

CRACCUM

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A FORD... BUT NOT A LINCOLN



Last Saturday, America's first non-elected Vice-President was sworn-in as the first non-elected President of the United States. The man in question was Gerald Ford, who, until December of last year had served for 25 years as the Republican Congressman from Grand Rapids, Michigan — the last eight as House-Minority Leader.

With the fall of Spiro Agnew (the law n' order Vice-President — turned crook) last October — president Nixon urged Republicans in both Houses of Congress to put forward names for a likely successor. Nixon's suggested criteria were

- 1) a strong individual capable of leading the country
- 2) Someone who generally shared Nixon's views, particularly on foreign policy and national security and
- 3) a nominee who could be confirmed expeditiously by both Houses of Congress without a rancorous and politically embarrassing battle.

Although former Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally, (now indicted on corruption charges) was widely tipped as front runner — Nixon chose Gerry Ford from a short-list that included Ronald Reagan and Nelson Rockefeller.

Ford was a popular choice in the Congress, even amongst his Democratic opposition. Although the Vice Presidency has been vacant on sixteen previous occasions in American history (under the old rules, if a President had died, resigned or had been impeached, the Speaker of the House of Representatives would have assumed the Presidency — if there was no incumbent Vice President) Ford's unprecedented elevation to the No. 2 Job, was sanctioned by the 25th Amendment (1967), which authorises the President to fill vacancies in the office of the Vice President. The President's nominee, however is subject to confirmation by a majority vote in both houses of Congress. Ford's popularity was evident when he was approved easily, winning by a vote of 92 to 3 in the Senate, and 387 to 35 in the house.

Ford's good relations with both Congress ("I haven't made an enemy in 25 years") and the Press — augur well for the President of a nation that above all savours stability, after the turmoil of the last eighteen months. Although respected by both Congressional colleagues and opponents as a clever fighter, he prefers reaching a consensus to twisting arms. Ford has

consistently built up and maintained the sort of support base amongst Republicans that enables him to collect "IOU'S" when he needs them — by his unstinting assistance to colleagues. As Minority Leader, he averaged nearly 200 out-of-town speeches a year; once logging a 12 month total of 138, 500 air miles. Such loyalty to colleagues earned Ford broad respect at the Capitol. Ford explains: "Working with Democrats and Republicans, I want to try to build a bridge of friendship, a bridge of understanding, a bridge of faith. I think I have an excellent rapport with my colleagues."

During his short term as Vice President, Ford went out of his way not to appear as though he was after Nixon's job or that he wanted it — even though the prospect of eventually assuming the Presidency, either through Nixon's impeachment or resignation, grew daily.

Again, Ford was frequently quoted as saying that he would not be running — either for the Presidency or Vice-Presidency in 1976. All along he has maintained that Nixon "was innocent of any impeachable offence." He has been careful to avoid any hint of a Judas role.

As a rule, Ford tried to steer clear of Watergate in his public statements. Instead, he hammered forth on inflation, as the "great scourge" afflicting America. However, when drawn at the Congressional hearings to confirm him as Vice-President, he urged the White House to produce all documents that would be necessary to clear the President. When asked what he would do if, like Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, he had been asked to submit to a compromise that would cut off further Watergate investigations, Ford intimated that he would refuse the President's order. As Minority Leader, though one of the few all-out Nixon defenders in Congress when it came to Watergate, Ford advised Nixon that it might be politically wise for him to obey Federal Court orders and turn over his White House tapes for judicial inspection rather than provoke impeachment.

As a former American grid-iron star (LBJ once noted that there "was nothing wrong with Jerry Ford except that he had played football for too long in the days when football players didn't wear helmets") Ford's political rhetoric is shot-through with football analogies... ad nauseum. His loyalty to Nixon is thus explained: "You don't tackle your own quarterback". He summons fellow Republicans into Caucus "for a huddle." On the "semi-permanent" Democratic majority in the Congress: "I would simply say that we must look not at the points we have lost but at the points we can gain." Even foreign policy is equated with forward power and running backs. And so on. Still, such talk, coupled with his John Wayne stature, and all-American boy image, goes down well in "Middle America."

Following Nixon's defeat of Hubert Humphrey for the Presidency in November 1968, Ford became Nixon's most loyal supporter in Congress — even on the most controversial issues — such as the nomination of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court.

"The President and I have always had a high identity philosophically" commented Ford after his "selection" for the Vice Presidency in October 1973.

On Vietnam, the former House Minority Leader, was considered somewhat of a hawk. Although a fiscal conservative, cold warrior Ford drew the line at attempts to trim America's massive defence budget. "The only way that have achieved peace, and can maintain peace, says Ford, "is to be strong militarily. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China only understand negotiating from positions of strength."

Ford's ten day China trip in 1972 only served to confirm his belief that the US must maintain its strong military establishment. He defended Nixon's war policy at every turn and lobbied mightily against liberals who wanted to cut back on the funding of the giant anti-ballistic missile programme.

Perhaps it is significant that, as Vice President, Ford's Chief of Staff was Robert Hartmann (some unkind critics have referred to him as Gerry Ford's

Haldeman) — a former newspaper columnist who, as a hard line militarist became Richard Nixon's favourite newspaper writer in the 1960's.

With his close friend-former Secretary of Defence Melvyn Laird, Ford earned the reputation of being one of Washington's best known Pentagon promoters.

Foreign policy, however, is not Gerald Ford's strong point, and much reliance will continue to be placed on Henry Kissinger. On the Middle East, the new President, has often seemed as hawkish about Israel as any self respecting Zionist. Perhaps ambivalently, Ford remains a firm supporter of the Peace Corps, and of overseas economic aid.

On the Domestic Front, Ford supported SST, opposed "bussing" to integrate schools, would like to see a constitutional amendment permitting prayers in schools — and a legal ban on abortions. After Congress's rejection of Nixon's two conservative nominees (Haynsworth and Carswell) for the Supreme Court — Ford led a petty and ill-planned retaliatory campaign to impeach liberal Justice William O. Douglas.

Ford's attack was largely the result of an article that the Supreme Court Justice had written for a magazine. However, it was not the content of Douglas's article that worried Ford. Apparently it had appeared in a journal that also featured "erotic pictures". Needless to say — Douglas stayed on.

