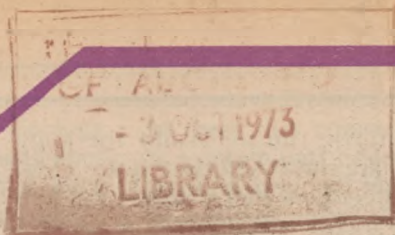




CAREERS ISSUE



## CRACCCUM

ISSUE NO 23  
27th SEPT. 1973ON A THEORY OF  
JUSTICEHillier  
examines Rawls

Theories of justice are generally represented by intuitive models that stand or fall on the strength of the assumptions necessary to support them. The strength of the theory also is often dependent upon the congruence of the model used and the conclusions it is asked to bear, or even the intrinsic relevance of the model as a part of the total theory, and the extent to which the model used justifies the conclusions deduced therefrom relative to other models or grounds. In other words, a theory may founder because it could be better defended on grounds other than those used by the theorist. Illustrative of this is the doctrine of Utilitarianism which is represented by the sympathetic impartial observer, who, when he has balanced the sum of advantages and disadvantages of representative parties in a Utilitarian society, concludes that the society is rightly ordered and meets with his approval. Impartiality is defined from the standpoint of the sympathetic observer who responds to the conflicting interests of parties as if they were his own. Professor John Rawls of Harvard University in his book, *A theory of Justice*, comments "The fault of the Utilitarian doctrine is that it mistakes impersonality for impartiality" (p.190) despite the appeal of the notion of the sympathetic impartial observer.

A great deal of Rawls's argument is in the form of a refutation of the Utilitarian conception of justice, which allows slavery and the subjection of women (in short, arbitrary inequalities) if they work to maximise the good of others or increase the average balance of satisfactions. Rawls's criticism of Utilitarianism does not readily lend itself to a review such as this one and so let it suffice to say that his refutation is a convincing one (for those who need to be convinced).

It is the social contract as formulated by Locke, Rousseau, and Kant that is revived and revitalised by Rawls as the model and justification for his substantive principles. Indeed he goes so far as to deny any originality for his theory and explicitly states its Kantian flavour by attributing all of the ideas to Kant. In truth he has elucidated a conception of justice which goes far beyond Kant and at least achieves the stated aim of presenting "a conception of justice which generalises and carries to a higher level of abstraction the familiar theory of the social contract as found, say, in Locke, Rousseau, and Kant." (p.11).

The predominant place held by Utilitarianism in moral theory has to a large extent provoked Rawls' advocacy of the social contract which enjoys the advantages of defining impartiality from the viewpoint of the parties themselves, since it is they "who must choose their conception of justice once and for all in an original position of equality" (p.190); and does not justify the imposition of arbitrary inequalities against one group to the advantage of others. As Rawls states (p3), "Each person possesses an inviolability that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override", and the justice

of social institutions is measured not by maximising the average sum of advantages but by their tendency to counteract natural inequalities deriving from birth, talent, and circumstances, pooling those resources in the common good. *A Theory of Justice* is then a construction that derives principles expressive of Rawls' vision of how men should be, using methods that are reflective of his particular conception of moral theory.

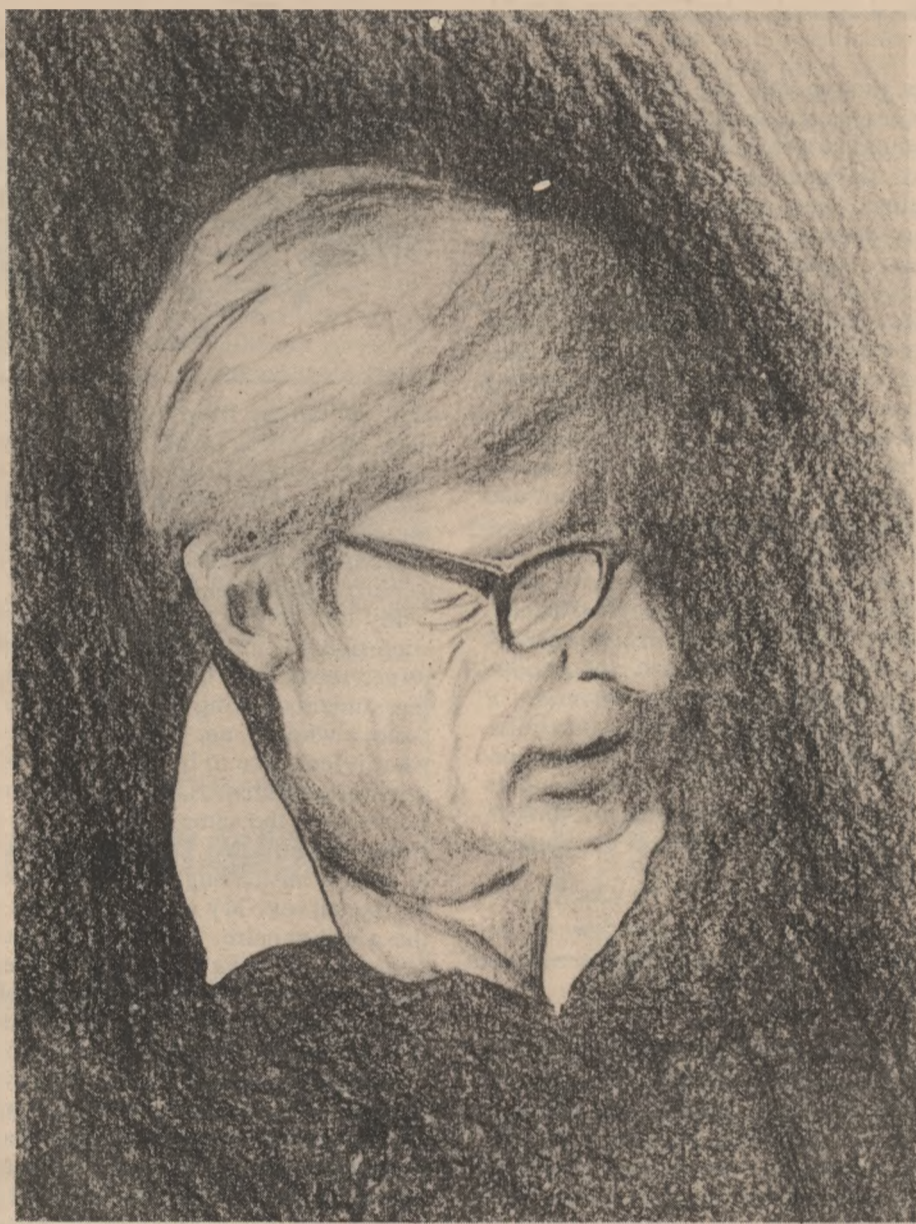
Professor Rawls begins by saying that justice is the first virtue of social institutions and then proceeds to limit his discussion to the topic of social justice. "For us," he says at page 7, "the primary subject of justice is the basic structure of society, or more exactly, the way in which major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of social advantages from social cooperation." The reason for this primary limitation is self-evident since major institutions immediately, and profoundly affect the total life prospects of all persons engaged in social community. The second limitation imposed on the discussion is that the examination is restricted to the principles of justice that would regulate a well-ordered society where "everyone is presumed to act

justly and to do his part in upholding just institutions." A well-ordered society is one which "is not only designed to advance the good of its members but which is also effectively regulated by a public conception of justice. That is, it is a society in which (1) everyone accepts and knows that the others accept the same principles of justice, and (2) the basic social institutions generally satisfy these principles."

Thus while persons may make excessive claims against each other they also acknowledge a common point of view from which their claims may be adjudicated.

Circumstances of justice arise whenever persons put forward conflicting claims to the division of social advantages under conditions of moderate scarcity, and presumably at such times human cooperation is both possible and necessary. Social contract theory allows that such circumstances may exist prior to the actual invocation of principles of justice; there is thus an initial situation where although the circumstances of justice may obtain, the machinery to adjudicate claims does not. This initial situation has traditionally been called the state

TURN TO PAGE 16.



PROFESSOR RAWLS.

# CRACCUM

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

Vol. 12, No. 3 Thursday, April 7, 1978

### Subversive Propaganda

We have recently received two letters which we print in this issue drawing our attention to the radical and Leftist tone of a recent issue of "Salient," the V.U.C. paper. While it is scarcely our place to comment upon the policy adopted by a publication of a sister university, we cannot but regret that only one side of a problem has been stressed in "Salient," and that an organ which should express the opinion of the general body of students should be used by a minority for the purposes of flagrant propaganda. The day is fortunately past when the old fallacy was held that one man's opinion is as good as another's, for in the

present state of world affairs, the necessity for keeping down subversive propaganda whether it be Communist or anything else, becomes increasingly evident. Especially in view of the havoc wrought by Communist activities, should all fair-minded people, while respecting the reasonable opinions of their fellows, differentiate between the subversive and anarchical doctrines, no matter how subtly disguised as "democratic," "anti-fascist," or "socialist," and the reasonable solutions propounded within the present fabric of our traditional heritage.

It is therefore deplorable that such a misrepresentation of facts as appeared in the recent "Salient" should be allowed to appear as the opinion of the majority of students, a view which would naturally be held by anyone looking upon it as the official University publication. "Craccum" is certain, in view of the feeble Left influence at Auckland Varsity that the views expressed by "Salient" are those of a decided minority; and in that case it is regrettable that younger students should be subjected to the force of such propaganda. "Craccum's" policy is to have no violent tendencies in any direction. In "The Open Forum" and elsewhere all opinions received are printed. In this manner and this manner alone can a true reflection of student opinion be obtained.



Dear Sir,

I have heard a rumour that the Young Socialists activists on this campus are being paid by the C.I.A. While this may sound far-fetched the results they are achieving would certainly please this scurrilous organisation. Before these egocentric fools started their platitudinous, dogmatic raves during Forum and the election season, students on this campus were starting to conceive of political systems with which they could identify. However, since these self-styled "Trotskyists" have felt the call, many tactics (— witness the Gay Lib march this year with its chanting and vocal histrionics —) have scared away from left wing ideas. The abortion referendum would probably have achieved a positive result with inflexible heavy handedness and political expression that did not and probably could not, extend past the cliché.

I am basically suspicious of the motives of any group of people who band together and try to force their political philosophy down other peoples throats. The Young Socialists I feel is the political equivalent of the Hare Krishna movement and the modus operandi is just as suspicious. In this university it would be pleasing to think that the thoughts that influenced us were worthwhile, well-considered and spring from altruistic motives rather than thoughts created by banal propagandising slogans and thrown around by people whose political motives are suspect — to say the least.

I remain etc.  
Adrian Picot

Dear Sir,

I am appalled at the amount of social research being carried out indiscriminately by Sociology undergraduates from this university. This type of research is best classed as irresponsible, because too often the students are impelled either by fascination or fashion to erratically probe areas of great social sensitivity, engendering amongst the subjects considerable animosity towards further social investigation even by well-trained and well-supervised graduate researchers. It is often just carried out for terms-work.

Some may claim that I am biased just because I am a graduate. But that does not alter the fact that a proliferation of ill-disciplined undergraduate research in areas of great sensitivity (e.g. sexual behaviour amongst factory-workers of Polynesian origin) is threatening the efficacy of more detailed research in the future. Most people tire quickly of disinterested questioning and probing, however much they may initially be flattered by the attention paid to them.

I have always supported programmes to help undergraduates acquire practical research experience. But let this be carried out amongst groups least likely to be antagonised by cross-cultural confusion: the upper Middle Class Pakeha world to which most students belong already. Of course, non-Pakeha students would be much more readily accepted by, for example, Polynesian groups, but there are few students in this category.

Ever since 1971, when 150 Sociology I students rampaged across Auckland in a veritable orgy of questionnaires, there has been in existence a University Regulation which ensures that the questionnaire contents and intended sample area are approved by the Academic Registrar's committee of Social Science



representatives from Faculty, before the questionnaire research is taken into the field. This is hardly an effective way to minimize public hostility towards such University research, since the measure was merely designed to give the Registry information on current questionnaire-type research — at least enough to parry public pique!

My convictions about the dangers inherent in the superficiality of the questionnaire approach were reinforced recently by the arrival of a spate of data-gathering students during the August vacation at a large factory where I am presently working. I now know what it feels like to be on the butt of so many impersonal questionnaires, for the most part simply inane! I arrived at the same conclusion as my work-mates. Independently. My first reaction was to fill in details in such a misleading way that it would really screw up the survey. My second reaction was to screw up the questionnaire, and save the student the embarrassment of trying to analyse my replies. The others on the line had some interesting tales to tell of other questionnaires they had been bombarded with, both at work and at their homes.

There is no space to recount even a few. But a pattern of reaction emerged. Research concentrated on eliciting personal details from people having a low socio-economic status, living in depressed conditions in depressed suburbs. Usually, but not always, they were not Pakehas. Such preoccupation with what are to the Middle Class Pakeha the economically and socially unsuccessful is no doubt worthy of praise in this frame of reference, but many object to the postulate that they are the Problem. Exclusively. Consequently, they wish to see more investigation of other socio-economic groups. No doubt, some is going on. But not much. And they never hear about it! So they feel students and others are exploiting them — not in an economic sense, but in the sense that students are taking without giving. Not only do many researchers in the Social Sciences fail to reciprocate in kind, but some fail even to meet and try to get to know the people they are trying to understand. It is a tyranny of the questionnaire method: the belief that by being 'random' and impersonal, one is being impartial. When in fact the research done by many other Social Scientists, such as Psychologists and Anthropologists, suggests that the desire to be 'impartial' in no way necessitates one to be impersonal. People are human. Their feelings are on a human, not a statistical, scale.

It is to his credit that the present Professor of Sociology is attempting to break this 'tyranny of the questionnaire'. But then he has come from Anthropology. However, it is clear that a precedent has already been established for undergraduate social research. It is up to researchers, whatever their expertise and standing, to realise that humans are human, and accordingly, require humane compassion if any

understanding is to emerge between social groups. That is a truism. But for researchers, especially from Sociology, seem to remember that the search for understanding is a two way process. And for this, one must know one's respondent and his social environment. He must be able to learn from you. This is not possible from questionnaires. Therefore it is not an ethical form of social research.

Forgive me for the length of my outrage. But I am deeply concerned.

Sincerely,  
John. E. Stanton  
Anthropology M.A.

Dear Sir,

'Confused' asked last week if there had been a change in New Zealand Universities which made it easy for communists to infiltrate overseas students. The answer, clearly, is yes. We now have a new government. THE LABOUR PARTY IS SOFT ON COMMUNISM. Weaker members of society are being subverted by the insidious propaganda of the Red Chinese regime. New Zealanders have died in Malaya, Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia fighting the Red menace and now it is here openly in our country. We must be constantly vigilant about this affront to our democratic society and take whatever steps are necessary against the communists. Mr De Silva should be given all support in his attempts to preserve Malaysian culture from outside influences.

Yours sincerely,  
Concerned Student.



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Dear Sir,

I suppose Action, anti-the cafeteria in dispensib Don't stude caf? The onl i.e. china ar dents intere water, good to enjoy aft (Are ther on ecology science ficti Is the stu privileged n vices of the friend right v ous extreme I've mad there's a n which isn't

Dear Sir,

With refer in Need" (C of crap. Ma U.K. She is country". M Malaysia sho would (at las with Tun Ra ese are trea as the only c 45% of M Chinese. I do not know ese in every or ruled by I suppose would like t and at the s Chinses and it in such a

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Dear Sir,

I suppose most students are interested in Ecology Action, anti-pollution, etc, etc. So why on earth does the cafeteria sell milkshakes in wax cups, fruit juice in dispensable cans, hot chocolate in plastic cups?? Don't students have any say in the running of the caf? The only drinks you get in recyclable containers i.e. china are tea and coffee. The only drink for students interested in health as well as ecology is plain water, good enough in its way, but not something to enjoy after a couple of hours studying.

