

# Craccum

THE UNIVERSITY  
OF AUCKLAND

22 JUN 1972

Volume 46 Issue 14

Thursday 22nd June 1972

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## STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE

Last Thursday's meeting of the Executive unanimously passed a resolution to dissolve the Craccum Administration Board and to dismiss the editors. This decision was made after lengthy discussion of the responsibilities of the Board and the legal obligations of the editors. The rest of this statement will explain the reasons behind this move.

The constitution (as ratified by the students over a number of years) clearly defines the rules governing the appointment of editors for Association publications. Editors are obliged to sign contracts with the Association, but the constitution is designed to allow as much freedom of publication as possible. One of the few conditions of employment that the Association imposes on the editors of Craccum is that they must ensure that copy is submitted for legal perusal before publication. During the earlier part of this year the executive received repeated assurances from the Publications Officer that two senior Law students were doing this. This was completely untrue and the two students named swore that they had never undertaken to do such checking.

The Executive has never tried to dictate editorial policy to the editors—in fact the major reason for the establishment of the Craccum Administration Board was to prevent this situation arising. The reason for including legal checks in the constitution and in the editor's contract was to prevent the Association from incurring financial losses through lawsuits. If the threatened actions already provoked by previous issues of Craccum this year had materialized, then already one third of the total income of the Association would have been committed.

In taking our action the following points were also considered:

- The Publications Officer was required to arrange for the editors to sign their contract with A.U.S.A. This had not been done as instructed by RN 32 of the Exec. Minutes of 2nd March 1972.

- The editors have not compiled in all cases to ensure that Craccum be perused by a competent legal advisor. (See the Exec. Minutes of 13th April 1972).

- The members of the executive were not satisfied with the way in which the Craccum Administration Board was conducting meetings without giving the necessary prior notification to members. On some occasions no notification at all was given. As a result the representatives of the Executive were not always able to attend.

- Members of the Craccum Admin. Board and the editors have not attended meetings of the Executive. It was felt that, in the absence of The Publications Officer, someone should have been appointed to represent the Board throughout the full duration of the meetings.

According to the Rules of the Association a Special General Meeting is to be held in B28 today. Students will be asked to ratify the action of the Executive in dismissing the editors. . . The executive considered very carefully and in the interests of the Association as a whole all aspects of Craccum and its administration and felt itself bounded to take the action it has. It is now entirely in the hands of the students at the General Meeting whether they wish to confirm this action.

John Woodroffe	(President)
Cora Baillie	(House Committee Chairman)
Russell Bartlett	(Public Liaison Officer)
Colleen Foley	(International Affairs Officer)
Rob Garlick	(Treasurer)
Richard Gyde	(Education Officer)
Mike McMenamin	(Public Liaison Officer)
George Myalls	(Man Vice-President)
Neil Newman	(Capping Controller)
Richard Rowe	(Business Manager)
Ross Sellwood	(Societies Rep.)
Dave Winslade	(Social Controller)

To the President,  
Auckland University Student's Association,

On Thursday 15th June, I took up the duties of temporary editor-in-charge on the understanding that they would finish, when the present difficulties had been resolved, after one or at the most, two issues of "Craccum."

Further to this I wish to give notice of my resignation to take effect on 29th June or earlier if at all possible.

(signed) Jean-Baptiste Piggin  
16/6/72

## APOLOGY

In the issue of Craccum of Thursday, 8th June 1972 in the article on page 1 on the Crewe case was a statement that the Dr Nelson that gave evidence at the trial had no special qualifications in ballistics and had been proved in a previous case to be inaccurate and far from thorough in his examination of fibres.

In fact the author of the article was confused regarding the persons who gave evidence in the Crewe case and in the bombing case mentioned in the article. Dr Donald Frederick Nelson (M.Sc. [N.Z.]; Dr of Criminology (University of California)) was the witness in the Crewe case while Dr Peter Edward Nelson (B.Sc.[Hons]; Ph D (both in Chemistry)) was the witness in the bombing case.

Both Drs D.F. Nelson and P.E. Nelson are highly qualified experts and have had extensive experience in their respective fields.

Craccum acknowledges that the comments in the article were inaccurate and were defamatory of both Drs D.F. Nelson and P.E. Nelson. Craccum unreservedly withdraws the statements and any innuendo and implication that they were involved in the "planting" of evidence and apologizes to the Drs Nelson for the publication of the article.

## EDITORIAL

The Studass Executive's action in suspending Gordon and Heather was not warranted by the circumstances, was hasty and clumsy. Exec can act moderately and representatively. Very few people take seriously the pre-recorded rhetoric of "beaurocratic red tape" and "fascist tyranny" because we know that the Exec tries to be objective, tolerant and fair.

But in this instance is a tragic mistake. They cannot succeed in this and they know it. They have made an unrepresentative decision in misguided sincerity which will hurt them and their sympathisers in the backlash.

The suspension which may or may not be ratified today was on the grounds of incompetence and irresponsibility in publishing legally actionable articles without the examination of our lawyers.

But obviously these articles are a predictable consequence of the vigorous editorship of Gordon and Heather. Other New Zealand newspapers, student, underground or capitalist get away with as much with the help of the lawyers. It is absurd to demand that a newspaper with such small staff and resources be perfect in every word, because it must be only a matter of time before a blunder turns up. Yet no insurance has been taken out against this. When it does happen there are two courses of action provided for (Sched 14, Rule 6): dismissal or the requirement that the editors carry out the cost of legal action and damages. After three quarters of an hour's discussion, the Exec chose the more drastic of these. The majority of the members were completely ignorant of the workings and administration of the newspaper. And whatever the alleged failings of the editors and publications officer it was downright bad manners and thickheadedness not to make sure that all three were present.

The basis of the suspension becomes even shakier when they defensively start to say that the "Craccum" staff were unco-operative in other matters anyway. The constitution gives the Exec wide discretionary powers simply because it is impossible to foresee every emergency, not so that it can dump editors when it feels dissatisfied. A.U.S.A. is not run by touch.

This whole ball-up has been mismanaged from the start. The Exec could have adjourned till early the following morning in order to discuss the matter with the editors and publications officer without risk, yet it chose to discuss and decide on the matter in a short space of time without the one expert who might have showed them a more reasonable and effective action.

(continued on page one).

## GORDON CLIFTON AND HEATHER McINNES, EDITORS OF CRACCUM HAVE BEEN SACKED.



**EVERY AUSA MEMBER IS ASKED TO CAREFULLY STUDY  
THE FACTS BOTH HERE AND IN THEIR NEWS-SHEET  
AND JUDGE THE RIGHT ACTION ON THOSE FACTS**

SGM TODAY TO DECIDE FUTURE OF CRACCUM—ONE O'CLOCK, B28.



On Friday when there was still hope for a compromise happy ending, David Colbourn though having no part in the dispute misguidedly forced it into the open at a discussion convened for another purpose, against the wishes of both parties. In tediously crying the name of democracy, compromise and toleration were killed by dragging it into the light where positions were reluctantly built up, abuse traded, and pride, stubbornness and anger accumulated.

There are now several groups trying to use this affair to their own advantage so that however it turns out, the student body as a whole will have lost.

## RUNNING A STUDENT NEWSPAPER

Craccum has not and has never tried to slavishly imitate all student opinion. There is no reason why it should satisfy the Exec as to its content. The only criterion is whether or not that content is interesting and good enough to satisfy the ten thousand students who are forced to subsidize it. Craccum has had, and will have unpopular editors and policies whose value only becomes apparent long after. But only the gravest abuses of the office should ever justify sacking as long as Craccum is a completely open newspaper. The situation with finance should be clear and simple: that the publisher has \$7,000 per year from A.U.S.A. to use to produce approximately 30 issues.

As soon as there are conditions on the spending of this money, Craccum becomes no better than a capitalist newspaper. (A capitalist newspaper is congenitally incapable of criticising the system whereby it exists). Such newspapers and radio stations along with an accountant-ruled N.Z.B.C. (an image of what Craccum might become, which can teach us some lessons from its similarities) control the media scene in New Zealand. They consistently divide the "market" to avoid competing, their notion of public interest only surfaces when it coincides with the profit motive and they habitually and deliberately deny their role in politically educating the people. Suppression or weighting of the news may not be a bad thing in itself, but the blatant deceit that it does not go on and the bland pretence at impartiality where readers rarely have the opportunity to check is a wrong to the nation of capitalism at its worst.

Now the modern student body expects its newspapers to work to counteract this. In doing so the papers are thrust hard against the laws of indecency, official secrets, sedition and libel and must take unusual risks.

Right now, the Tory Government is trying to engineer a landslide for November with agonised screaming over the "domination" of the country by treasonous tomato-throwers and flour-bombers. As students committed to change whether liberal, idealist or radical we are likely to be caught under it. The student newspaper will be at the focus of action to spoil this.

These are strong reasons to keep up the sort of Craccum we have had so far. The two people who have proved what they could do and built it up are Gordon Clifton and Heather McInnes — there is no sufficient reason why they should not be restored to Craccum to get on with the job.

