



TE REO MAAORI I ROTO I TEENEI RA

Tiihei uriuri
Tiihei nakonako
Tiihei Mauriora!

E nga iwi o te motu, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou, teenaa koutou. Ko te reo irirangi o ngaa taitamariki mihi atu nei ki a koutou katoa. Kua taae mai te waa e tongo atu ana maatou, kia aawhinatia mai maatou. Ko ta maatou kaupapa teenei ki a koutou, ki te iwi Maaori, kia whakamanaatia te reo Maaori ki roto i ngaa kura katoa o Aotearoa. Maa to koutou kaha ki te tu e tuutuki ai teenei take. Noreira, e hoa maa, kia ora anoo koutou katoa, e noho mai nga iwi i runga i te whenua. Ko te whakamuturangi teenei.

Kia tau te rangimaarie——
Ka pu te ruhe
Ka haao te rangatahi

— Naa Te Hati Ponika.

Maaori, kia mau wawe ai te reo Paakeha. Ko to raatau whakaaro ka mau tonu te reo Maaori i nga taitamariki i a raatau e haututuu ana, e taakaro ana, aa, ma nga kaainga kohi e whakaako. He mea pooheehere rawa teenei. Kua kite taatau i te hua ni teenei raa. Kua timu te tai.

Hoiano ra kei te hahae nga kaawainga o te ata — he raa hou teenei. Kua ohooho katoa te iwi Maaori me te Paakeha. Ko nga Maaori kua nuku ki nga taane nunui o te motu noho ai, kua tuutaki ki eetahi aahuatanga pai, aahuatanga rerekee, kua rongo i te haa o te ao Paakeha me oona wetiweti. Ko te nuinga o te ao Maaori kei te poipoi haere moiho te noho, anoo he poito taaruke, he huru manu e tere haere ana i te moana ngarungaru. Ko te mate nui he kore turangawaewae, araa he kore marae hei puna pupuri i te wairua Maaori i roto i nga taane nei. Huri atu, huri atu, he tikanga Paakeha katoa. Aanini ana teeraa! Kua tiimata te raparapa haere i nga maramara waihoihotanga a nga koroua, a, hei aha hoki? Hei mauri tuu, hei mauri ora i roto i te ao hou nei. Ka hoki ra nga whakaaro ki te pepeha a Apirana i tohutohu mai ra:

"Ko too ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna
Hei tikitiki mo te mahuna."

Koia nei te mea e whaia nei e te hanga tamariki i roto i eenei ra — ko te tikitiki mo te mahuna. Kia angatika ai te tuu, kia kaua e waimeha, e ngoikore raanei. Kia tamataane te tinana me te hinengaro; kia kore ai e whakamaa ki te haaparangi ki te ao,

"He Maaori au! Anei ooku tohu! Ko taku kiri paraui! Ko taku reo! Ko taku Maaoritanga!" Na reira, e pari ra e ta tai

He aha ra te take e whaiwhaitia ai to taatau reo — aa taatau tikanga Maaori, e te Paakeha, i eenei raa? Inaahoki, inanahi nei e tuhaina ana e ia. He aha te kaupapa? He maho moni maana? Teeraa pea!

Ki taaku nei waananga atu i teenei mea, anei. Tirohia te Paakeha. Ko raatau e whakahau ana i nga waa katoa, kia noho ngaatahi taatai, kia oorite katoa taatai, kia tika ai te koorero ra — "He iwi kootahi taatau..". Engari kia paataitia atu, "Kai rote ki aa wai, ki a koutou, ki a maatou raanei?" Ka rongo tonu atu koe i te hikonga o toonaa ngaakau. E! Kia rite ra ki a ia, kaua kia rrite mai ki te Maaori. Ko taatay me nekeneke atu ki toonaa taha, aa, ko ia kore rawa e nuku. Koinei taana whakamaaorori i to taatau karangatanga, "He Niu Tiireni taatau katoa." E, ko te korokoro o Parata teenei!

Otiraa kei te huri haere oonaa whakaaro. Kua kaha eetahi Paakeha ki te aru haere i nga tikanga aa te Maaori ki te whakauru ki nga tomokanga o te ao Maaori. Ko te

OLYMPIA'S BLACK SEPTEMBER - A PHASE IN THE WAR

The Palestinian guerillas killed the Israelis they were holding as hostages at Munich after they were fired upon by the German police. Outside the Arab world, the press has been universal in condemning the guerillas as cold-blooded terrorists.

The guerillas had originally stated that they intended to kill the hostages if their demands were not met by a certain deadline — they did not do this. This does not indicate a readiness to slaughter the men they were holding. It appears more likely that had the German marksmen not fired there would have been a greater chance of the Israelis being alive today. However whatever happened in this instance the responsibility would have been put on the shoulders of the "terrorists" by the bourgeois press. This makes just about any move the Germans could make look justifiable in the circumstances.

The guerillas have made deliberate decisions concerning their existence in the world, the conditions in their homeland and the alternatives open to them to effect change. Taking the Israelis hostage was a desperate act, when the guerillas who are as old as most of the students on this campus, were shot at, it is not hard to see that they all thought that they were about to be killed.

The significance of the hostages being participants in the Olympics is that the act of the guerillas, their demands and more importantly their existence and where they come from is given the maximum publicity in the presses of the world. This is not an isolated act of "terrorism". It is related to a particular situation in the world that doesn't change because international events like the Olympics are taking place. (The spirit of healthy competition and brotherhood didn't prevent the reactionary Mexican government from killing 400 demonstrators during the 1968 Olympics.)

The outraged reaction is not so much the fact that hostages were taken and killed but that this should happen at the Olympics. There was none of the same sense of moral outrage from the press when 32 Palestinians were killed after a refugee camp was shot up by Israeli jets in retaliation.

reo te tatau ki roto ki te hinengaro Maaori, No reira e kaha nei te ako. Ko eetahi ano kua ngaakaunui, kua paa te aroha a te tangata ki te tangata, a, e hiahia ana kia moohio tootika ki te reo kia ngaawari ai te whakarongo, te koorero raanei, i roto i te huihuinga tangata. Ko eetahi atu he pirangi kia whiwhi ia i teetahi waahi o te Maaoritanga nei moana ake, hei whakamaahorahora i ana whakaaro, kia eke ai taua koorero, "He iwi kotahi taatau." Na anoo, ko nga whakatipuranga Paakeha o eenei raa, kei te rapa tura — ngawaewae mo tana wairua kia taea ai te kii, "Tuuturu! No Aotearoa au!" Kua ngaro rawa atu te wairua o o raatau maatou tiipuna — he rite tonu te rere whakaarorangi o te ngaakau ki te waa kaainga ki Ingarangi, ki Uropa. Inaianei kua noho ko teenei whenua, ko Niu Tiireni te kaainga tuuturu te uukaipoo. Engari he aha te tohu? Anei ra taua koha maana; te Maaoritanga me toona puuawaitanga — te reo Maaori.

No reira, kia ora te ra nei me toona kaupapa. Ko te tuumanako kia puta ki te ao katoa te maaramatanga o teenei raa; kia kite o taatau joa Paakeha i too taatau wairua; kia oho mai ki te whakaaro o te iwi ehara too taatau reo i te mea taatakimori — kaaore! — ko ia te whakatinanatanga o te oohaki a ngaa tiipuna:

"Kia u, kia mau ki to Maaoritanga,"

Naa Tamati M. Reedy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Nineteenth century photographs of early Maori life have been courteously made available by the Dominion Museum, Wellington, through John B. Turner, Elam School of Fine Arts.

APOLOGY

In the article "Shit is Junk", attributed to one Rod Bicknell, published on 30th June (Issue 16), a reference is made to the name Perry dealing with responsibility for spreading drugs among the public and to the acceptance of bribes in the course of his duties.

The Students' Association and the Editors acknowledge with respect to Chief Inspector E.G. Perry that these allegations are unfounded and are accordingly unreservedly withdrawn. They apologise for any reflection upon Mr Perry's integrity as a Police Officer.

In the article published on the 30 June (issue 16) attributed to Rod Bicknell there is a reference to Detective Sergeant B.J. Stewart and allegations made as to his being responsible for the spread of drugs in New Zealand and that he has accepted bribes and has been politically motivated.

The Students' Association and the Editors acknowledge that they have no evidence whatsoever to substantiate such allegations which are unreservedly withdrawn and they apologize to Detective Sergeant Stewart for any reflection upon his integrity as a police officer."

NZUSA NEEDS A PRESIDENT BECAUSE NO ONE LOVES GARY EMMS

FROM HEATHER MCINNES IN WELLINGTON
SATURDAY: COUNCIL RECONVENES

Being not a clever politician myself, this is no doubt a naive misjudgement of the people I watched for three hours mouthing half-hearted dishonest gripes about NZUSA. And it seemed to take this time of apparently prepared questions directed at Presidential aspirant Gary Emms before Rob Campbell of Victoria deemed his candidate had had enough time to show his colours (rather wan, I thought) to the voters. Then he announced that he didn't think the discussion was productive. So big boy Cuthbert asked around the table for representatives' views on the submissions put forward by Karl Gordon (President-elect, Waikato) and Gary Emms, the afore mentioned presidential aspirant and one time President of Massey, now Education Vice Pres, NZUSA.

Basically, Carl Gordon's submissions were:

1. Should student politicians lead or represent? The present fiasco of 'representatives' adopting policies, which their constituents have not even discussed and may not even be interested in, and includes endless self-seeking and back stabbing, is intolerable.
2. Should NZUSA centralise or decentralise? It seems that a truly national union of students is strongly desired. The administrative functions of NZUSA could be rationalised so that constituents could take over purely local matters. Regardless of these proposals, constituents must communicate more effectively and responsibly with one another.
3. Should NZUSA become a radical, militant pressure-group or a selfish, welfare-oriented middle-class club? Between these extremes there are many other positions.

He proposed that:

- (a) Attempts to form a national union of students continue, the STANZ-NZUSA merger to fall through
- (b) A manifesto for NZUSA be drafted, outlining a basic ideology
- (c) A significant proportion of NZUSA's welfare resources be used for people who are really needy - non-students
- (d) NZUSA extend its educative functions by disseminating information on topics of policy importance
- (e) NZUSA adopt policies based on constituent policies

among other things, and felt the liberal-reformist stance to be the most representative of students in general, and also the most plausible one for NZUSA to maintain

Margaret Flanagan (Canterbury) seemed the only person prepared to give the views of her constituents, to which all delegates referred importantly and emptily. In fact, Emms, Reid (Victoria) and Campbell (Victoria) were the only ones present of about thirty reps who said that, regardless of any priorities which might be laid down, in the end it was only the people on Council that mattered - for they were there as individuals. If they attempted to represent their constituents accurately, NZUSA would not exist because of apathy.

Therefore, claimed Campbell, the important thing was to get down to the business of the people involved, to question the Presidential candidates, and then vote. Then they should move on to the \$40,000 annual income of NZUSA, and how to use it. In reply to Bartlett's charge of 'presumption', Campbell, in the only display of life all day said he would immediately do away with Welfare Vice Presidents and such rubbish, and devote the \$40,000 to stopping the tour, and make damned sure it did stop the tour.

Then to my utmost horror, they started quibbling over money. I read Salient and went home. I am told they bickered until seven that evening, only to return at 9 am

SUNDAY

and continue money mumbling. Otago's Treasurer must be congratulated for keeping up a steady torrent of grumbles and boring us all MORE! than Parliamentarians en masse could've in such time.

In amongst the money motions, \$1000 was allocated to Anti-Apartheid activities, although this has not yet been specifically directed to any organisation, and \$1000 to an International Research Officer, who will collate and send out the information at present coming in and being buried in NZUSA office. A successful ploy by the International Commission to double the amount allocated for anti-tour activities was made, and the International Research Officer will probably spend his time in Anti-Apartheid activities.

By 2.30 pm, money was well spent, and the next item on the agenda was discussing policy and tactics. Peter Fletcher (Waikato) vociferously denounced the present NZUSA structure, reiterating to a somewhat antagonistic Council that this was why Waikato was not participating at this meeting, although they were prepared to take part in what they hoped would be a constructive discussion on NZUSA's future.

So we went on to a repeat of the unresolved soul-searching, Campbell forcefully repeating that policy was dependant on the personalities, and their intentions as Presidential candidates. This seemed to signal what superficially was full confidence in NZUSA speech sessions. Fletcher's main area of concern seemed to be the total disregard of delegates to represent their students - and this was borne out by a round the table check by Cuthbert. Canterbury was the only delegation which had taken discussion of the previous sessions of NZUSA Winter Council back to their students. The other delegates had taken reports back to their executives, but found excuses - like 'there was no policy to take back' - for slipping up on their responsibilities.

Once again, no one was prepared to say anything of relevance, which Fletcher was quick to point out.

ABANDON NZUSA?

Mike Law then said that chucking NZUSA would be a disastrously stupid thing to do - this was playing into the hands of people like Sir Roy Jack, who have been forced to respect and listen to NZUSA in their submissions on for example, Equal Pay. He claimed that the problem was not so much with NZUSA but with the individual Students' Associations - they must maintain their relevance to their students.

Carl Gordon then put forward, rather tentatively, the suggestion that had been discussed vaguely during tea breaks - that of two national student bodies, one to continue as NZUSA, the administrative/welfare/research organisation for students, and the other to exist as a radical political gathering/pressure group/action group. Unfortunately, he did not point out that membership of one need not necessarily preclude membership of the other, or that they could be complementary in their functions.

Law returned that this showed gutlessness. Then the meeting moved on to the election of the President. Two nominations had been received - from Emms and Don Swann, of Massey. They were grilled gingerly by several delegates, and neither showed any sign of belief in anything (except NZUSA, which was of course politic) thus totally denigrating the discussions before. Not unexpectedly, on the first vote, neither won the election. So, as a majority vote is needed for a Presidential election, Swann was out of the running, and a vote to affirm a majority on Emms was taken. This did not happen, and once again NZUSA does not have a President for 1973. This is the fourth time a vote has been taken, and the fifth time that Emms has failed to attain a majority of votes. One would think that that in itself would indicate to someone they weren't wanted. However, nominations will be received for the position of President 73 until 5 pm, Monday November 6th. Hopefully, this will ensure that a President is chosen at the Executive meeting later that month. If you know anyone who would like a job for \$2500 pa and \$1000 expense account, in Wellington but much travelling required by the position.....

Heather McInnes

'ID' falls but may rise again

John Milne.

INSTINCTIVE IMPULSES RUBBISHES MAGAZINE

Report on the Bishop/Holyoake ID Proposal

The Board at its meeting of 8 August 1972 resolved the following:

"THAT the Company do not proceed with the scheme proposed by John Bishop and Rex Holyoake".

1. The style and content of the publications, that the prospective editors had originally proposed and subsequently proposed - stapled, properly covered, half tabloid magazine - were neither what the Board nor the Shareholders were wanting. In particular Board members expressed opinions that the subsequent proposal sounded too much like FOCUS.

Economically, the proposal was not viable.

2. It was accepted that for several, if not many issues, nothing like the full print run would be sold, particularly with the small amount of promotion the Company could afford.

This would cause an increase in the required return per copy. Added to this would be either a commercial distributor/retailer margin or a distributor-to-pusher margin which would load the publications price to the 35 cent to 40 cent range.

This price range would both inhibit sales to the "youth of the nation" to whom the publication is supposedly directed and to the general public.

The loss so produced would be a substantial liability to the company if not forcing it into liquidation.

The Board believed that a publication produced on this basis could take 18 months to two years before an issue began to break even. The Company does not have the financial resources, guarantees notwithstanding, to stand a continued loss of this nature - issue after issue for even 6 months.

Even if the Company were able to afford substantial promotion and were prepared to subsidise the price, over a sustained period of time, the costs of such promotion and subsidisation, the Board believed, would be unlikely to be recouped within a year.

The inescapable conclusion is that the Company lacks a sound financial basis and is unable at the current time to obtain sufficient financial backing to produce a publication of the quality and style desired.

Richard Shorter
Chairman

BLUNDERS

As one of the nasties against the ID proposal, I find myself even less impressed by the way the I.I. board has vetoed it. The report contains blunders and misunderstandings as follows:

1) No mention was made in the Bishop / Holyoake proposal of 'stapling' or a 'proper cover' (see p3 Craccum 3/8/72).

2) The I.I. Board carefully reiterated what was said in Craccum about the similarity between ID and FOCUS - if they took this a step further they might have noticed that FOCUS was, give or take a little, quite viable. Had its glossy cover, staples and libel suits been removed it would probably have made money. Although

Focus didn't sell it did well with advertising and was essentially run as a give-away (along the same lines as Craccum but with a much higher advertising revenue. ID would be easier to manage as a give-away, but if a paper is at the mercy of advertisers it is too limited to make any important contribution over and above what already exists on the national scene.

3) A price of 35-40c was not mentioned in the original statement, but judging from current Earwig (40c) returns it doesn't inhibit sales to the "youth of the nation".

ID, in some revamped form, still deserves support. Previous attempts to promote it have had about them the stamp of "doing our liberal duty", which is a good enough beginning but it will never give the momentum needed to launch a new magazine.

UNTRIED POSSIBILITIES

Let's get back to first principles. I.I. proposed a magazine of "topical comment and analysis, orientated towards the younger sector of the community." This fits "THURSDAY", "COCK", "EARWIG", and the recent arrival, "UNCOOL". Last year it would also have fitted "AFFAIRS". If NZUSA doesn't feel it can set up its own national publication, could it not endorse and promote one or more of the existing ones? Or establish a hybrid... imagine street sellers screaming:

"e e e e e e a a a a a a a r r r r r O C K ! ! ! fooorrrrrttttttttttt cents cheap" - a soothing new sound from the depths of the Queen Street monoxide. It all depends whether we want something gutsy and adventurous, or a junior Woman's Weekly.

A second possibility is a weekly or fortnightly tabloid, with some affinity in style to Australia's "NATION REVIEW" (sells well at 30c) which has continued to be freewheeling, irreverent and even profitable. But although the Review is part of the liberal tradition, there might not be a printer in NZ prepared to handle it. Is NZUSA brave enough to establish its own printery?

Before we're going to get anywhere on a new ID, newspaper staffs will have to try a good deal harder to keep in touch. We're in no position to bargain as long as NZUSA is nicely sewn up by the politicians and the paper people are scattered to the winds.

The Disgusting Editors: Heather McInnes, Gordon Clifton
Technical Editor: Jim Laing
Photogenic: John Miller
Muckedrakers: John Milne, Bob Hillier
Advertisements: James Sloane

ERROR -

Ms A. Denay's phone number 768-906 NOT 768-069 as reported in last week's Craccum in conjunction with the article ALTERNATIVE TO OUR SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM.

