about a quarter-million deaths. The inaccuracy of the bombing is notorious but inaccuracy is 'increasingly compensated by its volume'. As a result Laotian peasants in communist-dominated areas have been reduced to living in caves and working only at night.

Objects of the Electronic War.

The two main objects of this type of war are: Firstly, the destruction of the social and physical setting in which guerillas (Viet Minh, Khmer Rouge, Pathet Lao, Meo and North Vietnamese) operate, and the

US using 'pellet' bombs against Hanoi

By HAROLD JACKSON

A new type of anti-personnel bomb dropped on Hanoi by American aircraft is causing severe medical problems for the North Vietnamese, according to a British consultant physician who has just returned from the northern capital.

Dr Philip Harvey, who works at St Stephen's Hospital Fulham, arrived in Hanoi on April 8 to carry out an extensive medical education programme at the invitation of the medical faculty at Hanoi University. A week after his arrival - on Sunday, April 16 - 60 US aircraft bombed the city, causing extensive damage to eight residential districts.

Dr Harvey said in London yesterday that he visited one of

the areas, about a kilometre from his city centre hotel, and examined some of the dead and wounded.

"I saw the body of one woman - she was pregnant - and she had been riddled with plastic pellets from an anti-personnel bomb. This is a new development. The pellets used to be metal, but now that they are using plastic it is impossible to locate the pellets by normal X-rays. They can be found with the use of ultrasonic vibrations, but the North Vietnamese do not have such equipment."

Dr Harvey said that the pellets penetrate the victims' bodies at 1,300 feet a second, creating such intense heat that they vapourise the flesh. "They

can fracture a bone without even making contact with it," he said. A full ultrasonic vibration unit costs about £20,000. The wounded people seen by Dr Harvey all had multiple penetrating wounds caused by cubic pellets.

The raid took place at about 9.30 in the morning, and involved three waves of 20 aircraft flying at about 25,000 feet. "It was impossible to see the planes," Dr Harvey said, "though the sky was completely clear. I did see the vapour trails of the ground-to-air missiles being fired against them."

He said that six or seven brick-built thatched houses had

been destroyed in the area he visited. Two people were killed outright and 11 others injured, five seriously. Later two of the injured died, and another two bodies were located in the ruins.

The bombs dropped seemed to be an equal mixture of high explosive and antipersonnel. The latter, Dr Harvey said, had no effect on property or structures. "I dug some pellets out of the brickwork and they had only gone in about a quarter of an inch."

The other areas attacked that morning were all within one or two kilometres of the city centre. "It was a public holiday and the streets were teeming with people. At the moment

Hanoi has about five times the population for which it was originally designed. Later the authorities started evacuating women and children."

Dr Harvey said that this was the only raid on the city while he was there - he left on Saturday - though there had been one false alarm five days after the attack.

"So far as I could tell the morale seemed to be remarkably high and they carried on with my programme as though nothing had happened. It seemed to me that the bombing had much the same effect in Hanoi as it did in London during the blitz: it just strengthened people's determination to struggle on."

EYEWITNESS IN VIETNAM

by Freda Cook

(Editor's note: Mrs Freda Cook used to teach in the Correspondence School, Wellington. She went to Hanoi in 1960 to

teach English. During the ensuing 8 years, she travelled extensively in North Vietnam and saw with her own eyes many towns

which had been reduced to rubble by American bombing. She is now back in New Zealand. Here is an account of some of what she saw.)



Seven million have been rendered homeless.

There were so many poignant incidents it is hard to choose which to tell you about. I met the husband of a pregnant woman who had just been killed in the bombing of 200 poor little huts on the banks of the Red River. He was in tears. His wife, his two-year-old daughter and the unborn infant, his home, everything he loved had been turned into cinders. Utterly dazed and bewildered he stood, holding a photograph he had kept in his pocketbook of his little family of three. "We were so poor, but we were so happy", he repeated again and again. Later he told us that in the early morning before he went to work he noticed that the little girl was feeling a bit jealous because her mother, who was expecting the new baby in a couple of weeks, was busy preparing the infant's clothing. "Something for me, Daddy", begged the child; and he had promised "Daddy will buy you a new dress for Tet (the new year), darling". The sirens went while he was at work and every one had to go into the air-raid shelters. When the "all clear" sounded, he glanced in the direction of his home and saw the smoke rising. He ran with all his might, to discover that everything which had given meaning to his life was gone. "We were poor, but we were so happy!"

The target for the raid had been the Long Bien bridge, over the Red River, which connects Hanoi with the northern provinces by road and rail...but when driven back by fierce anti-aircraft fire, the bombers habitually loosed their bombs elsewhere, with complete indifference to the military significance of their target. On this occasion, 200 little mud and thatch cottages, built close together along the river bank, had been turned into a sea of fire.

It was a daytime raid. All the men and most of the women were at work. Children were mostly at school. Only the very old, the sick, the pregnant woman and some very tiny children were at home.

We are accustomed in New Zealand to hearing of the activities of the American bombers in terms of the type of aircraft, the number of missions, the geographical area, the number of planes lost, some comparison of the raids with last year's similar missions, and perhaps some vague information about the targets. What we do not visualise is the tragic effect on human beings like ourselves. We outsiders have the duty to use our imagination to translate statistics such as we get into human terms, to suffer with the Vietnamese fathers and mothers, wives and children as if they were our own. While I lived in Hanoi I was frequently able to see and talk with both bereaved and wounded after raids. I saw the bodies of tiny children riddled by anti-personnel fragmentation bombs; a boy burned by napalm jelly, a peasant woman who had never slept anywhere but in the family bed terrified even beyond her pain, by the look of a spotless ward and the kind uniformed nurses. I see these again in my mind's eye whenever I hear of new bombing raids.

No-one who was present at the time will ever forget the appalling horror which befell Thuy Dan school. It was only a little school, set among bamboos and paddy fields a good way from the high road, newly built by villagers who had felt a deep urge to give their children the benefits of secondary education so that they might take their place in the new society, equipped to serve it well. No girls from that group of hamlets had ever been to secondary school,

and only a few boys had gone to board in the district town. What a thrill it had been in September when the school year began and twelve girls between eleven and fifteen joined the boys as pupils!

Late in October a young woman teacher was reading 19th Century poetry to her class; it was the third period and they had already had their algebra and biology lessons - a real secondary school timetable. Suddenly, the sound of planes. The teacher hurried the children to the trench shelter across the playground.

The planes dropped three patterns of bombs in three runs: one on the school buildings, one on the playground and one along the trench so that everyone sheltering was buried under a pile of earth and stones. When the parents and neighbours came rushing to dig out the victims, thirty children were found dead, including all twelve girls, and their 25-year-old teacher, to whom two of the girls were clinging.