Despite an apparent puritan streak, Ford has been a strong supporter of Federal aid to higher education and welfare reforms. He also lined up behind Nixon's controversial Family Assistance Plan, and proposals for water pollution control and domestic waste disposal.

It was Ford's civil right's record that drew the sternest criticisms at the congressional hearings to confirm his as Vice-President last November. In response supporters pointed to the fact that Congressman Ford had voted in favour of every major civil rights bill since 1949. However liberal Democrats remember that Ford's final "yes" vote for civil rights legislation, shields a murkier record of support for amendments and

CONT. ON BACK PAGE.

EDITORIAL

AND.

LETTERS

The student politicians cry as you well know, is to be interested in what we do - someone has to! Mindful of this cry of desperation and believing that severe recidivism which in some cases can prove suicidal, could occur should the obligatory reference not be made to these our statesmen, I proceeded, to the AGM.

There were about 50 people there looking in the most part blissfully nonchalant, counting sheep or doodling absent-mindedly.

Edward, presented his report which was well meaning. It rather reminded one of the Hapsburg Empire in its last years - it had a splendid facade but the cracks were showing. Which is not to compare our Edward with Francis Joseph for he was an autocrat of supreme will power who worked a 14 hour day even when he was 84.

It was ultimately inner discontents which caused the Hapsburg empire to crumble. As a body it had outlived its usefulness; it had been controlled by sycophants. Mostly however, it had lost an idea of where it was going and with various competing interests within it manifesting themselves, lassitude and despair finally plummeted it over the brink.

Whether inspired leadership would have prevented the final onslaught of rigour mortis is difficult to say for institutions whose basic rationale becomes merely self perpetuation are difficult to re-orient. To that extent Francis Joseph must be seen as a custodian of decaying social order. In retrospect it also can be seen that future shock has been around a lot longer than Toffler even though he may have been trendy enough to coin the phrase.

Not only the Hapsburg empire but

also the Students' Association suffers from this phenomenon. The Hapsburg empire however rested on the assumptions of the organic nature of society. Integral to this was a belief that if the inherited elite that ruled it should fall

then chaos would set in. The elite that controls the Students' Association is transitory and has not formulated any philosophical stance even to justify perpetuation.

Where there was no ideas it is even difficult for cynics to manifest themselves, for voids become all encompassing and dull the senses of all who exist within them.

It was Walter Lippmann who first catalogued as what he regarded as the eternal fluctuation within politics between drift and masquerade.

Drift and inertia may seem to be enviable alternatives in times of lull and politics often respond accordingly. There is however often a case to say that drift is engineered by lack of ideas from those who head institutions and that laissez-faire rather than being a conscious choice happens because technocrats take control.

A chart of university politics should be made suggesting that the stimulus engineered by such people as Mike Law, who had ideas about what the students' association should stand for, ebbed with the advent of the technocrats who believed that their function was to administer rather than to inject ideas. This they do admirably but at a cost.

Man prevails ultimately not just because he can organise but because he has a sense of destiny. Unfortunately when the issues melt away often the

motivation becomes highly antagonistic, on a personal level.

The substitution of personalities for ideas creates manufactured disputes, for rather than creating a ferment out of which we can learn new ideas, we only learn that ideas themselves are taboo.

How many students have been stimulated by the debates of the Oxford Union speakers and wondered how many of our present student leaders would have the wit or desire to debate on whether the monarchy was needed or not and whether universities should be run by students.

University is supposedly a catalyst for the future. It should be delineating its attitude towards social issues on the assumption that many present students will be leaders. A dearth of ideas will ultimately induce a conformist mentality and possibly aid in the transition from democracy to totalitarianism. For if we abstract ourselves from ideas then we will have little chance of controlling our society.

Whatever happened after Vietnam? How can we recapture the community of feeling that will once more make us an integral part of the place we inhabit?

These are the questions that provide our validation and our meaning for finally it is a search for meaning that creates our options - without it we are hidebound to irrelevancies. Symptomatic of this is petty politicking.

The executive will only be vitalised when those people who have worked on the voluntary agencies throughout the university channel these efforts to actively stimulate an environment that is an intrinsic part of the great universities.

Speakers must be brought in at lunch-time meetings to debate psychology, religion, politics and in fact the whole gamut of human concern. Student politicians should be at the forefront of such discussions, providing that through the force of their ideas deserve to lead. If there is any aristocracy it is that of ideas and those who cannot sustain them have no right to flaunt their egos - which is the only alternative to ideas.

There is a new executive coming in; it is more balanced in its concern than the last. Let us hope that it can act as a stimulus. Otherwise the rut will continue.

Brent Lewis

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with help from; Mike Rann, Rob Greenfield, Sharon Alston, Dorothy Anger, Carol Penman, Gordon Clifton, Bob Man, Etc, Etc, Etc, Etc.....

Thank you all, skip-pid-dee-doo-da-day.

The Editor,
CRACCUM.

Dear Sir,
We wish to complain about the mis-use of the lower common room. It has come to our notice that a certain group in the common room persists in playing card games for money despite reminders that this practise is to be restricted to the games room. They have also been told that gambling is not sanctioned any place on campus. Upon telling them this, we were greeted with raucous laughter and foul language.

Yours sincerely
LINO & CO.

To build on to my previous letter may I add that the Law makes us aware of sin, therefore to be free from sin's power, and to have everlasting life requires that the individual puts his or her faith in Christ and His message. He shall again life who is justified through faith.

Marana tha.

FREE SCHOOL

To James Waugh and readers,

I am the writer of the letter entitled 'Crossing over into Camp Ground' as Craccum called it.

The "unqualified" view James Waugh speaks of is from the Gospel according to Paul. Is Paul "unqualified" to make the remarks he does? I did not rewrite the Bible - I quoted it. So how can it be contrary to Christian belief?

As for my "liberal interpretations", "unthinging hate", etc - all I can say, is that the quote from Romans gave the cause of 'gay' morality, and I added that 'gay' morality must not become the norm, or in any way accepted. I still hold these views as I still believe all that Paul, the other apostles, and Christ have taught.

The Timatanga School is now in operation near Whenuapai. It is a part of our community and is open to those of primary school age.

The school has evolved to the stage where we now wish to include non-resident children.