(Are there any such students? Is all the literature on ecology and health in the bookshop a form of science fiction?)

Is the student counter-culture a myth or an under-privileged minority or is it merely riddled with the vices of the Establishment? Or was my depressing friend right when he said I was taking things to ridiculous extremes. I'd really like to know.

I've made one interesting discovery though — there's a rubbish bin outside the science building which isn't lined with disposable plastic.

Cornelius

Dear Sir,

With reference to your article entitled "Friends in Need" (Craccum 13 September), it is a whole lot of crap. Malaysia is certainly not a puppet of the U.K. She is a 'Self-Ruled disharmonious Multi-racial country'. Most Malaysian Chinese would prefer that Malaysia should be ruled by the British so that they would (at last) be treated as Malaysian. The trouble with Tun Razak's government is that Malaysian Chinese are treated as Chinese and Malaysian Malays as the only citizens of Malaysia. Don't forget, about 45% of Malaysia's population (12 million) are Chinese. I am sure that many of our Kiwi friends do not know that Malays have preferences over Chinese in every field, especially anything that is owned or ruled by the Malaysian Government.

I suppose our High Commissioner, Mr De Silva would like to have a few headlines in New Zealand and at the same time remind people that there are Chineses and Malays in Malaysia Mr De Silva puts it in such a way that it seems that most Malaysian

students in New Zealand are Chinese (true, and most of them like communist ideas (just because China is a communist country). Mr De Silva you are positively wrong. All Malaysian Chinese students would like to be called MALAYSIAN Students, NOT Chinese students from Malaysia or Communist students.

I personally suggest Mr De Silva should find more proof before making such a statement as, "The subversive influence of Malaysian Chinese students who are backed by foreign powers" — What a lot of bull shit.

Moreover many Malaysian students in New Zealand university are acting as spies and 'running dogs' for the High Commissioner, as they received letters from the High Commissioner. That's why not many Malaysian Chinese students would dare to argue or comment on this matter openly; if they do, they will probably end up in a Malaysian jail the next day.

I would like to thank Brent Lewis for his beautiful article in Craccum (20 September) and Mr Steven Chan for his concern over this matter and all those who helped in other ways.

Mr Big De Silva, I suggest you had better find another topic for your headline news and stop creating racial disharmony from your 'Running dogs'!

Dear Sir,

At the recent S.R.C. meeting an extraordinary occurrence occurred. Following the referendum on abortion two weeks ago in which 1157 voted, the Association now supports the anti-abortionists. There was a tabled motion which proposed that \$100 be donated to the pro-abortion march on Woman Suffrage Day. A certain group of students arrived to stack the meeting. Mr Ballantyne and my good self called for an S.R.C. vote only to attempt to prevent the rigging of this vote. One of the "visitors" then moved that the chairman ruling be disagreed with, once again an S.R.C. vote was called for. But no, the chair person said we can't have this. The result. Those who turned up to rig one vote were able to overrule the members of S.R.C. who were appointed to decide on such matters. This leaves one with a sour taste in one's mouth, wondering what the hell does the chair person think he's doing.

David Lennon

Dear Sir,

I could not have agreed more with Brent Lewis' editorial comment on 20/9/73. As a Malaysian resident student in New Zealand for the last 3 years it saddens me more to see the persistent insensitivity of our politicians (I'm referring in particular to Mr. Jack De Silva and his colleagues down in their Wellington ivory tower) as regards to new and progressive intellectual opinion and criticism.

The May 13th 1969 riot was not the consequence of Communist Subversion as conveniently prescribed by our ruling politicians. It was the culmination of a long and neglected period of conflict between the haves and the have nots which happened to be racial in nature. The whole thing just simply exploded in the face of our politicians who used to laugh at the trouble between the white and black in America but by whose very immaturity had exploited to the fullest extent the racial feelings prior to the 1969 general election.

That brings me back to the point I wish to stress either through political conscience or otherwise.

Our government has long adopted the tactic of branding all dissident groups, be they true communists, arm chair critics or true, loyal patriotic individuals concerned with the fate of our country, as Anti-Nationals.

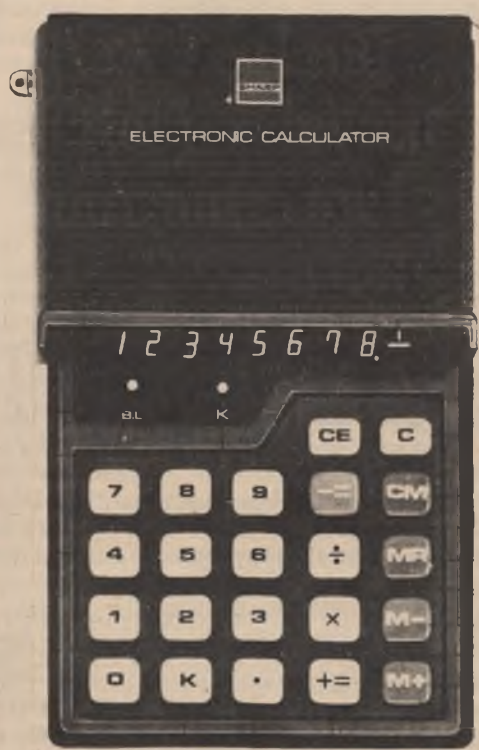
The Eastern Cultural Concert is another case in point. So much has been commented on that I find it unnecessary to add any more to it. But somehow, I find it strange that a person who is as knowledgeable as Mr De Silva should feel uneasy if we Malaysian students should find what is happening back home unjust and oppressive. We feel it is only right for us to bring it out in the open to tell our own students in New Zealand and the New Zealand public about it — even though we could be suspected of being arm chair critics or even anti-national. Mr. de Silva's accusation of the concert people as being anti-national could hardly be called for. In fact, the whole thing just back fired that it would take a lot of his own effort to regain his image to a more respectable level. After all, he did not ever attend the concert did he?

P.S. Why doesn't Craccum have a box somewhere conspicuous for anonymous letters?

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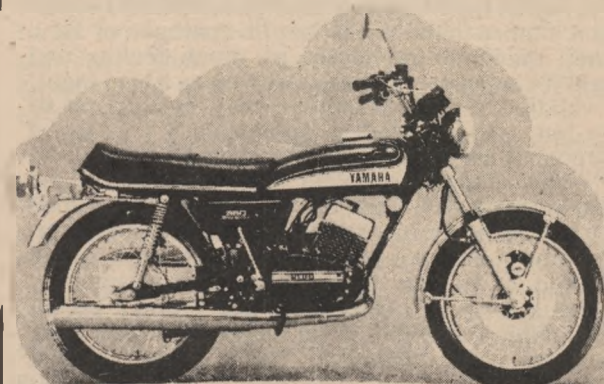
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# LADIES A PLATE

In perspective, what was the purpose of the United Women's Convention? As Elizabeth Reid said, (special advisor to Mr Whitlam on the status of Women), it was to teach the middle class woman about the revolution so as to enable her to lead the revolution both for herself and for the working class woman.

Although the tone of the speeches were moderate, radical implications could be drawn from some of them. There was an historical and contemporary analysis of discrimination against women, the status of the Maori woman, and a speech on communal living, none of which stirred either my intellectual or intuitive disposition, for they were either too verbose or factual or merely entertaining, but the revolutionary speech of Elizabeth Reid delighted me.

As I interpret her, one could have either one of two attitudes towards feminism: advocating piecemeal reform within the existing structure, or overthrowing and restructuring the existing system. The first includes involving oneself in achieving minimal reforms in selected areas, such as abortion law reform, contraceptive advice for under 16 year olds, equal pay etc. The second implies forming alternatives of one's own creation.

To exemplify the second point I will apply the case history of abortion: I imagine that her paradigm for enabling women to procure abortions would not involve the feminists in arguing and justifying the right to abortions and attempting to change the nations attitudes on this moral topic rather, the feminist would form clinics where abortions would be available.

Although Elizabeth Reid did not discuss abortion or elaborate on the alternatives to piecemeal reform I will take this opportunity to discuss how we can avoid being thwarted by the existing system and

its games, but first Elizabeth Reid mentioned the type of games we would encounter if we were to compromise by seeking selective reform

If we work within this structure we are subject to the "play it cool" game: this means assuming those typically male traits and denying ones "sensitivity, overt passion, and commitment". In this society it is unrevolutionary or "uncool" to show the above mentioned characteristics and women are told (by each other) that if we want reform we must assume aggressive, strident expressions and tramp all over those 'male bastards'.

I think this sub-game occurs because women do not like others showing their intuitive sensitivity to men, because they believe that by competing in male terms they will achieve power. A display of 'feminine wiles' will derogate from their opportunity to gain this power. But Elizabeth Reid points out — No, you don't get power that way. Look how long we've waited for equal pay, and now look how the employers will evade the legislation.

Other games women may encounter in the competition may include the 'put down game' and 'terms of reference game' where women's opinions are disregarded, but when repeated by men, are acceptable.

These games are irrelevant in themselves, but they are formidable. Instead we must supply our own superstructure — e.g. in relation to abortion:

- (a) by providing female doctors,
- (b) by providing an abortion that is safe, efficient and cheap,
- (c) by providing an atmosphere that is congenial and frank,
- (D) by giving relevant advice.

I don't think it was the intention of the conference

to reinforce this idea of avoiding the system or providing viable means of overthrowing it, and that is why I think it failed. Though most of the 30-40 year old dyed-haired mothers thought it was great stuff and stimulating too!

But they did bring out Lorraine Rothman, the director of a feminists health clinic in California, where women study physical and psychological health problems. She did not speak at the main conference, but had a meeting on Sunday night at university and on Monday in the quad. She told us about that revolutionary idea of 'self help' which will enable women to avoid resorting to the inadequate male dominated institutions. Ah, so simple. Incidentally, Lorraine Rothman is developing the "Del-Em" which may in future provide safe abortions and make SPUC a non-organisation. This method is not to be confused with the Karman cannula (mentioned in Cock 17, August 73) which is being promoted by a Mr Karman, who is facing a charge for causing such damage when administering an abortion that his 16 year old patient had to have a hysterectomy.

Elizabeth Reid and Lorraine Rothman have both created their positions for themselves. Ms. Reid became the adviser to Whitlam after the success of the Woman's electoral lobby formed during the last elections. (Supposedly they were so successful in their campaign to educate women that they saw the inherent virtues of a labour administration.)

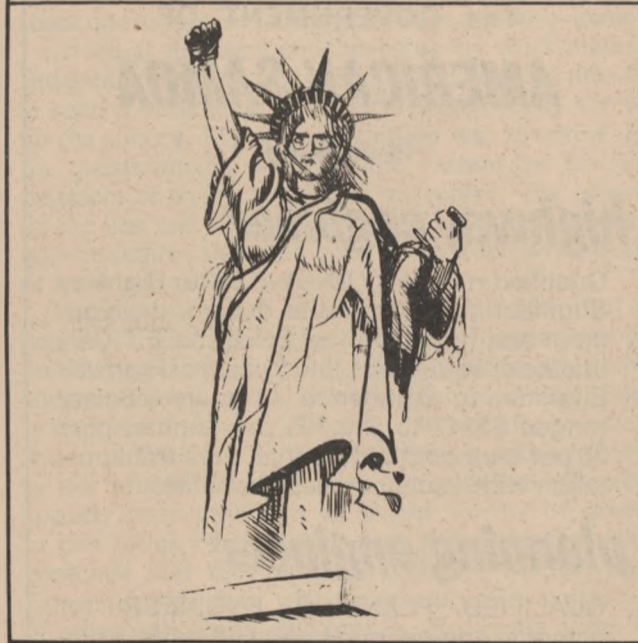
I think what happened in the Sunday workshops exemplifies women flagellating each other and thus remaining insubordinate to the system. It appears that certain of the workshops-abortion especially - were 'packed' so that resolutions would favour anti-abortion. Ah well. I guess that shows how well conditioned we are.

YSA.

# GENTLEMEN PEE ELSEWHERE

The 1973 United Womens' Convention was a sobering and humbling occasion for me. More than once I found myself blushing with shame as speakers recounted instances of the blatant denial of fundamental human rights to women who, we should not need reminding, constitute one-half of the human race.

Without exception the speeches were outstanding. However, I could not help but become a little apprehensive at the frequent invocation of the middle-class, capitalistic, "rugby, racing and beer" vignette of the New Zealand male as the object of feminist attack. I should like to offer some gentle criticism. I have the nagging suspicion that feminists themselves are falling victim to the very stereotype which they set up as their target. The implication, and sometimes it's more than that, is that this paragon of New Zealand manhood possesses as much feeling and thought for others, especially women, as a lead ingot. The validity of this stereotype may be difficult to verify but it is regarded as applicable if I interpret the repeated use of it during the speeches correctly. This poses a major problem because some of the spreading buckshot from the otherwise well aimed blasts is missing a proportion of the male population. The sector concerned may not be large but it is still unscathed. It may be the symptom of a particularly pernicious form of chauvinism but I don't regard myself within the ambit of the target. I wouldn't say I was particularly capitalistic, rugby doesn't interest me greatly, and I don't like beer. I also consider that my feelings for women span a far greater distance than the physical dimensions of their bodies. I'm not liberated either but I'm working on it. The areas of chauvinism are somewhat "different"; I'm tempted



to say more subtle but that sound's superior and I don't mean to separate myself from the rest of my sex. For the feminist movement to be more effective in the process of liberation it seems imperative that they become better acquainted with the nuances of chauvinism that exist. New Zealand maledom is not a monolithic mob. Feminists must liberate themselves from the myopic "r,r, and b" stereotype forced on them because some males are like that and expand

the target areas. Why become pinkerty over this? Gay libbers acknowledge that most of the world is heterosexual and happy that way but they themselves are different and demand that their differences be recognised and accepted. I think that males who don't regard themselves as fitting in the conventional frame of reference of a sports-mad carouser should be extended a similar privilege.

A related issue: because part of the stereotype is that males are unfeeling, inconsiderate whatever you want to call them, it seems that feminists often assume that the best means of attack in the liberalizing process is a brutal, harsh, critical confrontation in full, frontal, nudity, metaphorically speaking. Such methods are very probably effective, and justifiable, in many circumstances. Males do know what it is to be hurt just as women do. Males have feelings too. There is a case for aversive methods in changing behaviour but a more "pleasant" way can be encouragement and commendation when that male, in a moment of insanity, does something distinctly liberating. Such an approach may well work a speedier and less painful reform.

I'll be there in 1975 when the next Convention is held. As I said earlier it has been a salutary and beneficial experience. If I may close on a trivial note, this year's convention was held in one of those institutions perpetuating male chauvinism, the Y.M.C.A. Yet I couldn't enter the mens' loo! It had been taken over by women. I went to the garage across the road. All they had was a Ladies' rest room! I finally found the object of my imminent desire in the Y.M.C.A. residential halls. Next time spare a thought for the man's bladder as well as his heart.

Editor Bristol



For the period March 1974 — November 1974.

The position involves assuming responsibility for

ALL New Zealand Students Arts Council activities on the University Campus. Attempting to make some cohesion of the cultural clubs pursuits and generally co-ordinating the cultural welfare of students.

The Cultural Affairs Officer has speaking rights at all Students Association executive meetings, is the Association Delegate to Northern Region Arts Council meetings, is chairman of the Cultural Committee and has the aid of a cultural secretary.

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Most 1974 activity will be completed by August, leaving the 3rd term fairly free.