I never saw Thuy Dan school, but I met the man teacher whose young sister was among those killed, and a small group of boys who had been injured and come to Hanoi for hospital treatment. The teacher had brought various relics of past hopes. He showed me his sister's scarf which she had embroidered in the current fashion among young girls. She had chosen to stitch the words "My Happy Year" on one corner and "For the Bright Future" on another. He also brought the young woman teacher's satchel which contained a letter written to her husband, not yet posted. "Next week is the harvest holiday," she told him, "and I am looking forward so much to going to mother's and playing with our baby for two whole days'..."

All the surviving boys were determined to join the army and help repel the invaders, but they were too young and their elders insisted that they continue at a temporary school to train themselves for their country's needs, to build it "twice as beautiful" as when the enemy destroyed it.

When the fragmentation bombs (also called CBU's for "cluster bomb units") were first used, Washington denied their existence. But the prominent New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury, who was in Hanoi at the time, exposed the lie. On one occasion I accompanied a party of journalists to a village north of the city which had been struck by disaster. As we drew near we saw where great holes had been blasted in the crops, looked at the bloody patches on a grazing paddock where a little boy and his buffalo had been killed, visited the hospital where some of the worst sufferers were lying. These CBU's, long canisters filled with small bombs about the size of a cricket ball, which in turn contain hundreds of tiny metal fragments, are exploded close to the ground so that they penetrate with great force any flesh which they hit. The fragments spin in flight so that they tear holes in the body, far worse than ordinary bullets and far harder to treat. If they enter an arm or leg they are usually not deadly, but in the trunk because of the different organs or in the head because of the brain they are inevitably killers of a particularly horrible kind.

Many of you have seen the photograph of a tragic-eyed Vietnamese holding in his arms two children, just babies, whose bodies are dotted with wound marks. I saw this pitiful father and heard the wailing of the children in their pain. His wife, their mother, had thrown herself over her darlings to save their lives, and she herself had been killed. Her babies were probably saved by skilled surgery, for their vital organs had been protected; but they would be scarred for life.

CBUs do no harm to fortifications or metal; they are of no use against military targets, and are solely anti-personnel weapons. As such they are repugnant even to many who believe in the idea of a just war.

These are only a few examples of what our allies, and therefore ourselves, have done all over Vietnam to innocent civilians as sensitive, as loving and as eager for a full and happy life as any of our own children and friends. When another call comes to you for medical aid, or for action, don't say "God, haven't we had enough about Vietnam? I'm sick of the subject", because the war isn't over yet. The bombing is still going on, towns are still being reduced to rubble, and hideous scars are still being inflicted on the defenceless. We who were foreigners in what was once a green and pleasant land have no right to come placidly home and forget the hell it has become. Nor can the stay-at-homes ignore the harm done to New Zealand if she becomes known as an insignificant little country whose population is too weak to stand outside the orbit of destructive U.S. foreign policy.



Mrs Cook with one of her Vietnamese students. . .

VIETNAM

DAILY MIRROR
26.4.72

The Victors



by
JOHN
PILGER

LAST week the President of the United States was described as "the man who has assembled and let loose more destruction from the sky than anyone else in the history of creation."

The description came not from an anti-war demonstrator but from deep inside the American establishment itself: the Washington Post newspaper.

In the past ten days, Mr. Nixon has let loose more destruction from the sky, on a country smaller than Britain, than Mr. Churchill and Mr. Hitler and Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stalin let loose on all of Europe during all of 1944.

Corpses

The number of dead is unknown, and, anyway, the statistics of corpses will only add to the reader's understandable immunity against news from the little coffin country of Vietnam.

But be assured that thousands were killed and were maimed last week by the following methods: by massive napalm incendiary bombs dropped from B52 jets; by little bombs, the size of grapefruit, which open as they fall, spilling

out thousands of tiny arrows designed to enter, not steel or wood, but flesh and then spiral through the human body; by "foot bombs" which are the size and shape of a matchbox and are scattered like confetti and explode when stepped on.

Once, when I was in a convoy in the delta country of Vietnam, I saw a child lying beside the road, in the mud. She had stepped on a foot bomb and her legs were gone, and there was nothing anyone could do for her.

Horrors

Vietnam, the war so many of us believed was ending or was solved, or something, has forced its way back into our consciousness, whether we welcome it or not.

Since we first viewed its horrors on television eight years ago, there has been Biafra and Ulster and Bangladesh.

But Vietnam was the first to give war a bad name, thanks to the telly, and although it has slipped in the ratings, it has remained constant in its horror and is now confronting us with its final, most craven atrocity: bombing for reasons of reprisal and personal politics.

The long awaited offensive by the army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Hanoi) has signalled, in effect, that the longest war this century is beginning to end, that all the illusions will soon be swept away completely, paid for with the lives of a generation: a million and a half Asians, at least, and 45,700 Americans.

Rubble

Yesterday General Giap's forces captured seven bases in the Central Highlands, putting whole regiments of Saigon's sad and reluctant army to flight, and has all but secured the rubble of An Loc, 56 miles from Saigon. The fall of Saigon and the Thieu government is inevitable.

Already, the great American bases have become ghost cities, with Coca-Cola machines listing in the mud; the Filipino waiters who once served prime cut New York steaks and Californian wine under chandeliers in the officers' mess at Pleiku have been handed their tickets home; many of the Vietnamese women who for years were the "temporary wives" of American officers and contract workers have said their good-byes.

And Khe Sanh and Hamburger Hill,

for which hundreds died, are now in the keeping of obscurity, without even graves.

The war has come full circle: the American soldiers who now mutiny without fear, know, as do the majority of the American people that nothing has been gained or can be salvaged, nothing, except the reality that the greatest nation on earth has been defeated by one of the smallest and that unconditional victory is all that Hanoi now demands.

That, now, is official.

Ashes

Yet still Mr. Nixon and his generals sift the ashes of defeat for something. "We can still kill all the goddam Cong!" said a Texan major-general the other day. "The tide has turned for us. The worst is over," said General Abrams, the American commander in Saigon; and perhaps one can understand their madness now.

But the illusions of Mr. Nixon, who commands more power than any single human being, have little to do with military pride and everything to do with the most cynical of all political games.

Last week, when he was interrupted at a luncheon in Washington and told of the latest North Vietnamese advance, he lost his famous temper... and said: "You have to let them have it when they jump on you."

The night before he had let them have it. He had sent waves of B52 bombers over Hanoi and Haiphong, knowing that the B52s' computerised bomb-aiming does not discriminate between military and civilian targets.

AND FOR WHAT?

I believe Mr. Nixon sent these mass destruction bombers over North Vietnam because he feared that a hawkish Republican-voting minority would punish him in the November presidential election if he conceded defeat too quickly. He sent the bombers to appease the minority.