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CYPRUS EXPLAINED

'Imagine', says John Lennon the year 1990 when three hundred thousand Greek New Zealanders, demand from three million English speaking New Zealanders, the North Island. Greece lands troops on the West Coast and bombs Wellington. Their action apparently is prompted by a desire to protect their Greek brothers, who are against New Zealand's union with Australia.

Australia caught in a limbo due to an unstable internal situation puts on a half-hearted effort at the United Nations calling for a cease fire. The Cyprus delegation (led by Papa-Leslie Munro) succeed through the use of skillful procedural stratagem to shelve the motion.

The brave Anglo-Saxon, Maori, Yugoslav and Chinese New Zealanders forget the coup that deposed President Kink (now shuffling around between Samoa and Iran) and rally behind the dictatorship of President Muldoon.

The three major Powers (that have guaranteed the independence of the Pacific Republic): Australia, Greece, and Russia get together in Geneva and after a marathon three week debate agree on a peace-plan.

One of the conditions of the ceasefire plan, entails the creation of a buffer zone between Greek and English-New Zealand forces policed by U.N. Troops.

While officers from the three powers work out the topological position of the zone, allegations are exchanged between the two warring parties each accusing the other of rape, murder and arson.

A Cypriot Wharf Policeman who was one of a contingent of Cypriot Policemen who served with a United Nations peace keeping force in New Zealand during the Samoan Uprising' says "I think the Greek New Zealanders do not want any union with Australia. I feel that the events which have so far occurred have been coming for a long time. I am glad that Greeks went to the aid of the Cypriot brothers."

—June 1974 The CIA operative closest to General Ioannides has passed the word "Kill Makarios" Date: 15th of July. Puppet leader: Nicos Sampson. Exterminate the Left. Turkey has been informed. You'll divide Cyprus between you. Both of you gain territorially. We get a base on Cyprus. Thus N.A.T.O. gets a base on Cyprus.

—July 15 1974. The sun rises over the Mediterranean. Cocks crow. Fingers rub eyes. Hands dip into basins. In Nicosia throbbing misguided hearts await the shrapnel to do its work.

—That night in Wellington. 'And now the late news. A coup by the Cypriot National Guard has left President Makarios dead....

—Two days later. "I live" resounded through Cyprus and around the World.

—July 1974. The CIA operative closest to General Ioannides passes the word: "We've bungled! Makarios lives. Operation Blanket is now in action. We cover up. Turkey will land on Cyprus using the Zurich agreement "Guarantor clause". Mobilize your Armed forces. Wave the flag. Everyone will forget inflation. Ecevit thinks it a miracle.

—July 25th resign. We'll bring Karamalis back. Let them play with the word Democracy again. No one will remember the Lambrakis affair despite the film 'Z' winning an Oscar. The cypriots are too busy to remember how he bulldozed Makarios into the Zurich agreement. By the way here is your ticket to SWITZERLAND.

The Turks are like the Gurkas' says an aeroplane-salesman who fought in Korea. 'No one seems to have taken up the banner for Cyprus in NZ' says an arm-chair radical.

'The Turks are sitting pretty', says some-

one who reads TIME magazine.

'Poor Cyprus' says an idealist.

'Why ain't there any Turks in New Zealand' says a New Zealander Industrialist.

'Is it true that the Zionists offered to take the Cyprus problem out of Britain's hands in the early 1900's' asks a pseudo-intellectual nodding his head. That it would have made an ideal 'promised land'.

'What about the Armenians, Jews and

Negros of Cyprus' asks a politician.

'If Greece and Turkey don't go to war it proves that America was behind it' says one who dreads the thought of a Greek-Turkish war.

There they sit. Greece, Turkey and Britain talking of Cyprus. The people of that land ignored as they rest their weary bodies under Greek and Turkish flags cleaning their rifles.

Their leaders, with bulging wallets and full stomachs, circumnavigate, opening mouths and closing ears.

The previous summer those two lads facing each other on the Green-Line worked together packing potatoes, exchanging anecdotes about their manly prowess in the local whore house.

Thoughts for the future.

That cyprus be declared an 'Independent country' under UN guarantee.

That the Turkish descendants of the Ottoman Empire and Cypriot natives (of disputed Greek descent, but certain Greek cultural inbreeding) transfer their nationalistic allegiances to the land of Cyprus.

That the 'Cyprus question' be accepted as an

International Game of politics and this conveyed to the populous of the island. That Clerides (the acting president of Cyprus) learns from his predecessors faults and withdraws his soul from the International Market.

That the late Georgios Grivas be thought of as the ideal instrument by which a nation goes to war (i.e. as a soldier)

That Nicos Sampson leaves Cyprus, for no one likes losers.

That the Cypriot peasant rejects his excess material aspirations, returns to some form of Spiritual centralisation and thus hopefully enlightenment.

That Makarios returns to the Presidency of Cyprus, until such time as a new 'true patriot' (unbought) emerges as a natural leader.

That a University be built on Cyprus, so that the governing System's Orthodoxies may be questioned and thus, benefiting, the indigenous society may acquire a conscience. That the Extreme Left stop looking towards 'Mother Russia' and Extreme Right towards 'Mother Greece' for both have proved that unlike the true mother, neither will die for her supposed 'child'.

That Karamanlis older a wiser restores reason to Greece.

That Ecevit does not become over zealous (and bites the American hand that feeds him).

*"They want us to lie for them, but they do not want to lose their British citizenship" writes a young drafted Turk from Ankara.



WORLD POPULATION:

FOR GREATER GOOD AND A SMALLER NUMBER

ONE WORLD FOR ALL



UNITED NATIONS
WORLD POPULATION YEAR

It could be said that the further the advance of human civilisation, the more fundamental its problems. People in the past have seen the ultimate problem as survival against the elements, survival in spite of disease and war, economic survival, then survival of certain social orders and structures, now survival of the ecology.

The next problem will be even more fundamental and far-reaching — the control of the world's population, to avoid global overcrowding and the precipitation of multifold disasters. Population statistics can be quoted ad infinitum but if present (increasing) growth rates continue, there will be at least another two billion people on Earth by the end of this century. To stimulate thinking on the population crisis, the UN Association of New Zealand organised and held a World Population Seminar at Victoria University, Wellington on 27th and 28th July 1974.