Applications to the Secretary Students Association Office, by September 28.

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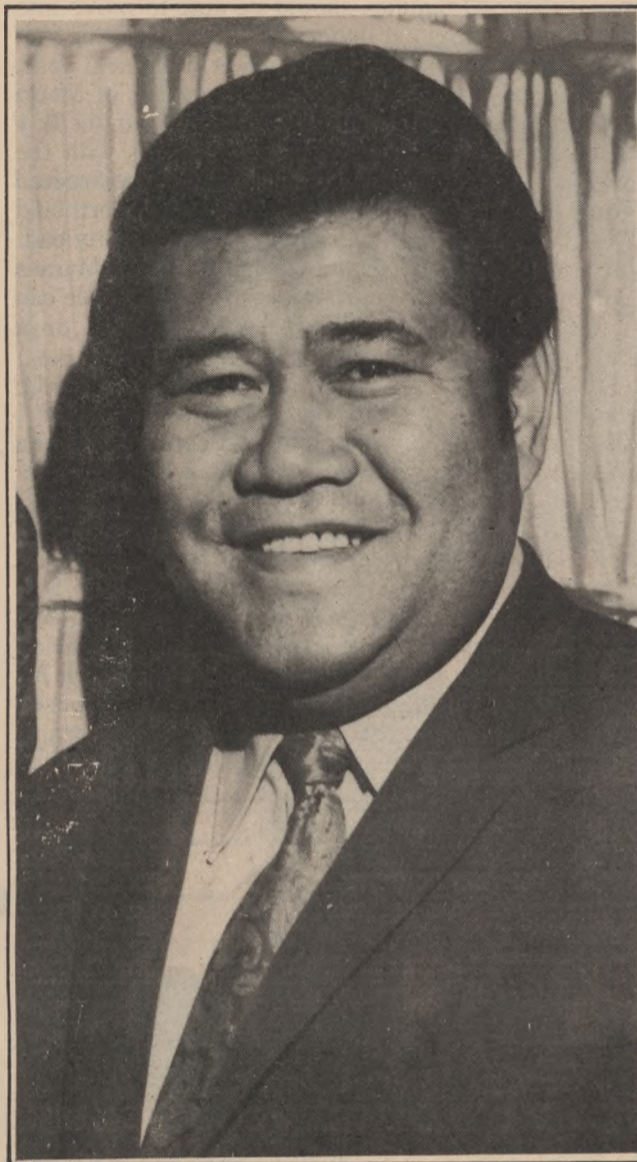
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# WHAT MAT'S AT



that the Maori parents and pupils were not interviewed." However the press have not reported that he has delved into this matter, although he may have done a private investigation.

**VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND TRADE TRAINING:** The Manifesto says this will be given special emphasis because of its economic importance. The two main points here are: the counselling to assist placing pupils and to provide accommodation by grants to organisations who construct hotels. Rata gave emphasis also in his speeches on this sphere. . . need to expand the availability of skills, particularly in the building industry. I believe that this expansion can be achieved and the Department of Education, Department of Maori Affairs and the Department of Labour are working out how this might be done. . . the building industry is the area in which this training can best be expanded, but this expansion will require new hostel accommodation." He has had a meeting with Watt and Amos to see how to best implement the Manifesto promises. This makes it a little slower and harder to implement.

One positive step, however, was the announcement that the Government had approved the spending of an extra \$10,000 to expand pre-employment courses for Maoris and that efforts were being made to also extend trade training to adults as well as the young. Expenditure is estimated to double from \$20,000 to \$40,000 and pre-employment and vocation training course for the years 1973-74.

**MAORI REPRESENTATION:** The Manifesto states that the number and distribution of Maori Electorates will be determined on the basis of eligible population. Rata has been relatively quiet and there have been no statements or reports in the press on this matter, although inside the Labour Party it has been pressed upon him that this is a matter of urgency. He made no mention at all of this in his report to the 1973 Labour Party Conference.

This matter falls onto Dr. Finlay's Department and he has slightly different views on this. The Electoral Act is being reviewed and it does seem that Rata has been pressing inside a reluctant Caucus that three more seats be allocated to the Maoris.

**LAND:** About one-third of the Maori Manifesto Policy deals with land, and many of the policies are specific — overhaul the 1967 Act, establish a Maori Land Advisory Council, assist in the finance of the purchase of land interests within and outside Maori Land Corporations for development purposes, review the function of the Maori Trustees and widen the Maori Trust Board involvement.

(1) The alienation of Maori land has been stopped. Rata thinks this is a major achievement and is basic to the implementation of the Manifesto policy. He also stated that the Government will return gifts of land over the next two years — 65,000 acres is hoped to be given back.

(2) The overhauling of the Maori Affairs Amendment Act, 1967 which Rata has said will be introduced this year, will get to the bottom of many grievances and fulfill many pledges in the area of land. The main theme in this is the return to owner management and localisation of decision making. He has outlined what will be in the Bill . . . removing the compulsory changes of status of land, promoting the better use and administration of Maori land with the establishment of a Maori Land Advisory Council, which will re-instate the power of the Maori Land Court and decrease the jurisdiction and power of the Maori Trustee.

(3) Rata has set up a committee under Reweti to study the expansion of the successful Maori Land Corporations. This will enable the Government to invite all corporations to a conference next year to fulfill the pledge of "fostering a N.Z. Maori Land Incorporations Federation".

(4) The most tangible Act done in this area has been the introduction into parliament of the Maori purposes Bill. "This Bill deals with two matters — further extension of the period during which special provisions exist in relation to death duties on Maori estates; and the provision of \$20,000 per annum to the Ngaitahu Trust Board which would otherwise have terminated with the payment in April."

"A new sense of direction and purpose seems destined to arise among the Maori people following the return to power of a Labour Administration, and the election of two Maori members to the Cabinet. Maoris, whatever their politics can be expected to come in solidly behind the Maori Minister of Maori Affairs", said the Star in an editorial on the 12th of December last year.

The press have speculated much on what a Maori as Minister of Maori Affairs will do and have done for the Maori people. This has seemed to stem partly from the romantic notions the press think are associated with the Maoris having their own spokesman. They have ventured flamboyant phrases "the surging spirit of Maori cultural survival is not revolutionary, it is old" when talking about the impact and the feeling of the Maori people now that Rata is Minister.

Nevertheless, some of this speculation is no doubt a reasonably accurate estimate of Maoridom's feelings. Rata himself said "since the election the return of confidence in the community has been obvious and has been particularly noticeable in country areas. . . I took an early opportunity on behalf of the Government of meeting people on their home ground. Meetings have been held in the Bay of Plenty, East Coast Districts, Gisborne, Wairoa, Rotorua, Ruatoki and Northland. Meetings are scheduled in other areas and many others are under consideration. The long standing difficulties and frustrations of the Maori people can, in the view of the Government, be effectively dealt with by ensuring that they are accorded realistic opportunities."

Rata did visit these districts in an attempt to gain an impact, meet the people and make them feel the new Labour Government was interested in their complaints and grievances. The Maoris did feel that Rata wanted to listen and he seemed to inspire a good deal of trust and confidence. "For the first time a N.Z. Government is apparently prepared to pay heed to Maori aspirations in Maori terms and to recognise the Maori life style in its general policies."

The Maori people and elders apparently do seem to be responding to Rata's urging that Maori people must become more involved in their own affairs and that they must accept increased responsibility. "Your replies and interpretations are virtually in accordance with our thinking, the spirit is there". "It is new to hear the opinions of a Maori Affairs Minister straight without his having to take the problems back to Wellington for consideration." "It has never been like this before. Rata has shown patience, knowledge and approachability". These were all responses by various people at the maraes Rata visited. At most of these maraes he heard submissions from the Maori people on areas of concern. A typical response was "Tairawhiti elders and leaders pronounced themselves satisfied after hearing Rata's detailed and spontaneous response to documented submissions covering 16 broad major topics". He reassured the people about what was being done in the major areas of concern to them — Maori land, trade training, housing and the encouragement and fostering of cultural traditions.

Almost every week it was reported that Rata had been to a marae and he has spent most weekends travelling to different Maraes all over N.Z. hearing submissions, reassuring and listening to the Maori people. His personal approach does seem to have had considerable impact — the feeling that although they may be from different tribes the Maori people and Rata have a common interest in solving grievances. They can talk on the same level in the same language.

## "ACTIONS OR WORDS"

I will go through the major sections in the Labour Party manifesto to see what Rata has actually achieved, or said he will achieve in his first six months as Minister of Maori Affairs.

**EDUCATION:** This area in the manifesto promises extra bonuses for Maori and Island pupils in education. Although Rata told me "I gave the Maori Education Officer a copy of the Manifesto and asked him to get about implementing it". The four main

points of the policy; expanding pre-school education, establishing centres in rural communities, advisors for parental involvement, five day hostels in rural areas, have not been mentioned in the daily press at all. It is possible that the Education Department has been dealing with these but it still remains that the 1973 Budget only voted \$32,000 to pre-school education subsidies under Maori and Island Affairs — exactly the same as last year, (and inflation has gone up about 10% since last year). Subsidies towards the establishment of hostels and grants to hostels have gone down some \$7,000. Because education is in Mr Amos's portfolio, Rata said he must rely on Amos to implement the policy as a whole.

**MAORI LANGUAGE AND STUDIES:** Again departmental direction could have been given to the Education Department to implement these policies as soon as possible. Manifesto policy here is mainly that Maori and Maori studies be taught in all schools and training colleges, so that if a student wants to be able to take it, he can. At the Training College level this has already partly come into implementation "Maori language course for student teachers are to be made available at the six primary school teachers colleges in addition to the one in Wellington" Auckland Secondary School Teachers College does already have a Maori Studies and Language Course for beginners and the more advanced, plus many secondary schools already have Maori as School Certificate subject.

Both these are inter-mixed with Amos's portfolio. Here there is a potential mix-up if a situation occurs when they have differing views. This was emphasized when there were complaints that Maori girls were being unjustly expelled from Kelston Girls High School. Both Amos and Rata virtually replied at the same time that they would investigate the complaints. Rata seemed to defer to Amos over this matter, but many Maoris felt that this was in Rata's sphere. A remit was passed at the Maori Policy Convention of the Labour Party in Auckland, April 1973 "that this Convention request the Maori Minister of Maori Affairs to re-investigate the situation in Kelston Girls High School, using his own investigator, since the Director-General of Education has shown

As Rata is also Minister of Lands it does seem he will have a good chance to put the manifesto promises into practice with minimal interference from other Ministries. Moreover while he sets down his guidelines in sentences such as "Maori land is not a chattel to be bought and sold. It is the most material link they (the Maoris) have in a past of which they are proud and an identity which they have no desire to lose" The Maori are willing to have full trust in Rata.

**TREATY OF WAITANGI:** The Manifesto promised a N.Z. holiday on the 6th February and also that a Labour Government would examine the means of acknowledging the principles of the Treaty. The Bill for a N.Z. day has been introduced by the Minister of Internal Affairs — May.

Rata spoke at length about the second point on his meet the people tour and made it clear that ratification of the principle of the Treaty would mainly be a symbolic measure making it a focus of contentment rather than a grievance. However, it does seem that he plans to bring sections of legislation into line with the Treaty's principles by providing a tribunal which will be empowered to set aside laws or agreements that will disturb traditional land or seafood uses confirmed by the Treaty. A subcommittee has already been formed under the Caucus Committee on Maori Affairs on how to best ratify the Treaty.

**MAORI ART AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES:** The policy is general to encourage arts and crafts; grants to the Maori Purposes Fund to be increased; establishment of a professional cultural group. Rata has talked on these and he has set up a subcommittee under the Caucus Committee to find out what legislation is needed to ensure that Maori artifacts are not commercialised and lost to overseas interests. He has also said that he is looking for a means by which the Government can help provide for cultural activities.

**MAORI HOUSING AND WELFARE:** Here the Labour Party is primarily one that will help with loans for Maoris who want houses; extend welfare services to Maoris; and to assist in repairing or building rural and urban maraes or community centres.

More constructive measures have been done in this area. Rata announced that Maori women whose husbands were not Maori would in future have the right to apply for housing assistance through the Maori Affairs Department. The 1973 Budget will also assist Maoris in obtaining loans for housing because Maoris are generally on lower incomes. Rata has also promised that 520 families should be able to move into new houses provided under the Maori Housing Act and he hoped to increase this to 600 in the next year. In a response to the finding that thousands of Maori children were living in appalling conditions in the Bay of Islands, Rata promised to discuss this with the Minister of Social Welfare. As a first step he ordered 7 new houses to be built for families in the Northland Pa of Karetu, where conditions were particularly bad.

Rata has acknowledged the importance of Maraes and in providing an environment in which people can find strength in their Maoriness. He has set up a committee to revise the policy of subsidies to maraes. "It is likely that in future no distinction would be made between urban and rural maraes as in the past". Two full time Maori welfare officers have been appointed in Masterton and Hawera which had previously been covered in a part time capacity.

**CONCLUSION:** Matiu Rata visited two-thirds of N.Z.'s major tribes on an extensive 'meet the people' campaign from December 1972 to May 1973. This was to listen to their thoughts and restore their confidence amongst his people. He had to identify himself with his people and their aspirations. From then his tactics changed and discussions of what he proposed to do and how to achieve it were more important. Policy directives were given, legislation introduced

and committees set up to work on legislation to be introduced. One problem he has encountered is getting a reluctant civil service to move and respond to his exuberance. "A simple yes or no goes through a maze of hands". He has also reacted to situations happening in the community, for example the Bay of Islands Maori housing problem, as well as initiating some policies that were not directly mentioned in the manifesto.

Most policies in the manifesto have been followed up by speeches on them, since the election, signifying that he is thinking of the best way they can be implemented. Some have received urgent attention, e.g. land and housing. But in all he does seem to have been a man of action as well as words. Although words were a tactic at first and a tactic that seems to have paid off, he gained the confidence of the Maori people found out what they wanted and was ready to start the action. Nevertheless he will be rebutted if he is too slow or neglects their problems.

- notes from a talk with Rata, Wellington 22 June in his Office.
- Annual Report of the N.Z.L.P.'s Maori Policy Committee 1973.
- Resolutions from N.Z.L.P. Maori Policy Convention.
- Star — Dec 1972 — May 1973.
- Herald.
- N.Z.L.P. Manifesto
- Hansard — 1973 Parliamentary Debate.
- Sunday Herald 1973.
- "127 Days" — L. Party Publication.
- Estimates of Expenditure of N.Z. Governor Mar. 1973-4.

*glenda foy*

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# N.Z. MALE WRITES

## THE NEW ZEALAND LITERARY PRESS AS ONE OF THE LAST BASTIONS OF MALE CHAUVINISM

Ms. Robin Johnson is, among other things, a lecturer in modern poetry and literature in the extension studies department of UCLA. According to a report from a friend who recently showed her some recent copies of *EDGE* she found that magazine particularly impressive but felt compelled to add that it was typical of contemporary literary publications for its discrimination against women contributors. According to Ms. Johnson, even the very best women writers and poets find it difficult to get into the major literary magazines and presses: and that they are, in short, one of the last bastions of male chauvinism.