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RICHARD NEVILLE: The Republican Convention; leftist disunity NIXON & AMERICONG IN COMBAT

MIAMI BEACH (UPS) — "I was drafted to Vietnam to be humiliated, lied to and shot at!" shouted a young man outside the Fontainebleau Hotel. "Now I am back home to be harassed by secret agents, further lied to and spat upon by my government."

His emotion overflowed into the crowd, many of whom, like the speaker, were clad in battle fatigues, although they didn't have the former disadvantage of being confined to a wheelchair.

These were the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. It was a muggy Tuesday afternoon, and three crippled veterans were delivering a formal letter of protest inside the hotel while a crowd of marchers rested by the roadside. When some of the vets plunged into the uninviting water of a muddy estuary adjacent to the hotel, a patrol boat immediately appeared — in addition to the already encircling army helicopter.

The spirit of unarmed street people when confronted by the grosser accouterments of power is something I had learned from newsreels of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Belfast, but never before witnessed. Those in the water instinctively set off in pursuit and began splashing the occupants of the boat, which weaved about in apprehension. Roadside spectators, familiar with the process of overkill, half-expected the surfacing of a U.S. submarine. But the return march got underway before the encounter could escalate into catastrophe, and the swimmers were beckoned ashore.

An hour or so later, as the march neared Flamingo Park, with everyone sweating profusely and on the brink of exhaustion, the rains came thundering down. "Rain! Rain! Stop the war!" began the chant, which later evolved into "Rains flood the dikes! Rains flood the dikes!", progressing to "We Seed the rain! We seed the rain!" until it finally matured into "They seed the rain! They seed the rain!"

At this point, the march collided with "Street Without Joy" — the march of the Vietnamese dead.

In the wake of two giant papier mache airplanes held aloft by scores of people wearing masks of Richard Nixon's face were hundreds of demonstrators dressed as Vietnamese peasants, their faces painted white to symbolize death. Many of them had used stage make-up to affect gruesome injuries and carried brutalized babies constructed also from papier mache.

This march proceeded to the regular demonstration site outside the convention hall. It was a prerehearsed exhibition of guerilla theater, dutifully observed by helicopters, FBI photographers mounted on surrounding apartment buildings and luxuriously armed contingents of Miami police. Finally the planes were set alight by the Americong and hurled over the chain link fence into the convention enclosure, where they were met by police wielding a portable fire extinguisher. But the extinguisher proved defective, and the B52's blazed away in defiance of those who tried to quench them.

"Street Without Joy" was the grand finale of pre-planned protests, for on the morrow was the chaos of scattered street fighting and mass arrests. On Tuesday evening, however, I insinuated myself inside the convention hall, where I mingled with another breed of energetic demonstrators — Youth for Nixon.

Throughout the week it was reiterated with pride that these right-wing firebrands had paid their own fares down — from the way they dressed and the style of their accommodations, it seemed they could afford it. To my questions about Vietnam they responded, "All's fair in love and war," an epigram which is impressive only by its inhumanity. These are the Pepsi Generation: clean-cut, aglow with genital deodorants, their speech crackling with all the wit of hair-spray commercials and their neatly pressed wardrobes set off with badges reading "Right on! Mr President."

"Do not go near Flamingo Park," they were warned on arrival in Miami, "or you will be photographed by the FBI. Don't go near the convention hall except by pre-arranged order, or you will be confused with radicals and end up on police files."

So rigidly were they organized (being commanded even to burn office propaganda lest it fall among irresponsible elements)

that hardened reporters spread rumors that they were hired hands.

If only it were true.

In sad reality, Youth for Nixon are genuine fanatics who need little encouragement to display their enthusiasm for President Nixon. The old dream of yippie was that kids would kill their parents' culture. But that culture is still alive — and kicking back. I was in the convention hall when this bubble gum generation stormed the floor, mouths foaming in ecstasy at the confirmation of Nixon's nomination, and along with the black mayor of Tallahassee I stood dazed as they danced about hysterically for 20 minutes in a frenzy of conquest, both of us too scared to reveal the true nature of our feelings, watching transfixed with diplomatic smiles.

Youth for Nixon was a potent force in Miami, popping up everywhere a royal family member was scheduled to appear, usually accompanied by a racy Dixieland band, elevating in unison the four fingers of their right hands in a gesture of salute reminiscent of Nazi Germany, chanting "Four more years . . . Four more years . . . Four more years . . ."

What does Miami mean for the protest movement?

Basically, that it is in a state of shambles. Flamingo Park, on the final Wednesday, conjured up an image of what it must have been like on the eve of the final battle of the Confederate Army.

Police had virtually sealed the convention hall, reniging on prior agreements made with movement representatives. In the future, such bargaining should be undertaken with more cunning and less candor. Was there any need to publish the final sit-in plans days in advance and distribute them to the police?

The park lacked, during the crucial final hours, a proper communications system. "Leaders" were compelled to address small contingents of demonstrators and then set off on sit-ins with the foreknowledge of certain arrest. I recall Allen Ginsberg rehearsing his unit with the chant of "Ahhhhhhhh," designed not to avoid incarceration but to keep tempers pleasantly refrigerated.

Those not inclined to volunteer as lemmings formed spontaneous affinity groups intending to block traffic and set off armed only with damp kerchiefs and potatoes to stuff up exhaust pipes. Although uncoordinated and outnumbered, some of the affinity groups displayed remarkable dexterity and determination in blocking intersections and snarling traffic.

Over the next few months, radicals will be searching desperately for new strategies. One possibility will be an alliance with disenchanted liberals. Ironically, as the left suffers a crisis of identity and confidence, former establishment figures such as Daniel Ellsberg, the Berrigans and Ramsey Clark are renouncing former alliances and collaborating with the peace movement. The expedient necessity of such alliances is depressing news for those whose optimism was baptised by the visions of the '60's.

Many still pin their dreams on McGovern, but if he loses dramatically the revolutionary left will be isolated. Already it is smitten with sectarianism. There is no accepted consensus of analysis or strategy. Former activists are writhing from deep personal alienation. There is a dearth of upcoming leadership and the horizon is clouded by the bubblegum kids marching to the beat of the White House. Maybe Miami will be seen as the Alamo of the old New Left. Maybe the sixties are over.

CRACCUM PHOTOS ON SALE

Proof sets of the hundreds of photos taken for Craccum are now available for inspection in the Craccum office (including all the Arts Festival pix).

10" x 8" prints of any of these may be ordered at \$1.00 each.

Orders (with payment) should be made and collected from the Studass office unless you can place them directly with John Miller at Craccum. Make sure you get a receipt.

NATIONAL MAORI LANGUAGE DAY

SEPTEMBER 14TH

Sept. 14th is National Maori Language Day. Briefly, this means that on Sept. 14th the existence of a vital Maori language, ideas for the teaching of Maori language and the consequent development of it's place in the New Zealand society, and some simple phrases from the language itself will be brought to our attention. The mass news media and person to person contacts will be utilised to bring about a forceful expression of confidence in te reo maori as a living and necessary part of our bi-cultural society.

Questions: Is the Maori language living? Is it's retention necessary or even possible?

If "living" means "spoken by a significant number of people", the answer to the first question is "yes". There has been, and this could be taken as an indication of governments' former antipathy and present relative (to the so-called "bread and butter issues") unconcern towards the encouragement of Maori language, no reliable survey on the number of Maori-speaking people in New Zealand. Dr Bruce Biggs in *The Maori People in the Nineteen-sixties* makes what he calls an informed guess. He says that almost all the old Maori people speak Maori fluently, over half those aged between 30 and 40, and under half of those aged below 30. A.C. Walsh in *More and More Maoris* supports these estimations. Geographically, Maori as the primary language is concentrated in the rural areas especially the East Coast of the North Island, parts of the Waikato and the King Country, the northern tip of the North Island, south of Lake Taupo and d'Urville Island. A greater proportion of the Maori people would understand Maori than that which speaks it. Also, practically every Maori uses his language to add to his English. While it is true that the percentage of the Maori people who speak fluent Maori is declining, and has been for generations, there is no doubt that the remaining percentage is large enough to be significant as a communicatory and a sociological factor of present-day Maori society.

But the Maori language is living in more ways than this. As a language it is technically capable of adapting to present day conditions. It has borrowed English words and adapted them to the Maori alphabet and pronunciation. So that "table" becomes "teepeu" and "committee" becomes "komiti". These word are often criticised as being "Maorified English" and it is implied that they illustrate a lack in the Maori language. Yet present-day English is the result of centuries of extensive borrowing. Naturally a language has no word for a concept or an object that did not exist when that language was evolving. We do not say that English is an inadequate language because it has borrowed the word "hotel" from the French. No more so Maori for borrowing it and adapting it to "hotera". It is true that the adaptations required by Maori to fully express the modern situation are many, yet for Maori to reach this standard of expression is by no means impossible. Get rid of the rubbish that Maori as a so-called "primitive" language is incapable of encompassing modern living. The Maori language is a living one in another very important sense. Despite generations of systematic suppression, primarily through the State educational system, has refused to disappear. In 1871 Maori was banned in schools and

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ADDS HAVE TO HAVE PUNCH™
Phil Thwaites, U.B.S. Manager

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How White Is Our Immigration Policy?

This is reprinted from a booklet by Richard Northey and Brian Lythe, published by Wackrow Enterprises Ltd, Balmoral, Auckland.

The Present Basic Approach

The content of Official printed material of the Immigration Division of the Labour Department shows that Government policy is based on premises which display confused concepts of assimilation and integration. The following quotes come from a summary of Immigration policy prepared by the Immigration Division dated September 1966. There have been no major changes since that date and the criteria which applied at that time are still used today.

- (a) (Immigration policy) . . . "is dictated by the relative ease with which different groups of people can be assimilated."
- (b) "Up to the present we have been able to absorb a very high proportion of our immigrants so successfully that within one generation they have become New Zealanders in the full sense of the word."
- (c) "The process of integration tends to be ineffective where the proportion of migrants is so high that they are encouraged to make their friends and their associations within their own racial group. The extent to which immigrants tend to adopt this attitude depends too on the degree in which their cultural heritage differs from that of New Zealanders."
- (d) "People who share a common heritage of language and tradition integrate very quickly".
- (e) "The greater and more obvious the difference between the immigrant and the average New Zealander, the longer and more difficult the period of assimilation, and the greater the tendency of immigrants to hive off into little colonies which become self-sufficient and resistant to the process of assimilation."
- (f) "Few barriers are placed in the way of immigrants from Great Britain and from Northern and Western Europe, because the numbers offering have never been so large as to be embarrassing, and because the process of integration and assimilation is very simple."
- (g) "Most of the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe are traditionally countries of large-scale emigration, and we have found it necessary to place some impediment in the way of immigrants . . ."
- (h) "Fiji is a special problem. Because of the large intake of Polynesians from the Pacific Islands, we are not in a position to offer too many opportunities to inhabitants from other Pacific Island territories, particularly Fiji, from which the greatest pressure comes." i) "The peoples of Asia and Africa, being of a culture alien both

to that of European and Polynesian New Zealanders, present more difficult problems of assimilation than any others, and because of population pressure and very large numbers of displaced persons, there is a tremendous demand for emigration to N.Z. These factors have caused us to place even stricter limitations upon people from these countries than upon South Eastern Europeans."

Some basic criticisms of this Approach:-

1. (a) Disagree with the validity of the terms 'assimilation' and 'Integration'.
(b) Absence of definition of the meaning of 'assimilation' and 'Integration'. If Government is going to persist in using these terms then they must be defined, and the definitions must be consistently applied.
2. Clear evidence of stereotyping of potential immigrants by race and national origin. Clearly, considerations of race and national origin are predominant guiding factors on the ability to fit into N.Z. society. There is belief that people of certain races regardless of their country of origin, are more capable of fitting in and adapting than are others.
3. (a) Insistence that immigrants become New Zealanders "in the full sense of the word". New Zealand cannot tolerate difference. The best thing that can be done for a person is force him to conform. There is a desire for a homogeneous rather than a varied society.
(b) Insistence that immigrants become New Zealanders "in the full sense of the word" harbours arrogant assumptions that the 'N.Z. way of life' is beyond question and cannot be disturbed or varied, or developed by immigrants from relatively different cultures. However, in our view migrants from varied cultural backgrounds will enrich N.Z.
4. (a) Failure to recognise the function of group support and identity. There is a misunderstanding that destruction of group identity is better for the individuals and N.Z. Than the maintenance of group identity.
(b) When group support and identity is undermined or not allowed to develop, deterioration of mental health may be one outcome. Consider these figures keeping in mind what is known of the effects of recent Maori migration to urban centres:-

Year	First admissions to Psychiatric Hospitals Rate per 100,000 of Population	
	Maori	European
1959	86.4	117.0
1964	118.4	153.5
1969	190.1	179.6

(from Race Relations 1972 Conference Report, p.6)

Similar figures could also be given for Criminal Offences.

5. (a) The myth of harmonious N.Z. race relations. It is mythical to believe that to the extent that N.Z. does have harmonious race relations, these are the product of wise Government policies—and that therefore status quo policies are the best ones. The policy believes that present policies

to maintain the unbalanced 'racial balance' are the best ones.

- (b) There is false emphasis in the policy that restrictions on unskilled migrants are part of a humanitarian plan to help Maoris.
6. There is arrogant complacency towards wider issues which grows from 'N.Z. is proud to be largely free of racial strife' which reassures the "right thinking" that they are doing something benevolent by maintaining and building contacts with White South Africa.
7. It is ironic that N.Z. fears introduction of "alien cultures" when N.Z. also claims to live so harmoniously with Maori. If New Zealanders are the world's most practised people in race relations why fear 'alien' cultures?
8. The Policy statement use of emotive language and images. The use of "alien" rather than "different" or "other" cultures. The opening of the floodgates image, with consequent swamping of N.Z. . . . is called up from statements which begin "the peoples of Asia and Africa . . . because there is population pressure and very large numbers of displaced persons, there is a tremendous demand for emigration to N.Z. These factors have caused us to place even stricter limitations . . ."
9. The use of undefined term "average" New Zealander as an essential requirement for the prospective immigrant to measure up to and emulate. The test of successful "assimilation" appears to be gauged on how quickly the differences between the migrant and the "average" N.Z'er are lessened. Maintenance of differences means this person is not easily assimilable. No responsibility is placed on the "average New Zealander" in his turn to be tolerant, open and adaptable to new migrants.

Assisted Immigration Programmes

1. Migrants from U.K., Eire, and Holland receive massive assistance regardless of skills. Migrant pays 2% of the fare.
2. From Western Europe and the United States migrant pays 2% of fare. Migrants must be "above unskilled level". By Western Europe is meant Common Market Countries, Switzerland, Austria and Scandinavian Countries.
3. Pacific Islands and all other Countries. No financial assistance for migrants. Most migrants from Western Samoa and other Pacific Islands apart from those under New Zealand administration pay in effect 300% fares, suffer restrictions of varying severity on their eligibility for entry. If a person from a country of Assisted Passage Scheme is not "of wholly European Origin" (source is Imm. Form 41) regardless of skills he will not be eligible for assisted passage.
- 4.

Comments and Criticisms of these Programmes

1. Policy is discriminatory on grounds of race and national origin. This stems from all the false assumptions on which the overall immigration policy is based.
2. Assumes that European people from racially and culturally homogeneous backgrounds are better suited to adapt to a multi-racial and multi-cultural society (which present N.Z. Government refuses to recognise) than are non-Europeans who may already be in a racially and culturally heterogeneous society.
3. Arrogant assumption that all European people of some nations are naturally superior at being able to adapt and learn skills.
An unskilled person from U.K. or Holland for example is prejudged to be more socially and economically valuable than a skilled person from an excluded country.
4. In fact the costs involved to attract migrants from "homogeneous" origins could be reduced simply by allowing entry to skilled people at present denied the right to enter N.Z. Also money spent on advertising for "homogeneous" migrants could better be used to process Applicants from excluded countries who have already applied.
5. Policy holds an extremely narrow concept of "contribution". Skill is not the only contribution a migrant can make. What of the contributions of culture, language, life-style; or by self employed craftsmen, writers, poets or musicians?
6. It is noteworthy that the severe restrictions placed upon migrants from Eastern and Southern Europe have since 1970 been stretched to include Italy within Western Europe apparently because of Italy's inclusion in Common Market.
7. Belief in the superiority and worth of European culture can be seen in Mr Marshall's press statement of 2nd September 1970, p.3. "The Government is also convinced that it will bring the invigorating influence of other cultures and traditions to the N.Z. way of life. We owe a great deal to the migrants who have come from various European countries and from U.S.A. over the years . . . I believe that such migrants will be able to make an even more substantial contribution to the cultural and social life of our country."

GENERAL RESTRICTIONS OF ENTRY BY RACE AND NATIONAL ORIGINS

Restrictions of varying degrees of stringency are placed on intending immigrants, dent ostensibly on their national origins but in practice more so on their race. These restrictions are applied to different extents for the following reasons according to official statements:-

1. Most stringent limits on those areas where there is "a tremendous demand for emigration", in order to prevent inflation, unemployment, and excessive demands on social services.
2. The experience that New Zealand and other countries of migration have had of how well or poorly certain racial



groups as a whole have successfully "assimilated" to our way of life in the past and have been "prepared to accept our laws and social mores".

3. "How widely their social and cultural heritage differs from our own."

In ascending order of severity these restrictions can be summarised as follows:

1. New Zealand's island territories, i.e. the Cook Islands, the Tokelau and Niue. None applied by immigration authorities. Cost of fare and availability of transport limit entry to those better off or with relatives in New Zealand.
2. Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, Canada, Northern and Western Europe and the U.S.A.
 - (a) Wholly of European Origin. No restrictions except must be aged under 45 and of good health and character.
 - (b) Wholly or partly non-European. Not specifically defined. In practice they require guaranteed employment and accommodation in N.Z. and must give satisfactory answers to questions on their reasons for immigrating, their academic record, and their religion. No doubt religion is the acid test as to whether they have an "alien culture".
3. Samoa and other Polynesia (except Tonga)
For entry they must have guaranteed employment in New Zealand and good reasons for coming put forward by prospective immigrant and employer.
For permanent residence they must have "demonstrated that they are settling down in their new country of residence and are prepared to accept our laws and social mores" over a 5 year period since coming to New Zealand.
4. Eastern and Southern Europe
Brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, husbands, wives, fiance(e)s and children of New Zealand citizens are admitted in most cases. Otherwise only a few "for special humanitarian reasons" and people with "some special skill or quality".
5. Fiji, Tonga, Melanesia and Micronesia.
 - (a) Non-Europeans and part Europeans "We consider application for permanent entry from fiance(e)s, husbands, wives and children of New Zealand residents". Also considered if "there are special circumstances on humanitarian or occupational grounds".
 - (b) Europeans Treated the same as Europeans from Australia, Canada and the U.K.
6. Asia and Africa
 - (a) Non-Europeans and part-Europeans. Limited almost exclusively to "the wives and unmarried infant children of males resident in N.Z. and to wives, husbands and fiance(e)s of N.Z. citizens". A few "suffering a special degree of hardship" are admitted as refugees and others are considered if they "bring some special skill or quality". Because all must travel through Australia must also pass that country's stringent entry requirements.
 - (b) Europeans Restrictions not specified. General pattern seems to be that they must be guaranteed employment and accommodation in New Zealand but otherwise will be treated like people from their original country of origin.