Since the issue of world population involves many issues including natural resources, the environment, finance,

development and planning, transport, politics and the co-ordination of all these speakers and delegates at the seminar came from a wide variety of interests and areas. On Saturday morning Sir Francis Kitts made the official welcome, and the Minister of the Environment, Mr Walding, opened the seminar. Mr Walding advocated improvements in contraceptive availability, family planning services, and planning of immigration. He stressed that we must preserve for all New Zealanders the advantages of a small country protected from pollution and overcrowding.

Mr A.R. Low, Governor of the Reserve Bank then presented a cautious paper. He emphasised the potentiality of the crisis, saying that there are many unknown factors and that extreme optimism or pessimism should be ruled out. He sees development and aid as essential in achieving population control in the 'third world' areas. Regarding environmental damage which would result from such development, e.g. the already apparent ravaging of lands and forests in Brazil, Mr Low told me that he didn't know the answer. He also pointed out population growth has momentum and so control can take a long time to be effective. Conclusion: we must act NOW.

He was followed by embassy representatives from Argentina, Bangladesh, Japan and Korea, who gave short reports on population problems in each country. All acknowledged the urgency of their situations and need for widescale family planning through instruction, except the Argentine rep. who actually wanted a short term increase in his country's population, to over ten million. This was not well received, because he gave no real reason to back up his view, and did not take proper account of birth control and its importance.

In the afternoon, the American demographer Prof. Franklin Lorimer gave his address. He said that international co-operation or, as U Thant put it, 'a common global ethic' is needed in solving the population crisis. He spoke of Z.P.G. (zero population growth) (which has already been achieved in East Germany) and its desirability. He then spoke about some of the tragedies of over-population such as malnutrition and economic difficulties. He made the important point that in relation to population, quality of life is more important than Gross National Product. He introduced to the Seminar the idea of 'international taxation' to redistribute wealth, and ensure effective aid to underdeveloped countries. Dr Joan MacKay of the Health Department then presented a paper on the family discussing aspects such as age of marriage, the working mother, fertility and the contrast between Extended families, where three generations live together, and Nuclear families, the more usual practice in western countries, where parents and their children make up the family unit. It seems that nuclear families with probably two children will be the basis for putting ZPG into practice.

In the evening the Commissioner for the Environment, Mr Ian Baumgart, spoke on New Zealand, its population and environment. He made it clear that NZ as 'a finite space with limited resources' already has "an immediate, urgent situation" involving population, land usage and town planning.

On the second day, Sunday 28th, papers on the New Zealand situation were presented. Mr R.K. Davison Q.C., Chairman of the Environmental Council, spoke in the morning, followed by Dr Erich Geiringer who took a witty but clever look at the Politics of Population.

Immigration was discussed, with B. Smith of the Marist Brothers asking for more Polynesian immigration, but many delegates had strong reservations on the merits of this idea. Papers from Social Credit and Values Parties looked respect-



Tokyo traffic jam: Absolute hell

ively at changes in trading patterns and population — environment policies. These last two papers were well presented, offering constructive alternatives and stressing the need for action now.

Further papers were presented on behalf of F.P.A. and Corso. Dr Geiringer questioned the value of aid by NZ through the Corso organisation, unless Corso is directing its efforts more towards family planning. Mr Davison gave a summary, and the seminar passed two resolutions, asking the government for a population policy for NZ based on stabilisation, i.e. Z.P.G.

I believe that the seminar served its purpose very well: it examined various areas of the population problem and stimulated thinking in all the delegates. All papers presented were of a high quality and discussion between each was interesting and wide-ranging. Delegates also took the opportunity to meet others with similar interests in politics, conservation, human welfare and sociology.

The seminar gave guidelines for New Zealand's contribution to a World Population Conference to be held by UNO in Bucharest this month. The results of this seminar in Wellington and the Bucharest conference will equip New Zealand with much vital material to resolve the population crisis here and overseas.

A solution to the vast collection of problems incorporated in the population issue will have to be found and enacted soon if man is to survive this century.

RHYS GOODEY

Note — Information on World Population can be obtained by writing to The United Nations Association of New Zealand Dominion Headquarters, 110 Brandon Street, or C.P.O. Box 1011, WELLINGTON 1.

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WHY WE NEED A WOMEN'S STUDY

COURSE AT THIS UNIVERSITY

Ever heard of Elizabeth Stunton, Marie Stopes, Margaret Suele, Sojourner Truth,...fighters for civil rights and social justice for blacks, women and all deprived groups? Extraordinary and brave women, whose names have been erased from our history books.

The only women we hear of now are either the notorious (Messalinas) or the gentle philanthropists who sought to soften the blows from a cruel and callous society upon the weak and defenceless (the Florence Nightingales).

Now women are beginning to rediscover their past, and how, as with the Black, their place in history has been unlifted.

The position of women in the history of the civilized world is again like the Blacks. Women's achievements have been inferior because they were relegated to a stereotyped role by which even the most mediocre of males could bolster his ego, knowing that he was at least superior to his feminine companion. Denied the opportunity for self-fulfillment, or the opportunity to contribute to 'culture' with 20 children, (Mrs Bach had little time to be creative,) women was compensated with the 'honour' of being the 'inspirer', elevating men to flights of creativity and heroism whilst bound in her corset and uncultivated mind she herself stayed firmly planted on the ground beneath.

Thus, there are two prime reasons why women must learn the truth about their role in society - past and present 1. to understand the reasons for their inferiority and 2. to learn how to overcome this.

This insight can be achieved through a Women's Studies Course. Such a course would present a complete future of themselves to women, encompassing all aspects of women's existence. The various 'spheres' investigated would include:

1. Biological - an exploration and exposure of the myths of 'biological destiny' e.g. that for a woman, ultimate fulfillment is to be found in the creation and nurture of a child.

The workings and malfunctionings of women's bodies has been a much neglected area of medical knowledge, pains and discomforts being passed off in hushed tones as 'women's troubles' couched in superstitious nonsense or callously written off as 'women's burden'. It is essential that women become familiar with their own bodies in order that they may control them.

2. Economic position.

The capitalist system explains women both as a source of cheap labour and as the biggest consumer market. The 'myths' of femininity are manipulated for the convenience of big business, e.g. the 'perfect' housewife has this, this and this appliance,

uses 'x' detergent and 'y' cake-mix.