My first reaction was crap! My second has been to find out just what the facts are before I shoot my mouth off too much — so let's do that first. For group A. I have taken all currently operating New Zealand literary magazines known to the Committee of Small Magazine Editors & Publishers Australasia (COSMEPA), an organization which is roughly to the literary press what the F.O.L. is to the trade unions. Within this group I've looked at their most recent three issues as of this writing (all copies of which were available to me except *LIPSYNC* 2 which I was in, distributed, and advertised — information on it was therefore taken from those sources). With group B. I've listed those literary magazines which, though no longer active as such, operated since 1970 or in 1970 (here I again had all issues available to me known to COSMEPA with the following exceptions and doubts:

1. Vol. 2 no. 1 and no. 2 of *FRONTIERS* appear to have been issued in 1969 but as the magazine is not dated for either issue I could not be completely certain.
2. *FREED* 4 and *ORPHEUS* 4 also seem to have been issued prior to 1970 but again I'm not completely certain.
3. Some of the Teachers's Colleges occasionally issue an issue of a literary magazine e.g. the forthcoming *GARROTTE* from Christchurch and I may well have missed some of these purely internal or locally distributed magazines.

For all issues surveyed I have grouped the people involved as follows:

1. editors involved in all issues of any one magazine surveyed (business managers and layout editors counted in here also)
2. for each single issue I've divided all contributors (including cover designers, graphic artists, writers, poets, reviewers etc.) into three groups: male contributors, female contributors (who I've listed), and those who's sex I was unsure of (usually those who signed with initials and the last name and for who the contributor's note and my memory remained unhelpful: only with *OVOPP* 1 was there an unacceptable rate of unsexed contributors).
3. then I've obtained a ratio simply by adding up male and female contributors (it is not a true ratio by the number of unsexed contributors but this could be expressed as a range by adding the unsexed contributors to both columns of sexed contributors e.g. for *ORPHEUS* 5 this would be 15 : 3 to 14 : 4. For *OVOPP* 1 the range is 14 : 3 to 5 : 12 (the only instance where there might have been more female contributors than male among the issues covered in either group A. or group B.)

A. New Zealand literary magazines active as of August 1973 (most recent three issues)

### ARENA (one male editor)

issue	no of contributors for whom sex not known	male contributors	female contributors
77	1	16	Jan Coad Hilda Phillips
78	1	10	Jan Coad Sheila Natusch Nancy Bruce Patricia Grace Patricia Godsiff



79 2 11 Daphne Eagle  
Susi Robinson Collins

ratio: 37:10

### CAVE (six male editors spread over last three issues)

1 0 25 Stefanie Bennett  
Robyn Thompson  
Fontelle Slater

2 22

2 1 22

Heather Hardisty  
Judith Lonie  
Jane Roach  
Barbara Barnard  
Judie Barford

3 1 35

Shirley Schirz  
Susan Frombergs  
Schaeffer  
Jane Hebington

ratio: 82:11

### EDGE (seven male editors over the last three issues)

3 26

4 30

Caroline McAllister  
Patricia Fry  
Margaret Atwood  
Susan Fromberg  
Schaeffer  
Myra Sklarew

5/6 43

Fontelle Slater  
Isabel Reade  
Ursual K. Le Guin  
Sarah Kirsch

ratio: 99:9

### ISLANDS (one male editor)

2 2 21

3 5 21

4 0 25

Margaret Sutherland

Fleur Adcock

Joan Stevens  
Jane Thomson

ratio: 67:4

### LANDFALL (two male editors)

104 3 8 Helen Shaw  
Jill McCracken  
Doris Lusk

105 1 9 Heather McPherson  
Fiona Kidman  
Christine Cole Catley  
Patricia Godsiff

106 0 22 Phyllis Gant  
Patricia Godsiff  
Rosemary Campbell  
Olivia Spencer-Bower

ratio: 39:11

### LIPSYNC (one male/figures for issue 2 need checking)

1 0 21 Joan Shirley-Thompson

2 0 16 Caroline Simpson  
Diane Hooper  
Patricia Fry

ratio: 37:4

### MATE (two male editors over the last three issues)

19 1 16 Margaret Sutherland  
Janet L. Middlemiss

20 1 19 Jan Coad  
Peggy Dunstan  
Jan Kemp

21 0 15

ratio: 48:5

B. New Zealand literary magazines active between 1970 and August 1973

*ARGOT*/NEW *ARGOT* (a magazine which finished as of issue 29 when it became the NZUSA literary newspaper *NEW ARGOT* which continues) (over *ARGOT* 28-29/*NEW ARGOT* 1 five male editors and two female editors: Cathy Wylie and Meg Bailey)

28	0	24	Dorothy Famioe
29	3	27	Alice Swain Marion Jones
1	1	17	Heather McInnes

ratio: 68:4

FRAGMENTS (which put out two semi-general issues and then developed into a book series) (two male editors)

1	0	9	Pat Glensor Kathleen Hickey
2	0	14	Suzanne Cohen Patricia Glensor Susan Wenmoth

ratio: 23:5

## LANDFALL 93



FREED AT LAST (a final fifth issue that was released in the 70's) (one male editor plus one male design editor)

5	1	8	Jan Kemp
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ratio: 8:1

ORPHEUS (also a final fifth issue that was released in the 70's) (staff of two males and two females: Anne Gilbert and Kaye Turner)

5	1	14	Patricia Fry Victoria Terrell Jan Coad
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ratio: 14:3

OUR VERY OWN POETRY AND PROSE (an ill-fated one issue Palmerston North magazine) (one male editor)

1	9	5	Helen Shaw Kathryn Christmas Sue Cherrington
---	---	---	----------------------------------------------------

ratio: 5:3 (but a high rate of contributors who's sex I was unsure of)

The average ratio for these 11 magazines is in fact 38.9 : 5.5 or something like 8 male contributors for each 1 female one. If we look at only the 6 at present operating literary magazines the ratio is 51.6:7.5 or something like 7 to 8 male contributors for every one female contributor: a figure not dissimilar from that of the total group. This is not, of course, a figure that corresponds to the ratio of men to women in the wider population which is much more closer to 1:1.

Interestingly enough if we turn to recent anthologies the ratio becomes more like 3:1, for instance refer to:

POETRY NEW ZEALAND (one male editor)

1	0	30	Fleur Adcock Marilyn Duckworth Ruth Gilbert Patricia Godsiff Dorothy Parkes Gloria Rawlinson Helen Shaw Monica Taylor Lydia Wevers
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ratio: 30:9

POET (india: pacific number March 1972 - one NZ female editor: Helen Shaw)

NZ Section 3	18	Ruth Gilbert Patricia Godsiff Anne Spivey Susi Robinson Collins Rosemary Seymour Dorothy Parkes Helen Shaw
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ratio: for POET (India): 18:7

NZ UNIVERSITIES ARTS FESTIVAL LITERARY YEARBOOK (4 male editors if E.S. Wilson is male)

1970	0	18	0
1971	1	19	Jennifer Winter Kathlynn Ross
1972	3	28	Ann Donovan Eleanor Horrocks Jan Kemp Maureen Miles Merlene Young

ratio: 65:7

I said the ratio in anthologies becomes more like 3 : 1 but that is except for combined university students' association literary anthologies where the ratio is closer to 9 : 1 which is worse even than the countries' literary magazines! (So if the NZ literary press is a hot bed of male chauvinism then clearly the university student literary press is at best an even hotter bed for remember that NZUSA's NEW ARGOT had a ratio of 17 : 1!).

OK — so clearly both when it comes to editorships and to contributions males enjoy a distinct advantage against women. But why? Is it really male chauvinism? Let's start with the editorships first. No editor at present does it full time. The usual story is someone starting up a literary magazine or press as an after work occupation. In New Zealand it appears that men have the guts it takes to do this (or, at least, the inclination to) but women do not (I put "the guts" in deliberately because believe me that's what it sometimes requires — try it and see) with the exceptions of Helen Shaw and Merlene Young (who ran the literary press Kosmick Studios) (though except for Merlene no woman has yet to assume the final editorship of a press or literary magazine). Perhaps one also needs to add the name of Helen M. Hogan to the female editor short list for she has put out two anthologies of poetry (for the classroom market).

In fact Hogan's most recent MY POEM IS A BUBBLE, an anthology of poems by secondary school children, is a good place to start looking for an answer to my second question. (We should also look at the same time at the Caveman Press's YOUNG DUNEDIN POETS (a collection of the winning poems by school children in the poetry competition run jointly by the Dunedin Public Library and Radio Otago.)

MY POEM IS A BUBBLE (Whitcoulls, 1973, one female editor)

27 (boys)	87 (girls)
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ratio: 27 : 87

YOUNG DUNEDIN POETS (Caveman, 1972, no listed editors or judges)

3 (boys)	7 (girls)
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ratio: 3 : 7

Which confirms another popular theory : that girls (as against women) write (or, at least, reveal & publish) more poetry than boys (as against men). A clue as to when the ratio (of serious publication) reverses itself can be found in Hogan's introduction (page 8) :

"One strong impression I got, however, was that it was easier for younger children to write freshly about simple things than for senior pupils who felt it necessary to take a more philosophic approach but were not yet thinking clearly enough at this level to be free from dreary platitudes. Whether this reduced creativity is the result of examination - oriented teaching (or learning) or is inherent in the growth of the pupil at this stage is a debatable point. One principal put it another way. She wrote : "My particular disappointment is that the sixth and seventh form girls have little to offer. Their emotional involvement with life seems to inhibit language; interesting ideas are shrouded with dull words."

There may be another interesting point here. Or two related ones: reading in schools and running poetry workshops in them the girls are generally more interested — the boys may even take some convincing that "poetry" is not to be ranked with cooking and sewing . . . that it's not a sissy thing to do. A lot depends on the way their teachers present poetry

to them, of course. Conversely I sometimes begin to suspect that a lot of our rising generation (and even our established one) of poets (a largely male club) find it necessary to be overly male because they are poets . . . is this a partial explanation for hard drinking, good time fucking and a tendency to wear shirts well open at the chest — or am I imagining things. And what about Allen Curnow coming on stage in black shoes, pants and shirts with that big flowing pink or white handkerchief on full show: is he admitting some kind of West Side Story homosexuality or merely telling the rest of us that in the end we are nothing but a lot of riming couplet queers? Interesting to speculate that North American literary publishing is often considered THE bastion of Jewish homosexuality.

If the truth be known though — aside from the obvious AC - DC exception — most NZ male poets get on a needle/bottle, get into a bin/divorce court, get bloody desperate half the time because of the pressures created by trying to be a full time poet in a country where that pays at best about \$150 a year (try feeding a wife and kids on that sometime.)

Because we have been using an editorial panel EDGE has had to keep a record of all submissions as they come in and go out (so that we know when someone has lost something). Looking back over these records one thing stands out : very few women submit and when they do they stand probably a better chance of getting accepted (statistically anyway). Now, I have no way of knowing whether this is generally the case but it must be part of the answer. I know that Arthur Baysting faced a similar in preparing the 1970 NZ Universities' Arts Festival Literary YEARBOOK because in his introductory notes he writes:

"The absence of female contributors needs some comment. It's difficult to explain this scarcity although other editors assure me they have similar problems. Of the four young women who submitted material, one sent a slightly reworked Emily Dickinson poem and none of the others justified inclusion, even on a token basis. Such timidity among women writers is difficult to understand."

And there lies another problem because you might as well accuse New Zealand editors of being racist given the ratio between work by Maori and work by pakeha contributors (which just isn't true!) But here lies perhaps another clue. Next February EDGE is teaming up with the English magazine MODERN POETRY IN TRANSLATION to do a combined issue devoted to poetry in translation from Australasia and the South Pacific. I got some poems in Maori today for that issue — and the poet wrote that he had written many at one time but with nowhere except TE AO HOA to publish them in he had gradually given up — and that our doing this issue had got him going again (needless to say after that EDGE at least will in future no longer be a solely English language literary publication if we can help it . . .). So there can be a kind of vicious circle: no outlets therefore less work, less work therefore fewer outlets still etc ad infinitum. Does female writing face (or feel that it faces) a similar problem?

At higher levels the problem, of course, compounds itself. 1972 was a real boom year in first books by



## CAVE 3 FEBRUARY 1973



ONE DOLLAR

new poets (I count over 19) . . . but not one by a woman. In 1972 Heinemann published Wynstan Curnow's *ESSAYS ON NEW ZEALAND LITERATURE* but if English were a language in which "literature" took a gender, then that title would have had to have been in the male one. 1970 and 1971 weren't so bad by the way: Merlene Young published two collections of poetry (though one was with two other male poets and both books were printed by her own press!) and Oxford published Fleur Adcock's *HIGH TIDE IN THE GARDEN* (though the NZBC YC Poetry Programme review caustically noted that she had to go overseas to get it done — by the way that reviewer was also an overseas one).

And then there is that other, sadder side to the story: the housebound female poet writing her pretty verse for *THURSDAY* and *EVE*. Such a career leading inevitably to the South Island Women's Writers Organization or its equivalent — our own version of *The Daughters of the Mayflower*. I shouldn't be sarcastic but I'm not really that wrong in being so. Fact: the vanity press finds most of its victims here. Fact: Frank McKay noted in the introduction to *POETRY NEW ZEALAND* I that "Sociologists may ponder the fact that almost two thirds of the submissions were from New Zealand housewives."

Or take Anne-Louise Philpott's *OF LIFE AND LEVI'S* (Pegasus, 1973). The only acknowledgement she was able to make was to Levi Jeans for the use of the word Levi. Even the (Christchurch) *PRESS*, a newspaper which has a name for giving first time authors an easy time of it, bluntly stated that the book should never have been published. Enough has been said about something . . . a group of poets . . . about who we would all largely agree.

And enough excuses too. I think a lot of us editors are biased. My wife showed me this when she asked me for my reactions to submissions by people of the following names:

Myrtle Alice Smith  
Pearl Jane Smith

(it is, of course, only the first names that grate: and I also find it extraordinarily difficult to calmly appraise submissions by Jr.'s, III's, and Gobar's -). Still, there you go, there are a number of female names which somehow don't sound like great writers to me: it's irrational but it's there — and you can bloody well bet I'm not the only one (the lesson being, of course, to send your stuff in under only your initials and last name with a contributor's note that doesn't let on either).

Or we can get really technical. Chapter 10 of John Nash's *DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY: A PSYCHO-BIOLOGICAL APPROACH* (1970) discusses sex differences and their origins (they do exist you know). Before I really cook my goose I better quote Freud (1950) who found himself under fire for suggesting that there are important psychological differences: he writes "We must not allow ourselves to be deflected from such conclusions by the denials of feminists" . . . and Nash who points out that such a position may not lead to outright abuse but it is certainly out of fashion. He goes on to note that if the facts tell us that women are to inherit the earth, then men must accept the evidence (but he isn't brave enough to set out the implied converse). Suffice that I quote in full the section titled *SEX DIFFERENCES IN CREATIVITY* (page 203):

"Reference has already been made to the observation that males are more frequently recognized for creativity in the arts and other fields than women are. The idea that this is a real difference and not a culturally imposed one is provided by a few studies of creativity or nonconventional thinking that show it to appear in children. Torrance (1962) has reported that elementary schoolboys are consistently superior to girls in the ability to produce inventive or creative ideas. Smith (1962) found that preadolescent boys of high IQ show more divergent thinking on a battery of Guilford-type tests than girls of similar intelligence do. Mendel (1965) has reported young boys to prefer novelty (in a toy array experimental situation) markedly more often than girls do. . . . The cultural theory can, of course, be applied, but the same counter-arguments are also opposite (see Nash chapter 16).

One study (Rivlin, 1959) has reported large differences in IQ between high school boys rated as creative by teachers and those rated able but non-creative.

Little difference in scores was found in girls. Whether this tells us something about boys and girls or about the teachers is an open question.

Sex differences in creative problem solving were found by Gall and Mendelsohn (1967) in a study of effects of facilitating techniques (notably incubation) and subject-experimenter interaction on the process. Females to a marked extent were influenced by social factors (ie. experimenter participation), whereas for males this influence was negligible, and we may have here a clue to one measure that might improve the creative output of women. This pointer would be worth following up and might have important educational implications."