Comments on these General Restrictions

1. Although in theory the variations in stringency of limitations on immigration are based on national origin, it can be seen from the summary above that they are in fact primarily based on race. From all countries Non-Europeans find it very much harder to be granted admission to New Zealand than do their European fellow citizens. In no way can this be justified, even by the "alien cultures" criterion.
When a non-European is born and brought up in a country in which the dominant culture is European, his cultural background should be the same as Europeans. If he has become naturalised then the authorities in that country must consider him to have successfully "assimilated" to their way of life—and if he were white our immigration authorities would consider this almost irrefutable proof of his acceptability as an immigrant. In most cases non-Europeans will be the descendants of people who have lived in that country for generations, and will be more likely to be in the cultural mainstream of their country than are Europeans. For instance American negroes are more likely to be American socially and culturally than Polish-Americans.
2. One of the clearest examples of the inconsistency and hypocrisy of this policy is its application to South Africa. The policy places fewer restrictions on entry of South African whites, including Afrikaaners than on Coloureds. South African Coloureds have a culture derived entirely from the British, have English as their first language and

usually believe in racial equality whereas Afrikaans have a culture quite different from the Pakeha or Maori, have English as their second language and usually believe non-white people are inferior. If our immigration policy did not involve racial prejudice Coloureds would not be treated more restrictively than whites yet the case of Basil Bowes, a cobbler, who was provisionally ad to New Zealand in 1970 until it was found he was coloured, is among many that prove otherwise.

Potential immigrants from South Africa must first be cleared by the South African Security police on whose reports on individuals our security service apparently fully relies. Our immigration authorities should have nothing to do with the security services of regimes whose ideals are contrary to those of New Zealand and so should use other channels as we do with Communist countries to find out about potential immigrants from countries such as Portugal, South Africa and Greece.

There is an arbitrary and relatively unexplained ranking of countries of origin and races as sources of immigrants. There seems to be two criteria involved:-

- (a) How relatively alien the culture involved is. However, no definition, anthropological or otherwise is given as to what are undesirable or too divergent cultural characteristics.
- (b) How many people from the country of race involved want to emigrate to New Zealand. Surprisingly this is considered to be a suspicious and undesirable characteristic and particularly severe restrictions are placed on such areas while large financial incentives are offered to attract the people who show least inclination to come.

4. The stringent restrictions even on relatives of Fijians, Tongans, Asians and Africans who are New Zealand citizens or permanent resident—causes a great deal of hardship and unhappiness for the families involved. The human misery caused cannot be justified because we would hardly be "swamped" if a more generous policy toward close relatives was pursued.

5. By historical accident many ethnic groups and countries of origin have virtually no representatives in this country. The present policy would perpetrate this because almost the only Asians and Africans allowed to come to New Zealand are those with close relatives already here. New Zealand is therefore missing out entirely on direct exposure to the cultural heritage of most of the ethnic groups of the non-European world and they cannot contribute to enriching and diversifying our society.

6. The application of the policy means that for many desirable and essential occupational skills New Zealand will admit lower qualified people from Western Europe and North America, at the expense of better qualified people from Asia and Africa. The resultant lowering of the standard of medical care, engineering construction, all types of craftsmanship, educational instruction and so on is a consequence New Zealand cannot afford.

7. The policy excludes many non-Europeans from stable and tolerant multi-racial societies while admitting Europeans from purely European societies or societies in which a recent influx of non-Europeans is a major factor in their desire to emigrate. No restrictions are placed on the influx of prejudiced Europeans who will do more harm than good for our multi-racial society, while for instance, virtually America, at the expense of better qualified people from Asia and Africa. The

The South Pacific

The South Pacific

New Zealand's policy with respect to the various island groups can be summarised as follows, in order of increasing restriction.

1. The Tokelau Islands.
As a New Zealand territory there is freedom of entry. Financial and other assistance is provided for immigration to New Zealand because of overcrowding and lack of resources on the islands.
2. Niue and the Cook Islands.
Also have freedom of entry. However, no financial assistance is provided and consequently the cost and availability of transport provide some effective limitations.
3. Samoa.
Samoans can apply to come to New Zealand either on a 3-month permit, which cannot be renewed without returning to Samoa, or on a 6-month permit which can be renewed and lead to permanent residence. 3-month permits are relatively easy to obtain but for 6-month permits there is a quota of 1500 per year and applicants are required to have, as a minimum, guaranteed employment in New Zealand. There are no generally recognised criteria apart from this as to who obtains 6-month-permits, individual cases being decided at lower levels of the Immigration Division. It is, however, unusual to obtain entry on this basis without previously having been to New Zealand because it is difficult to secure employment otherwise, and because those who have been to New Zealand have priority. Samoan Europeans can enter New Zealand without needing a special permit, while half-caste Samoans are given priority for 6-month permits because they are believed to assimilate readily.
4. Tahiti and other Polynesian Islands.
Intending immigrants from the Polynesian triangle are given priority for entry. This has been outlined most recently in the 1969 Maori and Island Affairs Act. The number wanting to come is not very great but basically their likelihood to be admitted and the attributes required are much the same as for Samoa, except no maximum quota level is applied.
5. Gilbert and Ellice Islands.
At the moment for the purpose of immigration these islands are treated as part of Melanesia and entry is very much limited, almost as much as from Fiji. However,

because these islands suffer from a lack of resources and over-population and because their inhabitants are part-Polynesian in origin and New Zealand accepts a special responsibility for Polynesians and believes they are more assimilable than other non-Europeans, the Government has sponsored a team of anthropologists and economists to recommend what responsibilities with regard to immigration and other policies New Zealand should undertake for these people.

6.

Tonga.
Although Tonga is clearly a part of Polynesia geographically and ethnically, New Zealand places restrictions on entry from Tonga virtually as stringent as those for Fiji. Unemployment over-population, and lack of resources have produced a substantial desire for migration to New Zealand and this, as usual, appears to be the main reason why so few Tongans are allowed to enter. However, no research has been undertaken to help determine an appropriate policy. It is stated that the entry of unskilled migrants would be at the expense of Samoans for whom New Zealand has an added responsibility as the ex-colonial power and who are more assimilable, and that Tonga needs to retain all its people for its own development. In spite of repeated representations for freer entry to New Zealand the Tongan Government has only been able to get some lessening of restrictions for part-Europeans deprived of land rights in Tonga and temporary entry for Tongans to work in schemes organised by private corporations in New Zealand.

7.

Fiji, Melanesia, Micronesia, Papua-New Guinea.
Apart from the mainly agricultural schemes for which Fijians can be granted four-month work permits, people from this area can only be considered if they are "fiance(e)s, husbands, wives and children of New Zealand residents", or if "there are special circumstances on humanitarian or occupational grounds" or, of course, if they are Europeans.

COMMENTS

1. The policy with respect to the South Pacific lacks clear definitions and aims. There is a general feeling that we have a special responsibility to at least some groups in the region but there has not been sustained research, policy-making, or detailed discussions with the Pacific Island leaders themselves to determine how this special responsibility could best be met.
2. The only consistent thread in the policy is the racial stereo-typing found throughout New Zealand's immigration policy.
3. The lack of clarity in policy with respect to all the Pacific Island groups and the very restrictive limits imposed on many cause unnecessary bitterness among the leaders and people of these neighbouring countries. Most often these islands suffer severe problems of overpopulation, under-employment and lack of resources and New Zealand has the means to greatly assist in overcoming this by a suitable policy of economic assistance and liberalised but controlled immigration. Instead of using easy rationalisations that lack any evidence to demonstrate their validity our immigration policy with respect to the South Pacific should be based on achieving mutually acceptable agreements with all the Pacific Island Governments that will best assist their social and economic development.
4. The turnaround policy, that affects Samoa in particular has no legitimate justification and should be ended. Pacific Islanders should not have their meagre financial resources stretched to pay for three air fares to and from New Zealand but should be able to apply for a residence permit without having to return to their home country. This will assist New Zealand employers as well.
5. Our policy with respect to Tonga is particularly damaging. There is no evidence at all that Tongans have any particular difficulty a to New Zealand conditions but there is conclusive evidence that Tonga is facing massive social and economic problems that freer entry of Tongans could help alleviate. Tongans working in New Zealand would reduce the high level of unemployment in Tonga and contribute much needed capital for that country. Perhaps a quota system similar to that applying to Samoa and about as generous would be the fairest policy in keeping with our resources.
6. The restrictions on non-Polynesian countries and territories appear far too stringent when we have the resources to assist their development more generously and cannot afford to alienate their leaders and people.

Avenues for Further Action

1. The main task is to destroy the myths and misconceptions on which the policy seems to be based. This would be part of a program of publicity and public education against racially prejudiced and racist attitudes generally, and that actively promoted the benefits of cultural diversity in our society. It should be directed particularly at the most influential people in forming immigration policy—civil servants in the immigration division, the Government, M.P.s, leaders of immigrant communities, the churches, employers and trade unions.
2. Every opportunity must be taken to try to get the Immigration authorities to define their policies and criteria more precisely. This can only serve to highlight the racial discrimination and racism involved, because they try to hide the fact that such criteria are applied and by publicising these the policy can be attacked more effectively in the news media.
3. Individual cases of injustice should be highlighted and publicised where the individuals involved are agreeable, in order to embarrass immigration authorities and hopefully to secure modifications of immigration policy.

4. The non-European immigrant communities should be mobilised to lobby for changes in general policy and to work for this in full co-operation with the Race Relations Council. The effective methods of Dutch and other European Immigrant organisations should be studied and where applicable applied by Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Chinese, and Indian communities as well.
5. Those responsible for formulating immigration policies should be asked to define what criteria they apply in deciding whether an individual or ethnic group has successfully assimilated and in what ways certain groups fail to assimilate. Research could then be done to determine how closely non-European and European groups in fact fit the picture the immigration authorities draw of them for example how many recent European migrants have attitudes of racial intolerances, and how valid and significant these criteria are.
6. The misleading information provided prospective European immigrants about race relations and multi-racialism in New Zealand should be examined and exposed.



RESOLUTION

Resolution on Immigration Policy passed at the 1972 Annual Conference of the New Zealand Race Relations Council

We consider that New Zealand's immigration policy includes invalid and racially discriminatory criteria. The Government seems to believe that it should endeavour to maintain social homogeneity in New Zealand by erecting barriers against the entry of non-Europeans much more restrictive than those applying to Europeans because it considers that non-Europeans will not assimilate to our way of life as readily as Europeans.

This view is invalid because New Zealand has not been socially and culturally homogeneous since the European culture was brought here to coexist with the Maori, and for this reason among many we reject the racially based test of assimilability. We recognise that New Zealand is culturally, socially and racially diverse, believe that this diversity is valuable and enriching for all our citizens and that our immigration policy should recognise and develop this diversity. WE accept that the Government should limit immigration to this country but at present non-European people who could contribute a great deal to building our multi-cultural society are being excluded while the Immigration authorities are subsidising white people to come here. Many of whom are doing so to escape from non-Europeans in their own countries and have attitudes that make many unprepared for and of no value to a multi-racial society.

We therefore believe that in general ethnic and national origins should have no bearing on whether a potential immigrant is admitted to this country. If there is to be a subsidised immigration scheme it too should not be restricted on racial grounds.

We do however, consider that New Zealand has a special responsibility to aid the development of all the people of the South Pacific region. This will entail discussions with the Pacific Islands Governments to draw up immigration agreements that will allow somewhat freer access on a mutually acceptable basis from Polynesian countries suffering from unemployment and lack of resources. In particular people from Samoa should be able to gain permanent residence without having to first return to Samoa. Entry from Tonga where there are particularly severe economic and social problems, must be liberalised, and the Government must forcefully insist that the Australian authorities cease their discrimination against non-European, non-Maori, New Zealanders going to that country.

Richard Northey Brian Lythe

Now for the first time, my heart has come near to your thoughts . . . there is my land . . . you must take care of it; . . . I do not wish you to sell it.

The chief Te Taonui at the signing of the Treaty in February 1840 at Hokianga.

It was with "extreme reluctance" that the British government changed its policy towards New Zealand from one of inaction to one of intervention in 1838. This decision was forced upon the government in an attempt to reconcile the fact that the settlement of the country by British migrants had begun and would continue with the belief, expressed by a special Committee of the House of Commons in 1836, that uncontrolled colonisation would probably result in the extermination of the Maori. The settlement of New Zealand could not be halted, but the interposition of law, particularly over the difficult question of land, might prevent the worst excesses of racial conflict. The policy was far from being a mere "missionary" scheme, aimed solely at protecting the Maori, as many colonists believed and as have some historians: it accepted the reality of the occupation of New Zealand by British settlers and, in fact, assumed, erroneously, that to "the natives . . . much of the land of the country is of no actual use, and in their hands it possesses scarcely any exchangeable value." But the humanitarians in the Colonial Office did recognize that the Maoris had rights to land and to the protection of law to prevent "the same process of war and spoliation under which uncivilised tribes have almost invariably disappeared." The Secretary of State for Colonies, in his Instructions to the future Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, William Hobson, in August 1839, made it clear that although the policy towards New Zealand had been changed and the government had been compelled to act, intervention was itself still "essentially unjust, and but too certainly fraught with calamity to a numerous and inoffensive people, whose title to the soil and to the sovereignty of New Zealand is indisputable, and has been solemnly recognised by the British Government." The Treaty of Waitangi was the product of humanitarian thought, which tried to reconcile the actuality of colonisation with the preservation of the Maori race and some of their land. In this way, it was an honest (although impotent) experiment in practical idealism, to end the existing "lawless state of society", to induce the Maoris to accept the principles of British law and to mitigate the effects of land conflict.

The Treaty of Waitangi was devised as a means of transferring sovereignty by the consent of the Maori chiefs. The government sought consent because occupation by force was not only obviously impractical but would be inconsistent with their reasons for intervention. The Treaty of Waitangi, drawn up in Maori, was signed initially on 6 February 1840 by 43 northern chiefs. By 15 October 1840 over 500 signatures had been collected on various signed sheets (including an English version which differs in substance from the Maori text). On this date Hobson sent certified copies in both languages to England. In actuality, however, New Zealand was annexed by proclamation on 21 May 1840. Hobson proclaimed British sovereignty over the whole: the North Island on the grounds of cession under the Treaty and the South Island and Stewart Island on the specious grounds of discovery — in actuality seized by Hobson for the British Government. The reason for these sudden proclamations was the behaviour of the New Zealand Company settlers at Port Nicholson, who denied Hobson's authority, together with the advent of a French colonising company at Akaroa.

The Treaty of Waitangi, therefore, probably possesses no force in international law and has never been embodied in New Zealand law. New Zealand was annexed by the proclamations. The disputed validity of the Treaty in international law is based on the legalistic grounds as to whether the Maoris possessed the sovereignty and, therefore, could not concede what they did not have. Certainly the British government had formally recognised that sovereignty (largely because they did not wish to become involved) and in 1832 had appointed James Busby as a British Resident in a "substantive and independent state". Far more important, however, are the intentions of the Treaty and the guarantees that were given to the Maoris in 1840.

The Secretary of State for Colonies, the Marquess of Normanby, stressed in his Instructions to Hobson that the intentions of the government must be fully explained to the Maoris, to persuade them from their "distrust [of] a proposal which may carry on the face of it the appearance of humiliation on their side and of a formidable encroachment on ours." From the discussion it appears that most Maori chiefs grasped clearly the issues involved: their land and their independence. The Treaty was not signed without opposition. Rewa of Kerikeri, who signed the Treaty on 6 February, at first spoke strongly against it: "Send the man away; do not sign the paper; if you do you will be reduced to the condition of slaves, and be obliged to break stones for the roads. Your land will be taken from you; and your dignity as chiefs will be destroyed." Nene of Hokianga, however, turned the tide: he argued that it was now too late to drive the English away. To Hobson he said "You must be our father! You must not allow us to become slaves! You must preserve our customs, and never permit our lands to be wrested from us!"

But the British had never intended to preserve intact the Maori race or their customs. Humanitarianism was paternalistic. Its objective was the assimilation of the Maoris into a European way of life, to bring them, as Normanby wrote, "within the pale of civilised life." Nevertheless, the humanitarians had recognised one important principle: the basis of the survival of the Maoris was their retention of control over their lands. The Treaty signed at Waitangi guaranteed possession, or rather "full chieftainship" (*te tino rangatiratanga*) of the lands, villages and valued possessions of the Maoris. The English text, signed only at Waikato on 11 and 26 April 1840, also included "Forests" and "Fisheries" in these guarantees. The Crown alone had the right of purchase of land from the Maoris. This preemptive right was intended to serve two purposes — characteristically contradictory. The first was the attempt to impose the Crown as an arbiter between the settlers' greed for land and the Maoris' wish to protect their land. The second was to provide a source of revenue for the new government from the Crown's resale of Maori Lands to Europeans. Embodied in the Crown's concept of its role as purchaser was the belief, expressed clearly in Hobson's instructions, that most Maori land was "waste land", which could be purchased cheaply and resold at a higher price, because its "exchangeable value" had been created solely by the introduction of settlers and capital from England. In the guarantee of land, therefore, was an unwritten ambiguity: only

TE TIRITI-O-WAITANGI



the lands that the Europeans could conceive as being valuable to the Maoris would be preserved. Similarly, the guarantee of the protection of British law and the full rights as British subjects denied the concept of separate identity and of preservation of customs, of which Nene spoke and which "full chieftainship" over the lands implied. Only those practices which were "compatible with the universal maxims of humanity and morals" would be defended — that is, those in accordance with the rigid mores of Victorian England. Queen Wikitoria's protection had its fount in Anglo-Saxon righteousness.

But the harshness within paternalist humanitarianism should not be used to deny the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi. The guarantee of some land was to be, in actuality, the means of the separation and thereby the survival of the Maori in the late nineteenth century. The humanitarian principles embodied in the Treaty were to provide the basis of a colonial policy which aimed

to prevent gross exploitation of the Maoris and race war over land. That it failed is not to invalidate the intentions. The inadequacies of humanitarianism stemmed from an inability to understand that the Maoris sought a guarantee of their separate identity. In the end the humanitarians themselves would endorse a colonial policy of force to assimilate the Maoris and to wrest land from them. But the Treaty maintains its importance because it was an attempt to found a colony on a new basis: one that recognised that the indigenous people possessed rights. It is for this reason that the Maoris have continually appealed to the principles of Waitangi and demand that, at least, Waitangi Day should become a national holiday: a compact of a bi-cultural society. It would certainly be of far greater significance, rather than celebrating the tenuous survival of archaic provincial entities, to record a serious attempt to prevent racial conflict in New Zealand.