## THIS ISSUE OF CRACCUM

As interim editor-in-chief, I have chosed to prepare today's issue of Craccum for the AU Student's Association against the persuaviveness of those who want to make a protest, because I believe that this newspaper ought not to be the political football that cynics and pragmatists would make of it. Craccum is a service for students like the cafeteria or health service. And it costs us seven thousand dollars in a year.

Its existence is justified as a news source for students, as a medium for students and as a strong alternative to the capitalist press. To fail to publish it is to misuse it as a weapon in the infighting of the power groups and to forget the nine and a half thousand ordinary members who want to know what is going on.

I know that there are two sides in this disagreement. I believed in and sought to compromise, and still do. It is now up to every member to make a judgement on the facts and the arguments.

The Exec is out on a limb now. Of course it is to their advantage to have their case made known. But disagree with it as we may, it is only right to publish it. I expect to be called a puppet, a dupe, a lackey, a pawn of the Exec for doing this. I am the man in the middle and expect to be most hurt in the collision. I expect to suffer because I did not take an easy way out. But if a stooge editor were appointed, the situation could only become worse.

Both parties were given every opportunity to argue their stands here without conditions, but the suspended editors declined since they have their own plans to publicise their point of view. As the acting editor, I have one interest: the future of Craccum and editorial policy concerns that alone. Therefore I believe that Heather

and Gordon should be restored yet I cannot become involved any deeper in this dispute.

I proffer thanks to the suspended staff and others for their generosity and magnanimity and work already done to keep this outfit on the rails. Craccum will continue to be published without interruption.

—The Acting Editor



## SOME OBJECTIONS ANSWERED BY RUSSELL BARTLETT

\* *The publications officer and the editors should have been invited to the exec meeting which made the decision.*

The publications officer is a member of exec and his infrequent and brief appearances at meetings is no fault of the other members. The editors of Craccum are also required to attend meetings—one applicant for the job was turned down on the grounds that he would not be able to do so yet of the three who were appointed not one has so far managed to attend a single meeting.

\* *We have avoided a law suit on this occasion so why complain?*

The writing and publication of the article in question revealed an irresponsible attitude toward the facts being reported upon, and in failure to have copy checked a deliberate non-compliance with the editors terms of employment. This is the third occasion that Craccum's failure to carry out the elementary checking procedures have resulted in unnecessary legal actions. The editors have shown disregard bordering on contempt for the interests of students.

Students may have felt differently if the alleged libels were necessary to achieve some purpose or enquiry—Heather's bland reference to the price of free speech is not her licence to lack of journalistic integrity, or an excuse for her to ignore the terms under which she was appointed.

\* *The 250,000 overruns of the Craccum supplement were not proceeded with.*

Only the intervention of the Treasurer, acting on a comment dropped at an S.R.C. meeting, prevented the unauthorised printing of the supplement. The admin board appears to have lost control over what is ordered in the name of the Association.

\* *The dismissals are in some way a political move by the executive.*

The decisions were based solely on the irregularities concerning the board and the editors, as outlined. There were not grounds for any sort of gain by the Exec or its individual members—especially those who have indicated their intention to stand for office in the elections.

\* *Students should have been consulted.*

A full meeting of students is to be held today. The dismissal procedure requires any sackings by the executive to be ratified by a meeting. Exec could not support the activities of the board as constituted and was obliged to initiate the move. It is fully appreciated that the final decision is the students'. To approve the ignorance of the legal obligations of the editors and to accept the continuing malfunction of the board must be a decision from a full meeting of students.

Last week from Fantasyland Carew announced that Mickey Mouse was one of his best friends—so turn up to Disneyland today at 1 p.m. at B28.



## WHY DID THE CRACCUM ADMIN. BOARD FOLD?

*Please read schedule 15 of the constitution*

The Craccum Admin. Board was set up, at the Autumn General Meeting last year, to oversee the affairs of the Association's main publication Craccum. The composition of the Board was intended to ensure that all sides got a fair and equitable hearing.

I have been Business Manager for six weeks now. I went to my first "Craccum" meeting the day before I was officially appointed to the Exec. Paul Carew carefully gave me written notice of the meeting because the Board's last set of minutes had not been accepted by the Exec. The Chairman of the Admin. Board (and Publications Officer) had not been circularising the other Exec members on the Board to inform them where and when the meetings were to be held.

I arrived punctually at 10.30 as requested, to find one member.

At 11.15 other members of the Board arrived. We still lacked a quorum but proceeded with business because "Heather is in Auckland and we can put her name down". Heather did arrive at 12.30 as the meeting was closing.

Since then there has been one meeting of which I was informed verbally and several false alarms from the same verbal source. I was told that a standing meeting occurred at 5.15 every Thursday. One did. Due to a laboratory from which I cannot be excused between 5.00 and 6.00 p.m., I am not able to arrive until 6.00.

Last Thursday night, knowing of certain legal matters, I made special arrangements to arrive on time to discuss these with the editors and Publications Officer. I found the photographer in lone residence.

I knew of the solicitor's letter, Heather knew of the solicitor's letter because I rang her as soon as I saw it. John Miller knew of the letter. I assumed that other staff were told in the two intervening days.

*Apparently only two members of the board considered this matter important enough to attend the standing meeting to consider it.*

The Craccum Admin. Board as it has existed is an ineffectual, impotent, ridiculous organisation. Matters properly its concern have been taken out of its hands. The Board was not told of the Tenants' Association overruns, which have already been charged to A.U.S.A. No information was given of the intention to produce an eight-page Craccum and buy an eight-page supplement from Dr. Mann. (Dr. Mann believed he was buying Craccum overruns). The Board was not informed of the "African Supplement" overruns to come from this issue. It took the Board six weeks before it got round to asking for a salaried reporter (and six minutes for Exec. to agree it was necessary and pay up).

Originally designed to prevent friction between the Craccum staff and the Exec. this Board has served no purpose but to hamper and delay communication.

—Richard Rowe.

## THE MEETING

*The Auckland University Student's Association Executive resolved on the night of 15th of June to "express its lack of confidence in the Craccum Administration Board and withdraw those powers delegated to it" and "that the executive do dismiss the two editors of Craccum forthwith under Rule 6 of the 14th schedule of the Constitution." These were passed unanimously without abstention. The members present were President Wodoroffe, McMenamin, Starling, Gyde, Foley, Sellwood, Newman, Winslade, Vice-President Myalls, Bartlett, Rowe, and Treasurer Garlick. Not at the meeting were Vice-President Clare Ward and Cora Baillie and the Publications Officer Paul Carew.*

*The discussion was in strict confidence, but it is known that the first resolution resulted from claimed irregularities in the conduct of Board meetings and the failure to place printing orders through the AUSA. The reasons for the second are more vague but revolve around several threats of libel action this year. Speculation on other differences at that time between editors and executive cannot be substantiated because nobody can recall their opinions before the eruptions and explosions taking place at the time of writing.*

*Immediately consequent to these resolutions the Exec,*

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appointed Jean-Baptiste Piggin, the only member observing the meeting, to be Acting Editor-in-Chief to complete the issue of Craccum in preparation and decided to call applications for the editorship for the rest of the year. Under the constitution however, these resolutions must be ratified or withdrawn by a Special General Meeting of the Association which will be held at 1.00pm on Thursday 22nd June in B28.

This is the most important decision of the year, but this meeting also passed other resolutions of wide interest to the student body.

Richard Shorter, a director of 'Instinctive Impulses Ltd' (of which AUSA is a part owner) was at the meeting to speak for the company. Its minutes were at last ratified after having been put off four times since April. The main reason for his visit here from his base in Wellington was to obtain a guarantee or loan to the company to get the national newspaper 'ID' into production. The Exec was not very enamoured of the idea, nor happy about the vagueness of present plans but granted a guarantee on a three hundred dollar overdraft for the company. This is considerably less than other contributions given by some students' associations, and the hopes for 'ID' are not made much brighter since between five and ten thousand dollars will be needed to get 'ID' off the ground.

A donation of one hundred dollars and free use of Studass offices in the Union was given to the Auckland Mobilisation Committee following the acceptance of its aims by the Student Representative Council the week before, but subject to the condition that there be no glorification or support of any more bloodshed or victories. Also a donation of twenty dollars to South Africa Freedom Day.

Another debate on equal pay for Union Employees of both sexes was fruitless. No resolutions were passed because it was felt necessary to give long consideration before revising the budgeted ten thousand dollar catering subsidy. It appears however that prices will not be raised merely to implement equal pay (if it ever comes). AUSA is in the same position as any other employer here—equal pay will cause a significant rise in fees and the current attitude of the student body could still be resistant to it in practice.

The threat that the Speakers Fund might have been wiped out in favour of the creche was allayed by the Exec granting it \$250 while the creche took \$1000.

The Fund was immediately used to assist SCM's Bob Scott in his trip to observe the University Christian Movement in South Africa.