OK — so where does all this leave us. Well, for a start it wouldn't hurt to remind our editors that issue number so-and-so was bloody well damn near all male. Make us sweat a little bit (in particular make the editors of university arts festival literary *YEARBOOKS* sweat a little bit). Secondly write and submit (editors are, after all, restricted to what comes in). But maybe most importantly of all women should start literary magazines and presses themselves. It seems likely to me that the more outlets you create the more material gets written.

(In fact — we need more fiction magazines, more non-English language ones, and more female editors: create the outlets and I bet people while reveal and create the material to go in them).

So, to that end look in the communications section of the *FIRST NEW ZEALAND WHOLE EARTH CATALOGUE* where it tells you how to start up and break even with a press or magazine (check the *SUPPLEMENTS* for more recent updatings).

Write to COSMEP (P.O. Box 703 San Francisco CA 94101 USA) for a free copy of their *THE SMALL PUBLISHER'S BOOK*.

Write to COSMEPA (66 Prestons Rd Christchurch 5) and use their free advice system for new publishers and editors (included stamped self-addressed envelopes for return replies).

Take over the literary editorships of the university student association newspapers and *NEW ARGOT* (if you do it by force how are they going to stop you? Find out when they lay out pages and go in there and lay out some yourself for god's sake!)

And write some replies to this article. If the editor sends me a copy I'll reply at least.

Peace & Good Living  
Don Long

by D. S. LONG (editor *EDGE*, former poetry ed. *CANTA*, literary columns in *ARTS & COMMUNITY* and *SMALL PRESS REVIEW*, author of small press sections in *FIRST NEW ZEALAND WHOLE EARTH CATALOGUE*, *BORROW PIT* (poems) and an as yet untitled second volume of poetry to be published this Feb. by the *West Coast Poetry Review*).

(scooped by Salient, curse it # @ \* ! ! ☆)



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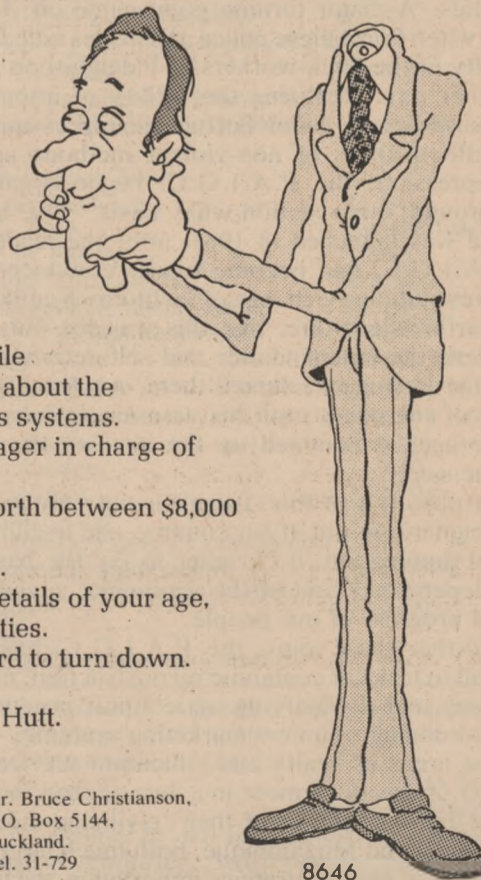
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# O.K. PORTUGAL WHY AFRICA?

## THE GREAT WHITE HOPE

Portugal today is a desperately poor country. It has the lowest per capita income and highest illiteracy rate of any European country. The rate of growth of the economy is the lowest in Europe. Half of the Government's expenditures, however, is spent on fighting a savage and little known war to retain the last fragments of the last colonial empire in the world.

In the African territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, an army comprised mainly of peasant conscripts from Portugal, with a leavening of local Africans who join to escape the misery of the slums, or the primitive life in the bush, is fighting to preserve white minority rule in southern Africa, and to ensure the continuation of the high living standards enjoyed by the Portuguese ruling class.

For the 'defence of civilization', as government decrees define Portuguese actions, Portuguese pilots flying NATO supply aircrafts drop U.S. napalm onto African villages. The Portuguese army carries out massacres, deportations and torture of civilians in attempts to stem the liberation movements. This war has already been going on for a decade in the three African colonies, and the greatest success for the

(Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) each have won control of extensive areas of the countryside, but a bitter conflict still rages. In these areas, the Portuguese have resorted to spreading chemical defoliants from the air in an attempt to deny food to the insurgent forces. Nevertheless, the MPLA and FRELIMO are gaining support, despite aerial bombardment, chemical warfare, and reinforcement of the Portuguese by units from the Rhodesian and South African armed forces.

The maintenance of an army estimated to be 130,000 strong in the colonies, at a cost it is difficult to estimate, but which is certainly a tremendous strain on the Portuguese economy, and on the people of that country, has put Portugal at odds with the U.N., and with fellow NATO members that support the liberation movements, such as Denmark and West Germany. The blatantly racist nature of Portuguese colonialism, and its alliance with the regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa has gained support for the liberation movements from the World Council of Churches, the Swedish Government and many other concerned organizations in the West. This support has been mainly in the form of grants for

To control his Portuguese colonies in Africa dictator Salazar used Government trained police in the 1930's and 40's. Today his police are trained in Rhodesia and South Africa, and his troops in the U.S.

Mr. Kirk has promised a foreign policy based on 'moral principles'. Thus no minister will be allowed to meet the Portuguese Trade Mission. Catch 22 — Ministry Officials will meet the mission instead.

The national average wage for men in Portugal is a grand \$400. Talk about using the exploited to crush the more exploited.

Portuguese women do even better than the men. Average hourly rate for women — 25 cents. This is the superior White civilization N.Z. is being asked to support.

At the Wirriyamo massacre this year Portuguese troops massacred an entire village. Two Roman Catholic priests reported blacks being burned alive. Both priests are now in jail.

liberation movements has been in Guinea-Bissau, where Portuguese forces now control only the urban centres.

The P.A.I.G.C. (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands), the liberation movement that has guided the people of Guinea-Bissau to their success, was founded in the mid-fifties. A major turning point came on August 3, 1959 when Portuguese police and troops killed more than fifty of the dock-workers at Pidgiguiti on strike for higher pay. Realizing the futility of attempting to organize openly under Portuguese repression, and the ineffectiveness of non-violent methods against that repression, the P.A.I.G.C. began organizing underground on a nation-wide basis. The armed struggle was launched in 1963, after the leaders of the P.A.I.G.C. had become totally convinced that only a revolutionary change of institutions could lead to a worthwhile future, that this was the only way to achieve the independence and self-determination which the Portuguese denied them. Amilear Cabral, (leader of the party until his assassination by Portuguese agents) summed up the aims of the party when he said:

"The objective of this struggle is not only to drive the foreign troops out of our country, and to eliminate colonial domination, it is rather to lay the bases of our independence and of the economic, social, and cultural progress of our people."

To further these aims, the P.A.I.G.C. has bent above all to tasks of economic reconstruction, mainly increasing and diversifying agricultural production, and the building of a new marketing system.

In the areas of health and education services the P.A.I.G.C. has done more in a decade than the Portuguese did in centuries of their 'civilizing mission.'

In Angola and Mozambique, both much larger territories and of greater strategic importance, the liberation movements have similar histories, the M.P.L.A.

humanitarian uses, such as educational and medical services. Aid from the Soviet bloc has been small, both military and non-military, but consisting mainly of training for nurses, electricians, motor mechanics, and similar trades. The liberation movements hold non-aligned foreign policies, and draw most of their support from independent African nations. Above all else, however, the liberation movements rely on the support of the people in the areas they control.

Why then, in the face of such opposition and difficulties does the Portuguese regime continue to cling on to the colonies with determination and obstinacy?

The fascist nature of the Portuguese government and the support it receives from its allies are the main



reasons why the wars continue.

Portugal is a small, weak country, governed by an aging group of reactionaries, with delusions of grandeur and dreams of an empire from an earlier age in history, when the Pope could and did issue a decree dividing the world between Spain and Portugal. The government sacrifices higher living standards and progress for its citizens, and the lives of conscript soldiers, to the notion that Portugal is "not only a geographic entity, but also a way of life that must not be destroyed."

The 'way of life' in Portugal today dates back to an army coup in 1926. The general leading the coup appointed as Finance Minister Dr. Antonio d'Oliveira Salazar, who became Prime Minister in 1931. He then devoted his political career to the building of the Estado Nova, or New State, a rigid, authoritarian structure closely resembling Mussolini's 'corporate state', and little removed from Hitler's New Order. Portuguese neutrality in World War II favoured the Axis powers. Within both Portugal itself, and its colonies, democratic rights are virtually non-existent. The main instrument of repression is the secret police, formerly known as the P.I.D.E. Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado, but operating today under a new title, the D.G.S. or Direcção Geral de Seguranca.

The renaming, as part of the succession of Dr. Marcello Caetano as Prime Minister, means little. No substantive changes occurred. The Organization trained in the thirties by the Gestapo, still uses any and all methods to stifle opposition to the regime, including detention without arrest or trial, torture, the use of firearms and dogs against peaceful demonstrations, and the suppression of all literature of any political opposition.

Even with the tightest possible internal suppression of dissent, however, the wars could not continue without external support. The major allies of Portuguese colonialism are Rhodesia, South Africa, and the U.S. All three have much capital invested in the Portuguese colonies, and thus a common interest in preserving the status quo. Rhodesia provides much revenue for the colonial government of Mozambique from its use of the port of Beira. The tourist trade in Mozambique comes mainly from South Africa.

In the north of Mozambique, the Cabora Basa hydroelectric project on the Zambesi river is financed mainly by South African capital. It has recently been reported that cheap hydro-electric power was a vital consideration in the development of a South African uranium enrichment (plant to produce weapons grade fissionable material for atomic bombs). In Angola, one U.S. company alone, Gulf Oil had investments of \$130 million in 1969, and was paying substantial subsidies and taxes (including 50% of profits) to the Portuguese government, to assist in perpetuating the situation.

From the U.S. Portugal obtains training for its soldiers in counter insurgency warfare, and military equipment including napalm and defoliants developed for use in Indochina. From Rhodesia and South Africa, air and ground units are deployed to assist the Portuguese, and thus help preserve the white minority regimes of those countries.

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# 'CAUSE THERE'S MONEY IN IT

## ROADS TO NOWHERE PART 3 THE CUNENE DAM

Portugal in many aspects is an underdeveloped country, based on an agricultural system of peasant crofters living by subsistence farming. The national income per head is \$600. The taxation system weighs in particular goes to wage earners as compared to 75% in more advanced European countries. The wealth of Portugal lies in the hands of 200 families.

Around 1500 A. D. Portugal founded 3 African colonies; Angola on the west coast, Mozambique on the east, and Guinea — Bissau on the north west. Colonisation was accompanied by acts of violence against the local population, and by massive exports of slaves to the Americas. Slavery and forced labour continued to the 19th Century. Forced Labour became 'contract labour'; the Africans lost their best lands to Europeans, plantation owners, and robbed of their livelihood they were forced to contract their labour to the plantation owners.

The situation became intolerable; in 1961 an attack on the prison of Luanda, where a number of leaders of the Angolan independence movement (M.P.L.A.) were imprisoned, marked the beginning of a mass rising. In 1963 the inhabitants of Guinea-Bissau rebelled against the colonists, as did those in Mozambique in 1964.

Portugal maintains in Africa a conscript army of 150,000 Portuguese men, serving an average term of 4 years. Portugal therefore loses a potential labour force of 150,000 men. "All overseas military efforts are paid by, our normal revenue. This was formerly used for development." (Premier Caetano, quoted in Financial Times, U.K. 28-11-68). In August 1972 members of the Portuguese Association for Economic and Social Development admitted, "we have beyond doubt neglected to solve the problems that existed in 1960, and we have been forced to observe a deterioration in various fundamental fields."

The colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau pay 32.2% of the Portuguese military budget. In 1971, the money available for Angola was distributed as follows:

Mining 33.6%  
Industry 18.4%  
Transport & Communications 15.5%  
Education 4%

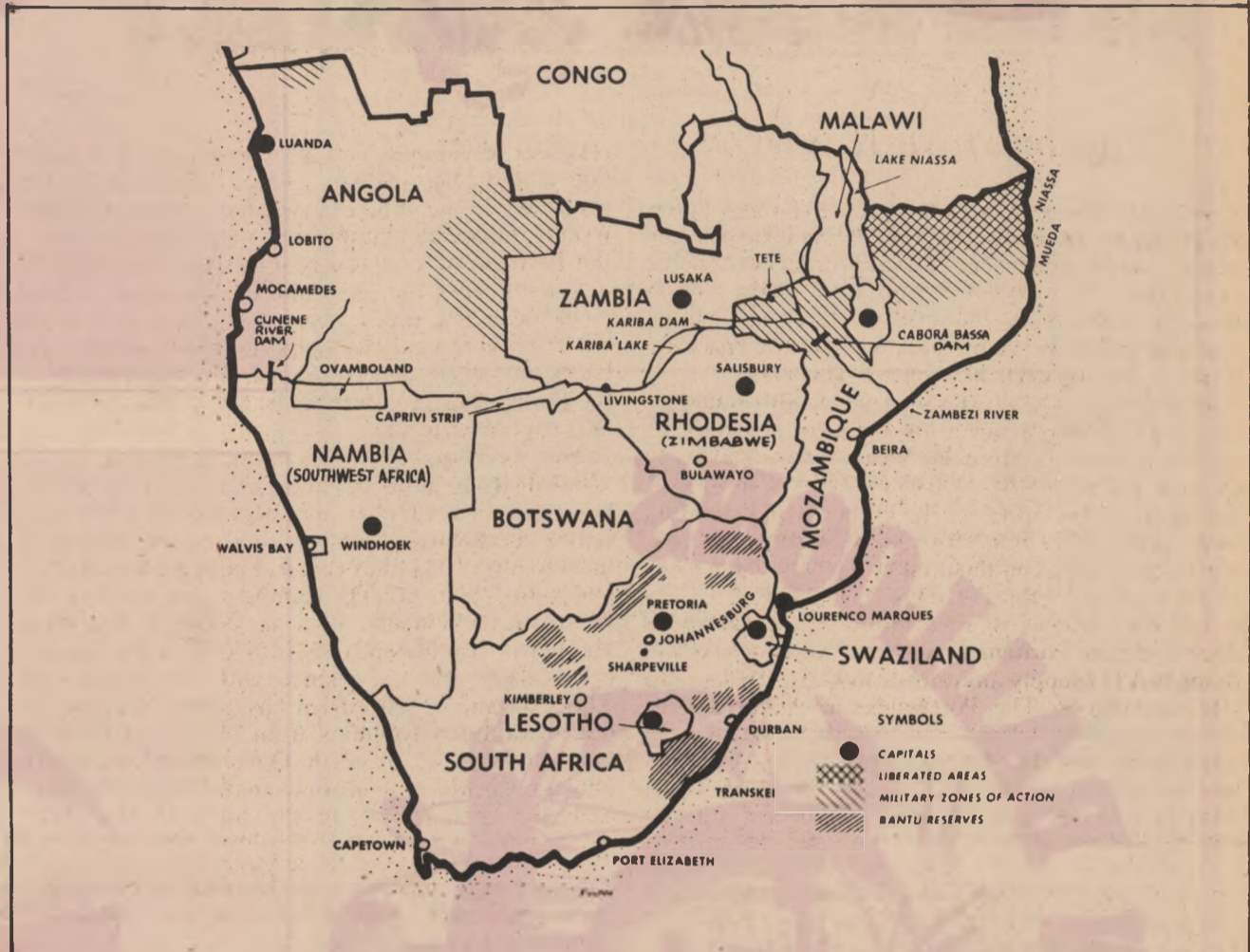
Foreign investors and the Portuguese government benefit; the indigenous population are the benefactors. The indigenes cultivate cash crops for the Portuguese rather than food for themselves; cotton is grown in the colonies, and sold to Portugal at predetermined prices; expensive imports from Portugal are granted preference to imports of other foreign countries; there is complete Portuguese control of trade and processing.