3. The power structure

One can count on the fingers of one hand the number of women who have achieved positions of importance and influence in the political power structure of this country; and on two hands those who are in the top decision-making jobs in other spheres.

Even at universities, where one would expect most 'liberalism', women are clearly discriminated against. There have been many cases (both past and present) of women with better honours degrees than their male counterparts being offered long-term 'temporary' employment as instructors and tutors, whilst the less outstanding, but male graduates become lecturers, receive scholarships etc. (See submissions to the Women's Rights Committee June 1974 by the Inter-university Committee for Sex Equality in Education and 'Women and the Education System' by Auckland Women's Liberation)

4. Socialization of Women

The myths, conventions and rules evolved to justify, support and perpetrate discrimination. For example, the second main course of the low achievement of women in education discussed above, apart from direct discrimination, is that females are discouraged from advancing to the higher stages of learning, from pursuing their career ambitions (if they have been resilient enough to still have them by the time they leave high-school). Most female students discontinue their studies after achieving a BA - a nice safe competence, an asset in finding a professional husband, yet no threat to his superiority which would frighten him off.

Source - NZ Education Statistics 1971

	No. of Women	Total	%Women
Ph. D	9	79	11.4
Masters with Hons	123	422	29.1
Masters	32	184	17.4
Bachelor with Hons	67	404	16.6
Bachelor	950	3,191	29.8
Totals	1,181	4,280	

5. Role of Women

The emulation of the nuclear family and the role of the mother, shown as a domestic slave, castigated for the rise in juvenile delinquency.

6. Women in Literature

Reflects and reinforces sex stereotypes - women as 'feem fatales' scheming seductresses, the revered mother, the unattainable virgin.

With the acceleration and impact of social change, the old myths are crumbling, the old categories and roles are no longer relevant, women are rising up and demanding the 'birth right' which has been denied them throughout history - the right to exist as a free, independent and dignified human being. In many cases, this has involved women in a crisis of identity - a questioning of 'who am I?' the unpalatable answer most have to come to is that 'I am nobody, I am only allowed fulfillment to

justify my existence through others - baby, husband, family.'

The first step to overcoming oppression and discrimination is self-realisation and intense awareness of one's position in society.

Because all educational institutes are geared for the reinforcement and perpetuation of a masculine orientated society, the empirical basis of such self-knowledge can only be given by an especially and specifically designed for women, which can present an image of women as something more than helpmate and nursemaid to man.

Courses of this type in the USA have been very successfully and overwhelming and enthusiastic response to the WEA women's studies course (running currently) indicates that there is a real demand for such a course. As the seat of higher-learning and self-professed harbinger of liberalism, it is the function and responsibility of the university to provide a course for women and absolve itself for its connivance in the subjugation of the female sex.

Raewyn Stone
for University Women's Liberation

and

CRITICISMS OF WOMENS STUDIES

It could, and has, been said that in trying to introduce a separate area of study called "Womens Studies" that the Women's Liberation Movement is being as particularistic and biased as the men that we are fighting. By segregating ourselves we are being the same as the men who segregate us. What is needed is a People's Liberation, and in particular, a "Human Relations Study", where the restrictive role-typing that affects both sexes is examined.

These arguments are, to some extent, valid. But these cannot be the total of the objectives of Womens studies. It is unfortunate that we should have to develop a separate discipline to study half of the human race, but it cannot be denied that the present theories and histories do not do justice to women. What alternative is there, except a remedial history to correct this imbalance? In our case this is Womens Studies, just as Maori Studies attempts to correct the Anglo-Saxon bias.

We "Segregate" ourselves, meaning women lecturers, because Womens Studies is also a consciousness-raising endeavour to increase women's pride in themselves. A man lecturing to us about our history, our minds, and our oppression will not do much to give us pride. The symbolic importance of a woman to other women cannot be underestimated. Many successful women resent being anyone's "token woman".

whether it be men's or a women's liberation group's. But there is a definite difference between being the one token gesture made to placate women, and being a symbol and a model for them.

Womens Studies has many aims. One is to tell everyone of woman's real history - of her true contribution, and give the reasons why, as the line goes, "Shakespeare wasn't a woman." This, a man who knew his facts and was truly sympathetic, could do as well as a woman. But he could not provide a role model for the women listening and he could not do anything but reinforce the idea that women are incompetent because they need a man to tell them about themselves. This is not true - and Womens Studies, by its very existence, is meant to prove all this.

Part of the course should be investigation of traditional roles and the restrictive effect they have on full personality development. But again, this cannot be all of Womens Studies. The liberation of men from roles is a logical extension of the women's movement, but it is first necessary for women to gain a status equal to men.

Another criticism of Womens Studies is, that while it may be politically expedient, what if in fifty years, it is still a separate area, not included in mainstream thinking. This is possible, but it will not be our fault. The groups today cannot correct all the injustices. It will be the responsibility of the future Women's Liberation to fight for total admission to society. It will be men who again will try to keep women isolated. But it is not logical to expect us to do nothing because there will be resistance.

We can only do the most we can and provide a tradition of fighting - the way the feminists of the past give us hope. Of course, these women, and all the others, are rarely heard of outside a women's history group.

Dorothy Anger



PARALLELS

DEFINITIONS: *Racism: Domination and exploitation of one race by another race*
Sexism: Domination and exploitation of one sex by the other sex.

1. Dominant group's stereotype of the exploited group reinforces the position of the dominant group:
 -the happy smiling native
 -the serene contented housewife-mother
2. Myths that reinforce and justify the position of the dominant group:
 -Nazi belief in the physical superiority of Aryan race.
 -Wome
 -Female physique a defective and inferior deviation from norm.
 -Black races descended from Cain
 -women made from rib of a man
3. Conditioning of new generations into the dominant-submissive pattern:
 -Southern African schools for blacks
 -clothes, toys, books, curricula for girls.
4. The pin-pricks of reinforcing racist and sexist social attitudes:
 -ridicule, jokes about jews, blacks, Poles, the Irish, etc.
 -"All she needs is a good lay", mother-in-law jokes etc.
 -treatment by media, the black minstrel mentality, advertising showing Maoris in low-status work situations, press coverage of sub-culture's activities.
 -borrowed-interest advertising, e.g. sexy woman stands by new model car. The quality of the Woman's Page in most newspapers. Baby-sell ads.
8. The physical suffering of the dominated group:
 -Ku Klux Klan lynchings, mutilations in the Belgian Congo, USA medical treatment for Chicanos, etc.
 -wife beating, compulsory child-bearing for NZ. schoolgirls refused abortion, poverty of widows and solo mothers, women conditioned to sacrifice self.
9. The newness of consciousness in the dominated group: c.f., the age of their suffering. The phases of vulnerability self-assertiveness, reconstruction. The application of much USA black consciousness-raising literature to women.