Those who had worked for Open Day were thanked and accounts for the celebration after were approved when Colleen Foley asked for fifty-five dollars to cover expenses incurred on Open Day in feeding the President and cleaning their house. Typically tight with Association money, the Exec refused.

A motion was also passed calling for rescinding of the three-year limit on Master's Honours courses in this University.

SRC meets tonight at 7.00pm in B10.

Exec meets again next Thursday at 6.30pm in the Council Room.



SUPERMAN AT A.U.

With the present aborted state of many unions it becomes particularly obvious that the American mythical superhero is needed very shortly. The directorates of our many authoritative institutions are becoming increasingly out of touch, and some new and perhaps less erratic thinking anywhere in these establishments could go a long way.

J.B.L. was described as falling down because it was trying to go a long way and a little too fast. Probably true, but our problem is that all our institutions are attempting the same thing. The Labour Party is dashing its chances this year by racing along a path of frustrated non-committal too fast (see last week's Craccum). National Party too has shot its orgasmic belt before entry into rational bridge building a little too fast as has our

Social Credit friends. Perhaps the only exceptions to this can of progressive shitwittedness are the Federation of Labour and our very own A.U.S.A. Executive. The latter mainly because there is no progression about their shitwittedness only regression.

One wonders about the causes of this trend—perhaps everyone has jumped onto the sinking J.B.L. bandwagon or perhaps it's just a case of like wealth, mediocrity also filters down to the lower strata of authority, and ultimately society. And our nation is now completely saturated with mediocrity, and it is especially evident in the lower and higher echelons of our institutions—namely the Government and the Students' Association. Everyone knows about the mediocrity in our Government, but not so much about the shitwittedness in our own Executive. It's true enough! I have yet to sort out whether or not the shitwittedness is inherent in the people involved or in the system itself. It's probably both. We unfortunately have a system with gross mediocrity in both the personages it produces and especially those who it puts in authority.

Consider. Our Administrative Vice President got elected on an alias—there is no George Myralls either enrolled as a student of our University or as a member of the A.U.S.A. The Social Controller is such because the immediate past Social Controller appointed him to that position—he was never elected. No more need be said about the system—it's obviously mediocre. And then when people like Bob Lack and Tim Shadbolt opt out of it, the word mediocre becomes not an affliction but an indictment.

This mediocrity becomes nauseating when shitwits such as Garlick and his henchmen are able to manipulate the emotions of other inexperienced Exec. members such as Myralls and Winslade with irrational cries of "\$40,000.00, it'll cost us \$40,000.00!" Even worse is the fact that such people will attempt to pawn off a 1st year student, in their anti-Craccum-Editors-Campaign.

To discuss the issues here and now would be inflammatory, so I won't. But basically the whole conglomerate abortion boils down to a game of goodies and baddies with the goodies showing the silver star of "courage" and reactionary conservatism against the "communist radicals" of whom they have a lustful hatred. In the end it was Bartlett, Garlick and Newman and co. saying "I don't like you" and wielding the appropriate weapon. Russell Bartlett told me that the editors made a blue so what—his Executive did a similar job when they allowed the Mystery Envelope Controller to get a bundle out of them last year.

It's not the editors of Craccum who need to be dismissed, but those propagators of mediocrity we at present have governing our A.U.S.A. system.

The issue involved could have been settled in a reasonable manner had there been any rational minds discussing it—but there weren't. So shitwitted mediocre emotionalism won the day.

Bob Hillier.

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THE GREAT CRACCUM FIASCO (Continuing story of)

So our executive has decided (unanimously) to sack Craccum's editors.

I pointed out to Russell Bartlett (public relations officer, and a participant in the decision) that this was a rather arbitrary move, since under the circumstances, the editors were not consulted in advance, and the first notification of the move appeared in the Herald the next morning (last Friday).

We have already heard from Mr Garlock (treasurer) that the Dollar, er... I mean the Student Interest, must be safeguarded. He took great pains at Friday's constitutional meeting (which turned into a Craccum debate) to point out that he was the true champion of the \$24 (in some cases hard-earned!) that students pay in

fees—and that the editors were not students and haven't even Paid! Mr Bartlett added another dimension that no doubt weighed heavily on the minds of our executive—that they had their Own Positions to think about in this action. But what has happened? They have exercised their Authority without consultation with Craccum Staff, or students. They have widened the (natural?) dissention that exists already between the executive and Craccum, and most importantly perhaps, have endangered the continuation of a well-produced and vital alternative (to the establishment) newspaper.

Now, this issue of libel is a genuine and complicated mistake, as it appears to me, and has been seized on for political motives exterior to the issue.

However, I must be fair to the executive viewpoint, from what I know of the proceedings, and state that Mr Bartlett told me that there were no political overtones in the decision taken. But he has also said that approaches have been made to Gordon (one of the editors) to run the paper by himself, and to remove Heather (the other editor) who wrote the article in question. Now, a few conclusions suggest themselves to me:

- o Let's keep in mind that when executive members start thinking of their Own Positions, they generally are concerned with their own ambitions outside the transient framework of university politics.
- o Let's remember that this is election year, and that Craccum is

trying to influence the election, with the production of special supplements on issues such as NZ Vietnam policy, and exploitative practices by landlords.

o Let's remember that many conservative interests (not to mention political parties) look disfavorably upon Craccum and those in (executive) Authority who appear to support it. (All the more reason why we must maintain Craccum's present approach).

o Let's especially keep in mind that the executive is AT LEAST equal in responsibility if agreed-on procedures are not followed by sections of the student establishment and the fact that this is being glossed over by the executive is an attempt to place self-effacing blame on a scapegoat.

I agree that an unfortunate mistake has occurred. I think that no blame can be placed exclusively on specific individuals where malfunctions in administration occur. I also believe that Craccum must be contentious, and even extra-legal if necessary, where moral issues are involved.

The executive in this matter should be more interested in generating democratic discussion over the problems involved, instead of making spectacular headlines in the Herald (who were afterwards told of the proceedings). Arbitrary, authoritarian action will do nothing to make a cohesive, influential body out of our student union.

# STOPPING THE TOUR

NOTES ON THE ISSUE OF THE PROPOSED 1973 SPRINGBOK TOUR OF NEW ZEALAND PREPARED BY A WORKING GROUP OF THE AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY BRANCH OF THE NEW ZEALAND STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT.

We must look beyond the limited issue of sporting contact with South Africa to the real task of encouraging change in the whole system of apartheid.

Apartheid is an 'equal but separate' doctrine, carried out by the creation of separate black and white nations within South Africa. In practice, inequality results. An example is the Transkei, where 64 of a 108-man legislature are appointed by the white government; where various areas reserved for whites fall outside the jurisdiction of the Transkei government. The theoretically separate white government also controls defence, military units, external affairs, entry and control of any police force, maintenance of internal security, postal and radio services, railways, harbours, roads, civil aviation, banking and currency.

Apartheid, as a legally codified separation of the races, is an ideology opposed to that of New Zealand. We follow a multi-racial and multi-cultural policy where equality is upheld in law, politics and the economy. Apartheid is the product of a siege mentality amongst frightened people, a system based on fear. Christianity which upholds the principle of the brotherhood of man, is therefore opposed to apartheid. The Church itself is hampered by the apartheid State where white clergy are denied the right to administer the sacraments to black Africans. All Christians must abhor the separation of members of families under the Race Classification laws, with its consequent disruption of family life.<sup>1</sup> The South African government is clearly anti-Christian.<sup>2</sup>

In our contacts with South Africa, we must display our Christian love. We cannot countenance as representative a group from South Africa which has been selected on the basis of racist laws. A truly multi-racial sports team from South Africa would be an impossibility under its apartheid regime. While New Zealand's Maori teams are a matter of free choice any all-African teams from South Africa would only be the product of a forced choice. To accept any team selected on the basis of racist principles as representative of South Africa is to betray the identity of our non-white brothers. Indeed, the black Africans who are fighting the apartheid system have urged us to cut sporting contacts with white South Africa: they see this as an effective agent of change.

Boycotts of white South African sport have not harmed but helped South Africa's non-white majority. Among the proofs are the boycott of white South Africa in the Olympics, for only then were a few non-whites conceded a place in the South African team. As a result of New Zealand's boycott of the 1967 rugby tour to South Africa, the white regime conceded Maoris the (albeit token) status of 'Honorary Whites'. Above all, through such a boycott, we express our concern and support for the non-white majority in South Africa in their struggle against an oppressive regime.

We feel that the inhumanity of the apartheid system calls for a moral decision by all Christians. We must take steps to encourage real social and political justice for the non-white majority in South Africa. This does not imply a judgment on white South Africans as individuals. It cannot be said that to shun the white South African system is, for our part, to adopt a pharisaical attitude to the sin of apartheid. The Church must aim at a change within the South African system. It must express its concern for the non-white people of South Africa in a politically effective manner. We cannot speak of, or give effect to, real Christian love in this context before an attempt is made at establishing real social justice. This is a political statement which the Church must take seriously.