JUDITH BINNEY

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Racism and New Zealand's Political Alliances

Address by Dr P.W. Hohepa, Chairman Auckland District Maori Council.

I have just returned from Wellington and saw Nixon's aide, John Connally going in to see the Cabinet. His arrival is symptomatic of the way our country is becoming more and more like a U.S. colony or vassal state. Concerning my subject matter — our political alliances — who are our political allies at this present time? For political we should really use the term military, for a military pact is the ultimate sign of a political alliance. We know who these are: Australia, U.S.A. and England are the ones that come immediately to mind. They are the important ones, and they are the traditional "white" countries. To protect these white enclaves, usually euphemistically described by politicians and letter writers as 'protecting our democratic way of life', forward defense positions are maintained — and this now includes most of South East Asia and the Philippines. South Korea and South Vietnam are nothing more than forward defensive positions. Looked at in terms of present U.S. defensive strategies they are the eastern colonies just as we are the southern-most one. These countries are part of the forward defensive positions for the out-of-date so-called "containment of communism" policy, the discredited "domino theory" which came to the fore with the Korean conflict. N.Z. foreign policy is so closely tied up now with Nixon's U.S. foreign policy that the best our successive Ministers of Defence can do is try and rationalise and defend U.S.-N.Z. involvement overseas. For example "we would rather fight them in the paddy fields of South Vietnam than on the plains of Canterbury" is the current defence for our being in Vietnam. Of all the sick jokes that's one of the best — it is sick because 'them' is ill-defined, yet sounds patriotic. The new-ism we are against is supposed to be Communism and while we fight them on the paddy fields, our government attempts to create trade and diplomatic ties with China — one of the supposed arch-villains of Communism. Here's our new Minister of Foreign Affairs, who "weeps" because civilians have been napalmed by Americans and South Vietnamese, and he blames that on the North Vietnamese, for, if the North Vietnamese had not attacked the bombing would not occur. The lack of logical thinking, the attempt to fan flames of patriotism and abandon reason is deplorable.

So I say, we are the puppets of present day American foreign policy, and while our leaders seem to believe they are decision makers, the decisions are usually made for them. If the U.S. or Australia were to abandon Vietnam tomorrow, we will too.

Where does South Africa come into this? I will read what an American correspondent is saying about what is happening to South Africans, and our policy there may well depend on the emerging Nixon doctrine: "South Africa has become a giant power on the African continent and the principal bulwark against African freedom everywhere in Southern Africa. Western capitalist interests in South Africa are far greater than ever they were in Vietnam. The posture of the U.S.A. is the following: Verbal protest against apartheid, but powerful arguments for the strategic military and economic importance of South Africa. There are indications that American foreign policy is moving still closer toward the White minority regimes of South Africa, under the Nixon administration. The White House has warmly endorsed Mr Vorster's "outward policy", even though the South African Government has made clear its belief that this policy will strengthen not undermine, apartheid. There have been several relaxations recently in the U.S.A. in their adherence to the arms embargo. The U.S.A. remained silent in 1970 when Britain reversed its own policy on exporting arms to South Africa. White House aides are said to be re-evaluating the strategic importance of South Africa to the American presence in the Indian Ocean, along with the political consequences of acknowledging South Africa more openly."

In fact there have been discussions in N.A.T.O. of the possibilities and consequences of admitting South Africa to that organisation. The consequences are too delicate, and the trial balloon has therefore been flown (or is "leaked" a better word)? of a possible complementary South Atlantic Treaty Organisation where South Africa may be more acceptable. Events have shown that the "white" Portuguese and South African response to Western policies confirms a current "thaw" in relations. Government leaders and the press in both South Africa and Portugal have praised the Nixon and Heath (British) administrations for having a more sympathetic outlook towards their regimes. Portuguese officials claim confidently that the U.S.A. now supports a continued Portuguese presence in Southern Africa as a buffer zone between South Africa and independent Africa. When President Nixon outlined Southern African policy in his 1970 State of the World message, Prime Minister Vorster characterised the speech as "realistic" and "refreshing". And why? The Nixon statement reiterates American opposition to apartheid. But more importantly, Nixon also warns that the U.S.A. can only support "peaceful efforts towards the solution of South African problems". Compare that with his Vietnam stance. If there are no hidden racist reasons for the differences of treatment, I don't know what being a racist is. Concerning the impracticality of the Nixon statement: we know that the African majorities have tried every form of peaceful protest, to the extent that it is now 'no longer legal' to even protest. We have seen the effects of white liberal peaceful protests — even white protesters are being "held" in S.A. It is difficult to understand how Nixon expects meaningful change to occur in the future by using the same methods that have not worked for close on 400 years. Who would credit a leader of a country whose war of independence is an example of gaining freedom, from denying that avenue to any other group where all others have failed? For the African populations, contacts with Whites have been a bitter experience. The increasing resentment of what they regard as Western contributions to and the benefits from the harsh conditions which they are experiencing is all they can expect from now on. "The potential strategic, economic and political threats to American 'national interests' posed by African nationalism, suggest that the U.S.A. might intervene in Southern Africa during the 1970's. The West," says a commentator, "genuinely dislikes the policies of the current Government there but the alternatives under African nationalist rule could be far more damaging to Western commercial interests." Of course this is the key point to the whole stance. It has nothing to do with South Africa's people, it conflicts with the avowed abhorrence of racism, yet it is clearly because commercial interests may well be affected. Unfortunately such commercial interests and profits depend on the perpetuation of the refined system of slavery of apartheid. "Such intervention might take the form of a massive military commitment to crush the guerilla movements, but only at the risk of enormous racial tensions within the Military". And if by chance this happen and we are dragged in there will be tensions also in the N.Z. military, for the majority of our troops are Polynesian. "Intervention could also take a political form. The U.S.A. might choose not to reinforce White minority rule while still working to prevent nationalist movements from coming to power." Instead it may try to find a third party of moderates, and I think there are very few moderates left in South Africa. A more likely intervention would be similar to the precedent established by the Sharpeville crisis of 1960-61. American financial transfusions saved the S.A. regime when it appeared in danger of collapse. There were tremendous American investments, trade and strategic help given to South Africa. Whatever the future may bring, American policy today continues to be essentially one of anti-apartheid rhetoric while maintaining normal relations with the regimes of South Africa. These are the alternatives facing the United States.

Where does that leave us in New Zealand? As I say, we are at present the puppets of present American foreign policy. Will we be used as pawns for Nixon's next adventure after Vietnam? The Americans may well go in 'to defend' the Indian Ocean, or to protect 'a bastion of democracy'. When they start having meetings of N.A.T.O. and start thinking in terms of bringing South Africa into that orbit, but feeling that it is not good for current American interest to be too closely allied, and therefore try to form another

KATH WALKER ABORIGINAL RIGHTS

"... I'm for humankind, not colour jibs;
I'm international, and never mind tribes.
"... I'm international, never mind place;
I'm for humanity, all one race."

Her message of love and brotherhood contrasts sharply with the words of the member for Geraldton (Western Australia) who said in 1892: "It will be a happy day for Western Australia and Australia at large when the natives and kangaroos disappear... in dealing with this matter all maudlin sentiment should be abolished. The time has come for drastic, exact and positive measures, administered not with a light hand."

In those days the number of Aborigines dropped from 300,000 approx. before the arrival of Cook, to 80,000. The white settler felt confident that in 50 years time the natives of Australia would have disappeared from the face of the earth. He had already succeeded in Tasmania, where a native woman, the last of a race, had died in 1876.

Some humanitarians decided to make their departure more pleasant confining several tribes in reservations where boredom



and interbreeding caused more destruction than the gun in the early stages of colonization. This attitude is far from uncommon even today. Only recently some articles of the Australian constitution have been changed. Before, the Federal Government could legislate for all the ethnic groups in Australia with the exception of the Aborigines. The clause regarding the Aborigines has been deleted and now they can appeal to Canberra when State governments pass unfair and discriminatory bills. In May 1967, a referendum decided that Aborigines too should be included in the census as Australian citizens and have the vote.

R.M. and C.H. Berndt point out that "... On the whole, the European settlers did not regard the Aborigines as being seriously important in their scheme of things. They had their own ideas of how human beings should behave, the kind of life they should lead, and they judged other human societies in the light of these standards. In fact, the Aborigines seemed to them so different that many considered them scarcely human." The present policy of assimilation reflects such attitudes. They have to become like us, they have to accept our culture, our religion, our standards, and reject theirs. The Aborigines cannot and do not want to lose their identity in favour of a way of life which has proved to be far too

(continued on next page)

alliance; to me this is a danger for N.Z. and for everyone else. I've pointed this out twice already in the press. The Prime Minister has retorted that there is no such alliance planned and lately Sir Keith Holyoake in a letter, stated quite plainly "that no proposals for any military association between N.Z. and South Africa have ever been made or considered by the Government." All I can say is, we have seen this country taken into conflict first and then told, and I ask — will we be kept fully informed of any pressures to join in an Indian Ocean defence pact. A newspaper, The Star, on 11th March, 1971, stated "Britain's naval facilities at Simonstown could well be included in the plan now being seriously considered by Australia, U.S.A., Britain and N.Z. for a four-nation naval fleet in the Indian Ocean. Such a fleet, designed to counter a growing Soviet influence in the area, was first discussed between London, Canberra and Washington early last year. Later the N.Z. Government also said it was willing to support a permanent allied naval force in the Indian Ocean." I have to be cautious here, because no pact is signified. However, the dividing line between 'a military pact' (which is denied) and 'an agreement to allow the Indian Ocean naval fleet to use the Simonstown naval base' is the point at issue. Such an agreement will have to involve South Africa.

But regardless of interpretation there is the growing awareness that New Zealand's military-political alliances are in danger of being confined to a narrow 'whites only' circle, whose territories remain inviolate yet these white nations are obviously willing to condone and participate in blood-letting and destruction in countries which are non-white. The 'paddy-fields' statement cuts close to the bone.

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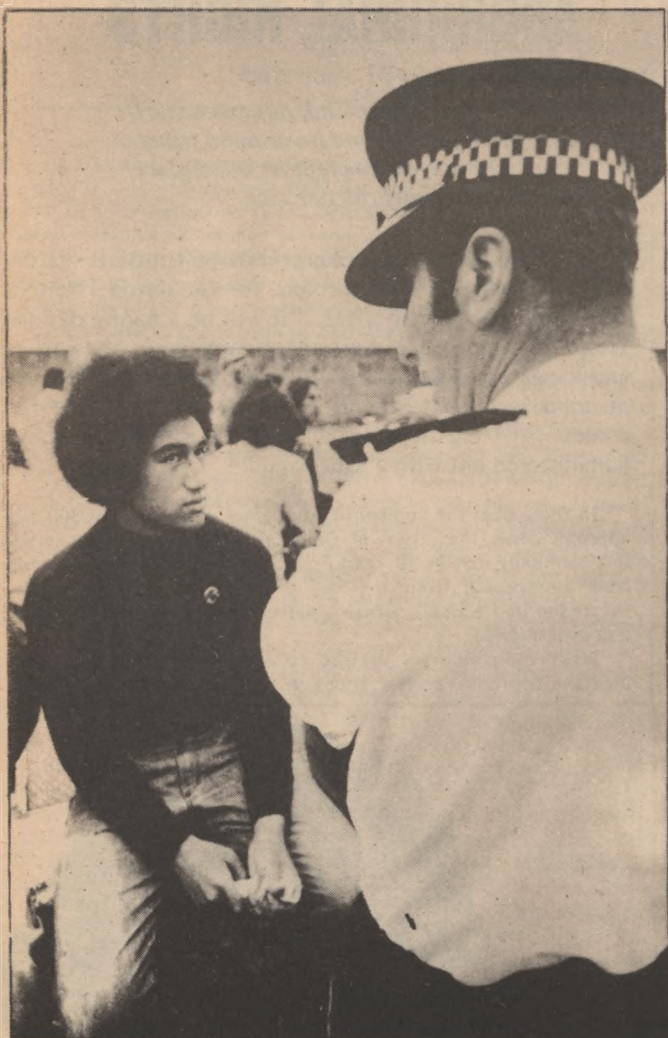
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LIMITED

LOCALISED RACISM

— TAKE IT SLOW BROTHER!



A talk given by Wayne Toleafou-Peseta Minister of Information of the Polynesian Panther Movement.

It's amazing how many white people in N.Z. still think that all of us here are living harmoniously together. Maybe we are? If we are — I don't like the tune we're harmonizing to.

White people seem to think there is nothing peculiar about the 70 to 80% Polynesian roll at Paremoremo Rock University. They seem to think that, there is nothing peculiar about the fact that 80% of Polynesian drop out of the school system before they reach the 6th form.

It's O.K. to crack 'hor' or 'coconut' jokes but it's racism to crack 'white-maggot' jokes or 'white-honky' jokes.

When the whiteys start talking to me about brotherhood, I somehow feel they want me to be the little brother and them to be the big brothers — I wonder why I feel this?

I've read in the history books of how my 'savage', 'uncivilised', ancestors 'sinned' against whitey by resisting him when he wanted the land. Now the whiteys are preaching non-violence because some of us want the land back. By the way, don't let the history books fool you — the War's not over — believe it or believe it!

Some of you don't like being called whiteys, well you're not used to hearing your own jive from the other side. That's because you're arrogant.

Some of you will say 'oh! I've got some good friends that are Polynesians — they're wonderful people'. Well that's sweet! because I've got some white ones but it don't make you unguilty of racism. When you don't resist the legislation that causes the Polynesians or any minority to be oppressed, you are in fact supporting this legislation.

If you support the school system as it stands, you are supporting a racist institution, that arrogantly ades assimilation of all our cultures into the white culture. You are supporting cultural genocide. If you do this you can be sure that as time goes by there will be a violent backlash not from the P.P.M. only but from any Polynesian with a brain under his helmet!

You see gangs of Polynesians on the streets ahead — well you've got every reason in the world to be scared of them — until the school system and this social system is changed.

You'd better be more selective about who you choose for your pig force too because at the moment those so-called policemen aren't fit to handle thier own grandmothers. They're becoming a piece of dust in the eye of this society.

Many of our brothers have been hassled on the streets and taken down to central, to be beaten and are then taken to the Courts to be told by a Magistrate what the future holds for them. The Magistrates Court should really be called the Crystal Ball Courts because that's what they are.

Some of you here are what might be considered Liberals and some of you consider yourselves Radicals. The Liberals and Radicals would like to see changes. The Revolutionaries would love to see changes. It's up to you to decide whether you'd like it or love it, or you can just lump it and become a hippycrit.

Mild Racism or should I call it ignorance exists even amongst the so-called Radical groups. We've had these so-called Radicals even try to use our Polynesian Panther Movement as bum-boys. Let me make it quite clear to all those who have tried to 'suck us in' that we do things our way — not your way. If you want to help yourselves, help yourselves by helping us — but don't waste our time. We're not a 'gang' of Polynesians who get together for kicks or just for your benefit. We will seize our own time! I hope you can dig that now!

Most white people don't understand Polynesian values. When the Polynesian does something the white man considers strange, the whites discredit the Polynesian. This is a multi-racial situation and yet society has one set of standards that it sets for all. Anything outside these standards is abnormal. Institutional racism here in N.Z. has caused this lack of understanding between the different peoples and will continue to do so until a change is brought about by you the people.

If we keep developing in the direction we are taking, who knows — this could quite possibly become another South Africa instead of the polite-racist country we have, now.

We can say 'don't look at each other as different peoples we are all one. That's fine, if we look at it that way, but it's hard to overlook some things. It's hard to overlook the past injustices, and the question arises — "under who's system shall we live harmoniously." The present is the same total of the past. The future is ours. We will have to mould the future. We must take the initiative to "Seize the Time" while we still can!

In the States for 400 years the Afro-Americans have been singing the song "We Shall Overcome". Well they haven't overcome and we don't intend singing along with them.

Each day more Polynesians children are being born. They are born into subjection to this white racist society. They are brought through the school system and taught to be 'good' Islanders or good 'Maoris.'

The European has been here for about 200 years now and I still can't see any effective Maori voice in the running of this country. They let Samoa go because the steamship was out of date and they didn't need any coaling stations. The resources in Samoa weren't paying off either. N.Z. has the resources so the European stays. His materialistic values come to the fore always.

In the Ponsonby area many Polynesian children must play on the streets because the Council does not provide suitable play areas. In Grey Lynn a motorway was built through a school playground, this meant that the children practised rugby on the concrete. Schools in the Ponsonby area are becoming so crowded that prefabricated buildings are being built in the middle of the already-limited playing areas. The schools in Ponsonby are classed by the Education board as 'country schools'.

New secondary school zones have recently been drawn up. I suppose we are all meant to think it coincidental that the people of Ponsonby can no longer go to the grammar schools but must go to where there are a very few academic successes.

I suppose we are meant to think it is just co-incidence that in a certain Grammar school many Polynesians are taking an Agricultural course.

One thing I am sure of is that most of those Polynesians don't want to be farmers. The class these guys are in has been given the pathetic name of 3 Sci. There is no 5 Sci because none of them reach that level.

When these boys leave school they cannot be assured of any future under the present system. So that's why I say be afraid of a gang when you meet it on the street, because they sure have got a reason to be angry.

Don't sit there feeling guilty either — they don't like people who rationalize. The only school they want to know is the school of action. It's up to this society to change a few things.

I am a N.Z. born Samoan but I don't have the same rights as other so called N.Zers, take for instance immigration. I cannot visit Australia on the claim that I am a New Zealander. The N.Z. Government's not worried, about that, it still goes on deceiving itself.

All 19yr old Samoans must register for military service in the N.Z. army. Why should we? The N.Z. Government won't fight my wars, why should I fight their wars?

About 72% of the N.Z. forces in Viet Nam, were Polynesians. Well, no Vietnamese ever called me a coconut or a nigger so why should I be asked to fight them? As far as I am concerned we the Polynesian peoples are brothers in oppression to the Vietnamese people. It's no concern of mine whether the Vietnamese have a Communist Government or a democratic Government. At least they should be given power to determine their own future — just as we the Polynesian people, should have a voice in determining the future of this nation — just as the masses



of black people in South Africa should have a voice in determining their future.

All the activities of the whiteman make me think 'what an arrogant fool he is' Technology and materialistic. Things are nothing! People, are everything! Until the Polynesians, and other oppressed peoples of the world are truly considered equals, there is no use talking as if we are equals.

KATH WALKER (continued from over page)

often delusive and destructive. What they are fighting for is clearly stated in one of Mrs Walker's poems: Aboriginal Charter of Rights, which was prepared and presented to the 5th Annual General Meeting of the Federal Council Aboriginal Advancement, held at Adelaide, Easter, 1962.