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racism & Sexism

5. The soft-sell reinforcement by liberals and sympathisers of the dominant group:
 (ogden Nash: "People who have what they want are fond of telling people who haven't what they want they really don't want it.")
 -The USA Civil Rights movement in the 1960's: work through existing channels, be patient and Christian.
 -Male chauvinism, "it is unfeminine to struggle", use masculine rules of the game.
6. Institutions support the status quo, e.g., anomalies in the legal system:
 -predominance of whites in NZ Courts, professions, Public Service, local bodies, Parliament, church hierarchies, media, middle-class executive jobs, trade unions, the 'Establishment'
 -predominance of males in NZ Courts, professions, Public Service, local bodies, Parliament, church hierarchies, media, middle-class executive jobs, trade unions, the "Establishment."
 -Christianity's tolerance of slavery.
 -Christianity's doctrinal support of father's dominant role, esp. St Paul.
7. The economic exploitation via job opportunities, training, promotion, salaries etc:
 -work available in South Africa and Rhodesia for blacks
 -women do service work which is basically supportive, less productive, lower status
 *secretary to executive
 *nurse to doctor
 *assistant teacher to male headmaster
 *check-out girl to supermarket manager
 *conductress to bus-driver
 *air hostess to pilot
 *receptionist to dentist
 -predominance of Maoris in road gangs, demolition work, section clearing, slaughter work in abattoirs, etc.
 -use of coloured immigrants e.g., Fijians in N.Z.
 West Indians in U.K.
 -the opposition of coloureds in Rhodesia and South Africa (with vested interest) to black liberation
 -the opposition of many church women and housewives and even female workers to equal rights for women
 -the dominated race being used to enforce the system that oppresses them, e.g. black American soldiers in Vietnam, black South African policemen.
 -the use of wives as show cases for their husband's status and wealth, e.g., the vicarious consumption of Jacqui Onassis. Such women then have a vested interest in perpetuating the exploitation of their sex.
10. The combination of racism and sexism. The black woman suffers doubly, even at the hands of men of her own race. "If the Maori is a third-class citizen, then the Maori woman is a fourth-class citizen." (Mira Szaszy, President Maori Women's Welfare League.) "It is easier for a Maori to get into Parliament than for a woman." (Kirk) "I have experienced more discrimination as a woman than as a black in my life-time". (Black Congress-woman in USA). Often coloured anti-racists (e.g. Nga Tamatoa) are particularly opposed to Women's Liberation as they resent women "getting in on their scene". Eldridge Cleaver's essay on black women in "Soul Onice". Most of the points made above apply to the white western woman - what about women in Saudi Arabia, Japan, Nigeria, Samoa, etc.
11. The potential unique contribution of the dominated group if liberated:
 -the contribution already of black music and dance in the USA.
 -"Women has the concern to make possible a more abundant life. She stands for the significance of individual life, searches for what gives meaning and significance to life. While men establish laws and create philosophical systems, women will question their validity and challenge their authority. She is the one in the human partnership who could change into a home for humanity the society which has become depersonalised by man's technique"
 Dr Lois Clemens (woman Mennonite)
 -cultural values of tolerance and community among the Polynesian races.
 -Philosophy and religions of India
12. Human liberation is what the world needs:
 -not mere black liberation
 -not mere women's liberation

JUSTICE

WOMEN AND (IN). JUSTICE.

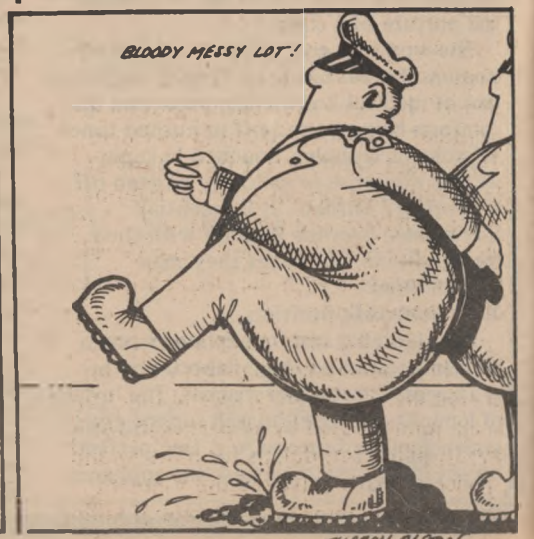
Women in New Zealand as everywhere else in the world, are discriminated against by the judicial system as well as culturally and socially. Women are entitled to impartial judges and juries, and need sympathetic lawyers, but too often this is not the case. The percentage of women lawyers is low, and too often women emerge from law school with the biased attitudes of the male sexist lecturers. Women very often cannot afford to pay for legal assistance - and are disadvantaged in trying to defend themselves, or get divorced, or obtaining maintenance as many lawyers are not interested in cases which consume time with often little chance of remuneration.

Perhaps the most blatant area of legal discrimination is in rape cases. Even if the police will press charges, the jury is invariably all male and unlikely to convict anyway. The prosecuting counsel will try to prove that the woman was to blame, and it is very often a trial of the victim's morals rather than the defendant's criminal activities. With idiots in positions of responsibility perpetrating the myth that "women want to be raped," (not, which would be more true, "all men are basically rapists"), it is amazing that any man is ever convicted of rape. It is generally considered that for every case of rape reported to the police there is at least one, and probably more, that are not. Women also have little legal recourse in cases of violence. The Police simply will not interfere in "domestic" cases, and the women usually cannot leave her husband for financial reasons. If she does leave, it is desertion and she cannot get maintenance if he then divorces her. There have been at least three cases in New Zealand in the past year of a husband murdering his wife and getting a sentence of less than 5 years. Obviously, killing a woman is a far less serious crime than possessing marijuana in our society.