It would indeed be pharisaically self righteous to pretend that, by inviting a white South African group to New Zealand, we could teach them by our shiny example; for we are well aware of New Zealand's short-comings in achieving racial equality.

As the Body of Christ we are bound to identify with the oppressed peoples of the world. This is the basis of our concern for the black African, whose suffering under the inhumanity of the apartheid system calls us into conflict with those who uphold and perpetuate that system.

It has been suggested that a rugby tour of New Zealand by the Springboks in 1973 would be a useful 'bridge-building' exercise. This argument is fallacious. New Zealand has had sporting contacts with South Africa for over fifty years. If such 'bridges' were an effective but moderate way of causing change in South Africa, the results do not bear this out. Since 1949, apartheid has been legally entrenched in South Africa—despite such 'bridges'. Little has been achieved apart from a token 'honorary white' status for Maoris.

In reality we have no sporting bridges with South Africa. Our bridges meet only the 18% white minority group in that country, and they are clearly sign-posted 'Whites Only'. It has been seen that a boycott of such racist contact is one of the few peaceful and non-violent ways of inducing change in the apartheid system. Should Christians omit to take action in this way when, as now, the opportunity offers, they will certainly forfeit their right to have a say in the future. "Not to decide is to decide". We cannot be seen to condone the apartheid system by default, nor do we wish to remain indifferent to a situation which offers

very real possibilities of violent revolution.

The possibility of violent protest in the event of the 1973 Springbok Tour's taking place is real. The removal of this possibility can be achieved by preventing the tour taking place. However any decision to oppose the tour must not hinge on the issue of internal violence in New Zealand; rather, such a decision can stem validly only from the true Christian concerns mentioned above.

(for S.C.M.)

1. " 'Resettlement'—The New Violence to Africans". 1969 International Defence and Aid Fund booklet.
2. vid. *The Guardian* Friday February 26th, 1971.

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your place  
my place  
our place

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# A FEW THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT APARTHEID

"Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white... 'Keeping it white' can only mean one thing, namely white domination, not leadership, not guidance, but 'control', 'supremacy'. If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining white domination... we say that it can be achieved by separate development."

Dr H. F. Verwoerd,  
Prime Minister of the Union of  
South Africa, in January 1961,  
in a speech before Parliament

In 1949 the South African Government introduced the policy of Apartheid or Racial Separation. This brought only hardship to the black peoples through the economic repression of African wages earners. By fixing wages and taxation African workers are forced to live a subsistence standard of living.

## HOW DOES APARTHEID EXPLOIT WORKERS?

Just compare the wages earned by white and non-white workers in the following industries, 1971 figures:

	White earnings Rands	Non-white earnings Rands
Per annum:		
Medical-Intern	4050	2520
Officer	8100	5400
Specialist	9300	6000
Monthly earning:		
Mining	297	18
Building	282	45
Wholesale Trade	245	48
Retail Trade	130	38
Parking Institutions	205	53
Building Societies	229	49
Public Service	211	36

Obviously the intention is to keep African unionism impotent. This is an excerpt from the European Mine Workers Union Oath of Allegiance: "We swear by All Mighty God, that we shall repulse with all our might and power the onslaught of the black man in the field of labour and that at all times we will maintain and develop true trade unionism."

In line with this oppressive policy, the South African Government intends crippling younger Africans by denying them decent job training. In 1967 and 1968 there was not one registered African apprentice in the whole of South Africa!

## SOCIAL SERVICES

The maintenance grants paid by the Government to mothers (in cases where the fathers are unable to support them) vary by race as follows: whites 43 rand; Africans 2 to 6.25 rand.

## WHAT APARTHEID REPRESSION IS DOING TO HEALTH

In 1967, 58,751 cases of Tuberculosis among Africans were reported.

In South Africa, a coloured child dies of malnutrition every thirty-five minutes, and two African children

die of malnutrition a year and nearly a million African children go to bed hungry. South Africa's white population has the largest proportion of doctors to population in the Western World.

In Soweto, the African location of Johannesburg with a population of over half a million, there are only seven resident doctors.

The life expectancy of a white is 64 years of age compared to 40-46 for a non-white.

## EDUCATION— the hope of the future?

South Africa spends 238 million rand p.a. on white education but only 14.5 million rand p.a. on non-white education. Spending on white education is 100 times that on non-whites on a per head basis. Apartheid, separate but certainly NOT equal development!

## PRISONS

South Africa has the highest rate of executions in the world and the number is increasing.

The average number of executions was 25 between 1911 and 1947 66 between 1948 and 1966. One hundred and eighteen people were executed in 1968.

## BUT WHAT CAN I DO?

1. The New Zealand Government must be pressured to make a more explicit stand against Apartheid. You can make your political representatives aware of your views on Apartheid:

—March on the 23rd  
—Write to the Press and your M.P.  
—Financially support anti-apartheid groups within New Zealand.

2. Spread information on Apartheid to friends and workmates. (Write to Box 5198 for free literature).

3. Initiate action through community groups and your churches.

4. Take worker action against companies which trade with South Africa.











**I**T is a criminal offence for a newspaper to publish an article which is held by the court to have harmed relations between whites and Africans because it used strong language to assert that apartheid is unjust to the African people.

**T**HE South African Publications Control Board may, by notice in the *Government Gazette* prohibit the importation into South Africa of all books (other than those for which it chooses to issue a special permit) published by a specified publisher, if it is of the opinion that such books are likely to create the impression that apartheid is unjust to the non-white people of South Africa.

**I**F an African has received a letter from another African asking him to join in a peaceful demonstration against unjust apartheid laws, his premises may be searched at any time on a warrant issued by a magistrate for evidence that an offence has been committed.

**I**F such letter was typed, the typewriter may be seized and delivered to a magistrate who may order that it be destroyed.

**A**NY African born outside South Africa (even though he has lived in South Africa for 50 years and has not committed an offence) may be declared to be an undesirable inhabitant.

**A**N African who writes "Down with Apartheid" on the wall of the house of any person, is guilty of a criminal offence.

**I**F one issue of a weekly magazine published in South Africa has been held to be undesirable, and the Publications Control Board is of the opinion that every subsequent issue is likely to be undesirable, all future issues of the magazine may be prohibited as undesirable, by notice in the *Government Gazette*.

#### THE RULE OF LAW

**A**N African who has been required by an order of Court to leave a certain area must do so, and no Court of law may grant an injunction preventing such removal, nor may appeal or review proceedings stay or suspend such removal, even when it has been established beyond all doubt that the order of Court was intended for some other person and was served upon him in error.

**A**NY person who breaks the window of a building (including a private residence) in the course of a demonstration calling for the grant of increased rights to the African people, is guilty of the offence of sabotage unless he proves that his act was not calculated or intended to encourage feelings of hostility between white persons and Africans. The offence is punishable by sentence of death.

**A**NY person who advocates military intervention by the United Nations in Namibia (South West Africa) is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment for not less than 5 years or by death.

**N**O person other than the Minister of Justice or an official may have access to such detained person, nor is any person (not even members of his immediate family) entitled to any information as to what has happened to him or where he is.

**N**O court of law may order the release of such detainee or pronounce upon the validity of any action which has been taken against him.

**A**N African living in a Bantu area may not, without special permission to do so, carry a knife whose blade is more than 3½ inches long, while outside the allotment on which he resides. If he does he is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by a fine of not more than \$280 or imprisonment for not longer than 12 months, or a whipping, or both imprisonment and a whipping. ■

*The case-laws cited derive, for the most part, from the Bantu (Urban Areas Consolidation) Act No. 25 of 1945; the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No. 67 of 1952; the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act No. 48 of 1953; the Bantu Building Workers Act No. 27 of 1951; the Workmen's Compensation Act No. 30 of 1941; the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953; the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959 and Proclamation No. 333 of 1 November 1957 issued under the Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957.*

*Reprinted from the UNESCO Courier.*

#### THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. AND VARIOUS GROUPS WITHIN NEW ZEALAND ARE ATTEMPTING TO JUSTIFY THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID

##### THEY SAY:

"We've given the Bantu their own independent national areas which are self-governed and on which they can develop separately."

but

Bantustans (reserves) are nominally independent states within South Africa on which 65% of the population lives on 30% of the poorest and most barren land.

The Bantustans are separated from each other. have no frontiers, ports, or resources. They are controlled politically, militarily and economically by South Africa. That is they have no power, no economy and no hope.

"The non-whites are being educated to take their place in modern society."

but

The Bantu Education Act restricts the type of "education" given to non-whites so that they remain an unskilled, illiterate reservoir of cheap labour to economically support the white minority's privilege. Any white man who reaches his African servants to read is guilty of a criminal offence.