The war to maintain this situation is being fought in Africa with expensive arms bought from Portugal's NATO partners and with money drawn from the African colonies and the Portuguese peasants. The result of this arms expenditure coupled with a backward agricultural situation and an under developed industry is that Portugal is heading towards bankruptcy. (1972 saw a trade deficit of \$584 million dollars).

It is against a background of a bankrupt nation sending out trade feelers throughout the world that the Cunene Dam is being built.

In an attempt to assure credibility in the Portuguese "economy", and to secure South West Africa militarily, the Portuguese and South Africans are building 29 dams at a cost of \$612 million on the Cunene river of Namibia and Angola, its tributaries. The scheme also involves the settlement of 500,000 Europeans in the area. To make control of the local native population easier, it is planned to end their nomadism, and provision is being made for the "instalacao" of 6,233 land families, the "fiscacao" of 37,000 people, and the "utilization" of 73,000 workers. (The terms instalacao and fiscacao refer to white and black people respectively. U.N. report in Financial Mail, (Johannesburg) 15 Aug. 1968.

The South African mandate of Namibia, bordering the south of Angola, has a history of colonisation commencing in 1884 under the Germans. By 1903 half the cattle of the Herero had passed, by theft



into German hands. Loss of land led to tribal reserves being created, and in 1904 the Herero rebelled. This was followed by the rebellion of the Nama.

By 1907 the Herero had been reduced from 80,000 rich tribesmen to 15,00 starving fugitives, and the rebellion was over.

In 1914 the South Africans occupied Namibia for the Allies, and in 1919 the League of Nations assigned Namibia to be a mandate of South Africa, as "a sacred trust of civilization". Between 1919 and 1945, South Africa extended the system begun by the Germans, during this time the League of Nations Mandates Commission was extremely critical but powerless, of the South African Administration in Namibia. Since 1946, both the U.N. and the World Court have many times criticised South African behaviours in Namibia. The South Africans have treated all three with contempt.

The Herero, Nama, and Berg Damara tribes have been driven off fertile homelands into arid reserves. The reserves show the following figures.

Reserve	Population	Are Without Water
Kaokoveld	10,000	70%
Ovamboland	240,000	50%
Okavangoland	30,000	90%

The South African Odendaal Commission stated in its report that several of the Homelands it designated could never be viable. (Odendaal Comm. Rept. pp. 291-271).

It is against the background of a systematic extermination of an indigenous, balanced once tribal, population. For the indigenous people of Angola and Namibia the end of the Road to Nowhere is in sight; cheap sweated labour in Portuguese and South Africa "contract" labour camps. It is a case of contract your labours, or starve. The only hope these people have is that the strain of the Portuguese effort will break Portugal economically; against this is set Portuguese efforts to establish trade links in the E.E.C. and New Zealand, to form a Portuguese-Brazilian Commonwealth.

A 40 man Portuguese trade mission is now an unofficial guest of New Zealand.

The Namibians have less hope; South Africa has already forged extremely strong overseas trading links, despite the strong and oft repeated condemnation of the U.N. Security Council.

The opposition of Portugal and South Africa in New Zealand is numerous. All organisations, right, left, or middle-of-the-road-liberal opposing the intentions of South Africa, Portugal and their investors,

need YOUR support. The culture of hundreds of thousands is no longer at stake; it is simply a matter of their lives.

List of some firms concerned in Cunene Dam Project

Bondcrete	South Africa
L.T.A. Lafrenj	South Africa
owned by Anglo-American of South Africa	
Hydro-consults	South Africa
Concor	
Construction (Pty)	South Africa
Dresdner Bank	Frankfurt, West Germany
Commerz Bank	West Germany
Credit Commercial de France	France
Credit Banque Sa de Luxembourg	Luxembourg
Algemene Bank	Netherlands
Berliner Handelsgesellschaft	Germany
Deutsche Bank	Germany
Hill, Samuel and Company	U.K.
Kreditbank Luxembourg S.A.	
Credit Lyonnais	France
Credit Commercial de France S.A.	
Companhia Mineira do Labilo	Portugal
Swift	U.S.A.
Export-Import Bank	U.S.A.
Bankers Trust Co.	U.K.
Labora Bank	Switzerland
Monte di Paschi	Italy
Deutsche Union Bank	Germany
Hamburgische handelsbank	Germany
Societe National de France	France
De Beers	South Africa
Bethlehem Steel	U.S.A.
Falcombridge	Canada
Societe Nickel	France
Phelps Dodge	U.S.A.
Nord Mining	U.S.A.
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Deutsche Urangellschaft	Germany
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This article was written by Survival International (New Zealand). For further information contact Survival International (N.Z.)

Clo Studass, Auckland University.  
Facts supplied by World Council of Churches and the Anglo Committee, Amsterdam.



# CAREERS IN BALLOONS



**CAPPING BALLOON**

Our first attempt at a manned balloon flight. This was a significant technological advance on Montgolfier's straw and wool. When the balloon started to melt round the bottom we let it go and it rose up trailing black smoke. Its flight lasted only a few moments,



finishing abruptly on the roof of the Student Union — this was its first and last flight.

Our second attempt at a manned balloon flight. Here is what the Festival Ferrett wrote:

"My only previous contact with balloon was second hand. I was once told of how a kitchen hand of a local private school, stabbed the neck in the back



This is a more sophisticated balloon — a tear-drop shape showed that theoretically we could fit a man — enough for one person. Following the example of overseas balloons, we heated it with a propane gas burner; our was a rock-gas cylinder connected to a piece of copper pipe with garden hose. This was a further technological advance on burning telephone

# CAPPING BALLOON

drum full of burning telephone directories. This was a significant technological advance on Montgolfier's straw and wool. When the balloon started to melt round the bottom we let it go and it rose up trailing black smoke. Its flight lasted only a few moments.



finishing abruptly on the roof of the Student Union. Our second attempt at a manned balloon flight. Here is what the Festival Ferret wrote:

"My only previous contact with balloon was second hand. I was once told of how a kitchen hand of a local private school, stabbed the cook in the back and rushed out into the school grounds shouting 'The balloon is up for you!' A strange comment, irrelevant, prophetic.

I missed the first attempts to land a rock gas cylinder in a washing basket on the moon. The second attempt I saw. By all accounts this was an awe inspiring event.

Firstly, the balloon is not small, perhaps fifty feet high, manufactured of plastic and nylon tape. The system of elevation was in itself political. Rock gas was pumped through a plastic hose into copper tubing projecting through a bicycle wheel a jet of flame, heating the air inside the canopy. The traditional basket was hung from the bicycle wheel.

The design was original — no books — no experienced help. The balloon pumped up like a massive malignant growth on the football field, slowly rose above the ground. Three times its sloth body rose from the ground — one time sensationally hovering with its basket 10 feet from the ground. At last the lack of navigational aids made flight impossible.

Today, Friday, I missed the great moment. A totally reliable source told me that a helmeted figure rose above Hagley Park today. The loyal if tattered flag of NZ tied to the bottom of the basket fluttered proudly."

Martin Findlay's thoughts that we should arm security guards at airports more effectively, is obviously the only answer to all those mad bombers who plague them at the moment. Or could it be that I've been belatedly reading 'Airport' — just like the Minister.

Congratulations to Richard Mayson, Government M.P. for Hastings, for his notice of motion, later withdrawn by the Speaker which noted that the sending of that renowned mediocrity, Allan McCready to South Africa, as representative of the National Party's support for his racist policies. Of course the Nat's got a bit up-tight with Mason's approach, which at the best of times can tend towards the bumptious, and George Gair predictably accused Mason of using Communist tactics.

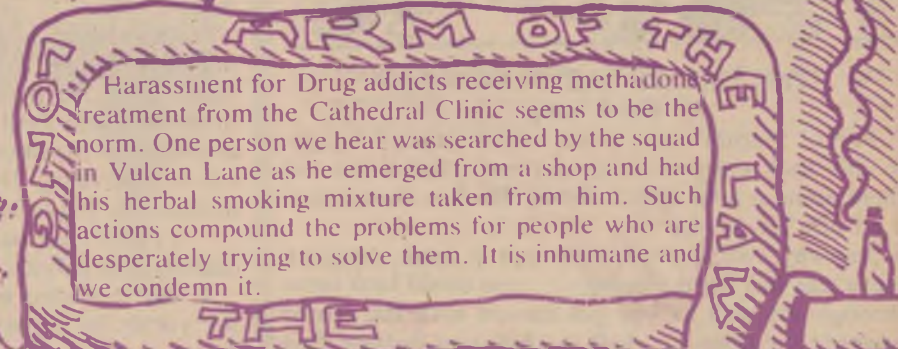
An event like an international Rugby match can be a crisis in the patriotic solar plexus or alternatively a time of national exultation.

The first is illustrated by that Rugby patrician, the President of the Wellington Rugby Union, who said, that the cancellation of the Tour from South Africa was a most drastic event for New Zealand since Hitler invaded Poland. And the second, by a sight eye-witnessed after the recent test between England and New Zealand. I was walking down Queen Street when I was suddenly confronted by a spectre of the British Imperial past. There was a group of Poms striding along, full of patriotic fervour, armed with the Union Jack and loudly singing, 'There'll always be an England'. Lest we forget: the score was 16-10.

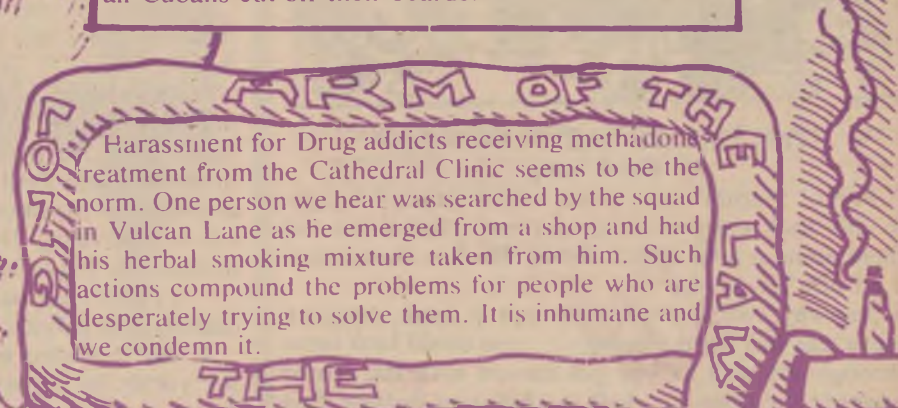


Harassment for Drug addicts receiving methadone treatment from the Cathedral Clinic seems to be the norm. One person we hear was searched by the squad in Vulcan Lane as he emerged from a shop and had his herbal smoking mixture taken from him. Such actions compound the problems for people who are desperately trying to solve them. It is inhumane and we condemn it.

We suggest for further reading that Warren Freer, the alleged Minister of Trade and Industry take up W.B. Sutch's take-over New Zealand if only for a casual perusal. The recent merger of Kraft Foods and Butland Industries is yet another example of a multi-national conglomerate being allowed into New Zealand without Government interference. As it stands at the moment, sixty, out of the top sixty-four firms in New Zealand, are foreign controlled — God Defend New Zealand!!



Most of you will have heard of Singapore's hair regulations by now, with long hairs like Eden M.P. Mike Moore, who had an involuntary hair cut there a couple of years ago, being persona non grata. The ultimate in absurdity has been reached, as we have just discovered that the Singapore Government sent a letter to all its Columbo Plan students requesting that they cut their hair. Admittedly it is not quite as ridiculous as beardie Fidel Castro's ultimatum that all Cubans cut off their beards.



# CRACCUM ARTS



## THE PROCOL HARUM CONCERT Derek King

Procol Harum were great weren't they? I'd got to like their early records alot but I found I'd left them alone a little after I found 'Broken Baracades' a bit of a let down.

Anyway, we arrived a bit late I think, because there was this band playing . . . you could hear them through the wall as you got moved with the crowd towards the door . . . half the hall was outside that door at 8.30 it seemed . . . just outside the door and right on time this rock group starts playing like it was the end of the world or something. You could tell they were pretty serious when you got in there . . . I mean, they were pretty loud and very funny. They could have been anyone from the back street session doors of London. Poncey dress and coming on strong like they had Buddy Miles himself on drums. This really blonde lead guitarist guy kept throwing out this riffs that seemed to wind around your head like they weren't really going to summon enough energy to do anything . . . they just seemed to hover unconvincingly over this fairy godmother vocalist who stood most of the set poised on the edge of a really strong put on. He was disappearing conveniently during the breaks and reappearing all lacy frills and hair spray at the most appropriate moments. They were frightened by the response they weren't getting . . . I don't think anybody expected them really. They were a four piece group, two guitars, drums and vocalist, and I guess they could be pretty proud of that really . . . only after they played a knock-out 'After Midnight' Eric Clapton style.

Well, you can imagine how perplexing this all was sitting there as I was and not knowing what to expect next, but there in behind this Hayman drum kit fronting this strange cockney group, or whatever, sat a double side tom setup of LUDWIG, painted green like there was a kitchen cupboard involved with a pretty sloppy painter and a tin of Emerald green dulse hi-gloss . . . oh yes . . . how good . . . how really good, the subtlety of perhaps the finest exponent of rock percussion this country's seen.

We sat throughout the interval and watched them set up. They were all rigged for an outdoor show with everything geared to go through these two big P.A. stacks and a control console in there somewhere, running it all . . . a myriad of stage monitors and mikes . . . and of course the Steinway. Well Gary Brooker played that great grand like it was the last concert it was ever going to see.

Suddenly, it's all dark with this torch playing around catching the outline of the group setting themselves up and making its way towards the front of the stage . . . Phil Warren under torchlight . . . 'Procol Harum ladies and gentlemen' and there they were . . . wow! . . . They'd had a change around since 'Broken Barcade' days, they are still five pieces, but through the two early pop classics of 'Homburg' and 'Whiter Shade of Pale' to 'Salty Dog' the early Procol Harum remained constant and the group we saw was of the 'Grand Hotel' vintage with Mike Grabham, black velvet and white calico, playing Les Paul, Chris Copping Hammond organ, Allan Cartwright bass. Brooker and Wilson were the old hands and seemed to keep pretty close company — holding and building the music through its harsh climaxes and soft moments. Brooker loves good

grands despite the fact the Steinway is always a little flat, settled in right from the start, talking the group between numbers, in his white suit and tie.

'Conquistador' from their earliest album started the concert and right away you knew 'B.J.' was going to shine. His relaxed flowing drumming was punchy, with all the force of a demented pile driver, his eyes rolling, his sticks crashing around the cymbals and toms . . . totally at home and at one with the drama of Procol Harum music; a single bass drum kit tuned to perfection, and a rock drummers vocabulary carried to quintessence.

I can't remember all the songs they played but most of their latest album was featured . . . perhaps one of the most successful songs, the title track and the only two mildly unsuccessful ones 'Bringing Home the Bacon' and 'Toujours L'amour' with appropriate comment.