We want hope, not racialism,
Brotherhood, not ostracism,
Black advance, not white ascendancy:
Make us equals, not dependents.
We need help, not exploitation,
We want freedom, not frustration,
Not control but self-reliance,
Independence, not compliance,
Not rebuff, but education,
Self-respect, not resignation.
Free us from mean subjection,
From a bureaucrat Protection.
Let's forget the old-time slavers:
Give us fellowship, not favours;
Encouragement, not prohibitions,
Homes, not settlements and missions.
We need love, not overlordship,
Grip of hand, not whip-hand wardship;
Opportunity that places
White and black on equal basis.
You dishearten, not defend us,
Circumscribe, who should befriend us.
Give us welcome, not aversion,
Give us choice, not cold coercion,
Status, not discrimination,
Human rights, not segregation.
You the law, like Roman Pontius,
Make us proud, not colour-conscious;
Give the deal you still deny us,
Give goodwill, not bigot bias;
Give ambition, not prevention,
Confidence, not condescension;
Give incentive, not restriction,
Give us Christ, not crucifixion.
Though baptized and blessed and Bibled
We are still tabooed and libelled.

Kath Walker's life is an example of how Aborigines are treated. Born in Stradbroke Island in 1920. At the age of 13 she left school to become a domestic in Brisbane. Three years later, Kath was rejected for nurse training, because she was an aborigine. She worked as a telephonist during World War II in the A.W.A.S. and married. At the age of 37, under a repatriation scheme for service men and women, she went back to school and became a stenographer.

She is now one of the best-known poets in Australia. Her popularity is based on the importance of her social message which is expressed with all the energy and the faith of a life entirely devoted to the cause of the aboriginal people.

She was until recently the Queensland State Secretary of the Federal Council of the Aboriginal Advancement League, Honorary Secretary for the Queensland State Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, and an executive member of the Union of Australian Women. Unfortunately these bodies are more concerned with window dressing than with the real interests of the aboriginal people. The same can be said for the Churches and the Trade Unions. The assimilation policy is still pursued: they must become like us. For this reason her son Denis and the other younger advocates of Aboriginal rights have decided to depend solely on themselves, to avoid the danger of being

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swamped by the empty rituals of do-gooders. Kath Walker has great faith in the youth of Australia, in the exchanges at all levels which are now taking place between young Aborigines and young whites, mostly University students, and firmly believes in the "Abschool" movement (the Aborigine education scholarship fund). She also argues for a combined effort of the Pacific People in the struggle for justice and equal rights.

Increasingly her speeches emphasize that "the key requirements today are the return of land rights to the people, and the implementing of legislation that will ensure independence and self-determination for the Aborigines of Australia". At present they can be removed from their tribal territories. It has happened more than once when rich mineral deposits are discovered, and the whites tear the heart out of Australia and sell its resources to foreign interests. The dispossessed, now a vast majority, settle in the rubbish dumps outside villages and towns, unable to find employment because, as it appears in the following extract from a booklet published by the Department of Labour and National Service: "Of the males, 33% were registered for farm, pastoral or other rural work, and a further 60% were seeking unskilled work in non-rural industries. Less than 7% of the males were registered as skilled workers. There were no males registered for professional, semi-professional or clerical work."⁴

But Kath Walker has not lost her faith in man; she believes that more and more people will join in the battle and she is presently engaged in developing in Stradbroke Island a cultural centre and museum to preserve the culture and history of the Aborigine and white people who have lived there. Meanwhile the situation is summarized in Dr Coombs' report along these lines:

- "... if an aboriginal baby is born,
1. It has a much better than average chance of being dead within two years;
 2. If it does survive it has a much better than average chance of suffering from substandard nutrition to a degree likely to permanently handicap it (a) in its physical and mental potential, (b) in its resistance to disease;
 3. It is likely in its childhood to suffer from a wide range of diseases, but particularly E.N.T. and respiratory infections, gastroenteritis, trachoma and other eye infections;
 4. If it reaches the teen ages it is likely to be ignorant and lacking in sound hygienic habits, without vocational training, unemployed, maladjusted, and hostile to society;
 5. If it reaches adult ages it is likely to be lethargic, irresponsible and above all, poverty-stricken, unable to break out of the iron cycle of poverty, ignorance, malnutrition, ill health, social isolation, and antagonism: if it lives in the North it has a good chance of being maimed by leprosy and, wherever, its search for affection and companionship may well end only in the misery of V.D.;
 6. If it happens to be a girl she is likely to conceive a baby at an age when her white contemporary is screaming innocent adulation at some 'pop' star, and she will continue to bear babies every twelve or eighteen months until she reaches the double figures or dies of exhaustion.
 7. And so the wheel will turn ..."⁵

The moving words of Kath Walker complete the picture:

"... The scrubs are gone, the hunting and the laughter. The edge is gone, the emu and the kangaroo are gone from this place. The bora ring is gone. The corroboree is gone. And we are going."⁶

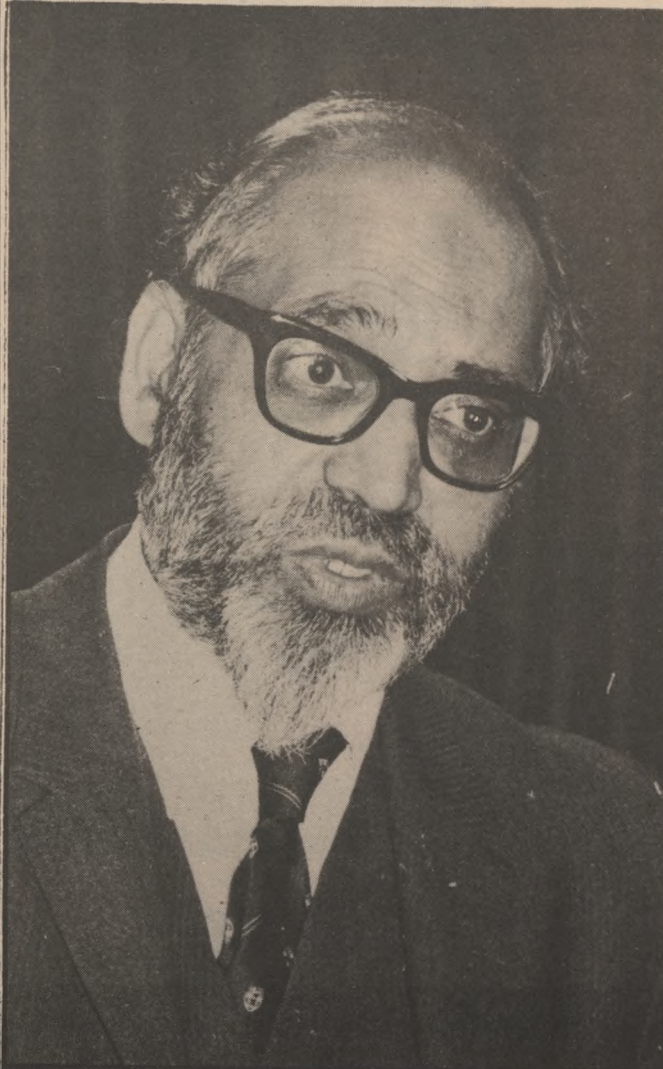
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4. and 5. Quoted by K. Walker in her speech at the University of Auckland, 1972.
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BARAKAT AHMAD AGAINST RACIST SPORT



Ever since three New Zealanders, Messers Tom Newnham of C.A.R.E. and Trevor Richards of H.A.R.T., and Dr Pat Hohepa, Chairman of the Auckland District Maori Council, addressed the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, 21-23 March, in New York, and according to one Government Minister, "vilified their countrymen from afar", the Special Committee has been a favourite target for right-wing National Party politicians who wish to play up to the very strong pro-apartheid gallery in the National party ranks.

Last week, an official of the Special Committee, Dr Barakat Ahmad, commenced a three week tour of New Zealand on the invitation of H.A.R.T. with the intention of answering these politically-motivated critics of an organ of the United Nations Organization. At a town hall concert chamber public meeting on the 6th, and a H.A.R.T. fund-raising dinner and on "Gallery" the next evening, Dr Ahmad cleared up the confusion and ignorance in the minds of friends and critics of the Special Committee alike over its composition, mandate and powers.

Dr Ahmad was a last-minute substitute for the Chairman of the Special Committee, the Somali Republic Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Abdulrahim Abby Farah, invited by H.A.R.T. to visit New Zealand in March.

NO HOTHEADED EXTREMIST

Dr Ahman, a Moslem Indian, is a career diplomat with a distinguished academic background which belies any attempt to classify him as a "hot-headed extremist who can be dismissed without too much trouble." This is how the New Zealand Government would prefer to regard the Special Committee on Apartheid. Between 1962 and 1965, Dr Ahmad was the First Secretary of the Indian diplomatic mission to Canberra and was accredited to Wellington as well. However, he agreed that his knowledge of New Zealand had been limited to a series of very brief visits to Wellington. Hopefully, he will return to New York better appreciating the deep underlying sympathy of very many New Zealanders, Maori and Pakeha, for what is regarded as the predicament of the white South Africans, and the growing urgency and frustration which emanates from the anti-apartheid movement over the New Zealand Government's double-talk on the question of apartheid ties.

It is clear that over the past year, the Government has been acutely embarrassed by the increasing attentions the United Nations has been paying to this country's insistence on giving aid and comfort to white South Africa in general, and apartheid sports bodies. For instance, the annual report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in June called the appearance of the anti-apartheid leaders

before the Special Committee, "the most significant development during the year as far as New Zealand's relations with the United Nations are concerned." The Committee was attacked because the anti-apartheid delegates not only took the opportunity while in New York to comment on apartheid and sporting tours with South Africa, but they also commented on "the domestic situation in their own country and on the policies of their own Government." This commented the Foreign Affairs report, constituted a new departure for a United Nations body, and was a practice unlikely to be acceptable many Governments.

GOVERNMENT DISOWNS HIM

And the Government and its spokesmen have taken every opportunity to play down the significance of Dr Ahmad's visit. On 29 August, Mr Marshall is reported to have said that Dr Ahmad "was to visit New Zealand as a private visitor and would be treated with the courtesies due to a person visiting New Zealand in that capacity." The Prime Minister did, however, leave open the opportunity for Dr Ahmad to meet with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs if there was any occasion for him to wish to see them. Yet it needs to be made abundantly clear that Dr Ahmad is at present visiting his country in his official capacity as Rapporteur of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. The refusal to accord Dr Ahmad with an official reception in Wellington is a snub and an insult to not only the Special Committee, but the world body as a whole, of which the Special Committee is an officially constituted organ. We as citizens of this country all share in the insult implicit in this snub, for Mr Farah's letter of greeting to H.A.R.T. makes the official nature of Dr Ahmad's visit absolutely explicit. New Zealand can be sure of much more critical attention from the Special Committee, because of our government's snub of Dr Ahmad.

CRITICISMS OF U.N. APARTHEID COMMITTEE

Three major criticisms have been levelled at the Special Committee. These are that the Special Committee is 1. "A very intolerant and unrepresentative international pressure group." — Mr Gair, 1.5.72.; 2. Has no authority to by-pass the government of a country and deal directly with a "motley assortment of trouble stirrers" and protestors, small minority groups, which do not represent the opinion of New Zealanders; and 3. Was attempting to dictate on to New Zealanders a policy which was not only wrong, but was unworkable, and most of all, had failed.

On the first criticism, Dr Ahmad was quite explicit. The Special Committee can do nothing under its own authority. Every action it makes, must be, and is, authorised by a resolution passed by the full plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly. No matter what its composition, therefore, the Special Committee represents the will of the 130 or so member nations of the United Nations Organization. In November 1971, last year, some 108 nations, including New Zealand, with only South Africa in opposition and 5 nations including the United States and Britain abstaining, voted in General Assembly Resolution 2775, Part C, for the continuation of the Special Committee's work "with appreciation."

South Africa and the abstenting nations, Dr Ahmad point out, are not committed to the Committee's work. But New Zealand is! The New Zealand Government knew quite clearly the composition of the Special Committee when it voted for the continuation of the Committee's work, and for its mandate to be renewed for another year.

The Special Committee, itself, was formed in 1962 with 11 foundation members, after all efforts to gain co-operation from the South African Government with the United Nations Commission on Human Rights had failed. In 1970, the number of member nations that might serve on the Special Committee was increased to 18. Representation on the Committee is calculated on a regional basis and members are appointed only after due consultation between the Chairman of the Special Committee and the region concerned. As Mr Gair so kindly enumerated, at the present time, the member nations are: Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan from Africa; Guatemala, Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago from Latin America and the Caribbean; India Malaysia, Nepal and Syria from Asia; and Hungary and the Ukraine from the Communist bloc nations. As Mr Gair complains, "No Western country or member of the old Commonwealth is represented on it." This, Dr Ahmad insisted, was because these very nations have been the most active partners with the South African regime, and the most consistent in refusing to co-operate with the efforts of the Committee.

If the Special Committee is "unrepresentative" it is solely the fault of nations such as New Zealand. There are 2 vacancies on the Committee and Dr Ahmad invited New Zealand to right the deficiency and to join the Committee and offer its long experience of comparatively harmonious race relations to the Committee's work.

CONNECTIONS WITH "RABBLE ROUSERS"

Regarding the second major criticism, over the Committee's associating with non-governmental bodies and "rabble rousers", Dr Ahmad referred the attention of the New Zealand Government back to the resolution 2775 it gave backing to last November.

Part C of Resolution 2775 reads:

"C. Programme of the Work of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

The General Assembly,

Noting with appreciation the work of the Special Committee on Apartheid in pursuance of General Assembly

Continued on p.10

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BARAKAT AHMAD Continued.

resolution 2671 (xxv) of 8 December 1970,

Considering that further efforts should be made to intensify the international campaign against apartheid,

Endorsing the programme of work of the Special Committee on Apartheid, within the budgetary provisions to be made for this purpose.

(a) To send representatives or delegations, as appropriate, to international conferences dealing with the problem of apartheid;

(b) To hold consultations with experts and representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organisations concerned with the campaign against apartheid.*

* [emphasis in section (b) is mine]

Clearly, Dr Ahmad has official mandate to visit New Zealand at the invitation of H.A.R.T., just as the Special Committee had official mandate to consult with the New Zealand anti-apartheid leaders in New York. Unlike the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the Special Committee on Apartheid has a very wide-ranging mandate to approach any group it likes to further its work against apartheid. And, said Dr Ahmad, "We will go to anyone who is active in opposing apartheid, even 'rabble-rousers'".

COMMITTEE WILL NOT DICTATE

Regarding the third criticism, Dr Ahmad was most concerned to emphasise that the Special Committee, like the United Nations itself, could not dictate policy to member nations. But he did point out that the New Zealand Government had voted for the continuation of the work of the Special Committee. It had voted for the setting up of other campaigns against racism in Southern Africa, such as the United Nations Trust Fund for Southern Africa. And, in addition, in May 1971, the New Zealand representative in New York, Mr J.V. Scott, had been instructed to support a resolution before the Economic and Social Council which had forthrightly declared apartheid to be "a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security", so there could be "no misunderstanding about our basic attitude."

Has New Zealand therefore, not a moral obligation to see its pattern of voting in the United Nations logically through to its conclusion of support for General Assembly action against South Africa? In particular, the New Zealand Government has no right to continue to torpedo the democratic decision of the overwhelming majority of nations of the world regarding the breaking off of sports ties with apartheid sports bodies which violate the Olympic Principle. Last 29 November, world opinion rejected any "bridge building" with white South Africa by 106 votes to 2, and 7, including New Zealand, abstentions.

On other points raised at his meetings, Dr Ahmad did point out that it was too early yet to write off U.N. resolutions on apartheid as failures, or to say that isolation had failed. What was clear was that the efforts at communicating with South Africa begun by Mahatma Gandhi at the turn of the century had failed — through lack of a partner at the South African end.

LAW AND ORDER

On law and order, Dr Ahmad's comment was to the effect that such so-called minority groups as H.A.R.T. were the upholders of the majority will, and of the principle of law and order against a government which refuses to honour its democratic obligations to a world decision and distorts its own principle of law.

Regarding the terms of contact with South Africa which would find support from the Special Committee on Apartheid, in view of Dr Koornhof, the new South African Minister of Sport's declaration against the possibility of any sort of mixed race Rugby trial to select the 1973 Springbok team, to Dr Ahmad, the question was purely hypothetical. He quoted from this statement uttered by Mr Vorster to the South African Parliament 11 April 1967:

"I therefore want to make it quite clear that from South Africa's point of view not mixed sport between whites and non-whites will be practised locally, irrespective of the standard of proficiency of the participants ... our views and our attitude are clear — no matter how proficient one of our people may be in his line of sport, we do not apply that as a criterion, because our policy has nothing to do with proficiency or lack of proficiency. If any person either locally or abroad, adopts the attitude that he will enter into relations with us only if we are prepared to jettison the separate practising of sport prevailing among our own people in South Africa, then I want to make it quite clear that, no matter how important those sports relations are, in my view, I am not misunderstanding whatsoever. I also want to say ... that if ... anybody should see in this either the thin edge of the wedge or a surrender of principles, or that it is a step in the direction from diverging from this basic principle, he would simply be mistaken. Because in respect, of this principle we are not prepared to compromise, we are not prepared to negotiate, and we are not prepared to make any concessions ..."

WHITE SPORTSMEN NOT INNOCENT

On this policy, the South African Government has been perfectly consistent. And it is no good protesting the innocence of white South African sportsmen caught up in the sporting net their political masters have woven for them. Said Dr Ahmad, South Africa may be a police state of South African blacks, but it remains a parliamentary democracy for the whites who continue without fail to give overwhelming support to the policies of apartheid or the United opposition's variations of them. Dr Craven's recent conversion to "mixed" trials remains to be tested in his voting in the next all-white parliamentary elections. And, a report in The Dominion (5.9.72, p.5.) blaming the 1965 Springbok team manager in New Zealand, Mr Kobus Louw, as a representative of the ultra-nationalist Afrikaaner secret society, the Broederbond, for forcing Dr Koornhof's hard-line statement on "mixed" trials, and the involvement of ex-Springbok captain Dawie de Villiers in Nationalist Party politics to the extent of being a Nationalist Party be-election candidate, highlights the extent to which rugby officials and players are committed to the apartheid status quo in South Africa.