"Apartheid is a system in which both races progress separately but equally."

but

Government spending on white education is 100 times that spent on African education per head. African workers are prohibited from doing skilled work in the building industry in any town in white South Africa. It is unlawful for an African worker to strike for any reason whatsoever.  
Comparative infant mortality rates -  
-black children: 400 per 1,000  
-white children: 27 per 1,000

"Would not a boycott hurt the blacks more than the whites?"  
-Question to John Gaetsewe representative of South African Congress of Trade Unions.

but

"Yes that is true, but as an oppressed people, the Africans are prepared to suffer for their freedom."  
-John Baetsewe

"South Africa is the only democracy in Africa."  
-Mr Vorster (P.M. of South Africa)

but

"South Africa is a police state."  
-John Gaetsewe  
"WE'LL STOP YOU" SAYS VORSTER, AND BATONS HIT AGAIN".  
"... on the pavement immediately in front of the Cathedral door, they started lashing out with truncheons beating men and women indiscriminately" - Auckland Star, June 6th, 1972.

"We must maintain a dialogue with South Africa: build bridges not walls."

but

"Dialogue has been tried for 25 years without success. The verifiers, the enlightened Afrikaners, the coloureds, the blacks with which we talked all were in agreement that the situation today is worse than it was 10 years ago, for the non-white population. Isolation can bring both moral and economic pressure to bear on South Africa."  
-U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid.

#### PROGRAM FOR SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM DAY DEMONSTRATION

7 p.m. Friday 23rd

ACTION FORUM: 8 p.m. B28 Friday 23rd (Uni)

Chairman: T.O. Newnham, Secretary of CARE.

SPEAKERS:

WAYNE PESETA - Panther Minister of Information  
"Local Racism and the Polynesian Panther Movement"

PATRICK TE HEMARA - President Nga Tamatoa Council

"How Nga Tamatoa and Maori Organisations are fighting Racism in New Zealand."

DR P.W. HOHEPA - Chairman Auckland District Maori Council

"Racism and New Zealand's Political Alliances"

DR G. ANDRONI - Senior Lecturer in Italian

"Racism in Australia - Why the Aborigines are an 'Invisible People'."

LOGAN MOODLEY - Ex-South African

"Racism in South Africa and its International Support"

9 p.m.

FILMS "Witnesses"

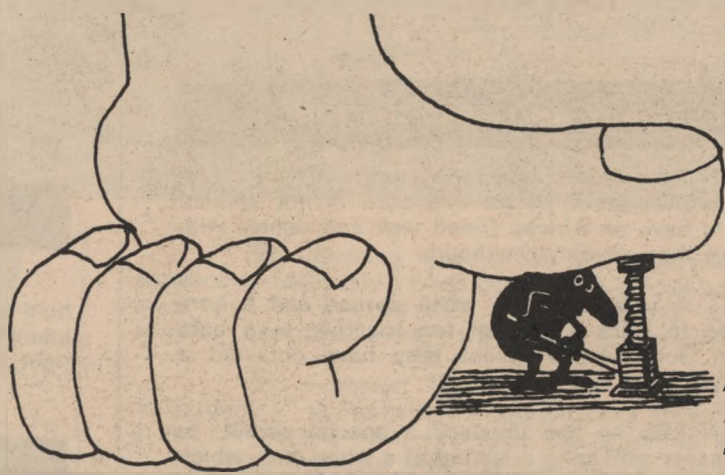
"End of Dialogue"

"Let my People Go"

Also from 8 p.m. Nga Tamatoa Social in Cafeteria - Food and Drink.

MONDAY, JUNE 26th HART RALLY from University at 1 p.m. to South African Airways.

Donations to African Freedom C'ttee Box 5198.



SUPPORT THE ANTI-APARTHEID GROUPS: Send for information and donate to; African Freedom Committee - P.O. Box 5198, Akld.

CARE Box 2794 Akld.

HART 101 RUGBY ST, CHCH.

You have received this bulletin free. If you want to thank us please pass it on to a friend or workmate.

Published by the African Freedom Committee. With HART and CARE and printed by the Wanganui Chronicle Co. Ltd. Wanganui.

South Africa  
FREEDOM DAY  
June 26

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Technical Editor: Jim Laing



# Festival Films

Instruction  
1. Organise the film section of Universities Arts Festival.  
2. The search - for anti-imperialist films, preferably 3rd World, in particular, La Hora de Los Hornos.  
"I have your letter of March 22. I'm afraid I can't help you with any of my films since I am unable, by contract, to licence any in the Australasian territory" (New Yorker Films New York).

"Thank you for your letter. Unfortunately it is not feasible to rent films internationally" (Other Cinema London).

"We only have N.Z. rights on a few 35mm Japanese films, sorry," (Australia, Quality Films.)  
and there were many more - all from distributors who avow "leftist" tendencies.

3. The break through came with a letter from a U.S. group who are prepared to send some 3rd World Films, including La Hora de Los Hornos.

4. Responses to this?  
"I'm delighted to see that you're able to mount this festival - am I mistaken in thinking that N.Z. was too isolated to take this sort of thing (A. Martin British Film Institute).  
and again there were many more.

Scandalous that N.Z. should show signs of lifting herself out of the morass of cultural imperialism.

5. Why La Hora de los Hornos?  
An impression from a North American viewer.

"La Hora de los Hornos by Argentinian Fernando Solanas is film as a weapon. Like rapid fire it lifts the cataracts from your eyes.

It struck me as an incisive painful but necessary operation. Years of consumptive movie viewing are cut through and there is no way to separate the artistic power from the history and politics of Argentina. It is seeing Latin America, violence through neo colonialism. The U.S. runs it. Violence is overt - 41 armed interventions, subtle - children dying of starvation while the U.S. extracts \$4 for every \$1 invested in Latin America. Cynics should watch this flick, it overwhelms any attempt at armchair criticism. It is new, it comes from the struggle of the 3rd World.

Argentina has the primary contradiction of a foreign funded oligarchy of 5% of the population controlling 42% of the wealth. The facts are there in film, but incorporated so visually that percentages become people, and dollars are blood. I am looking again and again in my mind at La Hora de los Hornos, at Sears and Pepsi, revolution or death.

Argentina like all of Latin America except Chile, is teetering on broken pillars. There is a small minority of decadent whites aspiring to be a European aristocracy and others, the military, industrialists who fawn and grovel for the U.S. The middle class culture is a shuck. Culture indigenous to Argentina is given little credence. All that is modern, jet-set or hip comes from the monster. Everybody knows that.

Starved in every sense of the word Latin America becomes violent. Repression of thought & act through Americanisation normalises the insanity of pig commercialism at the underdeveloped level. Solanas has made a brilliant film. It is the embrace of a brother. It is not difficult to see, when Solanas shoots the Buenos Aires graveyard of death, despots, landowners & aristocracy with its mausoleums marble shepherd boys & angels that the sons of dracula are taking it with them as their last decadent act.

As Solanas reflects in the first part of the flick, the Vietnamese know from Napalm who the enemy is, in Latin America much is concealed because language colour & religion are the same. The glitter of modern culture as it floods the city creates mental dependance on the U.S. for the people of Argentina. This film casts away illusions which hurts those who would smog the world's brains or blow them out."

1 impression. 1 film. There'll be 10 other 3rd world films shown at the Arts Festival this year. And New Zealanders Euro/U.S. cataracts?

## STUDENT HOUSING

Several students are setting up a group to look into possible Association investment in housing (see page 3, last weeks' Craccum). Could anyone interested please contact Richard (Business Manager), Russell (Public Relations Officer) or Clare (at Contact). Lawyers,

## MUSIC SOCIETY DISCUSSION

by Wayne Senior  
Bernie Allen

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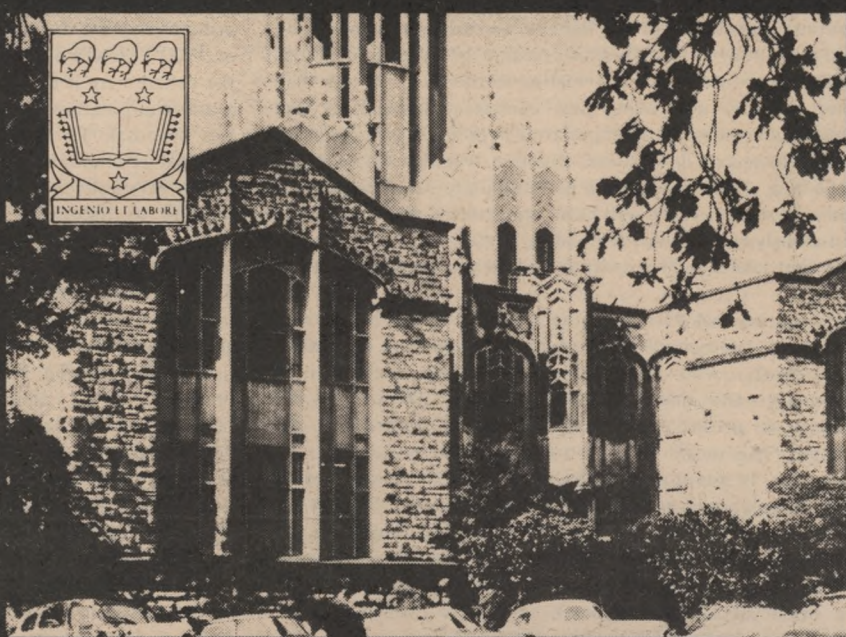
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## ON THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT: A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.