If a woman is convicted of any crime meriting a sentence of over 6 months she is automatically separated from her family and sent to the women's prison in Christchurch. There is no provision of Periodic Detention facilities for women in NZ, but surely this would be a far more suitable form of punishment for women with families, especially small children, than for men, and would be far preferable to long prison terms which isolate any woman outside Christchurch, in the company of only other offenders and warders (who are hard to get and may not be sympathetic to the problems of these women) Pregnant women must have their babies fostered shortly after birth if they are in prison at the time. Some provision could surely be made for them to conclude their pregnancies before being detained - if concessions can be made for minor rugby players who drive drunkenly to serve their prison sentences after the end of the season.

There are inequalities in our judicial system for both sexes, but at present women do seem to be coming off worst.

KAREN.



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INDOCHINA REPORT

NUMBER TWO, AUGUST 1974

EDITORIAL: An Open Letter To Mr Kirk

Dear Mr Kirk,

Many New Zealanders concerned for peace in the world hoped that the election of your government in November 1972 would bring in a new era of morality in our foreign policy, leading to a truly independent, non-aligned New Zealand. The long years of anti-communist propaganda from the Foreign Affairs Department would be at an end, and we would cease to aid military dictators thousands of miles away - or so it was hoped.

The reality, with regard to Indochina at least, has turned out very different. The Foreign Affairs Department officials have continued their old Holyoake style of support for Generals Thieu and Lon Nol, both in public statements and in arranging New Zealanders' public funds to be used in support of those dictators. While Mr Whitlam announced promptly after his election that he was recognising the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (the Hanoi government), and has sent many thousands of dollars worth in aid to that government, our Foreign Affairs Dept declined even to recognise Hanoi for nine months, giving 'reasons' like shortage of money to establish an embassy. There has been, however, no shortage of money to aid the US-installed military regimes of Thieu in southern Vietnam and Lon Nol in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. This March you gave another \$100,000 of our public money to Lon Nol - in cash! Since your election you have also spent \$60,000

of our public money on police boat hulls for Thieu; and you intend to give a further \$40,000 this year toward that, when even the US Congress has resolved to cease police aid to Thieu because, according to Amnesty International, he holds at least 100,000 political prisoners, many in atrocious conditions.

Then there was that pamphlet sent into every NZ home by World Vision. Your photo was on the front page, and a letter from you was shown, endorsing World Vision's appeal for money. You told the people of New Zealand, Mr Kirk, that World Vision aids 'needy and orphaned children throughout Indochina'. THAT WAS A LIE. World Vision, as its Auckland director Mr Geoff Renner freely admits in his plush office, gives aid only to those small enclaves of Indochina controlled by the US through its men Thieu and Lon Nol. The vast majority of Indochina is not aided by World Vision. How does it feel, Mr Kirk, to have been made a liar by your Foreign Affairs Advisors?

Furthermore, I wonder whether your staff told you what World Vision does in those small areas where it operates in Indochina. You have only to ask Mr Renner, as we did (and as Terry Bell published in the Sunday Times) and you'll find that W.V. aid is tied to Christian indoctrination. This contrasts starkly with the attitude of enlightened Christian aid, as energetically propounded by such leaders as the Rev. Alan Brash, who has said we must give aid through the Buddhists if only because they make up 80% or more of the people in southern Vietnam. We have no right to couple humanitarian aid with cultural or



religious imperialism, foisting one Western set of beliefs on the needy.

World Vision is also guilty of building, at the request of the Thieu regime, what amounts to concentration camps - tightly-packed bunches of huts in which people are kept, unable to support themselves, not permitted to return to their villages outside Thieu enclaves.

Are you happy, Mr Kirk, with those advisors of yours who told you to endorse World Vision? Aren't you wondering how else they've led you astray? 'Indochina Report' raises many other matters in which your Foreign Affairs staff have continued to act as in the Holyoake days - supporting the desperately unpopular military governments which have been installed and maintained by the USA; ignoring and even insulting the other governments of Indochina; refusing to take a moral stand in public against Thieu's holding and torturing many tens of thousands of political prisoners; perverting even apparently humanitarian medical aid by giving it almost entirely in US-controlled areas, thus fitting in with the Nixon policy of holding those many

millions who have been made refugees by the 'forced-draft urbanisation'.

No doubt you thought, Mr Kirk, that your landslide election put you in power comfortably for at least 6 years, and that you could afford to ignore those New Zealanders who wanted you to work for peace in Indochina. We suggest that you mis-read the signals; you were given a mandate for real change, but you have already frittered it away. You may have read in 'Time' that, in the USA, Republican Party fund-raising letters are coming back with 'get it from Haldeman' written across them; well, let us assure you that, unless you move into that Foreign Affairs office and jolt those bureaucrats out of their pro-Nixon actions, many of us will respond to Labour members next year with the message 'get it from Lon Nol'.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Mann
Secretary,
Auckland University Staff For Peace.

THE WAR IS NOT OVER!

Two years ago the first issue of "Indochina Report" was issued by Auckland University Staff For Peace. Some 103,000 copies were distributed throughout the country; in certain areas such as Wanganui, Thames and Waiouru (!) every last household received the paper, thanks to local citizens concerned for peace.

We will never know the effects precisely, but one measure is that donations came in from all over New Zealand, paying for the printing costs. It is possible that marginal seats like Wanganui were significantly affected.

We sent out copies to Foreign Affairs officials and other supporters of the then Holyoake war policy; not one single statement in that first issue of "Indochina Report" has been even challenged, let alone rebutted, to the best of our knowledge. Two years later, what has changed? Our troops had already stopped fighting under Holyoake and were finally brought home by the new Labour Government, consistent with the Nixon doctrine of Vietnamisation;

Nixon has ordered dropped on Indochina, sometimes in direct violation of even the US Congress, several times the bomb tonnage used by all parties in World War II; billions of dollars for military and police aid have bolstered the Vietnamisation programme, but the rate of killing

is still enormous (only the colour of the corpses is different);

A Cease-fire Agreement has been negotiated at Paris by the relevant parties, including the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) which controls most of south Vietnam and is consistently referred to in the Agreement on an identical footing with the Saigon administration of General Thieu;

And What then?