Pawns

He sent the bombers to show the Russians, who supply the North Vietnamese with weapons, that he was really a tough guy who could not be pushed around at the coming summit in Moscow.

Far from Mr. Nixon's China visit building "bridges of peace," as he himself said, he has catapulted America back to the crudest Cold War balance-of-power game, with the people of Vietnam as the pawns.

Mr. Nixon is a poker player. In taking the decision to bomb—a strategy con-

sidered bankrupt even by his generals—he has gambled that China and Russia will react with the collusive "moderation" befitting their status as nuclear powers.

He has gambled that the world's boredom with Vietnam, as an issue, will not cause it to bother much about reprisal bombing. He has gambled that American public opinion will act only on the numbers of American dead and not on an unknown bodycount of Asian civilians.

His gamble is based on the knowledge that, during his presidency, he has got away with dropping more bombs on the tiny country of Laos than were dropped during ALL of World War Two. And no one has really cared.

Money

It is based on an illusion that he has almost succeeded in spreading across the world; that he has kept his election promise to end the killing and that the war has virtually ended, when in fact, 15,000 American troops have been killed in action and more than half of all the money spent on the war has been spent by him and, as the Washington Post pointed out, more bombs have been dropped by him than at any time since creation.

All this, of course, is not meant as an indictment of the American people who desperately want to leave Vietnam in peace, and whose only mistake was that some of them believed Mr. Nixon when he said he was doing just that.

I have watched a mighty revulsion grow in America against the war and there is now, on the issue of Vietnam, an historic consensus of the People versus the Government.

Corrupt

For not even the adventurism and cynicism of its leaders have drained that great country of its idealism. Recent American history is strewn with the political corpses of those who believed that the most powerful nation had the right to intercede in a civil war on the mainland of Asia and to conduct mass murder on behalf of a corrupt puppet regime of the mainland of Asia.

In November, I believe, Americans will despatch Mr. Nixon, just as they despatched Mr. Johnson. Meanwhile, there will be no peace, or bridges to peace, or coexistence, or whatever, while the present murder is allowed to continue, while the immunity of us all to the war is not converted immediately to anger, while the screams of the Vietnamese are not heard.

the war hots up (continued)



replace them with military training groups for the South Vietnamese and Cambodians as part and parcel of American policy. It is fully in line with the Guam doctrine. It means that we are playing our allotted role within the new strategy of massive aerial warfare supplemented by foreign-trained South Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai and foreign mercenary ground forces.

The New Zealand government's decision to train South Vietnamese and Cambodian troops means:

1. That it actively supports the Americans' determination to win the war on their terms
2. That it actively supports the massive and indiscriminate bombing of civilians in Indochina and North-East Thailand.
3. That its support for medical aid at Qui Nhon and elsewhere is utterly hypocritical. Only when our government actively opposes the massive aerial bombing of civilians (which is the single greatest danger to the health of the Indochinese people) can it be regarded as truly concerned about the welfare of the people. Until that is done governmental medical aid to South Vietnam alone is no more than a deliberate attempt to cloak mass murder under the garb of the doctor and the nurse.
4. That New Zealand is still committed to a militaristic 'forward defence' policy which is doomed to failure. Worse than that the policy actively creates political enemies in Indochina where before there was only ignorance and potential goodwill.

Is this the way that you want our government to help shape events?

The New York Times

SUNDAY, APRIL 16, 1972

To the Editor:

In December of 1971, 115 parliamentarians of many nations signed an appeal to all combatants in Indochina to stop the killing through a cease-fire lasting at least from Christmas to the Tet holiday. This appeal included among its signatories seventeen members of the Vietnamese National Assembly.

That period of time has now passed, with no lessening of hostilities on the part of the United States. Indeed, Department of Defense figures for February of 1972 show that 67,536 tons of bombs were dropped in that month, a 35 per cent increase over the figures for the latter part of 1971 and higher than the monthly average for all of last year.

The President of the United States has called off the regular meetings of the negotiators at the Paris peace talks. And only this week the United States launched a massive air attack of both South and North Vietnam. In short, there are no signs of any moral leadership on the part of the Administration to end the killings and the destruction of countries now.

In this absence of courage and love

of humanity, we wish to salute those seventeen Vietnamese who, despite the ever-present fear of reprisals from their repressive Government, courageously and publicly made their plea for an end to the insanity. As members of the House of Representatives, we applaud our fellow parliamentarians in Vietnam and call upon all Americans to bear testimony to their action by helping us enact legislation—now pending in the Congress—to bring about an end to the bombing and provide for the withdrawal of all ground troops by a date certain. Surely they deserve no less a response on our part.

HERMAN BADILLO, EDWARD KOCH, JOHN CONYERS Jr., CHARLES B. RANGEL, JOHN G. DOW, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, HENRY HELSTOSKI, WILLIAM F. RYAN

Washington, April 7, 1972

The writers, Members of Congress, respectively represent the 21st and 17th Districts (N. Y.), 1st District (Mich.), 18th, 27th and 8th Districts (N. Y.), 9th District (N. J.) and the 20th District (N. Y.).

Open Letter to The Minister of Defence

Dear Sir,

If there is any Minister whose role it is to represent the whole of New Zealand rather than a party or faction, it is surely the Minister of Defence, and a person in such a position should not descend to attacks upon a section of the Public whose only sin is to have consistently opposed the war in Vietnam for the last seven years while our Government has been guilty of adventurism in going into Vietnam and of capitulation in getting out.

Before all other Ministers, the Minister in charge of our Armed Forces is the one upon whom falls—by the nature of his functions, which are, after all, dealing with Life and Death—the greatest responsibility to be well informed on all questions coming within his sphere. When such a man permits himself to make statements which seem to defy logic and to display an unawareness of events in South East Asia and America, he causes dismay among concerned members of the general public and contributes to the widening of the credibility-gap. Not that anyone is accusing the Government of mendacity upon the American scale, rather the strain comes from the degree of Faith required to believe that the Government has a coherent policy.

You have been reported—correctly, I assume—in the Star (17 May) to have made four rather strange statements:

(1) that it is false to claim that the struggle in Vietnam had been one of an oppressed people trying to overthrow a corrupt and repressive Government in Saigon.

The Pentagon Papers, including C.I.A. reports; journalists from France, Sweden, Japan and the U.S.A., a score of books by respected experts printed in the West, Papers from the Society of Friends, all go to show that you are mis-informed. It is a corrupt and repressive Government.

DON'T YOU WANT TO HELP THE VICTIMS OF THE WAR?

Many New Zealanders, as they become aware of the horrors of the Indo-China War, particularly of the enormous indiscriminate devastation of civilian areas, feel a desire to help the victims. Many of us have therefore looked for ways to give money for medical aid in Viet Nam, and in fact many thousands of dollars have been sent.