We know some people are going to groan when they read this article and the debate around which it centres.

They will remind us there is a war going on, that the bombs are still falling on Indo-China, and so on. But you do not have to remind us of that fact. We are participating in this debate not because we take the situation in Indo-China lightly, but because we treat the need to end the war with the utmost seriousness and urgency. We are speaking out in this debate because the issues raised in it centre directly and indirectly on the best methods we can use to end the war.

For over a year now, we and many other people in the antiwar movement have been subjected to attacks from a number of 'enlightened' quarters. Those attacks have ranged from vicious abuse, right down to petty sniping. Occasionally these attacks have been personal, but usually they are aimed at the ideas we represent. Throughout this time—while building the April and July Mobilisations last year, while building the National Antiwar Conference this year, and now while building the July 14 Mobilisation—we have remained relatively silent. However, with a recent split in the Wellington antiwar movement, and two articles which appeared in Craccum on June 8, we have found the whole Mobilisation perspective under heavier fire than before. It is this which has prompted this article.

We see our task now as one of clarifying the real issues in this debate. In all its essentials we believe the question boils down to a struggle between two major perspectives for the antiwar movement: the mass Mobilisation orientation versus 'other', more 'militant', or more 'diverse' activities. The issues are confused and made even more difficult to unravel by the fact that many people who expound the latter viewpoint do not actually say: 'We oppose mass action. We oppose Mobilisations.' But in essence this is the crux of the matter. Those who take the latter stance either oppose, or simply do not understand, the mass action perspective. Almost all the differences in the movement, from the small apparently insignificant ones, up to the major arguments over demands, tend to have their base in these fundamental differences.

We plan to deal specifically with two articles which appeared in the June 8 issue of Craccum: One by Colleen Foley, International Affairs Officer, entitled 'Change Our Policy'; and the other by a mysterious 'Auckland Correspondent', entitled 'Antiwar Conference Blues' (This was by John Woodroffe—Ed.) However, since these two articles tend to include a number of the major arguments employed against Mobilisations and the building of a mass movement, we will also use the opportunity to make a general reply to all our critics.

As one of the most current examples of fatuous criticism (from one who to our knowledge has not been involved in the arduous task of working in the mass movement), we would like to refer readers to the above mentioned article by Colleen Foley. There is a distinct line of reasoning which flows through the arguments of all these would-be strategists for the antiwar movement. Foley's article is no exception. For example, she characterises a Mobilisation as 'walking up Queen St. once a month, shouting Out Now! What abominable rubbish! Since there have been only two mass Mobilisations (those of April and July last year), where does she get the idea of 'once a month' from? Similarly, it is about time Foley and all the other side-line critics realised that such massive actions do not, like many of the ideas in their heads, spring out thin air. Such actions demand intelligent, applied work from large number of people; and these people are not the posturing critics who shout abuse and advice from the side-lines. How long will it take some people to realise that it is only with mass support that we can effectively oppose the war? It is only by allying ourselves with the broad majority of the war's opponents, and eventually forcing the government through mass pressure to accede to our demands, that the Indochinese people will ever be allowed the right to full self-determination.

We will quote Foley again: "It is time we took a much stronger stand in relation to the Indochina War . . . thus I suggest this Association do sponsor the July 14 Mobilisation, however that we have a central demand of Victory to the National Liberation Front". This is like saying support the Mobilisation, but don't support it. The Mobilisation Foley is talking about is certainly not the one we are helping to build. In fact her Mobilisation is not really a Mobilisation at all. From our experience it is a tiny demonstration of already committed radicals. When Foley criticises the 'Out Now' perspective as "pretty decorative policies that ease our consciences" she in fact goes to the heart of her own problem. When it comes down to practice, the "decorative policies that ease our consciences" are precisely the types of action which she is advocating.

Let's now have a closer look at Foley's central demand for the movement: "Victory to the N.L.F." In essence it is not really a demand at all. It is a statement of solidarity with the Indochinese revolutionaries, an expression of the aspirations of what at the present time is a tiny minority of NZ society. But surely we can do more than simply express solidarity with the NLF? In face of the continuing attempts of the US and its Allies to physically crush the resistance of the Indochinese people, the task of the international antiwar movement becomes one of defending the right of this people to self-determination, of mounting a massive campaign against the imperialist powers, of raising demands which not only focus fully on the question of self-determination but also offer us the opportunity of mobilising the maximum number of people.

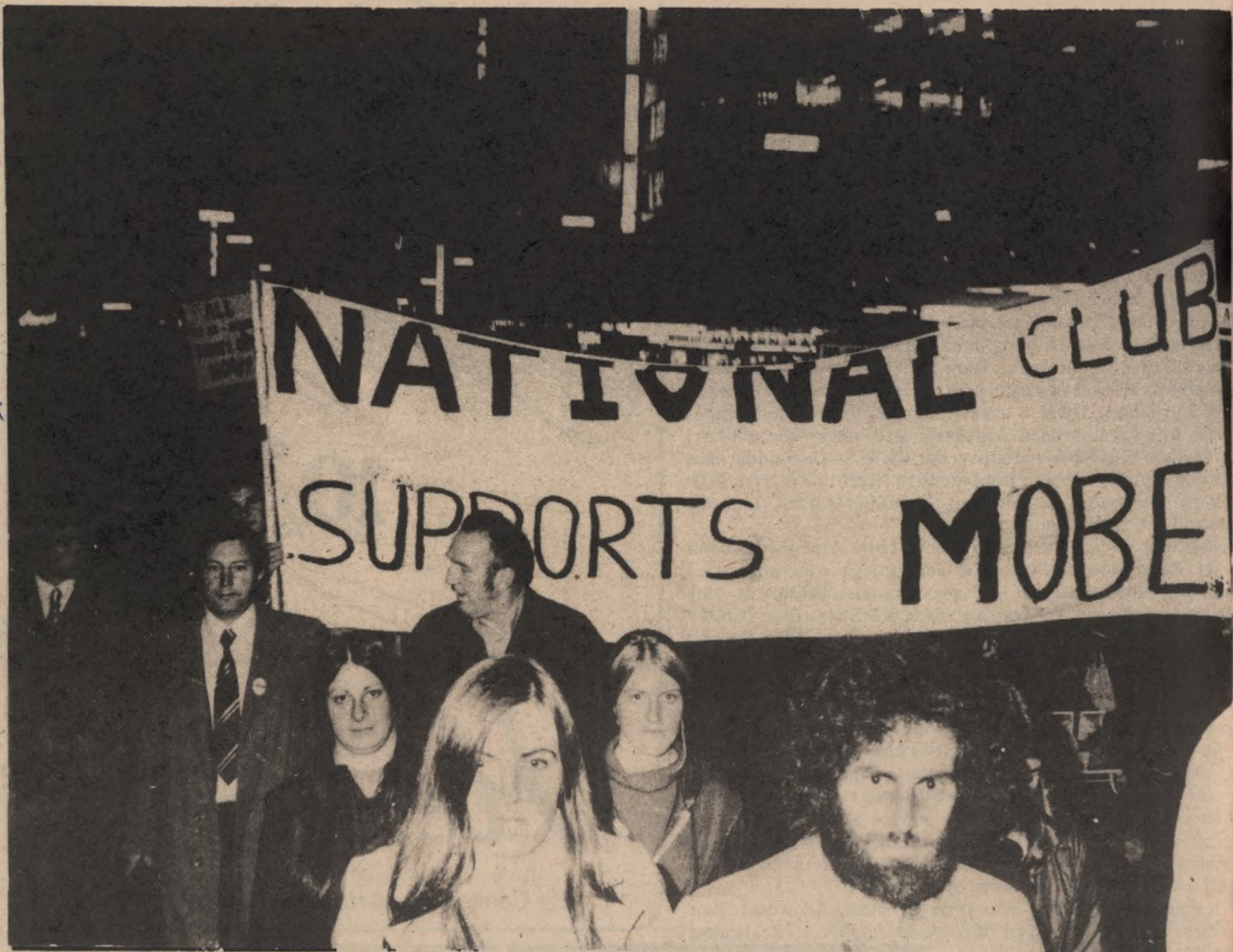
It should be mentioned that sometimes there are extremely dangerous assumptions behind the thinking of those who propose 'Victory to the NLF' as a central demand for the movement. Often we find the suggestion that the Indochinese, despite the incredible military might which is pitted against them, can win a clean victory over the US and its Allies simply because their struggle is a just one. Therefore our job amounts to little more than showing whose side we are on, of expressing solidarity with them. This is

utterly utopian. The international relationship of forces will be crucial to the outcome of this struggle; and we in NZ, as a section of the international antiwar movement, must play our part in helping to turn this relationship of forces to the side of the Indochinese people.

It is significant that the Indochinese themselves have no illusions as to the power which is ranged against them. They have frequently recognised the important historical role which the antiwar movement has played, and can continue to play, in defending them from the barbarous attempts of the U.S. and its Allies to crush them. To neglect this would be a serious political blunder for which history would justifiably condemn us.