However, when pressed on the question of acceptable sports ties, Dr Ahmad gave as a sort of rule of thumb criterion, the principle that all decisions relating to this matter should be made, only in conformity with whether the contacts being considered, assisted in breaking down the barriers between the peoples of South Africa, or whether they perpetuated the enslavement and the isolation of the black peoples from the outside world. In the light of Southern African Government policy and the recent events, ultimately, adherence to such a criterion means there can be no



BEATEN FROM MY BRAIN

(Apologies to John L.)
or National Gay Liberation

If any of you learned (?) folk who support the continuation of this system, and thereby read with regularity, and from cover to cover each issue of craccum, attend lectures with the view of attaining some sort of academic qualifications, always good to have in case THE REVOLUTION does not occur, who, to further your education gain vicarious knowledge of what oppression is all about, and march for anti-war, anti-apartheid, anti-test etc. etc. REALLY want to KNOW what oppression is all about, then there are several pathways by which you can accumulate such knowledge. Other than painting yourselves yellow, or black, and after the necessary plastic surgery, flying direct to Vietnam or South Africa, you could perhaps look around on the home front. Shake your head baby, open your eyes, don't get lead astray with universal sighs, ... cosmic awareness may come to some ... but does it help you outside your front door? straight? How many times baby, must you rationalize? ... must you draw upon all the crappy, still Victorian, still depression, induced conditioning to believe that you are at an honest, good, with-it, etc.etc. state, which with your cramped out conditioning you believe to be you?

some of you may even have thought that a little extra-mural activity could do no harm and even have seen me on network T.V. News (Sat. 26) or Gallery (Tues. 29), looking even more wiped out than usual. But should I continue to clutter your brains with irrelevant matter ...

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contact with South African sportsmen until the restrictions and inequalities of apartheid are abolished, root and branch. It remains to be seen then whether our New Zealand sportsmen will continue to ignore their moral duty in the interests of cheap short term gains which debase their own human dignity through association with the only nation in the modern world which as a matter of political policy aims at the continued enslavement of the great mass of its population, or whether they will yet retrieve this nation's international reputation and good name.

GARY CLOVER

it is after-all, necessary to keep enough spaces in those grey (very bloody grey) cells to remember all the necessary $e=mc^2$ formulae, for passing exams is, surely, more important than all else ... isn't it? Well, to all you fuck-wits out there, let me state clearly ... MY PRIORITIES ARE DIFFERENT ... and so you say ... what is this all about? ... well eventually I may tell you ... instead of my usual rave ... but there are also some people (you may even decide to call us less than human) who agree with me ... but baby ... I KNOW that I am human ... I can be beaten to a bloody pulp just as easily as the rest of you ... and believe me, lying flat on ones back for four hours on a Sat. night, staring at the bare white ceiling of a bare white cell ... part of the new efficient dehumanizing institution where sick are cured ... it doesn't take long for one to realize how crapped out the system is. THEY (some people call them justifiably the pigs) HAVE FORGOTTEN THAT PEOPLE EXIST. THEY can even be clever about it too ... pumping one full of pentothal (clever little plastic surgeons ... I'll look the same as I ever did in another week (pity) ... such pleasant dreams ... with this stuff around who wants to fight the system. THEY even let us smoke grass ... and then I want to run out and commit violence, murder, and rape ... well friends ... sometimes I do ... even in a drug induced euphoria ... and sometimes we do need a glimpse of what could be ... I don't forget the ME ... I know that I am a person ... and I'll fight, and probably die so that I can be one ... all the time ... not just in my own little closet.

And this in part, was what the First National GAY LIBERATION FRONT Conference was about.

This is the oppression that exists all around you ... That YOU engender by keeping your eyes closed ... why don't you cut the braces which hold you in your burrowed ruts six foot under and fight to be a person too? or are you so oppressed yourself that you think all is well in this capitalistic institutionalized organisation that has made you forget that you also 'own' this earth, that you really are a person ... not a number on another form ... that you will, in less than 10 years time, be paying tax the air you breathe ... remember a long time ago, when some fuckwit came along and said "I own this land. If you want it you have to buy it from ME ... with MY money ..."

And money was made, and every one did the work HE said they should to get some of HIS money so that they could buy some of HIS land so that they could call it theirs ... and just to have a bigger laugh HE made them pay some of the money back ... taxes HE called it ... it's a long time ago now ... most 'people' can't remember it. What amazes me is ... why didn't any one stop to fight a long long time ago? Or perhaps most of you deserve it.

Well ... I DON'T ... and GAY LIB doesn't ... (Nor the other Lib. groups) ... that's why some of us are fighting. So brothers and sisters, the time is here for you to stand up ... take your side ... freedom or oppression ... to me there isn't a decision to be made ... Blue Mink: 'The time is nearly here, count me in' ... and so in all fair gentlemanly warning ... if in the near future you see me throwing a bomb at you ... it's not a mistake ... I meant it.

The first national GAY LIB conference also made me realise that not all of the liberationists in the country are quite as angry as I am ... so keep on hitting us brothers ... keep up the oppression ... all most of them want ... with our newly arranged national liaison ... is law reform and change of society's attitudes ... but I am angrier than most ... perhaps it's because I've been fighting a long time and am getting tired ... so hit us babies, keep up the oppression, make law change impossible, build up even more police harrassment, more "queer" bashings, a few more killings could do the trick ... my right arm is getting itchy for those bombs ... or perhaps there is another way?

So I'll leave you with part of a poem written to me by one of the men that I love;

... In this self do not seek self-hood but in yourself.
I sing to you; there was a time when a man walked on his own,
there was a time ... there was a time when a man walked all alone,
there was a time ... there was a time when a man walked far from home,
there was a time ... there was a time.
Maybe again there'll be a time.

Paul Kells

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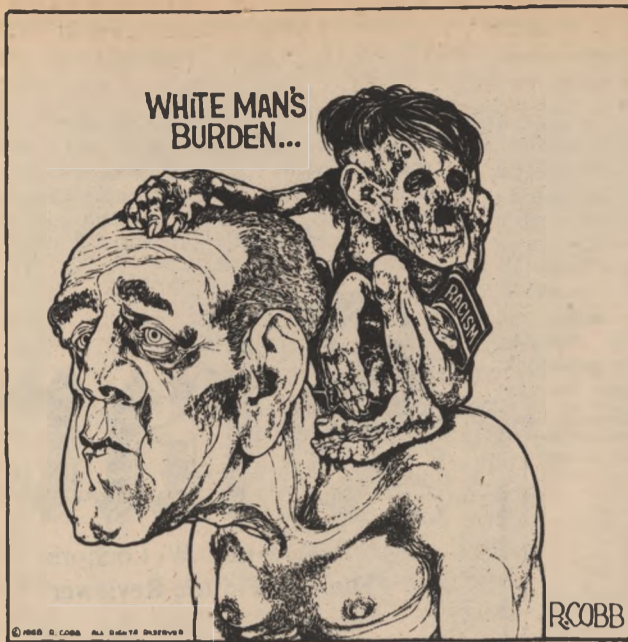
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RACE PROBLEMS

A National Socialist viewpoint and solution
by D.C. King-Ansell

In the past year the problem of race has come slowly to a head. More and more New Zealanders are becoming aware of the fact that their race is in danger of being wiped out by the suicidal immigration policies of the present political parties. The stupidity of the National and Labour Party politicians is jeopardising the very future of the country.

We are told continually by Government that all the coloureds entering New Zealand are either students seeking an education, or that they are highly trained personnel with only a small minority being uneducated. The truth in fact, is that a good majority of these migrants come from some of the small islands scattered about the Pacific, and have never seen the inside of a classroom in their lives.

Since the end of the last war, the United Nations, through the ignominious Genocide Act, have forced New Zealand politicians to accept the fact that they must become a multi-racial community, devoid of any cultural heritage and racial pride. The Government has admitted approximately since 1945 some 33,000 coloured migrants from the Pacific Islands.

There are two major events in the post-war years which have brought the problem of race onto everybody's doorstep. The increased crime rate in all New Zealand cities and towns that have had coloured immigrants forced upon them. The high occurrence of disease and the filthy conditions under which the coloured community thrives, have forced the white citizens further out into the countryside, leaving the inner city suburbs as coloured ghettos.

The second in my mind and most shocking event is the recent ramming through Parliament of that disgusting treasonable document called THE RACE RELATIONS ACT. This act has only one point and that is it discriminates in favour of the coloured and enacts harsh penalties against anyone willing to defend the White people against the hords of coloureds who seem determined to destroy all that the whites have built.

I would now like to list a few facts which our politicians in Wellington seem to turn a blind eye to. Also basic facts of what we believe is happening.

1. Coloureds are a basic cause of such problems as discontent, slum areas, violent crimes, overpopulation in certain areas and health.
2. An inability to adapt to our European way of life.
3. Integration is not happening successfully, rather there is overwhelming evidence of racial conflict.
4. We are rapidly approaching a situation similar to the U.S. and Great Britain — both countries have a violent racial problem.
5. Inter-marriage is Genetically depraving.
6. We find that the high influx of coloured immigrants in the last 25 years has greatly overburdened our state welfare system.

AN ANSWER:

- (a) Humane repatriation.
- (b) Development of their homelands.
- (c) Self-training in technical and professional occupations to be done in New Zealand for selected applicants.

- (d) New Zealand aid and technical knowledge to be made available to island governments.
- (e) The question of the Maori in our community in the eyes of the party is that he is a New Zealander and as such will be entitled to receive the same rights as the white man. However a programme will be undertaken by a National Socialist government to educate the Maori at a level of his own development and within his own community thus not creating the same conditions as in the United States where Blacks are forced to compete with white students at a level he is not familiar with.

Therefore I take this opportunity to ask every white student and Maori to do something positive against the reason that infests high government circles. Moving into the suburbs, or pretending that a race problem does not exist like CARE and HART and the Government is a cowards way out.

Free University

MAN IN SEARCH OF AUTHORITY

To complete our examination of Authority we are trying to assemble the widest possible panel of contributors versed in the different aspects of the two remaining topics.

On Tuesday 19th September the topic will be "Authority of Human wants and needs." Proceedings will be under chairmanship and opening positins should be as brief as possible with a limit of 5 minutes. We commence at 1 pm and are open to continue till 5pm. At the Old Synagogue Hall corner of Princes St and Bowen Avenue.

BANDAGES NOT BULLETS FOR VIETNAM

On August 12, the Students Association International Affairs committee and staff Against The War organised a door-to-door canvass in several parts of Auckland to raise funds for the British Medical Aid Committee which sends medical supplies to the Red Cross Societies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front. The canvass also had an educational purpose: an informative leaflet was left in every home, describing the automated air war which is making life worse than ever for the people of Indochina.

The result was highly encouraging. Most of those approached donated. Only about 4% were antagonistic to aiding north as well as south Vietnam; and a similar small percentage said "If you were only helping the south, I wouldn't have given!"

This very favourable reception allowed only 50 collectors to gather \$500.

Next Saturday, Sept 16, a similar canvass will be held. You can pick up your collection tin at the Student Union (1st floor common room) any time 9-2pm. You will be driven to and from your assigned street.

Please give a couple of hours of your time this Saturday for the people of Indo-china. We can gather many hundreds of dollars for medical aid, and we can reach thousands of homes with the leaflet showing that the War is not winding down but is worse than ever. We can affect thousands of Auckland homes with this dual activity—

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ATOMIC ROOSTER

Made In England

Made in England
Atomic Rooster
PNLS 3038

Atomic Rooster are not a new group and over the past few years they've managed to turn out a number of good albums. On this album they have the addition of vocalist Chris Farlowe late of Colesseum. Farlowe's vocals feature strongly on the album, beginning at the first track, *Time Take My life*.

This track has an air of Family or even Traffic about it - a tight number with organ featuring predominately and a full line-up of horns and strings in the background, perhaps not a good sample of Rooster's style although the next track *Stand By Me*, certainly is. I have the feeling that this track was also released as a single, the sound is very familiar. Although it could just be a sub-conscious recognition of basic Rooster music. Real Rooster stuff, the track is fast full and punchy, with Farlowe's vocal driving the point home. It's also the only track that uses electric base, the rest of the tracks using a Hammond organ or electric piano in it's place.

The album progresses through *Little Bit of Inner Ear*, (a percussive track with Hendrixian lead guitar by Steve Bolton) *Don't Know What Went Wrong*, (a slowish rocker with Farlowe's vocal sounding a lot like the early Rod Stewart) to *Never To Lose*, which has the best guitar solo on the album. Bolton really lets go on this one and the track becomes a deep medieval dirge, lashed by the flashing, screaming guitar.

On side two, *Breathless* stands out as a fast pumping rock number - an entirely instrumental track, its the longest on the album and I can't say I'm sorry for that. Vince Crane uses his piano as both bass and lead and Bolton again gets in some hot licks on guitar. *Space Cowboy* is a little blurred, possibly the liner notes explain why, and *People You Can't Trust* is the type of song that not even Mayall brought of well.

Rooster don't let themselves get bogged down though. *All in Satan's Name* is a number written by the drummer, Ric Parnell and aptly illustrates the finer points of Rooster's music. A heavy number that lets percussion and Hammond dominate, its fleshed out by a synthesizer that will curl your ears - not forgetting Farlowe's vocal, delivered as if from some Satanic lectern, in another time. By comparison, *Close Your Eyes*, the end track is somewhat tame. Not that it's a bad track by any means. Again Farlowe uses his voice in a Stewartlike manner - including his double tracked falsetto in the background a cheerful track and a good note on which to end this review with a hint for the still undecided. Check it out yourself.

Peter Hampton



Procul Harem - Live with the
Edmonton Symphony Orchestra
A&M SAML 934560

This album might be retrospectively named Procul Harem Making it Again. While their music has never pretended to be anything other than dramatic and pictorial, Gary Brookers' arrangements employ the chorus and orchestra to make more obvious than ever the place of those qualities in Procul Harem's music. Take the second break in *Conquistador*, which sounds like nothing but the score from an early Sixties wide-screen epic on the Spanish conquest of the New World, replete with swooping strings and bullfight horns. Or the

stately chorus of *In Held, Twas I*, which is enough to make one wish Mr Capra had Procul Around to do the soundtrack for *Lost Horizon*.

Rather than let the idea of a full orchestra go to his head, Brooker has kept things very elementary, capitalizing on the opportunities for extreme dynamic variations (which works especially well on the majestic climax of *Whaling Stories*, *A Salty Dog* and *In Held*) and for delightfully melodramatic colouration - the trilling - that reeds that herald daybreak in *Whaling Stories*, the sober strings that tone the first part of that song with a deeper-than-melancholy caste, and the ominous, swelling opening of *In Held* being the best examples.

Records, Books, Film and Theatre

Now someone might easily turn up his nose at this approach and dismiss it as precious, transparent, even comical. But an understanding of a sympathy with Procul Harem's attitude leads one to accept this album as the groups most forthright admission so far that their music is indeed excessively grandiose, unstylish, and often marked by a fine sense of comedy (usually self-directed). It also happens to be among the most viscerally powerful and emotionally devastating music available.

Of the five selections *Whaling Stories*, *A Salty Dog* and *In Held* are the most effective (especially the latter, which makes the old studio version sound like a sketchy blueprint) though *Conquistador* doesn't lag far behind.

In the *Glimpses of Nirvana* portion of *In Held*, Brooker recites some words by Keith Reid that come closest to revealing what they're all about: "If I can communicate and in the telling and the baring of my soul/Anything is gained/Even though the words I use are pretentious and make you cringe with embarrassment..."

After all life is like a beanstalk. Isn't it.

Richard Browning



Down at Rachel's Place
Mike D'Abo
SAML 934586

Mike D'A is no ordinary run of the mill hasbeen - which is obvious when one considers just exactly what he has been.

This first solo album *Rachel's Place* conceivably has opened new doors for him as an artist, despite the fact that what it contains bears a remarkable resemblance to the clearly distinctive style of the middle and late Manfred Mann. Hardly surprising as any Mann freak would by now have told you, or anyone with a modicum of suss would soon work out, Mike D'Abo was lately lead singer, pianist and general all purpose guiding light of the aforesaid, since deceased ensemble.

Presumably enlisted to fill the gap left by Paul Jones, he obviously compensated with a fine songwriting talent and musical proficiency in many ways, for the unique vocal dynamism that was so obviously lacking after Jones' departure.

Proving more resilient than all the Manfreds put together, Mike is offering his solo self on record, and, once again, proving all those old clichés about keeping good men down.

Opening up his bag of goodies Mike reveals a doubtful looking melange one is tempted to be cautious in efusing over - *Rachels Place*, the title track is neither hot rock nor pleasant pop. It is more like luke warm wobble and one immediately asks oneself, is this the real thing or merely musical hedge clippings? *Belinda* is another poignant "portrait of a lady" as is

Little Miss Understood, all three of which fit comfortably into a mental drawer marked B for boring.

Fortunately though such lapses prove independent of the whole, and, like a lot of suspicious looking, doubtful things, this one creeps imperceptibly up on you and scores the odd few bullseyes where it counts. The man is a fine pianist and proves the point not so much with manual dexterity as with carefully chosen "voice" and mood of delivery, illustrating moody bluesy lyrics in as fitting a manner as the almost comic *Salvation Song* on side two. The latter being a compelling, stomping, ragtime, non-sectarian, pick-up-the-good-book, kind of thing with the emphasis on the good

time to be had by all.

This is a really fine song on side one called *Poor Mans Son*, which is the one to ask the store to play, when you rush downtown clutchin Craccum and scream "lemme hear Mike D'Abo...", which is the only way you'll find out just how much shit we pompous critics lay down. The last two tracks on side two are also good; rich in horns, flutes, strings and with some fine work on electrically amplified guitar by a guy called Ray Cooper.

Obviously the Manfred estrangement was complete since a browse of the credits reveals no familiar names except for those of Jon Kongos (not of M.M.) who plays guitar extremely well on *Belinda*, *My Life and Tomorrow*, and David Bailey, who took a rather fine b&w photograph for the back of the sleeve, thoughtfully including the top of the head. He used to enjoy lopping of the tops in all those earlier, ritzy, Vogue shots. In fact Mike D'Abo, on reflection both musically and photogenically, looks quite the carefully tailored well rounded type for a spread in Vogue. Quite the part indeed.

Norm DePloom.



Grave New World
Stawbs
A&M SAML 934522

On this, the Stawbs Fifth album, the group now numbers five, and the group can be thought of as an electric band rather than as a pop-folk outfit. Dave Cousins has a feeling for the ecclesiastical in his melodies, lyrics and singing. Several of his songs here are forthrightly religious and might be called contemporary hymns. *Benidictus*, *New World and Journeys End*, each combining traditional devotional feeling with a modern cosmic uncertainty, are dramatic because of their contradictions. These songs are the albums high points, although some of the more secular songs apply archaic or ecclesiastical elements to almost equally dramatic ends. *The Flower and the Young Men*, for example, begins with a strong-voiced chorale singing lines of rustic syntax and religious symbolism, "While seasons change in timely way/... A single flower grows..." Blue Weavers harmonium deepens the songs antique quality and is added to by a melotron.

This album basically gives the feeling that the Stawbs can't decide whether they want to be the next Fairport convention, Procul Harem or Incredible String Band and their confusion is reducing their possibilities for success in any of these areas. While not making a bad album they can't be said to be progressively moving on in their music. Not in everyone's taste this album won't lose any of previous albums sales.