But we face a choice as to which organisation we should channel our medical aid through.

"Indo-China Report" recommends that donations go to the New Zealand Medical Aid Committee for South Vietnamese People in NLF Areas. This organisation has been active for many years collecting money for medical aid from all over New Zealand, including the proceeds from sales of work, fairs, etc.

The reason why "Indo-China Report" endorses the Medical Aid Committee is that aid channeled to the corrupt Saigon government, or sent to areas administered by it, is notoriously unlikely to reach the civilian grass-roots victims of the War. The Medical Aid Committee on the other hand sends its funds (and they have amounted to many thousands of dollars so far) to the British Medical Aid Committee for Viet Nam, in London. The British Committee had as its President, until his recent death, the world-famous Nobel prizewinner and humanitarian leader Lord Boyd Orr. The new President, also a Nobel prizewinner, is Professor Dorothy Hodgkin, FRS, OM. The chairman is John Rankin, M.P.; hon. treasurer, Professor H. Miller; hon. treasurer, Dr Joan McMichael.

The British Medical Aid Committee regularly reports in its newsletters its receipts from the New Zealand



(2) You refer to a "blatant invasion" and "an act of overt aggression", in describing the present offensive. If you would care to refer to the New Zealand Herald of 26 June, 1971, you will see that while North Vietnam was abiding by the Geneva Accords, the U.S.A. had launched secret attacks upon North Vietnam as early as 1954, that these became a continuous programme from 1961 onwards, and that unrestricted aerial attacks and coastal bombardments began in 1964 (two months before the first Northern Regiment was sighted in the South). What words do you feel would adequately sum up this situation? "Covert aggression", perhaps? When, after seven years of intense and horrible warfare, they launch an attack upon the South, how can you call it "overt aggression"? By the same token, were the Allies, entering Germany in 1945, to be condemned in the same terms?

(3) You have said that it is "in New Zealand's interest to help Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam to resist communism". If this is so, why are the various Communist Parties legal in New Zealand? Why does the West not declare war on communist countries more nearly

Committee. The most recent British Committee annual report showed an audited total of £20,200 sent to Viet Nam in the form of medical supplies. We give now for your information the details of the items.

The New Zealand Medical Aid Committee stresses that it is not anti-American; it is primarily anti-war, and humanitarian.

Please send your donation, large or small. Make sure to include your name and address so that you can get a receipt.

New Zealand Medical Aid Committee for South Vietnamese People in NLF Areas, P.O. Box 6601, Auckland.

THE NATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE April 22-23, 1972

About 300 people from all over the country met at Auckland University to plan action against the War. Lecturer Walter Pollard began the Conference with a superb analysis of the War (this will appear in the next issue of 'Indo-China Report'). The Conference resolved to mount on July 14 another mass mobilisation such as brought over 30,000 New Zealanders out in the streets on each of the two mobilisation days last year (April 30 and July 30). Massive, broadly-based, peaceful demonstrations must convey to our government the opposition of New Zealanders to the War; the effort is certainly worthwhile. To attract as many opponents as possible to march, the slogan "OUT NOW" was adopted: the main demands of the mobilisation will be immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S., N.Z. and allied forces from Southeast Asia; immediate stopping of the bombing of Indo-China; immediate ending of all NZ political, military and economic aid

their own size? Would you care to explain why communism is legal at home, respectable in Moscow and Pekin and terribly, terribly dangerous in Vietnam? It would seem that it is the vulnerable configuration of their land and the colour of their skins, rather than that of their opinions, which are the deciding factors here. You went on to say that you "would rather fight these battles on the paddy fields of Vietnam than on the Canterbury plains"—well, Kaiser Wilhelm and Hitler, when they invaded Belgium, did not reason differently; but New Zealand opposed both these—I wonder why?

Have you ever attempted to see the situation through the eyes of the people actually living there; For the Vietnamese normality came to an end in the middle of the last century when they were invaded and occupied by Foreigners. To this they reacted exactly as every other country has always reacted: they fought. The French departed in 1954, but in the eyes of many of the Vietnamese Vietnam can not be free so long as there are still Foreigners around, but they, too, will be driven out and then the situation will have reverted to normality. By what God-given right does New Zealand decide that Vietnam would make a nice battle-field? And if you are so dead keen to fight there, does this represent your future policy as Minister of Defence? The local inference to be drawn from your statement is that we are going back—is this so?

(4) Finally you said that the Allies "could not afford to lose Vietnam now after so much bloodshed"—really? I did not know that Vietnam was "ours" to lose! This seems to be a revealing phrase and one which I feel you would not have applied to, let us say, Belgium in 1914 or 1940... In this phrase I detect the ghost of a colonial mentality I had thought defunct, but which would go far to explain how New Zealand is "helping" by withdrawing, how saturation-bombing by B52s is also a form of "help"—and why these tactics are more "helpful" than fighting shoulder to shoulder with "our"

for the War; immediate withdrawal of NZ from SEATO, ANZUS and all other military alliances; and self-determination for the people of Indo-China.

The conference also recognised that marches, worthwhile as they may be, are not going to be enough. To complement and broaden the march, therefore, it was resolved to build a massive movement in support for the Medical Aid Committee for South Vietnamese People (NLF Areas). A brief statement from the Medical Aid Committee is given in this issue of "Indo-China Report".

CONTACTS FOR JULY 14 NATIONAL ANTIWAR MOBILISATION

Palmerston North

Committee on Vietnam, C/- P.S.A., Box 459, Palmerston North. International Affairs Officer, C/- Students Association, Massey Uni.

Hamilton

Graham Cooper, C/- Teachers College, Hamilton. International Affairs Officer, C/- Waikato University, Hamilton.

Wanganui

Brian Taylor, 3 Stark St, Duri Hill, Wanganui.

Masterton

Irene Long, 31 Raglan St, Masterton. Margaret Pearce, Flat 2, 22 Victoria St, Masterton.

Havelock North

Ms J. Kitchen, Breadalbane Ave, Havelock North.

New Plymouth

Committee on Vietnam, 25 Standish Hill, New Plymouth.

Dargaville

Committee on Indochina, Box 337, Dargaville.

Whangarei

Rev. H.G. Bowyer, Anglican Church.