There is no doubt that "Victory to the N.L.F." (or derivatives of it, such as "Victory to the Indochinese people") would narrow the movement down to a pitiful handful of radicals. Our perspective for defending the Indochinese people is to broaden the movement, to include and involve as many layers of NZ society as possible. This means building a mass movement. This means adopting central demands around which the maximum number of people can be involved.

Yes, we still adhere to 'Out Now' as the most important central demand for the antiwar movement. We humbly apologise if this bores a few people because it was 'last year's demand'. But we do not raise new demands, and drop old ones, according to whether they were used last year—according to whether or not they satisfy our revolutionary egos. We raise demands according to an



evaluation of the concrete situation and our tasks relating to it. In this case, the central reason for the continuation of the war, for the continued thwarting of the right of the indochinese people to self-determination, is the physical presence in the region of US, NZ, and Allied armed forces. In relation to this fact, our task then becomes one of demanding the complete, immediate, and unconditional removal of all those armed forces. It is as simple as that. We can march down town chanting 'Victory to the NLF' until the year 2,000 but we will get absolutely nowhere (and by that time Indochina could well be an uninhabited wasteland) until we consciously work towards building a mass movement against the war and take a serious attitude to how this movement can be built.

It is amazing that despite all the political realities of the war, there are still some people who go out of their way to exclude mass support, who persist in organising their 'pure', 'revolutionary'—and minuscule—demonstrations. Of course this orientation is dressed up in terms like 'This requires real dedication', 'This means taking a real stand'. But actually it is the easy way out. In adopting this position they are never confronted with the complex questions of how to build a mass movement, by the problems of working out demands which will bridge the gap between themselves and the vast mass of the people. They seem content to wallow in a voluntary isolation where their pretences at raising the level of the movement amount to little more than waving a few more flags and escalating the rhetoric.

In her article, Foley also calls for support for the Seven Point Peace proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

Few in the antiwar movement would disagree with this, in as much as these Proposals were offered at the diplomatic level, as a suggested programme by which the war could be ended. Foley does not clearly state whether she believes these Proposals should be a central demand of the movement; but in our opinion such a move would be an extremely dangerous one. These Proposals were offered to the US and its Allies at the negotiating table, as part of the PRG's bargaining position, while under the incredible pressure of the greatest military power in the world. They contain clauses relating to a date being set for the withdrawal of US and Allied armed forces, the possibility of a coalition government in Vietnam, and the way in which Vietnam could be reunified. But should the antiwar movement tie itself to these proposals? Where would we be if the PRG decided to change them, as it could easily

do? Besides, we are not under the gun as the Indochinese are, and therefore we do not have to adopt bargaining positions which implicitly admit the right of the US and its Allies to be in Indochina—we do not have to accept conditions, as these proposals do, under which the US and its allies should withdraw. If we really believe in the right to self-determination, we must state categorically that the US and Allied armed forces have no right whatsoever to be in Indochina, and that as far as we are concerned the only solution to their intervention in the war is their immediate and unconditional removal.

The Mobilisation resolution of the National Antiwar Conference stated quite clearly that there was no objection at all to publicising the Seven Point Peace Proposals, to explaining to people what the PRG's negotiating position is. But over the whole course of the Conference the suggestions that these Proposals be central demands of the movement, were clearly rejected. This resolution is the one which our "Auckland Correspondent" (in the other above mentioned article) found so "ambiguous". But what is ambiguous about a motion which states that a National Mobilisation be planned for July 14, that it be built around five central demands (all of which fall within the Out Now perspective), and that, as part of the introduction to this resolution, the Seven Point Peace Proposals be publicised, and the Medical Aid Appeal be supported? We can offer no other explanation for what "Correspondent" says, apart from suggesting that he does not know what he is talking about.

The Medical Aid Appeal to NLF areas is another disputed issue here. Foley's article suggests that we "put our money and principles where our mouths are" and make this a "major priority in 1972". Few would dispute the worthiness of this Appeal, but the debate here is over whether or not this activity should become a major orientation for the movement. We give a definite "No" to this proposal. To move in this direction would mean a serious political re-orientation for the movement away from the mass action perspective. Our major task is not one of sending medical supplies to Indochina, but of helping to remove the problem which makes these supplies necessary. This does not preclude supporting and assisting the Medical Aid Appeal; but it certainly does preclude making this Appeal the main orientation of the movement. Perhaps if our "Auckland Correspondent" bothered to glance back at his notes, he would recall that the Antiwar Conference rejected Medical Aid, like the Seven Point Peace Proposals, as a central demand for the movement. Our "Correspondent" saw this position as another example of the "ambiguous" nature of the Conference's final decision. We cannot claim to understand his reasoning here, but we do suggest that what he sees as "ambiguous" is probably disappointment that this orientation was not adopted as a focus for antiwar activity in the coming period.

We hope it has now become clearer that this debate, like many others in the movement tends to boil down to two fundamentally different perspectives—that is between those who support the mass mobilisation perspective, and those who advocate a whole variety of 'other' activities.

Now let's look at some of the most common criticisms of the mass action perspective:

Firstly, we hear statements like: "Look, you have had your Mobilisations, but the war is still going on. We have to try something different." It is self-evident that we have not achieved our purpose of ending the war. But it is so self-evident that the blame for this lies at the door of the mass action strategy? The central reason why our purpose has not been achieved is because the international antiwar movement has not, as yet, been able to activate and involve the mass pressure necessary to do it. Internationally the movement has brought millions of people out into the streets—and this, of course, is a colossal achievement—but it requires millions more before we can force our government's right out of the war. The mass action perspective can not logically be blamed as the reason why we have not stopped the war; but it



Chinese are, and positions which lies to be in these proposals w. If we really e must state have no right are concerned war is their onal Antiwar objection to all explaining to over the whole e Proposals be rejected. This ident" (in the s'. But what is t a National ilt around five he Out Now ction to this scised, and the ffer no other rom suggesting

can be blamed, if you like, for bringing into action the millions that have already been involved. And it will take the full blame for activating the millions to come.

In this country we have only just begun to mobilise people in significant numbers against the war, and a vast pool of antiwar sentiment still remains completely untouched by us. In fact we have only just started, with the Mobilisations last year, to build a mass movement. We still have a long way to go before we can claim to be near completing our task.

Secondly, we hear again and again, with monotonous frequency, that "people are tired of demonstrating." The best way to start answering this one is to ask a couple of questions: "Who is tired of demonstrating? How can people be tired of demonstrating when the vast majority of them have not even done it yet?" By asking this, you usually arrive at the heart of the problem: the people who make these statements are really the ones who are tired of demonstrating. This, of course, is a different problem altogether. The argument usually amounts to certain people or groups being tired, frustrated, disillusioned, impatient, or perhaps even demoralised. These feelings are quite understandable, but they are hardly solid ground on which to base the orientation of a movement.

On this question of demonstrations, it should also be mentioned that historically, in all popular movements for social and political change the mass demonstration has played a significant role, the streets have been an arena in which popular

support was being withdrawn from Thieu because the government was impressed by the size of recent marches. Even Nixon, who is obviously under the greatest pressure from the antiwar movement, will not openly admit that he has had to be careful about what he does in the war because of that movement. When people take to the streets they are taking direct political action outside all the established political channels. If a government openly admitted to the populace that its policies were changed (even in the slightest degree), because of mass opposition in the streets, then people might get the idea that they can change other policies by doing the same thing. We do not think the government is that stupid.

The second half of the above statement, "that the government won't listen anyway" is also rooted in a naive assumption as to how this society works. It is based on the premise that the vast mass of the people, acting together, can change nothing; and that we are somehow trying to "convince" the government that its policies are wrong. But we are not trying to make the government "listen", to "convince" it of the immorality and inhumanity of its foreign policy. We could attempt to do that simply by flooding government offices with letters. We harbour no illusions as to the power structure we face, as to the fact that it is oppressive, exploitative, and thoroughly ruthless. We advocate the building of a mass movement, not because we believe we can make the government "listen to reason", but because we believe we must force it through mass pressure to accede to our demands. The experience of the past few years has told us that we will not end

"plans", their "programme of action", belong to the realms of fantasy. These critics are asking us to commit ourselves to the political wilderness, but disguise the path there as "a higher level of activity".

In this article we have attempted, in the limited space available to us, to explain the mass action perspective. We have done this in response to a number of factors, one of these being the constant barrage of criticism which has been levelled against this strategy over recent months. This is the first time we have replied in writing to these criticisms, and we do so with some relief. At last we have begun to explain exactly what we think of these proposals for a so-called new direction. We have attempted to bring the real issues in this debate to the surface, to discuss them openly. We do not pretend to have 'the Way, the Truth, and the Light'; but we certainly do maintain that the strategy we have outlined in this article is the basis from which the antiwar movement will be built and the war stopped.