I don't really think 'Grand Hotel' is an all over good concept album but its great moment was also the concerts. It was good and unfamiliar new material and appeared half way through the concert when the audience seemed to have adjusted to the new group's style, varying as it does from the constant melodic lyricism of early Harum . . . the days of 'Homburg' . . . I guess it was a shame we didn't hear 'Whiter Shade of Pale', but somehow the concert didn't need it.

'Grand Hotel' had all the spaceousness, and changing mood of an English country manor house and that's what the group is all about really . . . Britain in Rock. Keith Reid writes some pretty strange lyrics at times and Brooker's music is sometimes of a different sort of thing. Heavily influenced by Bach, predominantly fugue his music reflects a certain mood . . . a chord, not harmonically complete, rising into diatonics as it finds a plateau, and peace.

It was a shame to see Brooker on stage fighting for vocals he sometimes didn't seem in control of . . . a small matter when you see Procol Harum as the master of the pop epic . . . they certainly played more than one on Thursday night . . . 'Homburg', 'Grand Hotel' and 'Salty Dog' were beautiful, just beautiful, weren't they . . .

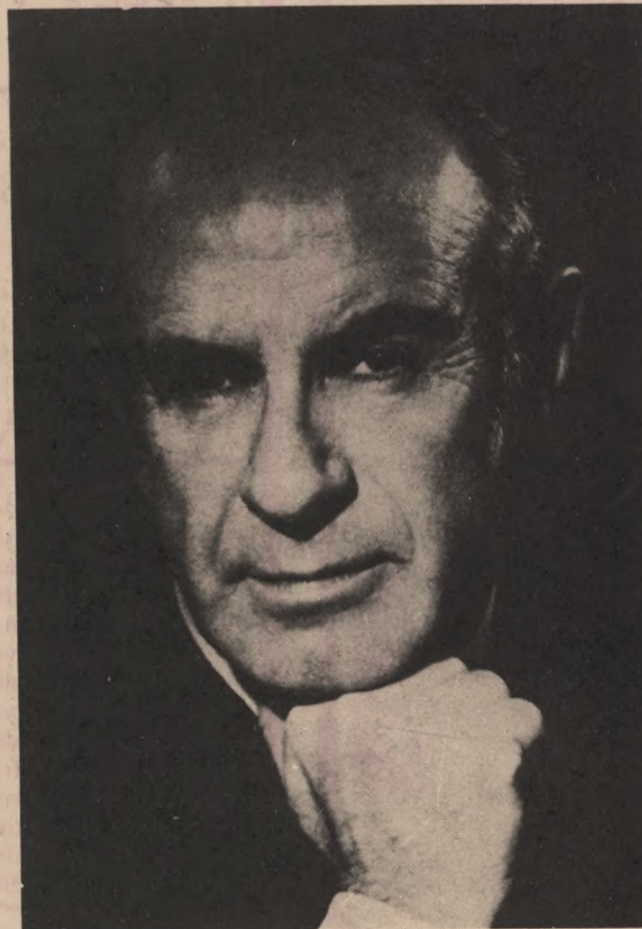
Derek King

## THE CLEVELAND ORCHESTRA

Erich Leinsdorf and the Cleveland Orchestra were superlative. Their two concerts will be seen as one of Auckland's musical highlight's of the '70's. The first was admittedly superior to the second, for with a programme of orchestral pyrotechnics, encompassing the Tannhauser Overture and Venusberg music, La Mer and Beethoven's 5th how could they fail?

The Tannhauser gave the Cleveland a chance to display it's horn section which is one to summon the Valkyries forth.

La Mer with the Cleveland, was what many came to hear, as many had gained their appreciation from Boulez's recording. These seemed a contradiction between a French impressionist piece of such delicacy, being conducted by an Austrian conductor, more noted for his Beethoven than his Berlioz.



Their La Mer was a profusion of finely-nuanced sound. It became a rhapsody of shimmering allure as the waves cut their way through a mosaic of cascading illimitability.

The 5th was, however the dream realized. I gleaned a new illumination of this old warhorse and it attained a new experiential validity.

As for the second concert: the Rossini was an agreeable appetitif of sorts, but then it was followed by Dvorjk's 8th, which needless to say is not another New World. It has an agreeable facade and is a shallow piece of showmanship.

The Appalachia Suite is Aaron Copland's multifaceted evocation of a rural America. It allowed the woodwinds to solo while the strings counter-posed a luminous lyricism.

From the indigenous strains of the Appalachia finally to the sensuous mysticism of Daphnis and Chloe. This was when the Cleveland really jelled, as it was attacked with gallic fervour that did not smudge the work's subtleties.

Throughout the two concerts, musical textures dissolved into a chameleon-like iridescence.

As for Leinsdorf: he is a Mick Jagger of the podium, throwing himself in volatile fury at the music, hunching down like a troll, springing up like a freed Prometheus and then swirling about in a gypsy arabesque.

As encores, there were two encores of Strauss, the first night and one the second. One does not know the reason-maybe it was Leinsdorf's Viennese past asserting itself or maybe it was done in the belief that Auckland's still a cultural backwater, a view enhanced by the fact that there were seats left over in both concerts.

Brent Lewis

## BACK STABBERS O'Jays Epic

The thing about radio is that after what seems like hours of aural wallpaper that just hangs there, barely perceived and adding nil to your condition . . . wham! Some record jumps out and takes your ears clean off. You might have heard the record fifty times



before, or never; it's the element of surprise that makes the difference between hearing it this way and, say, playing your own copy. Suddenly it's there so you reach over and turn it up.

Three recent singles by the O'Jays have had much this effect on me so when I saw that they were all on one Album, BACK STABBERS, I knew that at last that empty space in my collection between the Nitty Gritty Dirt Band and Pacific Gas and Electric had found its filler. (By the way, if anyone comes across a copy of 'Roy Orbison's Greatest Hits' with my name on, I'd be glad to hear about it).

BACK STABBERS contains not only the bonzer top forty hit of the same name but also '992 Arguments' and 'Love Train'. Dynamics is an overworked term but perfectly applicable when talking about these tracks and nearly everything else on the album, an unerring sense pace and flow within a song's structure is at the root of their power and the reason why you turn it up to ride along. I say that at the horrendous risk of falling into the "negro's natural sense of rhythm" cliché, but there just isn't a record on the

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**A director** who has made a motion picture good enough to be considered a "film classic" can be very proud. But a director who has made three such "film classics"—"Shoeshine", "The Bicycle Thief" and "Umberto D."—joins a small, elite group of film-makers.

Of these films, "Shoeshine" has been described as "Artistry that makes the medium disappear," and in a world-wide survey of film critics, historians and film-makers, "The Bicycle Thief" and Orson Welles' "Citizen Kane" were listed as the two greatest works of art ever made in the motion picture medium.

Vittorio De Sica then went on to make motion pictures like "The Miracle in Milan", "Two Women" and now, "The Garden of the Finzi-Continis" which won the Golden Bear, the first prize, at the 1971 Berlin Film Festival. It has its roots in the style and technique of early DeSica films which used non-professional actors in authentic locations.



## Vittorio De Sica's the Garden of the Finzi-Continis

The Finzi-Continis were Italians living in Ferrara, Italy in 1938. They were rich, beautiful, unapproachable and Jewish. They lived in a walled dream world until they were forced to open the gates.

Directed by Vittorio DeSica. Starring Dominique Sanda, Lino Capolicchio, Helmut Berger.  
Produced by Arthur Cohn and Gianni Hecht-Lucari. in Color.

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radio that *moves* quite like 'Love Train'.

Listen to the singing on this track, the lead weaving in and out of the chorus, the urgency and tension this creates above the chopping, driving rhythm section and scudding bass runs. In fact although the O'Jays aren't on that label, this track represents nearly everything Tamla Motown have done when at their best, particularly with the pre-psychedelic shack Temptations.

The ten tracks are shared out amongst no less than five different arrangers which seems to be a little unusual to me, but far from causing any kind of patchiness this achieves a consistently dazzling level of creativity. Occasionally the catgut intrudes on the brass but it would take more than a few strings to damage any record these three guys were singing on.

I prefer the O'Jay's fluid strength to the silkiness of the Stylistics, and they keep to a minimum all that ready-made relevance that the Temptations indulge in. The lyrics of 'Love Train' are the only ones that make me wince noticeably so the fact that it's my favourite track on this album either suggests something warped in my critical evaluation, or speaks volumes for the song as a piece of rock and roll. It makes the rest of me feel so good my brain can take a holiday and it doesn't matter what the words say.

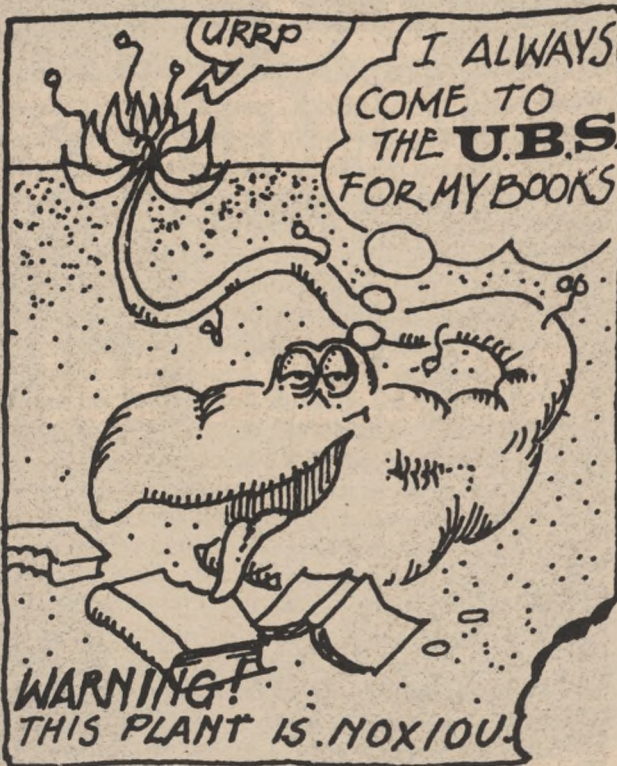
— Terence Hogan.

### THEATRE WORKSHOP SUMMER PRODUCTION

Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar" is to be produced by Theatre Workshop for its summer production. This will involve a large number of people, particularly as actors (a possible cast of 40). So if you have some interest in theatre do come along to the auditions which are being held in the Arts Centre (Grafton Road), this Sunday (September 30) at 12:00 through to 10:00 pm.

We are very fortunate to have the services of Stephen Crane to produce "Julius Caesar". Stephen Crane is a professional actor who has done work with the Mercury, Central, N.Z.B.C. and is at present on tour with the N.Z. Music Federation. He has some very original ideas on the play, and the chance to work with a man of his ability should be taken by everyone.

G.B.S.



# STUDASS CALENDAR

There has been a variety of approaches taken by students who have submitted course descriptions and assessments for the Calendar. In nearly all cases the information supplied is useful and there is no doubt that the Calendar (which will be mailed to all incoming students early in February) is going to serve its purpose well. Critiques on most Stage I papers are in but information on these papers is still urgently needed: Anthropology 3.11 (Prehistory); Botany 101; Asian Geography 20.13, 20.14; Geology 21.101, 21.102; Physics 100, 111, 112; History 1A — IB; Sociology 82.10, 82.11; German 22.10, 22.11; Maori Studies 1.

The following departments seem to have found it too much of an inconvenience to reply to a letter of August 15th asking for informal organisation for the Calendar: Architecture, Chemistry, Geology, Sociology.

The vast space below (courtesy of the advertising manager) is provided for critiques on the above papers, all other stage I papers. We need as much information as possible for balanced assessments of each subject.

INFORMATION  
CAN BE DROPPED IN THE BIN  
PROVIDED OUTSIDE THE STUDASS  
OFFICE

If you have any queries come up to room 206 Student Union building or call the Editor at home any night 542-602.

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CONTINUED FROM FRONT COVER.

of nature; Rawls calls it the original position of equality — a hypothetical situation characterised so as to lead to a certain conception of justice. It is in this original position that the various parties must choose a conception of justice that will yield an intuitively acceptable standard for the assessment of the distributive aspects of social organisation as either fair or unfair. Such a conception, if chosen, will be characterised by principles of justice embodying the notion of fairness — thus Rawls calls his theory Justice as Fairness.

In order that the ensuing conception of justice is fair the original position must be framed in such a way that the agreements reached in it are also fair, so not only the principles but also the original position must be characterised by fairness. Conceptions of justice must therefore be ranked by their acceptability to persons so circumstanced. This ties in the theory of justice with the theory of rational choice. The original position, a description of which will immediately follow, is described by Rawls as "the most philosophically favoured interpretation of this initial choice situation for the purposes of a theory of justice." (p.18).



In the original position the parties are conceived of as rational, mutually disinterested heads of families who know that the circumstances of justice obtain. They are cloaked in the veil of ignorance, that is they do not know their places in society (class position or social status). No one knows his natural assets and abilities, his conception of the good, or special features of his psychology (aversion to risk or liability to optimism or pessimism). They know only the most general facts about human society (they understand political affairs and principles of economic theory, the basis of social organisation) and the laws of human psychology. But they do not know the particular circumstances of their own society, its level of civilisation and culture, or its economic and political situation. Since the persons are understood to be rational they are presumed to know that they each have a rational plan of life but not the details of this plan. However, they know that they must protect their liberties, widen their opportunities, and enlarge their means for promoting their aims — whatever these are — and they are presumed to not suffer from envy. It is also common knowledge that the parties are capable of a sense of justice, and they are equal.

There are several reasons for the veil of ignorance and these are tied in with the theory of rational choice. The object of the exercise is to choose a conception of justice that is fair; and for it to be morally acceptable, the choice must be unanimous and the circumstances leading to unanimity must not be undermined in other respects. In situations of conflicting interests unanimity is impossible without certain restrictions being placed on the type and amount of information available to the parties, it follows that the more disparate the conflicting interests, the less information that can be available. Rawls' aim here is that the hypothetical choice be made on the basis of reasons all men have in common, to make available only that information which is morally relevant, and to eliminate those reasons which lead the parties to select varying conceptions of justice. "Thus there follows the very important consequence that the parties have no basis for bargaining in the usual sense . . . and therefore no one is in a position to tailor principles to his advantage." (p.139).

Before tackling some of the more interesting and controversial aspects of the original position and the subsequent reasoning for the conception of justice as fairness, I will outline the two principles and the rules imposed thereon. These are the principles that Professor Rawls argues would be chosen in the hypothetical choice situation by rational, unenvious, mutually disinterested, and equal persons. The first principle takes priority over the second and so on with a lexical or serial ordering. The lexical ordering demands that before the second principle can be applied the provisions of the first must be satisfied and so on.

#### First Principle:

Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all.

#### Second Principle:

Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:

- (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle, and—
- (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.

#### First Priority Rule:

The principles of justice are to be ranked in lexical order and therefore liberty can be restricted only for the sake of liberty. There are two cases:

- (a) a less extensive liberty must strengthen the total system of liberty shared by all;
- (b) a less than equal liberty must be acceptable to those with the lesser liberty.

#### Second Priority Rule:

The second principle of justice is lexically prior to the principle of efficiency and to that of maximising the sum of advantages; and fair opportunity is prior to the difference principle. There are two cases:

- (a) an inequality of opportunity must enhance the opportunities of those with the lesser opportunity;
- (b) an excessive rate of saving must on balance mitigate the burden of those bearing this hardship.

#### General Conception:

All social primary goods — liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect — are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these is to the advantage of the least favoured.