Vietnamese. Is it not because when one dealing with "the natives" the normal systems of values and logic are turned upside-down? It then becomes rational to expect Asians to fight for our "forward defence"—what the Romans no doubt called "barbarization"—and to accept enthusiastically the devastation of their country and the decimation of their manhood to preserve the fragrance of the Canterbury plains? Am I reading too much into this phrase? Perhaps. But what is one to make of such statement as "denying liberty to its southern neighbours" and "the legally elected Government"? What Liberty? French and American journalists and experts, Denis Warner, American Senators and a host of others have all documented the repressions of Diem (of whom the C.I.A. said that he "was in danger of being overthrown by non-communist elements because of his repressive policies and the toleration of corruption at the top of his Government") and those of the still more repressive Ky, who was replaced by that shining legality: Thieu, victor by 91 per cent of a one-man, one vote, one candidate election! What on earth can you be talking about? Have you never heard of tiger-cages? Why does this generation of New Zealanders spend so much time and energy propping up a succession of shoddy little dictators, when the previous generation fought so hard against them?

Statements like these, after the publication of the Pentagon Papers and the scores upon scores of books that have appeared since 1965, are simply a way of saying: "the Kiwi can't read. If he reads, he can't understand. If he understands, he won't react". It remains to be seen whether this is a correct estimate of the New Zealand character.

I remain, with great respect
W. Pollard

Invercargill

Ms M. Lord, C/- Inland Revenue Dept, Invercargill.

Blenheim

H. Jurgenson, Rene St, R.D.2, Blenheim

Dunedin

Committee on Vietnam, 19 City Rd, Dunedin.

Christchurch

Christchurch Mobilisation Committee, Box 2560, Christchurch.

Wellington

Committee on Vietnam, Box 534, Wellington.

Nelson

Nelson Action Committee on International Affairs, 27 Brougham St, Nelson.

Auckland

Auckland Mobilisation Committee, Box 26045, Auckland.

This newspaper has been brought to you by a broad coalition of Kiwis. Some of us are Christians, some pacifists; many have no particular religious beliefs; some are students, lawyers, businessmen, workers. But we are all similar in believing that the Indo-China war is wrong, that New Zealand should never have got into it, and that we should get clear out of it immediately.

To produce this newspaper took time and effort, which many have willingly given; but it also took money, for printing. We would like to bring you this newspaper about the war; but that depends on you.

If you want to help our effort to inform hundreds of thousands of Kiwis about the war, please send a donation to:

Dr R Mann
University of Auckland
Private Bag, Auckland.

Published by Auckland University Staff Against The War and printed by the Wanganui Chronicle Co.Ltd at the printers' works corner of Campbell and Wickstead Places, Wanganui.

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THE COMING OF AGE OF BIZZARE ROCK

Love it to death
Alice Cooper
WBS 1883

Alice Cooper is a boa constrictor, turquoise make-up. Drag gear inspired by "Barbarella" and five young men trying to widen the generation gap. Alice Cooper slaughters baby dolls onstage, wears a straight jacket, gets hung in a gallows, walks to the foot of the stage and shakes up a can of beer, tears back the tab and showers the wailing mass of banana-heads with a geyser of suds. They list among their fans such diverse individuals as Salvador Dali, Fred Astaire and Pierre Cardin and elicit comments like "My dad hates you because he thinks you're fags, Shit on him". Their big break came in 1969 when they exploded on Lenny Bruce's Birthday Party and sent 3000 sickened partygoers bolting for the doors. They're not a greaser band and their image is one of an offspring of an illicit union between the Mothers of Invention and the Who with a bit of Mae West thrown in for good measure.

Their songs are about anxiety and frustration; I'm in the middle without any plans/I'm a boy and I'm a man/I'm eighteen and I don't know what I want/and I like it, in *I'm Eighteen* and on *Caught in a dream*; Running through the world with a gun in my back/tryin' to catch a ride in a Cadillac. The music assumes a manic depressive quality which turns to madness on *Ballad of Dwight Fry*.

Alice at one point in this track is screaming "I gotta get out of here" in an ever rising tone guaranteed to give you doubts of your own sanity if stoned. *Is it my Body* on side two has Alice asking; what have I got that makes you want to love me/is it my body or something I might be, and further along; have you got the time to find out who I really am. A plaintive cry conjuring up an image of Alice as a sexually confused superstar (which is probably just what he is).

Hallowed by my name and *Second Coming* are quasi religious with the second producing lyrics like; it would be nice to walk upon the water/to sit again with angels by my side, A young man searching for God or equality with Him. The album has a frightening aspect in the depths it reaches of teenage fantasies, aspirations and hangups. This also extends to the bizarre as on *Long way to Go*: silence is weeping/so I'm still weeping I guess I'll love it/love it to death. you're never sure if Alice Cooper is putting you or themselves on, or is deadly serious about the whole ghastly business of actually being Alice Cooper. The instrumental side of the album is in the style of early rock but using modern techniques and innovations. The album as a whole is bizarre and unusual. I strongly suggest you go and listen to it right now and find out who you really are.

Alice Cooper.



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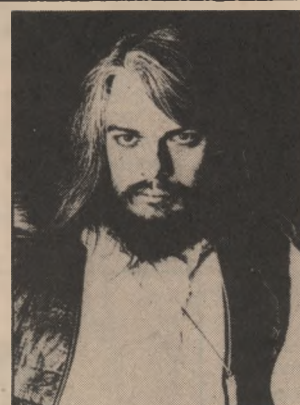
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MY LOVE AND I & GONE FOREVER

**THERE ARE THOSE WHO LISTEN AND THOSE WHO WAIT TO TALK
THIS ALBUM IS DEDICATED TO THE LISTENERS**



LEON RUSSELL
Leon Russell
SW8901

If, by now, you haven't heard of Mr Russell there would appear to be a serious gap in your musical education. Most people, however, have, by now developed a firm love-hate or even dislike of Mr Russell. It's hard for New Zealanders to admire such an uncompromising, even arrogant musician. A friend of mine swears he'll be the first musician to be publicly assassinated.

The album in review was actually released overseas quite some time ago before the Shelter People album although Russell's incomparable musical style and composing doesn't appear to have suffered because of this. A happy note, considering the rapid rise and fall of new groups and sounds, these days. All the familiar Russell styles are here with the basic, funky, Olie, backwater rock sound in predominance. Numbers like *Dixie Lullaby*, about the Louisiana man shooting easy riders south of the Mason-Dixon (Nixon?) line, *Shoot Out on the Plantation*, *Prince of Peace*, and *Hurt Some Body* (either a bad pun or a typographical error in the title) are very much in this vein. Russell tends to clutter these tracks with an overabundance of instruments coming in in the most unlikely places and tending to obscure his already almost unintelligible Okie yodelling.

This is not so apparent on the more hardrocking upbeat numbers like *I Put a spell on You* although the arrogance with which Russell edits in his beginning botches on the beginning of this track tend to destroy its impact. *Pisces Apple Lady*, *Roll away the Stone* and *Delta Lady* are thankfully free of this bullshit. *Delta Lady* is, of course the Cocker Russell classic and Leon brings it off well utilizing once again the heavy pounding piano and predominantly female backing chorus that seems to characterize his rock'n'roll numbers. *Give Peace a Chance* is boring and pretentious. I strongly suspect it was recorded at the last minute and, in an attempt to capture that whole bank-singing-along bit, Russell blew it.