Murray Thompson

LUMBERING FORTH FROM "THE CREATIVE CESSPITS OF ELAM... "RHINOCEROTICAL",

Heralding the second edition of "Rhinoerotical" a collection of world views, cartoons, conceptual propositions and recipes, poems, reviews and ephemera revived, cartooned, conceived and emphemered by the undiscovered geniuses of the university art school appendage. Its different and its 20c, available at U.B.S.

Star

A Review of D.W. Lochore:
'The Last Picture Reviewer'.

The Auckland Star has recently started a nightly column in order to 'further the arts'. A good start could be made by sacking D.W. Lochore. His film reviews tend to be less reviews of films than alarming exposes of his own lack of tooth, muscle, jaw, wit or bowel; his own lack of judgement; his failure to come to even approximate grips with the esthetics of film; in fact his inability to conceive of film as anything apart from a vehicle.

For example his review of *The Last Picture Show*. It is a 'notable' film, he says, 'well-judged within its limits', despite a 'few crudities along the way'. Mr Lochore has a peculiar way of not specifying his objections: he careful y conceals his own political prejudices in the guise of general, and unspecified, esthetic-moral judgements: in several crucial points, on which he judges the film's esthetic worth, he uses entirely moral standards. It is, he says, 'too restricted for universal appeal, but one certain to impress the class of audience at which it is fairly and squarely aimed'. (sneer, sneer): it also has one 'appalling lapse of taste which will make the fastidious cringe'; yet what this 'lapse' is Mr Lochore is too polite to mention. Perhaps we mightn't cringe.

Let us look at the grounds of which he specifically judged *The Last Picture Show*.

(a) its attitude: Lochore says it is 'life-is-a-hellish-business', which he also says with supreme patronisation 'impresses the young audiences rather than the (infinitely knowledgeable, vastly superior) i.e. 'those who are old'. The inference is the attitude a film has will determine the worth of a film; in the case of the *Last Picture Show*, if you're over 30 give it a miss.

(b) its story; which includes 'outstanding performances', a 'philosophical tang', a 'poignant' character. Lochore's film reviews always read as book reviews; which underlines pretty well his concept of film. Does it have a 'good story'; is it 'told well'.

(c) its potential audience. This is perhaps part of Mr Lochore's job, to scent out the indecent, to alert those suburban house-wives to the theatre, in need of an aphrodisiac. The *Last Picture Show* gets one star for its 'appalling lapse of taste'. Kiddies and old men welcome.

The film is altogether dismissed in barely one quarter of a column; compared with almost an entire page for the flummeries of Dame Anna Needle. Perhaps this is the space he is allotted; this is understandable. Is he, however, unaware he has produced a film review which is almost a caricature of what he is talking about: his evasions, innuendos, the very inadequacies of his concept parallel, in some way, the inadequacies of that very generation the film talks about. Does he ever stop to think what a film, the film is all about? Is a film always a 'story' in pictures? Does the message of the film conform to its presentation? Is the usual organisation of a film a tool deliberately designed to smooth down its content? Why is *Weekend* a supremely political film whereas *The Battle of Algiers* is a beautifully pitched, seductive milkop to the liberal conscience. Lochore's review of the *Last Picture Show* in some way is so inconsequential if it were not there by its negative presence it would not be there at all.

The basic decision for Mr Lochore would seem to be whether the film is in black and white. Is it in colour? Will it shock? Is it in TASTE. 'Taste' is the essential esthetic judgement of Mr Lochore; the presumption being anything can be swallowed as long as the sugar is saccharine enough; which is true. Yet what exactly is this mythical thing called taste if not a specious value judgement; if not yet another little part of the emasculating, punishing prison around us. Be tasteful, dear, Shut up. This is implicit in Lochore's taste, implicit in his silent judgements, his unspecified objections, his so-called esthetic values.

Who does have taste in the final analysis. Evidently Mr Lochore

(black orchid).

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THE DEVILS

Players, Vanessa Redgrave, Oliver Reed, Dudley Sutton, Max Adrian, Gemma Jones, and Michael Gothard as Father Barre. Direction & Screenplay: his nibs. Photography: David Watkin.

Panavision. Technicolour. R18 with warning. 111 mins.

From *Women in Love* through *The Music Lovers* into the banal carryings on of *The Boyfriend*, Ken Russell has charged on his giddy bewildering way. Now with what seems to be sheer relish Russell lets fly with *The Devils*. The warning issued by the censor is quite justified, Ken Russell is here in full gory swing for 111 excruciating minutes.

The Devils opens with a statement that everything you are about to be served up with actually happened, and supposedly that makes us allow the film more weight. Yes, there is a story about a certain Father Grandier who was railroaded by Richelieu and his minions because he was obstructive to the Cardinals' grand design. (Russell seems to have read up on the character of Mazarin rather than that of Richelieu). The excuse to dispose of this priest was satanic possession and he was duly burned at the stake. He was cooked on the testimony of several Ursuline nuns who were apparently so sexually hung-up about this priest they really believed he's bedevilled them. Well that's the story Russell gets from the play by John Whiting and the book *The Devils of Loudun* by Aldous Huxley.

Russell's method of treatment has been described as excessive, frustrating and irritating. It is. Irritating because he is hard to fault. Vanessa Redgrave as the hunchback nun, Oliver Reed as the fiery priest both turn in credible performances, and Gemma Jones as the girl Grandier secretly marries is especially good.

The sets and the photography are superb. Russell depicts the horror with graphic exactitude, and his direction is in many ways excellent. However, the whole thing seems to be tainted, leaky, and it's very hard to say why.

I don't think it is simply his excessive style, because it is conceivable that this sort of style could form a satisfactory motion-picture, maybe it's because there is no relief from the neurotic hysteria. But even then the answer seems to lie elsewhere. The real fault is the same one that plagued *Women in Love*, and that is an essential hollowness. In *Women in Love* the threatening tension that should have been there wasn't, and the lack of was covered over with a brilliant display of mimesis. In *The Devils* we are given the horrors, but not the sense of dread which should have been the chassis of it. Russell is like a high powered engine revving itself silly, but not connected to anything. This would seem to be why (for me at least) Ken Russell's films never give any satisfaction. Some people enjoy his work, and I can see why, he is after all a very talented man.

If you saw *Women in Love* and liked it, go by that, because this film is on a par with that one. Both are very much better than *The Music Lovers* or *The Boyfriend*. For myself I was most interested to see just what was so shocking, there's a couple of episodes which could give some people nightmares, but see for yourself. Latest reports have it that Russell is making another film, this time about a young French sculptor at the beginning of this century who has a torrid love affair with a woman twice his age. Title... *Savage Messiah*. Heaven help us.

Howard Willis.



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13.1



THE PLEBIANS REHEARSE THE UPRISING

By Gunter Grass

Directed by Adrian Kiernander at the University Hall

THE THREEPENNY OPERA

By Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill

Directed by

at the Mercury

Brecht is the fortuitous name in Auckland theatre this month. Mercury have a play by Brecht. Coincidence, or a well-timed comment? For Brecht was a man of strong social conscience, given to writing many plays in defence of the exploited and misunderstood working classes; *The Threepenny Opera* is a fine example. But Gunter Grass, in *The Plebians Rehearse The Uprising*, suspects that Brecht had too strong a conscience and too weak a power to act. Brecht's conscience was strong by virtue of its complexity. His mind was so full of the conceits of artistic radicalism, that recognition of the heart-felt passions of the

working class was beyond him. Had Brecht broken free of his own constrictions, Grass maintains that he would have faced the added dilemma of contributing to the cause of the workers, in more than an insubstantial fashion, in a form the workers could recognize.

A rather complicated play then. And what can Mr Kiernander do with a delicately amateur cast, an unconvincingly sparse set, the atrocious University Hall, and a shoestring budget kindly donated by a Students' Association Executive caught unawares?

The answer is, not a very great deal. Given the difficulty of the play, success of sorts could be claimed for merely keeping the piece afloat, by managing to appear at least workmanlike. In those terms then, success of sorts should be claimed. Certainly, the actors were not pressed to try for anything more, especially the rather unconvincing Brecht.

And that was the most impressive aspect of the production, a knowledge of limits and plausible operation within those limits.

This reflects very well on Mr Kiernander as director; The obvious temptations that confront brilliant young researchers-turned-directors were scrupulously avoided. Members of the audience felt no need to squirm with embarrassment and were able to enjoy the production's unpretentiousness.

Now, this is not at all to find some condescending praise for the production. It should be noted that even with the most professional of companies and the greatest availability of resources, it would have been impossible to avoid Grass's refusal to have 'hidden' conceits abstracted out of his play. Grass would have been careful to avoid the trap he set for Brecht. Yet Grass has tried to postulate a set of questions to do with art and relevance, while ensuring that both art and relevance are retained within his own play. While his postulations may be clear, the play is metaphor to his belief that no answers are easily arrived at, but that answers certainly do not come through intricate embellishments that have no substance.

By a tight control of finances, the play is free to all students and to Arts Festival registrars. It is an effort that is worth seeing.

Mercury's *The Threepenny Opera* has the advantages of a professional company and realistic resources. These do not always help, as was witnessed by an absolutely horrendous butchering of Shakespeare's *Loves Labours Lost*. *The Threepenny Opera*, however, is a

cont'd P14.

Procul Harem



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Thru
Festival

Continued from p.13

redemption. In fact, the greatest disservice paid by the production, was not to the author Brecht, but to the composer Weill. For at least half of the musical numbers, Mercury musicians wallowed their way through exceptionally paltry arrangements.

In this play, Brecht portrays an imitation of lives and loyalties in the 1920's criminal underground. The message is that the poor have a right to crime if no further opportunities are open to them, that their various indulgences in

betrayal and deceit are matched on a more mammoth scale by the legalized authorities, but that no true social or political revolution is possible through crime alone.

It was this last point that the Mercury failed to make. The first two points are immediately recognisable, and, because they can be seen from a single dimension, easily portrayed. The last point, only hinted at throughout the play itself demands a production that will allow it to infiltrate and inform unrelated, though strategic moments.

For a company though, paranoid after its worst disaster (*Loves Labours Lost*) and likely to follow Bute Hewes's ill-conceived advice (Arts & Community, July) that it should play to audience comfort, without too many inconvenient demands, strategy meant highlighting the immediately perceptible points with as much polish, glamour and spectacle possible. And I hate to admit that it worked! even though Brecht's original intentions seem to have desired an end to "sharply defined heroes, heroines, villains, and the ubiquitous

chorus." The idea was to make both law-enforcer and law-breaker part of an immaculate retention of the political status quo. Mercury left out thoughts of overcoming the status quo and also left the assorted heroes and villains too readily identifiable.

But why complain? It's rather nice, occasionally, to be impressed despite oneself.

Stephen Chan

National Maori Language Day

Continued from page 3

students were punished for using it. From that time generations of Maori students have faced a schooling stem actively hostile to the language they heard at home. Slowly the policy had an effect. In 1913 an estimated 90% of Maori schoolchildren spoke Maori; by 1950 the percentage among entrants to the special Maori schools was down to 55%. Yet Maori refused to disappear. In many cases Maori children spoke no Maori at school, but still spoke it at home. No teaching of subjects other than those specifically Maori was done in Maori. Hence the present lack of Maori words for mathematical concepts and the like. It's a bit much to claim that this situation which has resulted from systematic suppression is a natural state of affairs and one that proves Maori is unable as a language to cope with these concepts. The only answer to that line of reasoning is a more recent adaption, "bull-tutai". It's never been given a chance.

It is strange to ask why it is necessary to encourage the continuance of a language that is spoken by about 50,000 people and understood by almost double that figure in a country with a total population of just under three million, yet such is the pressure of the European society on the Maori to conform to its ways of running the country and its socio-economic patterns that any bi-culturalism really encouraged is token. The type of bi-culturalism that allows any differences that do not complicate the already complicated business of running the country. And having to co-ordinate two different life-styles, two different economic structures, and two different languages is definitely complicating. So while Maori action songs, haka, and traditional arts are encouraged as bi-culturalism, the Maori family unit is formalised by making adoption of children a process to be put through the red tape; while Maori language as a subject is being introduced in secondary schools and tertiary education it is still not encouraged in the primary division where it's real advantage of helping to promote genuine bi-culturalism would be realised.

How can it be asked whether Maori is still necessary when it is still the primary language of the Maori "hui", the meetings where the policy and opinion of the Maori people is shaped, in the "tangi" where the dead are farewelled, the most precious and moving occasion in Maoritanga? When it is said that Maori is no longer necessary, what is really being said is that these aspects of Maori culture are no longer necessary. And that is saying the Maori culture is no longer necessary. Face it—How can a culture survive without the language that expresses and rises from its centre?

Take the case of the Maori who knows little Maori. Because of the pressure of the state educational system, because of the spread of radio/television to even the more remote areas of New Zealand (radio/television that is in English with the tokenism of the Maori news and a few programmes), and because it has been assumed by both pakeha and Maori that the knowledge of Maori hinders the learning of English, he cannot speak Maori. As a result he cannot take part fully in the Maori community. He cannot join in the "whai korero" (discussion—how inadequate a translation) on the marae, nor, as the "tangata whenua" (host) of his house, he cannot greet his "manuhiri" (guests) and so feel the satisfaction of fulfilling his role in his society. It would be possible to go on for a long time listing when he would need to speak Maori.

The Maori language will only be readily available to those who need and wish to learn it, if it is generally and genuinely encouraged by both pakeha and Maori. It is up to us.

IMPORTANT NOTICES DEPARTMENT

CREATIVE LIVING AND LOVING

More experiences in creative living and loving will be happening this term.

The known events will be those you move through with other people. You will hopefully become involved in both the agonies and the ecstasies of exploring movement, music, paint and clay together. The only qualification is being a person.

Here is an opportunity to relax and relate creatively during the next few weeks. Some of the people involved will be: Linda Taylor, Deborah Pearson, Peter Biggs, Jack Body, Hugh Warburton, Valerie and Rex Hunton, Tony Stones, Sally Rodwell and Claire Ward.

Thursdays 7.30 sharp at the counselling buildings, 51 Symonds St. Please telephone Christine: 74-740 ext 595 or 596 to let us know you are coming.

30 cents per night covers coffee and materials.

IF YOU ATTAIN THE AGE OF 20 YEARS BEFORE THE END OF NOVEMBER, 1972 YOU MAY BE ELIGIBLE TO ENROLE TO VOTE IN THE COMING GENERAL ELECTION

You must ENROLE. The qualifications are:

1. If you have attained the age of 20 years;
2. If you are a British subject ordinarily resident in New Zealand;
3. If you have at some period resided continuously in New Zealand for one year or longer;
4. If you have resided in the Electoral District for a period of three months or longer.

If you qualify, then:

- (a) You must APPLY to have your name registered on the Parliamentary Electoral Roll.
- (b) Complete the card "Application For Enrolment on The Parliamentary Electoral Roll", available at every Post Office, Court-house and Registrar of Electors.
- (c) After completing and signing the card, and the appropriate witnessing, this must be sent in the provided envelope to the local Registrar of Electors.

REFERENDUM

Tomorrow a referendum will be held to settle two matters arising from the Winter General Meeting.

The first part of the referendum will be the motion:

Moved: Lack/Whitten-Hannah

"THAT this Association, believing that a further term of National Party Government would be to the lasting detriment of the country as a whole, whilst not being entirely enamoured of the Labour Party and its leaders, does nevertheless hereby endorse and pledge its support for the Labour Party in the coming election."

YOU HAVE TWO CHOICES. VOTE YES OR NO.

The Rules of the Association prohibit any alteration of a referred motion without good reason.

I have seen no good reason to alter the motion. This is a policy motion; and as such, if passed by simple majority, is collectively binding on the Association.

Along with the Labour Party motion, I have put an Opinion Poll on the ballot sheet. This Poll asks you whether you think the Association should pledge its support for one of the political parties, or to no party at all. I shall publish the Poll results along with the referendum results.

The second part of the referendum is to define our policy on abortion.

YOU HAVE FOUR CHOICES:

- (1) Abortion should be made available on demand
- (2) The present laws should be liberalised
- (3) The present laws are satisfactory
- (4) The present laws should be tightened.

Please tick that choice, on your paper, which is closest to your heart.

Polling booths will be open from 10am to 4pm tomorrow (15th September 1972).

References: Minutes of the Winter General Meeting of the A.U.S.A., Wednesday 9th 1972.

P.7. RN 28 and RN 30.

Neil Newman

ADMINISTRATIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

Could person or persons who removed photographs from the exhibition in the Snack Bar (Mez floor of S.U. Building) bring the photographs back, they are urgently needed as part of this years work by the owner. Please leave in the Craccum office or ring Ashok B. 75-036



Taura Eruera, NZUSA Vice President, speaking on the TeRapunga marae.

A LOOK AT:

ALICE-IN-THE-LOOKING-GLASS OR THE INTERVARSITIES LAW MOOTING CONTEST.

Dullness, occasionally enlivened by witticisms or funny errors on the part of witnesses, was the keynote of the two and a half hour long "trial" of three students for drug offences.

After Tuesday's win by Otago over Victoria, and Auckland's win-by-default over Canterbury on Wednesday, the STONE MOOT COURT was packed last night for the knockout between Auckland and Otago.

The facts of the case were: Habit, Residue and Sight, three students, were respectively

charged with: Possessing a narcotic (methadone); Possessing an instrument for the purpose of using a narcotic (a pen knife for frying cannabis), and possession of an illegal quantity of cannabis. Auckland appeared for the Crown and Otago for the down and outers. Mr Hillyer QC presided.

A few interesting facts relating to "possession" came to light. Did you realize that you don't even have to know that you have drugs in your possession, to be convicted? Even if it was unreasonable to expect you to know!

This particular area of the law has, it seems, evolved towards a stage where the suspect is guilty until proved innocent. Possession has become prima facie material in itself, the guilty mind or intent to commit a crime has been swept aside in the "dragnet" of strict liability,

with the legislature's and courts' paranoia about drugs generally.

The burden of proof, traditionally resting with the Prosecution to show guilt beyond "reasonable doubt", has in effect, tended to shift to the accused to show that he did not— a) possess anything, b) was completely innocent of any intent, or knowledge of the drug.

Law ground its dreary and sometimes petty way to find, on lack of evidence (mainly), "not guilty". This verdict, I suspect, was at variance with what the Judge thought, but the jury were all students, so what do you expect?

Otago team won by one point.

Both teams had a very thorough knowledge of court room technique, and Otago's win stemmed mainly from the major error made by

Auckland leader in opening his case with illustrations of the Law, which is properly left to the final address.

However there were mistakes on both sides; supporting counsel for Otago kept asking such leading questions as; "What did you see, when you saw Inspector Vice discover the Cannabis stained knife?" (laughter)

'Residue' replied to the question; "where was the knife found?" thus: "It was found in the rear of the drawer which is at the back of the drawer, because the front is at the front and not at the back." (laughter).

The trials have been useful in giving the uninitiated an insight into the way our courts work and thus may have been an inducement to keep out of them.