What this conception of justice amounts to is now self-explanatory but a special difficulty arises from the phrasing of the second principle which supposedly imposes a maximin rule — which demands that the worst possible outcome is made as good as the range of alternatives will allow — in that inequalities can be justified only if they serve to raise the prospects of the least advantaged group. What the rule actually imposes is unclear in the context of the total theory, and, at best, ambiguous in the form in which it is written. "To the greatest benefit of the least advantaged" could be read to mean that the greatest benefit derived from an inequality must be reaped by the least advantaged (which is self-contradictory — unless it means that only inequalities calculated to level off existing inequalities are to be permitted); or it could be taken to mean that some benefit must accrue to the least advantaged, and this benefit is to be maximised to the greatest possible degree, if an inequality is to be permitted. The latter interpretation is the most favoured amongst Rawls' critics although I personally prefer an alternative based on a wider contextual interpretation. What I think Rawls is trying to say is that social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they benefit everybody, with a marked advance in the prospects of the least advantaged being the yardstick, and if they cannot be arranged so that everybody benefits then they must initially, at least, benefit the least advantaged. Rawls at page 155 says: "This rule does not, then, generally apply, nor of course is it self-evident. Rather, it is a maxim, a rule of thumb, that comes into its own in special circumstances. Its application depends on the qualitative structure of the possible gains and losses in relation to one's conception of the good, all this against a background in which it is reasonable to discount conjectural estimates of likelihoods." And Rawls' first statement of the second principle goes: "social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all." (p.60) and at page 82, "one may note that when the contributions of the more favoured spread generally throughout society and are not confined to particular sectors, it seems plausible that if the least advantaged benefit so do others in between. And then at page 83 he says, "we can express an even more general principle as follows: in a basic structure with *n* relevant representatives, first max-



imise the welfare of the worst-off representative man; second, for equal welfare of the worst-off representative, maximise the welfare of the second worst-off representative man, and so on until the last case which is, for equal welfare of all the preceding *n-1* representatives, maximise the welfare of the best-off representative man."

Later on page 83 Rawls offers his second statement of the second principle which is substantially the same as his final statement of it, and on the face of it contradicting the discussion which precedes it. Notwithstanding the final statement, I think it is more accurate to interpret the second principle as imposing, at most, a very restricted version of the maximum rule, than to give it a literal interpretation. The content of Rawls' discussion on the maximin rule is more indicative of the initial establishment of a social minimum rather than the strict imposition of the rule which forms the basis for R.S. Peters' criticism of Rawls' theory in The Times Literary Supplement No. 3662.

A more interesting and penetrating criticism of Rawls' use of the maximin rule is to be found in Thomas Nagel's article, Rawls on Justice, Philosophical Review April 1973. However, like Peters, Nagel also misinterprets the ramifications of the rule and his criticism founders on a misconception of what Rawls actually says. Nagel's thesis consists of the systematic denigration of the assumptions Rawls uses to achieve his original position of equality and achieve congruence between the twin concepts of social and individual choice. Rawls argues, and Nagel agrees with him, that one must proceed from widely held and weak assumptions from which more



specific conclusions can be deduced, and furthermore, claims Rawls, the assumptions from which he argues are indeed weak. Nagel however disputes this saying that the assumptions are both strong and controversial in the original position. It is the design of the original position that mainly concerns Nagel and not the problem of social choice. But more about that later, what concerns us most at present is the problem of the maximin rule, although Nagel's objection to what he calls "strong" assumptions is linked to it.

In his reasoning for the two principles Rawls remarks that it is clear that the two principles are at least a plausible conception of justice but that one "can also try to find arguments in their favour that are decisive from the standpoint of the original position. In order to see how this might be done, it is useful as a heuristic device to think of the two principles as the maximin solution to the problem of social justice. There is an analogy between the two principles and the maximin rule for choice under uncertainty. This is evident from the fact that the two principles are those a person would choose for the design of a society in which his enemy is to assign him his place.

"The persons do not, of course, assume that their initial place . . . is decided by a malevolent opponent. As I note below, they should not reason from false premises. But that the two principles would be chosen if the parties were forced to protect themselves against such a contingency explains the sense in which this conception is the maximin solution. And this analogy suggests that if the original position has been described so that it is rational for the parties to adopt the conservative attitude expressed by this rule, a conclusive argument can indeed be constructed for these principles. Clearly the maximin rule is not, in general, a suitable guide for choices under uncertainty. But it is attractive in situations marked by certain special features. My aim, then, is to show that a good case can be made for the two principles based on the fact that the original position manifests these features to the fullest possible degree, carrying them to the limit, so to speak." (pp 152-3)

Rawls then outlines the three chief features of situations that give plausibility to the maximin rule.

(1) there must be some reason for discounting estimates of probabilities — he justifies this in terms of the veil of ignorance and the suppression of certain information.

(2) the person choosing has a conception of the good that limits his desire to gain much more, if any, than the minimum stipend assured him by following

the maximin of the lexicon

(3) that there are much worse circumstances than the one's conception of the original position

"So much of situation: its own and two principles. Thus if the rule is intended to be a decision problem in the original position, it is intended to be a decision problem in the original position."

The external evidence. My use of the term 'original position' is intended to be a decision problem in the original position. Nagel's claim is that the original position is a decision problem in the original position.

Nagel's criticism of Rawls' theory is based on a misconception of what Rawls actually says. Nagel's thesis consists of the systematic denigration of the assumptions Rawls uses to achieve his original position of equality and achieve congruence between the twin concepts of social and individual choice. Rawls argues, and Nagel agrees with him, that one must proceed from widely held and weak assumptions from which more

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the maximin rule — Rawls justifies this in terms of the lexical ordering of the two principles.

(3) that the rejected alternatives have outcomes that are much worse.

"This rule does not, then, generally apply nor, of course, is it self-evident. Rather it is a maxim, a rule of thumb, that comes into its own in special circumstances. Its application depends upon the structure of the possible gains and losses in relation to one's conception of the good, all this against a background in which it is reasonable to discount conjectural estimates of likelihoods." (p155).

"So much, then, for brief sketch of the features of situations in which the maximin rule comes into its own and the way in which the arguments for the two principles of justice can be subsumed under them. Thus if the list of traditional views represent the possible decisions, these principles would be selected by the rule . . . These remarks about the maximin rule are intended only to clarify the structure of the choice problem in the original position. They depict its qualitative anatomy." (p157)

The extensive use of the text here, is, I think, self-evident. My aim is to provide as large a view of Rawls' use of the maximin rule as is necessary to show that it is intended to illustrate the reasoning for the two principles of justice and is not, as Peters and Nagel claim, the principal determinant of Rawls' conception of justice.

Nagel begins his criticism of the maximin rule by accusing Rawls of going to "some lengths to defend his controversial claim that in the original position it is rational to adopt the maximin rule which leads one to choose principles that favour the bottom of the social hierarchy." Now the validity of this assertion rests strongly on a particular interpretation of the second principle and here Nagel tells us nothing. We have seen that Rawls begins his discussion of the second principle with the demand that inequalities be to the advantage of everyone and concludes with the demand that inequalities be to the "greatest benefit of the least favoured." The original position demands a situation of absolute equality which presumably obtains until after the justification of the initial inequalities. The hierarchical structure resulting from the inequalities will presumably advance everybody beyond the position of absolute, in other words everybody will be better off in the hierarchical position than in the original position, and if not, then the inequalities have not been arranged according to the Rawlsian conception of justice. What I want to say is that since the least advantaged are to gain the least from the initial inequalities, then

these inequalities must first be defended from the standpoint of a representative person from the least advantaged group, secondly from the standpoint of a representative person from second worst-off group and so on. I think this is a correct reconstruction of Rawls' discussion of the second principle in Sections 12 and 13 of the book, and further I think Rawls intends that such a procedure should pertain in situations where subsequent inequalities are to be defended.

Obviously some groups will gain less, relative to others when inequalities are arranged and consequently positions in the hierarchy are subject to changes as a natural result. It is therefore reasonable to ask whether inequalities are to be defended first from the standpoint of the worst off group in society, or from the standpoint of the group gaining the least advantage from the inequalities. Rawls does not help us here and so the import of the second principle remains clouded in ambiguity until he either revises the book in reply to criticism or publishes notes of clarification elsewhere.

If my interpretation of the first part of the second principle is accurate then Nagel's criticism is too forceful. Instead of saying that the principles "favour the bottom of the social hierarchy" he should admit that the two principles establish a social minimum which maximises the expectations of those at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Nagel's criticism of the three features that Rawls claims give plausibility to the maximin rule is not totally convincing. On the first feature (discounting of probabilities) Nagel claims that the suppression of knowledge of likelihoods is justified only on the assumption that the proportions of people in various positions is morally irrelevant. It is certainly not morally relevant and the idea of the veil of ignorance is to exclude information that is not morally relevant. I would agree that Rawls' justification for the second feature is weak and even Nagel agrees that the third feature is self-evident. As I previously mentioned, Nagel is basically concerned with the design of the original position. He denies that Rawls' assumptions are weak but insists on their strong and controversial nature. It appears to me that this may be, to some extent, a matter of taste and therefore not necessarily philosophically valid. However, Nagel's essay is compelling reading and his criticisms not unweighty especially as regards Rawls' reduced conception of the good. The conception of the good allowed is basically that rational persons will want more of the primary goods liberty and equality, income and wealth, social status and self-esteem, that less, and that the

primary goods are things rational men want whatever else they want. This conception is neutral, liberal and individualistic according to which the best for someone is the unimpeded pursuit of his own path provided that it does not infringe upon the good of others. As Nagel points out, although this conception is neutral among similar conceptions it might not be among others (no mention of what these others are), and "why should parties in the original position be prepared to commit themselves to principles that may frustrate or contravene their deepest convictions, just because they are deprived of any knowledge of what these convictions are?"

As Rawls says, to allow this knowledge would defeat the purpose of unanimity, there wouldn't be any agreement at all. It must be remembered that the conception of justice decided upon must be reached on the basis of reasons all men have in common, and so moral relevance is the criterion for knowledge not individual moral value, but where does one draw the line? The question obviously demands a deeper and more thorough analysis than Rawls has given it.

Nagel suggests that the liberal, egalitarian conception of justice could be better defended on direct moral grounds and implies that the contract approach applied by Rawls is too controversial. Contrary to Rawls, Nagel believes that the two principles will gain wide philosophic approval where the original position will not. Personally, I tend to agree with Rawls; he obviously realises the major difficulties inherent in the acceptance of the two principles, and especially in the phraseology needed to yield a correct interpretation of the general conception.

A Theory of Justice is the culmination of work that covered the years since 1958 when Professor Rawls first published his essay, Justice as Fairness. In it he has attempted to answer all the most valid criticism and trivial doubt that has poured forth against his theory, some of it successfully some less so. It is a richly complicated work that has already engaged the attention of some of the most eminent political thinkers in both the United States and Britain, and is a convincing refutation of any lingering suspicion that the tradition of English language political philosophy is dead. It is highly readable, in fact Professor Rawls has intended that his book be of interest and understanding to both expert and layman alike. However, it is not a work of great literacy such as the distinguished writings of Hobbes, Green, and Mill but it is a work of the classic tradition that, with some revision will stand alongside those other works that have so much enriched our intellectual heritage.

Robert D Hillier



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### RED ARMY FRACTION

When West German police captured Andraas Baader with three comrades in June 1972, then Ulrike Meinhof and Gerhard Mueller two weeks later, they thought they had crushed the "Baader-Meinhof gang". However, within hours of the announcement that the little-known Professor Hermann Witter, would carry out a "forcible examination" of Ulrike Meinhof's brain while she was awaiting trial in prison, an incendiary bomb was placed by comrades in Witter's home. It was discovered by his wife before it could explode and fire the house oil fuel tanks.

The origins of the Red Army Fraction — the so-called Baader-Meinhof Group — reach back to the SDS — the German Socialist Student movement of the 60's, their opposition to the war in Vietnam, and West Germany's profit involvement in the exploitation of the Third World.

After 1968, the student movement's failure to broaden its base and create militant grass roots organisations in the community, produced a period of frustration and inactivity. It was in response to this mood that Baader and Ensslin set fire to a department store in Frankfurt as a protest against the war in Vietnam. They were subsequently arrested and imprisoned. While serving his sentence Baader was permitted to continue his study of borstals in West Germany, in co-operation with Ulrike Meinhof, then a well-known left-wing journalist. On May 14th 1970, an armed group broke into the Institute of Social Research in Berlin and liberated Baader — Ulrike Meinhof went with them.

The group travelled to Jordan where they received guerilla training from Al Fatah, and on their return to Germany, they carried out a number of bank raids in both East and West Germany. The aim of these raids was the financing of a guerilla infrastructure

within Germany.

The existence and activities of the Red Army Fraction has been used as a lever by the West German government to strengthen its repressive power, by increasing police numbers, arming them with machine pistols, and turning a blind eye to their excesses.

By maximising the activities of the RAF, the government and press have created a climate in which they can attack all left-wing groups. Since RAF declared its existence in 1970, many robberies, and attacks on state institutions, have been laid at their door, whether they were made by them, private individuals, fascist groups, or police agents. Working closely with the police, the Springer Press Group has helped develop the hysteria in which the repression of left-wing groups and the Anarchists in particular, has taken place.

In the weeks before Christmas 1972, Georg von Rauch, secretary of the West Germany Anarchist Black Cross was shot dead, in the back, in the streets of Berlin by the police. Next day 7000 took to the streets in protest. In March this year, Thomas Weisbecker, also a member of the Anarchist Black Cross was murdered by the police in the streets of Augsburg, in the same manner as von Rauch. Demonstrations took place in all major German cities the next day. A third revolutionary, Petra Schelm was gunned down at a roadblock in Hamb. Recently the West German government has turned to more insidious forms of repression. By the misuse of psychiatry the state is attempting to link political violence and dissent to mental illness, although the "legal" violence of the state is exempt from this connection.

In the name of scientific research for a very dubious theory which can only be of benefit to the state, the West German government is preparing to violate Ulrike Meinhof's mind. As the 'Sunday Herald' of September 2nd clearly states, the operation is totally against Ulrike's will, and the anaesthetic will be administered to her by force or secretly in her food. The parallels with the concentration-camp experiments of Nazi Germany are clear.

The announcement of the operation caused a public outrage in West Germany despite the unpopularity of the RAF's actions. The medical profession, and in particular doctors of the Institute of Forensic Research in Hamburg have violently condemned the operation taking place as it is dangerous to Ulrike's health and life. Only a concerted international defence campaign will save Ulrike Meinhof and prevent the spread of psycho-surgery as a means of silencing political dissent.

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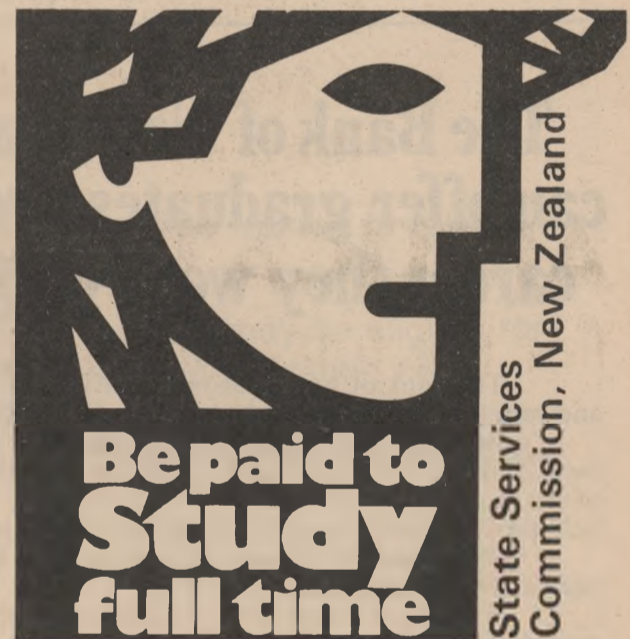
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