Slow ballad style was never really Russell's selling point but on this album two tracks on side one *A Song for You* and *Hummingbird* are perhaps

the high point of the whole album. *A Song for You* is a beautiful show track with a soft lyrical piano and muted horns in the background while *Hummingbird* employs an acoustic guitar and piano and builds slowly into a fuller sound with the ladies of the chorus coming in at just the right phrase, "hummingbird don't fly away/don't fly away/don't fly away". The lyrics and Russell's poignant vocal on these two tracks alone, make this album worthwhile.

sidewinder.



Shocking Blue 3rd Album
Shocking Blue
SPFL 934315

Shocking Blue are of course a Dutch group, one of the few that effectively broke the stranglehold of the English rock groups of the Sixties. Unfortunately not much information was available on them and the cover offers only that Robbie van Leeuwen wrote most of the songs and is, presumably, a member of the group and that Shocking Blue produced the album themselves. This in itself is an indication of the groups competence, as you still have to be pretty good to get that sort of arrangement with your record company.

The album opens with *Shocking You*, and immediately the similarity between the lead singer and Grace Slick of the Jefferson Airplane. Velvet Heaven the next track, the similarity between the group and Jefferson Airplane is painfully obvious. This is not to say that they aren't good, they definitely don't have the revolutionary vigour - or the musical originality of the Airplane.

They do have a certain indescribable quality which will appeal to certain people (at which point people will angrily begin to write letters to the editor about my distinct lack of musical appreciation, my cretinous musical rhetoric, and probably my lack of virility and homosexual tendencies) but unfortunately not to this reviewer. At which point I'll try to bring this inadequate review of what is probably to many people a good album, to a close. If you like it you'll buy it. If you don't you won't. Give it a listen anyway you'll probably find something I missed.

Murray Thompson

The CRUX

The essential claim of the Christian message is that it holds the key to the meaning of life, but the Christian answer to life can only be found when the individual recognises that he has not the answer to life. Actually, the gospel (good news) points to the fact that man is lost, is groping in the dark, "is like a sheep without a shepherd".

In this materialistic age it is either asserted or implicitly maintained that everything depends on matter, molecules and energy and that there is nothing else in the universe apart from what has the potential to be physically observed and measured. The consequent assumption then, is that there is no God. But man is now finding that he is encompassed with vast social problems which he is despairing of ever resolving—racial and social hatred, the population explosion, the threat of global nuclear warfare, pollution, etc. Similarly, in the psychological realm, there is the constriction of the individual's personality where he is becoming an impersonal "thing" being manipulated in a computerised world. And so, like Jeremiah in the Old Testament, he cries out, "my eyes stream because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me."

This is the dilemma of man. He finds life meaningless. His life seems to be determined psychologically or biochemically. Life is worthless, merely a routine, a human conveyor-belt culminating in inevitable death. "All mankind is as grass; they last no longer than the flower of the field."

This meaninglessness and lostness is probably no better expressed than in the arts. Francis Bacon a modern British painter says this:—"Man now realises that he is an accident, that he is a completely futile being, that he has to play out the game of life without reason. Man now can only attempt to beguile himself for a time, by prolonging his life—by buying a kind of immortality from the doctors. You see, painting has become—all art has become—a game by which man distracts himself."

Of course, as Francis Schaeffer points out, it is possible not to get involved in man's dilemma; but the only way not to get involved is by being young enough, well enough, wealthy enough and being egotistic enough not to care about other people.

The Bible teaches that man is in this state because he has deliberately turned away from God. God is just a redundant concept. Man can cope by himself. "For this reason, God has given them up", the apostle Paul says three times in Romans, Chapter 1.

"There is therefore no possible defence for their conduct; knowing God they have refused to honour Him as God, or to render Him thanks. Hence all their thinking has ended in futility, and their misguided minds are plunged in darkness. They boast of their wisdom but they have made fools of themselves, exchanging the splendour of immortal God for an image shaped like mortal man . . ."

The first fundamental claim of the Christian message is that man is separated from his Creator—not by a metaphysical limitation but by moral guilt. Real fulfillment of our lives relates to the purpose for which we were made—to be in a close personal relationship with our God, to be fulfilled by Him, and thus to have an abundance of life.

But the actual wrongness of man is not so much his sinful actions, i.e. murder, hate, pride etc., but his state of being in relation to the infinite, holy, but personal God. It is a pathology of the nature of man, and the symptoms of the pathology are the evil actions of men. Man has exerted his freedom and deliberately turned away from God. Thus God has given him up and left him to the turmoil of his autonomy.

The apostle Paul summarises the condition of mankind in Romans, Chapter 3, again strikingly relevant for our age:

"There is no just man not one;
no one who understands, no one who seeks God.
All have swerved aside, all alike have become debased
there is no one to show kindness; no, not one.
Their throat is an open grave,
they use their tongues for treachery
adder's venom is on their lips,
and their mouths are full of bitter curses.
Their feet hasten to shed blood,
ruin and misery lie along their paths,
they are strangers to the high road of peace,
and reverence for God does not enter their thoughts."

But the Bible also teaches that man is a wonderful and unique creature because he has been made "in the image of God". Man stands supreme over all creation, as in Psalm 8:

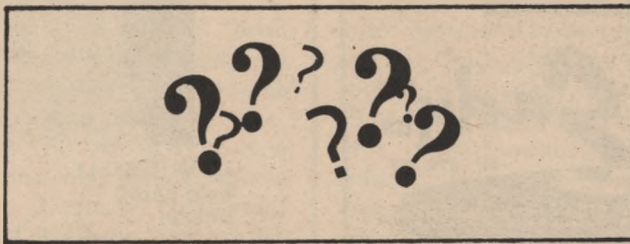
"When I look up to Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars set in their place by Thee, what is man that Thou shouldst remember Him? But Thou hast made him a little less than a god crowning him with glory and honour."

The works of Jesus Christ on earth indicate that to Him man is very meaningful, is not a contemptible creature, but as



Matthew reports, "the sight of the people moved Him to compassion." In fact, we are so meaningful to God that He sent His Son, revealing God in human form, to rescue us from our lostness. For He says: "I am the light of the world"; "I am the water of life, if any man thirst let him come unto me and he will never thirst again"; "Come unto me all you that are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest."

—Allan Broom



GEMEINSCHAFT . . . WHAT IS IT?