— MICHAEL KIDD.

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Cambodia's young warriors

IT was thrilling and heart-warming to read that our brave boys in Vietnam are, with their allies, training the 9 to 13-year-old heroes who are being prepared to withstand the barbarous tide of communism that threatens our way of life in the free world.

I. F. LATIMER



Arts Fest Commiserations

Roger C. Cowell

I had a good time at the Festival. That is, I enjoyed a good portion of films, music, poetry, exhibitions, workshops, drama and ballet. I know I got my registrations worth many times over. Yet for me and for many, from Auckland and from other campuses, something was missing. What?

A UNITY, a common feeling, a community feeling. It was not easy to make new friends (except for the lucky flamboyant few?). I talked to a few established friends, and casually to a few other people, but mostly we stuck to ourselves, our cliques and our birds and our guys. Too much of the festival encouraged the 'them-us' feeling—they performing, us sitting back and doing nothing much but listening, watching. There is no participation in this sort of thing; all is sterile for the majority. I tried to avoid as much of the sterile stuff, to go to workshops and informal groups. This helped—a little.

What was wrong with Artsfest? Is it too big? Possibly, but I feel there are a few things which could be remembered for future Artsfests. Firstly, the more people living on and close to campus, the more alive community it can be. Secondly, the emphasis should not necessarily be on sophisticated drama and rock concerts, but on the workshops, participation and spontaneity, with lotsa people working, playing, entertaining each other together. Perhaps lots of little things which don't demand too much organising. Things like the Pooh readings and Expedition to the North Pole, the street fair (what street fair?), sensory awareness and street theatre can be developed and be allowed to develop casually. I am not sure that much money should necessarily be spent to bring people like Barry Humphries here, even in a participatory role. (Sure he was very funny at times, and confirmed our prejudices and beliefs, and it was fun chatting with him in the caf, but he could have been anybody—even Bill Spring, or Bruce Kirkland, and said the same things.) A series of big murals could be painted by anybody, a massive scratch orchestra in the park,—such things could be going on anytime people wanted. ABOVE ALL, we need to get away from the terrible "programme" idea, where most people 'plan' out what they're going to do and see—the "what's next?" attitude which stops any spontaneity and drift into unity. The closer (physically) all things are to each other, the greater the overlap, the more interaction stranger to stranger there will be.

Artsfest should be a people festival, an orgasmic celebration, NOT a funeral adhering to programmes and venues, and "them" entertaining "us". The only way for a good Artsfest, which will bring people together without registration or timetabling, is for everyone to come along with the idea of celebrating in spontaneity with others. Of course there would be people who come along with teeth gritted "I'm gonna be spontaneous, just watch me", but, ahhh these clouds around my head are nice.

Craccum editor Applications

Following two motions passed at last Thursday's Craccum Admin. Board meeting, there are two modifications to the conditions by which next year's editor will be selected.

- 1) Editorial applicants now have the opportunity to have their policy statements published in Craccum. Statements should be available for issue issue 24 (deadline next Thursday) from those who wish to take advantage of this.
- 2) Any member of the Students' Association may now attend the interviews of candidates (at a time yet to be arranged) for the purpose of making submissions and/or asking questions.

HART DEMO

Monday 11th

The trouble with honorary consuls is that they are terribly nice people. Who but an absolute brick would represent Portugal for nothing in Auckland?

So when a dozen members of HART fronted Mr L D Nathan, who in his words merely handles Portugal's trade interests ... nothing to do with politics ... they were made to feel rather gauche but welcome nonetheless.

After handing over their letter and one from Tom Newnham they grinned at everybody, fumbled into a lift (the first lift-sized demo?) and determined that next time a courtly facade would not protect a man who, despite his pleas, is doing his best for the white supremacists. /D.K.

Indications are that the Sunday Herald will soon be shrinking to a tabloid. Right on Craccum.

RADICAL RADIO... up UII

What looked to be one of the more promising Arts Festival projects was grounded in its opening stages — Radio U. The Federation of Independent Commercial Broadcasters — which includes Hauraki and Radio i — opposed the granting of a temporary license by the Broadcasting Authority on the grounds that the radio was not an integral part of Arts Festival. They further qualified this by saying that Auckland is served by two private and two NZBC radio stations. The implication being that the service provided at the moment is adequate. The questions arise to whose needs are being serviced and how is it possible for what is an adequate to gauge that the service is adequate. It is more likely that "good guy" radio is looking after its own commercial interests.

It was the so-called illegal actions of Hauraki in the first place that established that out there in the great grey wastes of broadcasting land — so long adequately serviced by aunty NZBC — there exists an audience thirsting for something different. In its early days private radio presented a rebellious looking alternative to what we had all been used to for so long and listening to Hauraki, broadcasting from the gulf, was like participating in an illegal act, for a short time at least. However the energy emanating from private radio is part of the manic drive to move merchandise and that is its limit. The shallow enthusiasm of consumer radio leads rapidly to tedium. The support given to Radio U in its brief existence at the festival, when it was broadcasting without a license, shows that an audience exists for an alternative (just about any alternative) to radio in its present form.

Radio is a powerful medium of communication and a powerful medium of indoctrination. Just as it can be used to foster the ideology of consumerism it can be used for the opposite purposes. The status quo is maintained first by the control it has over the minds of men. Radio serves a political end by appearing to remain neutral, and "balanced". It presents a greater threat in the hands of radicals than does an underground printing press. Alternative ideas and viewpoints contrary to those of the National/Labour status quo are potentially in the home of anyone who owns a radio. Private radio is acceptable because its motive from the start was to crawl into the belly of the establishment rather than to shake it.

The Federation representing Radio Hauraki and Radio i also claimed that if a temporary license was approved for Radio U the Broadcasting Authority could get a flood of applications for temporary warrants. The inherent dangers are the possibility that some might be granted and the probability that they might be listened to. The so-called democratic society is supposed to thrive on alternative view points.

Its time for Rubbish Radio to be superseded by Rabid Radio. Create two, three ... many Radio U's.

FESTIVAL CHESS

The perennial rivalry between Auckland and Victoria finally took a turn in Auckland's favour when Auckland held Victoria to a 2-2 draw on the final day of the Invervarsities Chess tournament, and squeaked through to win the tournament by 15 points to Victoria's 13½.

In the previous two years, Auckland has led the tournament going into the last round, only to be thrashed by Victoria and lose.

Waikato and Lincoln were competing for the first time, and Waikato did well to finish third. Paul Garbett playing board one for Auckland won four out of five games, losing to Victoria's Kurt Pomeroy.

Victoria was beset by difficulties throughout the tournament, with an ambiguous sealed move (automatic loss) against Auckland, and the main team arriving late. But Craig Laird pulled off a

THE POWER OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

Bob Hillier.

The Administrative Secretary of AUSA is the senior administrative officer of the Association under the President, and responsible, through the President, to the Executive. The holder of that office is supposedly responsible for the organisation of the Association office and its staff, upkeep of Association records, and generally to ensure a high degree of administrative efficiency in the office. The position is in no way a policy formulating position, it is purely an administrative one (bureaucratic, if you like). Thus the Admin. Sec. is not responsible for AUSA policy except that he/she may be called upon to administer according to the terms of Association policy.

Although the Admin. Sec. is an administrative officer, she is still potentially the most powerful officer of the Association. Her greater knowledge of Association affairs give her the edge over all the elected representatives in that she is in a better position to influence their "thinking", thus their decisions, than any other member of the AUSA heirarchy.

THE PREECE ERA

The immediate past Admin. Sec., Mr Vaughn Preece, took on the position at a time when the Association was in dire straits, with careful and shrewd management he put the Association 'back on its feet'. His expertise at office administration allowed him to control the business of the Association in keen fashion and also the personalities elected by the student body. Bill Rudman told me that he did not have a very happy time as President with Mr Preece, but then Mike Law did. The reason? — Law differentiated between his position and Preece's, and he ensured that the boundaries remained stable. A remarkable degree of definition was attained between the two positions and thus Law and Preece formed an effective working relationship. This is not to say that they liked each other, but neither was able to dominate the other.

When the Spring Exec. took office, Preece found it easy meat. The Exec. was riddled with weak links and the talents of Preece were imperative to give it any strength,

THE POLITICS OF HYSTERIA



remarkable feat on the first day by playing on the top three boards simultaneously against Otago and winning all three, while waiting for the rest of the Victoria team to arrive. For Auckland the best score was Peter Weir with 4½ points out of 5.

The International telegraphic match, Sydney Universities v NZ universities, stands at 3½ - 3½, with eight incomplete games to be judged. This should be a victory for NZ universities.

The scoreboard for the Intervarsity tournament is: Auckland 15, Victoria 13½, Waikato 13, Otago 10½, Canterbury 7½, Lincoln ½.

Auckland will send a team to Waikato on Sept. 16 for a match on eight boards.

John Laird

and his almost complete domination of Association affairs was clearly evident to all, except those he was manipulating.

The present Admin. Sec., Miss Margery Macky took office toward the end of 1971. Another strong personality, Miss Macky has as yet appeared not to seize the initiative in order to gain control of the Association. But after twelve months and a new Exec. in office it is possible that we may see her influence to a greater extent than to date. President Russell Bartlett has versed himself well in all facets of Association affairs and thus will be a buffer against the domination of the Admin. Sec. during the next year. He will ensure strict definition of the functions of his own and Miss Macky's respective positions, but if the Secretary entertains any notions of a power grab then she will be able to do so through the weaker members of the Exec. whom Bartlett cannot hope to control.

One may ask "Why should the Admin. Sec. want to control these people?" Simply because it makes the job of the Secretary that much easier. If a good working relationship is formed between the President and the Secretary, then the Secretary's work is made easier. Policy decisions and their effect on administrative matters are then better defined. Since the Exec. is responsible for the formulation of administrative decisions it is in the professional interest of the Admin. Sec. to influence the making of these decisions either (a) to make her own task easier; or (b) to have her own ideas implemented, rather than those of some half-baked megalomaniac student.

Bureaucrats traditionally possess an innate suspicion of elected representatives, and when those elected are also mere "babes in arms", this suspicion also reaches proportions of complete lack of esteem. The bureaucrat instinctively attempts to dominate, and where this is impracticable, the bureaucrat prefers to define and separate functions. The latter case typified the Preece-Law term, the former typified the Preece-Spring term. Miss Macky has now got a thorough grounding (or at least should have) in Association affairs, and in the future may find herself having to take the reins (in the event of another weak Exec.), or she may elect to take the reins of her own accord.



"This is the worst way of murdering. It is making slaves of these men . . . We thought it was intended to try them, and approved: but the policy of the government is like an eel. You look at it in the water, it seems quite still and straight, but directly you seize it, it curves up, doubles and twists round you, and covers you with slime. So this bill has changed its character and doubles round us all."

Henare Tomoana, M.P. Eastern Maori, on the Maori Prisoners' Bill, which was enforced to curb the successful passive resistance movement at Parihaka. Many hundreds of followers were imprisoned, without trial, until there was no room left in any N.Z. prison. Te Whiti Rongomai, the founder of the movement, spent two years inside without trial.

"HE IWI KOTAHU TATOU", ("WE ARE ALL ONE PEOPLE") . . . "THE MAORI AND THE PAKEHA ARE ALL ONE PEOPLE UNITED IN FRIENDSHIP AND EQUALITY."

And thus the myths continue to fester in the mouths of the ignorant and deceived. What hope is there then for us, the Maori, when people are deceived by the deceived? What hope is there then for us, the Maori, when people are made blind by the blind; deaf by the deaf; and dumb by the dumb? Will we, the Maori of today, continue to listen complacently and accept these blatant lies knowing how our forefathers had fought and died to rectify the inconsistencies and grievances that European civilisation had thrust upon them? Will we continue to ignore those same inconsistencies and grievances that prevail today in places such as Otara and Ponsonby, and in all the penal institutions? Will we continue to deny the Maori of tomorrow his right to stand and say — "I am a Maori" — through our apathy and lack of courage to fight for the preservation of our Maori identity? It is easy to turn and run from a fight, and it is even easier to ignore it, but to stand firm and fight in the face of outnumbering odds, is the hardest thing of all. Such is the fight of the Maori of today.

Pre-European Maori society, it is said, had reached its peak in all its technical and artistic forms, and politically it had developed as far as it could within its existing limitations and geographical isolation. But with the coming of the European, Maori society had initially entered on a period of rapid and eager adoption of Pakeha goods and ways. The Pakeha's position then, had been well-defined — he was considered merely a handy thing to have around the village for whenever guns or blankets were needed. However, as the Pakeha population steadily began to increase, overwhelming the Maori, a dramatic change began to take place. The Maori could feel his whole world being obliterated from under his feet, and his body being turned upside down against his will.

The acceleration of the loss of Maori land to the Pakeha, crystallised all the grievances of the Maori people. It had inspired the rejection of Pakeha ways and led to the formation of formidable Maori protest groups, such as the King Movement, which through its cry for unity attempted to retain the land, for as Wiremu Kingi had said to Governor Gore-Browne, at Waitara in 1859 . . . "These lands will not be given by us into . . . your hands, lest we resemble the sea birds which perch upon the rock: when the tide flows the rock is covered by the sea, and the birds will take flight, for they have no resting place."

And thus, because the grievances that our fore fathers had faced in their day, still exist today, then so too remains the potentiality of Maori protest.

He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata

By women, by land, men are lost

Maori society is basically patriarchal — the male dominates every positive aspect of a heavily structured, largely horticultural culture. Although laws, as we understand them, did not exist, people were governed by tapu, and upon this premiss of superstitious fear rested the belief that women were the negative and destructive element, the inferior, the passive.

Predictably, a woman was forbidden to participate in numerous activities, but that which persists today is her right to stand upon a marae, or tribal meeting place, and speak. Only two major tribes, both of whom have particularly illustrious female forbears, Ngati Kahungunu, and Ngati Porou, concede a woman this right. Needless to say, modern society has brought some degree of emancipation — but to whom, and how?

What use is suffrage to women who comprehend even less than their pakeha sisters their right to put in power an alternative government? In 1893, when women were given voting rights in this country, the feminists had to put up a fight to convince the reformers that Maori women equally merited the privilege, despite their inculpable ignorance of an invading life style.

That year, 1893, the vote for Maori woman seemed an irrelevance. This year, 1972, the situation has hardly changed. What good has the present system done to alleviate the pressures confronting the modern Maori woman?

Within the rigidity of traditional Maori society, the Maori woman, although of inferior status, nevertheless enjoyed an unchanging security. To a great extent, this continues in rural areas throughout the country, even today. Should she have challenged or contravened patriarchal ruling, she became a legend, or culture heroine, e.g. Hinemoa, who swam Lake Rotorua to her low-born lover Tutanekai, or Wairaka, who saved the sacred Mataatua canoe with the strength of a man, assumed by her cry "Kia WHAKATANE au i au!" thus naming that locality.

Maori marriage laws, for a high born girl, were suffocating, and usually political. Unconsulted, were she to disagree, her only means of protest was suicide. Berys Heuer, in "Maori Women" records such violent recourse was not uncommon.

Looking at the status of Maori women in New Zealand society today, one can see she suffers a multiple dilemma.



That of being female alone is enough, and usually working class. She forms the major part of an unskilled and underpaid factory labour force; she must meet daily the economic demands of raising a larger than average family, and supplementing her husband's comparatively low income. More and more often she is setting up house in a new housing development, and coping with the pressures of being away from the whanau — Maori extended family — and in the nucleic family environment of a suburb.

Although she may not be within the locality of her kinship group nevertheless she maintains contact — despite the insidiously racist institutionalized efforts of the white power structure to undermine the guts of Maori unity, which is the communal family group; and to reduce the focus of that kinship structure, the land.

Thus, she is confronted by many situations. Being female, she can usually be sucked in by the demands of competitive white consumer society — advertising, the media, fashion and the

business of child-bearing. She accepts now, as she would have in pre-European society, her function as a female and servant. And because she is so involved in being a mother, a mortgagee, and a part of the huge menial labour force; in coping with these realities, she will rarely if ever bother to be concerned with the new feminist movement, which, if anything, she distrusts and discards as pakeha, middle class, and irrelevant. However, such issues as equal pay and child care she may consider, but overriding all is the pressures, the realities, of the moment.

So what of being Maori? I believe that a Maori woman would notice, or have it brought to her notice, the fact of her ethnic origin long before she needs to classify her gender. Femeness, if we endure or celebrate it, we can all take for granted usually. And apart from blatant examples of sexual discrimination, e.g., unequal pay and opportunity, we can generally cruise along comfortably through life on a cushioned dream of fashionably white and obedient sublimation. If we are white. Not so easy if we are Maori.

Consciousness of being Maori is reviving. The Maori is beginning to review the validity, the justice of this present system, and question it. Factors such as the urban migration, the unrest of youth, the inequitable enforcement of land-grabbing legislation, have caused a renaissance in Maori awareness. The elders, the patriarchs, know all of this. We, as Maori females, can only hope that they recognize the need, and the merit of our energy in this fight . . . and not deny knowledge to half our people.

What the present upsurge of racial consciousness must result in, ultimately, is a purge of the white, male dominated power structure. Yet while, within our own ranks, we continue to see ourselves as gender beings, limiting ourselves to gender roles, then the upheaval we hope to cause will never even start. If half the energy force is coping continuously with being the underprivileged gender, then the issue of being a distinctive race and people, with distinctive problems will be forever, and for the Pakeha, safely, obscured.

Arawa Chiefs, 1907.

You brought us your civilization, and you decimated our ranks with strange diseases and modern armaments. You supplied us with firearms, and when in the lust of war we had slain almost half of the flower of our race (and a few of yours), you punished us as rebels and confiscated our lands. You gave us the Bible and you broke its precepts. You taught us ethics and you had no scruples in your transactions with us. You gave us alcohol and then punished us and gave us an evil name for using it. Our fathers desired to be civilized, but because of your inconsistencies they abandoned your teaching and opposed it with their hearts' blood. We retrograded, and the gap between us widened. You have had to make up the ground lost by the bad example of your fathers: we have had to overcome the distrust and suspicion in the hearts of ours and transmitted to us, ere we could once more take up the broken thread of progress.

OLD MAN CHANTING IN THE DARK.

Where are the men of mettle?
are there old scores
left to settle?
when will the canoes leap
to the stab and kick
the sea-wet flourish
of pointed paddles?
will the sun play again
to the skip of muscles
on curved backs bared
to the rain's lash
the sea's punch?
to War! to War!

Where are the proud lands
to subdue — and women?
where are the slaves
to gather wood for the fires

stones for the oven?
who shall reap
the succulent children whimpering
on the terraced hill-top?

no more alas no more
no raw memory left
of these
nor bloody trophies.
only the fantail's flip
to cheeky war-like postures
and on the sand-hill
wry wing fluting
the bleached bones marrowless

(From "NO ORDINARY SUN" — poems by HONE TUWHARE.)

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