Peter Rotherham, Co-ordinator, Auckland Mobilisation Committee  
Matt Robson, Secretary, " " "



disputed issue money and major priority s Appeal, but hould become inite "No" to lean a serious om the mass nding medical the problem not preclude ut it certainly ation of the "bothered to the Antiwar Point Peace vement. Our ample of the on. We cannot o suggest that ment that this activity in the

Thirdly, "Mobilisations never achieve anything. You can have many of them as you like, but the government won't listen anyway." The first half of this statement hinges mainly on the question of power: the problem of achieving something, of ending and Allied intervention in Indochina, rests largely on this question.

The war-makers are able to continue this war because they have power. They not only have the military power, in terms of armed forces which they can commit to their various wars, they also have political power, economic power. To a large degree they have power over people's minds, a virtual monopoly over the media. Our job, then, is to find the best methods by which we can combat this power.

But what power do we in fact have? How can we achieve anything? As isolated individuals and groups we can achieve very little. But what about when we act collectively, in our thousands? That is a little different. Some say the government takes no notice of the people, that it ignores mass marches. But this assertion is based on a naive assumption of how this society works. Do you expect the government to admit that mass marches effect its policies? Imagine Marshall going on television and saying that all

the war with the government's blessing; we will therefore attain our goals *without* its blessing.

Lastly, we hear that "Mobilisations are too low key, too moderate; we must move on to higher levels of activity." This has recently become a favourite criticism from those who entertain illusions as to the militancy of the activities they advocate. We do not support the building of a mass movement because we have some subjective fixation about the term "mass movement". Instead, we take a long look at the way this society works, the way social change has come about in history, and the tasks immediately confronting us: and the clear conclusion we come to is that the building of a mass movement is indispensable to the job we face. You can try to ignore this fact, attempt all manner of shortcuts, but in the end — if you are really serious about defending the Indochinese people — then you can not avoid it. So what is this about Mobilisations being 'too moderate'? To participate in building these actions means being directly involved in one of the most important tasks to confront us in the post-war era — the defence of the right of the Indochinese people to self-determination. Where is the "moderation" here?

Look at the other "strategies" which have been suggested as a means by which we can fulfill our tasks. As yourself what they amount to? Where will they lead us? It does not take a very keen mind to see that they are almost entirely subjective; that they have no basis in concrete reality outside their advocates' heads, and perhaps their immediate circle of friends. Outside this circle, their

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# Lionel Terry



## Feedback on the first INDOCHINA REPORT

Dear Sir,

I feel genuinely concerned about the killing in Vietnam, but in last week's *Crucum* I found nothing constructive about stopping this killing and suffering. All year *Crucum* has printed Yanks as dirty, foul, bloody killers. No mention has been made of killing and aggression by the North. Is killing of Americans and South Vietnamese by Russian and Chinese arms, not or murder? Or is it justified because the North, the N.L.F., or the Commos or what the hell you want to call them, do it? Or maybe what we heard of North Vietnamese offensives and killings is only capitalist U.S.A. propaganda. I don't see people on Campus too perplexed when American and S.Vietnamese servicemen are senselessly killed. They are human too and blood is shed when they die.

I think anyone who thinks, (didn't notice too many people thinking in 1965-1967 when N.Z., Aussis, and U.S. troops went into Vietnam on a big scale) knows that direct American involvement in Vietnam is no good. But they are in Vietnam, and I have few misconceptions about what will happen to people in South Vietnam who oppose the North when the Americans move out. Or perhaps all the opposition in South Vietnam is provided by the Americans? How absurd! The South Vietnamese army of nearly one million is made up of just as many devout liberation-minded soldiers, protecting their homes as in the Northern army.

I would like to know that if, going into the history of the present situation, Dien was anymore or less a dictator that Ho

*THE SHADOW OF LIONEL TERRY*, by the Living Theatre Troupe, for a three-week season (Wednesday to Saturdays) at the University Arts Centre, Grafton Rd.

The Living Theatre Troupe has produced a phantasmagoria of sight, sound, and movement that frequently left me stunned and entranced. The play centres around the fanatical racist Lionel Terry who shot an old Chinese in Haining St., Wellington, in 1905, as a rational protest against NZ immigration policies. Subsequently Terry preaches his cause to the people of Wellington, then in court and then as Christ in a mental asylum.

The play moves gradually from its initial microcosm, sometimes subtly, sometimes abruptly and shockingly, through different spheres of surrealism and allegory, until at the end we realize that the questions raised have taken on universal implication, and leave us searching for immediate and emotive answers.

All this is achieved through an interplay of lighting, sound, action and ritual, creating at times intensely mystical and fascinating experiences. I especially liked the scene of the hysteria-struck magistrate, hovering grotesquely over Terry's court proceedings like a dangling, deformed spider—a chilling climax to the first act, when for one instant, the red spotlight focussing on him changes to white, illuminating as macabre his white, chalky face. This episode is recalled again in a bizarre way, in the commune scene of Act II, where the Prophet and inhabitants take up the same positions at the court—and we are thus presumably invited to identify what element it is these two different segments of phantastic reality have in common.

The asylum scene (Act II) in the tradition of Marat-Sade, presents a microcosmic and inverted perspective on Real Life, with a few hinted jibes at contemporary sacred cows. I thought the interplay between characters gave some good insights into power relationships between individuals, the nature of Religion, the British Empire, NZ foreign-policy, etc. The commune scene, where Terry tries to preach his religion of racism to the childlike and innocent inhabitants, can be applied to many contexts: missionaries in primitive countries, US capitalism in Vietnam, and so on.

The burning question that emerges: is there any sanity or refuge in any of the situations shows to us? Murray Edmond, who worked out the script with the Living Theatre Troupe, seems to be exploring in some measure, the nature of authority figures—whether it is Terry shouting from his soapbox, or as Christ lining up the asylum inmates for his prayer meeting, or the asylum doctor confessing to Terry "you have become like a father to me"—right down to the Prophet in the commune, who emerges as a strong, just figure, but ends up in confusion and despair. There are no heroes, nothing positive to cling to at the end of the play.

But as well as dramatic tension, the play has its hilarious moments, centred around the very human character of Shamash, and the antics of his two wives—not to mention the pathos of Terry, his cleanliness fetishes, and his fixation for unweeding every garden, metaphorical or physical.

Paul Carew, as Lionel Terry, does good justice to a difficult role which undulates from fanatical to pathetic to horrific.

Auckland poet and dramatist Muarrey Edmond (who appears as the old Chinese in Act I) wrote the script in April, after discussions and rehearsals with the Living Theatre Troupe beginning in February. It was directed by Ken Rea. Phil Dadson (that Scratch Orchestra man!) contrived the music (very hypnotic at times) which was supervised by Jack Body. David Feary created the lighting.

Living Theatre has produced one of the best and most enjoyable integrations of the elements of modern drama—and by a non-professional group—that I have seen. Well worth experiencing. (Go stoned if you can).

— JOHN LAIRD

### WHAT HAPPENED AT THE PLAY

- 7.45: John Laird (i.e., me) arrived to review the play.
- 7.47: Kathryn de Nave (coffee lady and general midwife to the production) told me she was "nervous".
- 7.50: Murray Jones came up to me in the entrance of the main theatre, and handed me "a piece of pink toilet paper, in case you should get excited."
- 7.54: Murray Edmond—hair tied back, wearing a black parka and brown slippers without socks—stood on a chair in one of the production rooms to warm his hands from a wall heater.
- 7.57: In another room, I found Margareta Chance sewing final stitches into the Prophet's cape. We chatted.
- 8.02: "Mother", the naughty man selling tickets at the door, identified me as working for "That neo-Nazi rag", and told me I looked like Goebeels (!)
- 8.10: After a word with Kathryn, Marion Edmonds took a tampon behind stage to one of the girls who might be needing it.
- 8.12: Marion returned, declaring that the offer was "spurned".
- 8.15: I sat down next to Margareta (!) and the play started.

Chi Minh? Can anyone predict the results of a national referendum in Vietnam (from my experience many students seem to have taken public opinion polls in the paddy fields of Indo-China.) And whoever truly believes a national referendum (democratic?) will be held is either a blind idealist or naive. From what I have read, seen, heard, the demos I have attended etc., it seems to me that some students are somewhat hypocritical (sorry I know that word refers to middle aged politicians) in that they are more anti-Yank than anti-bloodshed. I myself can't see a peaceful solution to the present situation (and by peaceful I don't mean the murder of S.Vietnamese bureaucrats, army personnel etc.) By peaceful, I mean peaceful. If someone, anyone, has something constructive to offer PLEASE I would love to see it in *Crucum*.

### QUERY:

It is really a fact (back page last *Crucum* 15.6.72) that an "American War against the peoples of Cambodia and Laos" exists. Perhaps the writer of the article was not aware that Laos and Cambodia are independent countries not for use by Vietcong aggressors. Do Americans fight Lactians or Coambodian people? Or perhaps (by some chance) it is Vietcong they fight.

JON ALTMAN

BOB LA

Over the various deris Lack's Prop asked to vot of the docur the result on Stephen Cha of the rules and our bel does not pr as a whole, strict aping Association "viable welf: group withir level."

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