"A survey was conducted by Father Donnelly who found that the main problem facing students was loneliness . . . Last year at Victoria there were seven suicides in the first term . . . and there are dozens of attempts. About 10 students per term are committed to mental hospitals and there are literally hundreds of nervous breakdowns." This is what Shadbolt said in the first issue of Craccum this year but what the hell have we done about it? Bloody nothing. Formed the same old cliques based on intellectual rhubarb. Some people really get hung up on constipation.

workers

Editors: Heather McInnes
Gordon Clifton

Photographics: John Miller

Advertising: James Sloan

Technical Editor: Jim Laing

COPY FOR THE NEXT ISSUE MUST REACH US TODAY, TYPED AND DOUBLE SPACED.

Published by the Craccum Administration Board for the proprietors, the Auckland University Student's Association and printed by the Wanganui Chronicle Co. Ltd., at the printers' works, corner of Campbell and Wicksteed Places, Wanganui.

Living Theatre - The Shadow of LIONEL TERRY

THE FACTS

On September 24th 1905 Lionel Terry shot down an Chinese in Haining St, Wellington. He then gave himself to the police. He committed the murder to draw attention to his racial beliefs. Terry was sentenced to prison but burnt down a wing of the Lyttleton jail on the anniversary of the murder. He was committed to Sunnyside Mental Asylum but escaped four times. He was transferred to Seacliff Asylum where he dressed in clean white sheet believing himself to be Jesus Christ.

THE PLAY

The Living Theatre Troupe have pushed the implications of these facts to create a piece of theatre for our society. Direction is by Ken Rea; script by Murray Edmond; music supervised by Philip Dadson and Jack Body.

THE SHADOW OF LIONEL TERRY plays from June 10th to July 1st Wednesdays to Saturdays at the Arts Centre 24 Grafton Rd. Bookings at Court Courts or phone Arts Centre 371 121

Firstly, what have we got that leads to social contacts? The Cafe! Damn the architects—I can't usually even find the people I do know in that sea of black and grey, concrete and glass let alone meet any new bods. If you are lucky enough to get a seat, after ploughing through the yoghurt lids, and make friendly noises to the bod next to you you are liable to get a "What are ya" glance back. What about the clubs—these dynamic bodies probably attract only 1-2% of the total university population.

If you really think about it there is no focus for student life, nowhere where people get together and very little collective action—only large amounts of hot air expelled within the cliques resulting in very little action. There have been a few times in the last couple of years people have acted together and spontaneously on campus—the ones we can think of are the July Mobe, The Hailstorm and the time people were brought together by the Ali-Frazier fight when people crossed the communication barriers to enquire about it.

Why do we have to have a common enemy to bring us together. Why can't we come together because its a really good thing to do? We are stupid enough to let ourselves drift into a system based on competition. Whose golden rule is "keep your neck shut".

The students at Adelaide university finding themselves in a similar rut, developed the idea of GEMEINSCHAFT which involves working together building a close-knit community. This community exists!!

They now have two main centres, an old shop and an old house which are used for meetings, play centre, tutoring aboriginals and migrants, and as an advice centre. The rest was living (note not existing) space where people could come and eat, sleep, play music and talk. The people are very much part of a community which one of our writers found out when he was over in Adelaide in January. He very rapidly became part of the community and had a fantastic week with the people there.

An ever increasing number of us feel that Gemeinschaft is really suitable for AU and are attempting to set one up here.

We are enthusiastic enough (or stupid enough) to have visions of a warm meeting place which could become the focus of student activity. We feel that because students are so scattered all over Auckland it is even more important for there to be effective communication between our houses. We are aiming to produce a cohesion amongst the student body which facilitates collective action. So many of us live such petty cellular existences which successfully destroys our zest for living and just being. If you don't believe us do a count of the number of frowns you see on students faces versus the number of smiles.

Gemeinschaft means togetherness and that is precisely the quality that students life lacks.

If we have our way when you come along to Gemeinschaft you will find lots of people doing things together probably from making "G" armbands and decorating our quarters (optimist!) to making music or in fact doing any damn thing you feel like doing.

SO PEOPLE JOIN US and help make Gemeinschaft a reality.

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(INTRODUCING JOHN Z. SMITH)

Why do I call myself John Z. Smith? Why not use my given name? I'll tell you why. I am a homosexual and proud of it. Our great society which tries to force me to conform to the stereotype would crucify me and my family and probably cause me to lose my job. I must protect my parents and my occupation, therefore the need for an alias.

Why must I appear in public anyway? Ever since I became part of the Gay Liberation Front, I have felt frustrated about the need to present the other aspect of our life. Everyone now knows that my brothers and sisters have declared themselves to all. Now I can try to present the picture of someone who is unable to do that.

My parents do not live in Auckland, so there is no need for them to know my sexual preference. It would only cause them all kinds of hang-ups because of YOU. — the people who will not think about the way your conditioned ideas of sexuality affect other people and yourselves. You will probably say, "I am not a homosexual, or bisexual." You could be wrong, as I was. As with everyone else in our society, I was conditioned from birth to believe that I was a male, and therefore I must be an aggressive, dominating, ambitious person, while females were to be meek, mothering, ideal housewives. I was fortunate because I met an exceptional person (a heterosexual) who was able to help me overcome this conditioning to become myself. So ended a long, lonely, unhappy childhood. I can now be proud of the fact that I am now one of the comparatively few truly liberated people.

Go on, liberate yourself. THINK about your sexuality. This doesn't mean you have to become a homosexual or a bisexual. Even heterosexuals need to be liberated. Do you really know the implications of your sexual preference? Do you know anything about any other sexual preferences, or do you just accept without question all the rubbish that is thrown around about them? Take homosexuality as an example. It has been called "unnatural". Is it? Anything that occurs in nature must be natural, and homosexuality does. It is found right throughout the animal kingdom, and has occurred during all periods of mankind's history. It is not something new and different. It has been called "perverted". Why? Is it a perversion to love your fellow man — To me, sex with someone purely for self-gratification, with nothing emotional between two people is more likely to be a perversion. But who has the right to call something perverted? Who has the right to determine someone else's morals and try (unsuccessfully) to enforce them? Aren't morals something personal?

That's what Gay Liberation is all about. We want people to be able to be real. We want society to leave people alone to develop their personality along its own natural lines. We want no attempt to condition or force them to conform to stereotypes. We want a society composed of individuals — to hell with your bloody stereotypes. Can you really say that you have achieved that "ideal" anyway?

John Z. Smith
Gay Liberation Front
Box 3132
Auckland.

CONTACT has moved downstairs next to the University Bookshop.

Contact is the confidential independent enquiry agency which was first set up in 1968 under the auspices of the then education officer, Peter Stallworthy.

Contact tries to be an avenue for anything and makes the promise that if it cannot help will find someone who can. It holds information on practically everything—conscientious objection, sports clubs, cultural clubs, welfare services, people who can help with study problems, people who can help with specific subjects, V.D. clinics etc. Contact holds information about service organisations (such as Ponsonby Community Centre, Youthline, Prisoners' Aid etc.) and it has maps, timetables, university calendars, A.A. manuals and almost anything anyone can want. It also holds information on what is going on around the university and when clubs, meetings etc. are being held.

Contact staff are in

attendance at the office from 9-5 every day of the University year.

Contact tries to be aware of all the needs that students experience and handles any kind of enquiry whether it involves routine information or personal problems.

REWARD

The person who stole a black case from outside the library on Tuesday May 30 between 6.30 and 8.30p.m. can collect a \$5 reward from the Studass Lost Property Office if they hand in the bag and all its

contents. OR they can leave it in one of the lockers outside the library with a note giving details of where to leave the \$5.00 OR if they could leave the contents of the bag in one of the library lockers they could keep the bag, as the contents are of no use to you but are of great value to me. OR if they have found the bag and contents of no use to them and have got rid of it or want to get rid of it could they phone me at 606-090 nights and say where they have left it.

Adrian Devitt. 3 Onslow Ave.

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HOW TO RUN A WAR BY REMOTE CONTROL

It is a common myth that the Indochina war has ended or is winding down. Withdrawal of Australian and American troops, and Nixon's talk of "peace" has tricked many Australians into believing that there is no longer any war to worry about.

The FACTS are otherwise. There is a continuing American war against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. There is a new *method* for carrying out the war, but the war remains. What might be called the Third Indo-China war has the following features:

- It is being waged across the whole of Indo-China. The Americans have intervened on a large scale in Cambodia and Laos, as well as continuing in Vietnam.
- The American war is being waged by new and more horrifying methods. Unable to rely on the use of American GIs, the U.S. has turned to the use of massive firepower (bombs and artillery) and technology. The aim is to deny victory and self-determination to the Indo-Chinese people.
- There is an attempt to prop up corrupt regimes by material support and by denying the Indo-Chinese people their right to choose their own governments. Along with this goes an attempt to build up mercenary armies to fight the war.

What has constrained American policy makers throughout the duration of the war in Indo-China? Certainly nothing less than the resistance of the Indo-Chinese people themselves. The very forces which had defeated the French in 1954 and the Japanese before them. It is also a truism now that the people of America have brought the war home. The anti-war movement is a force at home in its own right, one which Nixon needs to outflank too, if the war is to continue.

The third reality that Nixon has to face is the condition of his armed forces. Over the years, those men who came face to face with the death, destruction and misery which was inflicted on the peasants of Indo-China began to object to their part in the war. They began to organise against the war, to resist the military machine in an attempt to stop the war — a new soldier emerged, the anti-war GI. Others, not so conscious in their motivations, took to mutiny, insubordination, non-cooperation, even outright murder ("fraggings") of officers. Faced with a military force which is so drug-ridden, demoralised and torn asunder by racial strife, Nixon's only choice, if he were going to maintain his aggressive posture towards Vietnam, was to withdraw the very element that may undo his plans — withdraw the superfluous military forces.

The result was "Vietnamisation" — the attempt to change the colour of the corpses.

The other result was to set in motion the "invisible war" — an automated, electronic war which does two things — it gave Nixon a means of deceiving the people of the world as to his exact intentions and secondly, with no face-to-face combat there was less of a chance of demoralisation of the Air Force.

How does this automated war work?

An example of this warfare is project "Igloo White", an operation in Laos which later spread to Cambodia.

The operation consists of dropping thousands of sensors along the elaborate trails of Laos and Cambodia. The signals from these sensors (there are two sorts [a] vibrations in the ground and [b] noises in their vicinity) are transmitted to a plane hovering above which then transmits these signals to two huge IBM 360 65 computers in Nakhon Phanom, Thailand. The computers analyse the data and print out bombing sites, maps of suspected roads etc. The information is then passed on to the Battlefield Control Centre which directs air attacks.

At first, these sensors couldn't differentiate between friendly or hostile troops, let alone between man and animal. Now, of course, added sophistication has produced metal detectors, heat sensors, even "people sniffers". But all are for the one purpose, they automatically call for a shower of death on anything that moves.

The electronic gadgetry includes new types of bombs. One is a laser-guided bomb and another is a "smart" bomb, a T.V.-guided bomb. The laser bomb has an eye at its tip

and will direct itself to the spot on the ground where a laser beam shines. One plane sends out the laser beam onto a bridge or suspected road and this bomb will give pin-point accuracy on that spot. The "smart" bomb has a T.V. camera at its tip and will send a picture of what it sees to the cockpit — all the pilot has to do is lock it onto a target and he gets a deadly accurate hit.

Another aspect of this automated, invisible war is the use of anti-personnel weapons. Those which are dropped from the air come in the form of a mother bomb which disgorges hundreds of bomblets, designed to spread over a wide area and which explode on the impact with the ground or just above it. When they explode hundreds of ball bearings or other sort of pellets are released. Should an unprotected person be hit he is simply shredded to death. These bomblets have been nicknamed "pineapple" (explodes on impact with the ground) or "guavas" (explodes about 30 ft. above ground).

There is no question of being "emotional" in calling these weapons anti-personnel. They have no other function but to kill and maim people, they can't damage walls, bridges or any structures which may be militarily strategic. A comment made by Major Anderson at the U.S. Senate Hearing on the Electronic Battlefield Program, on anti-personnel mines is worth quoting. "Gravel (anti-personnel mine) will blow a man's foot off but it will not blow a hole in a truck tyre".

The degree of automation is unprecedented. Not only are the planes which pick up the signals unmanned but now the planes carrying bombs may also be unmanned. Also the F-4 Phantom jets which carry out the bombing are equipped with TPQ-10 radar navigation device. This enables the computers in Nakhon Phanom to activate and release the bombs so that they hit the computer selected targets.

From sensor to computer to bomb to target — the whole process is untouched by human hands. This is a war which is almost totally automated — only the victims are human.

Vietnamisation has been the American password into a fairyland dream about winning the war in Indo-China. We first heard the word as part of the Nixon Doctrine. It was Nixon's answer to a reality which was forced onto him by events in Indo-China. There is a long history of secret and not so secret reports that establish the fact of the popularity of the National Liberation forces. The Pentagon Papers also showed that the Americans have for a long time understood that what they were combatting was a "people's war".

The failure of the presence of American troops in reversing the trend in Vietnam, which was later followed by military defeat during the Tet offensive, was matched by Washington's solution. In Ghomsky's words: "The world's most advanced society has found the answer to people's war: eliminate the people".

Hence the genocide, the pacification programs, the "free fire zones", and now the invisible, automated, electronic war.

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