The USA has poured in several billions more for military and police aid to Generals Thieu and Lon Nol;

The New Zealand Government has continued to aid the US-installed dictators Thieu and Lon Nol, to the virtual exclusion of the vast majority of Indochina;

The New Zealand Government, implementing precisely the Nixon policy, refuses to recognise the PRG despite the fact that the Peace Agreement places it on an equal footing with the Saigon administration of Thieu;

The New Zealand Government

refuses to give aid direct to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (DRV), whereas Mr Whitlam has sent a valuable shipload of wool and iron;

The NZ Govt. refused for many months after the cease-fire even to recognise the DRV, whereas Mr Whitlam did so promptly;

The Foreign Affairs Ministry of the NZ Govt. has issued a steady stream of insults against the DRV and PRG, studiously calling them names ("North Vietnam" and

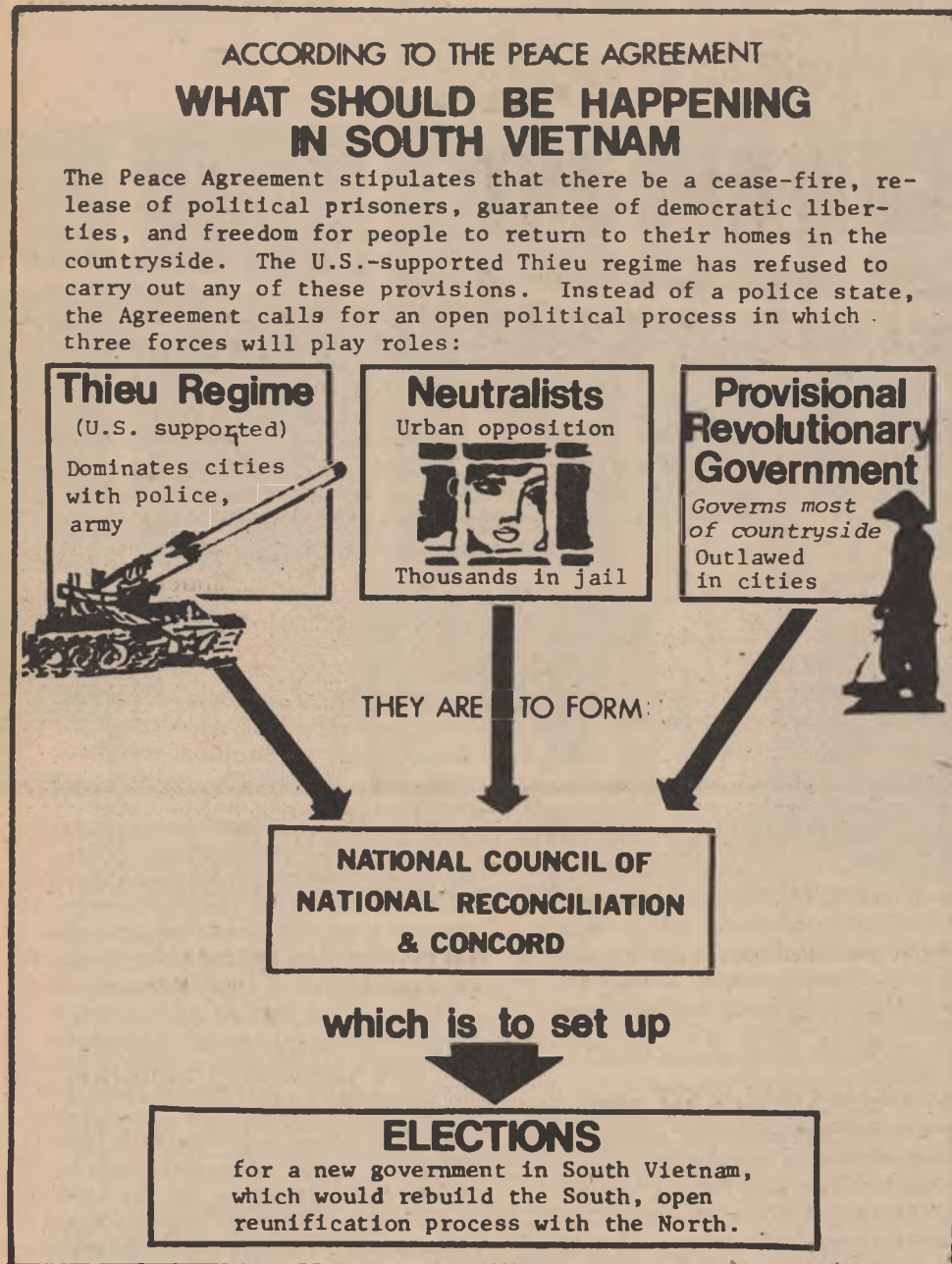
"Viet Cong", respectively) which are pejoratives created by their enemies rather than being their correct names; - we could go on, but the picture is all too clear already: the NZ Ministry of

The Government which I lead is determined to find and hold to a firm moral basis for its foreign policy. It may be said that the only basis for a sound foreign policy is the national interest. I see no contradiction. I believe that to base our foreign policies on moral principles is the most enlightened form of self-interest. What is morally right is likely to be politically right. What appears in the short term to be the path of expediency is all too likely to lead into a blind alley.
- Norman Kirk, Foreign Affairs Review June 1973.

Foreign Affairs, neglected to say the least by its Minister (Mr Kirk), continues to carry forth the biased policy of the Holyoake era with regard to Indochina, fitting in rather precisely with the Nixon doctrine. In fact, in some ways we are even worse than the USA; at long last the US congress has resolved to cut off police aid to Thieu, but Mr Kirk provided \$60,000 of NZ public funds towards police boat hulls for Thieu in the financial year ended 31 March 1974 AND WRITES TO US THAT HE INTENDS TO GIVE A FURTHER \$40,000 FOR THE POLICE BOATS IN THE PRESENT FINANCIAL YEAR!! (They are being built by a firm in Christchurch)

The kindest conclusion we can reach about Mr Kirk and Indochina is that, as in the past, he simply is not very interested. Domestic matters like inflation and bikies appear to loom much larger in his priorities. And so the Foreign Affairs officials, notably the head of the department (Mr Corner) and other boys specialising in South-East Asia, are able to press on with essentially the same old Holyoake policy of supporting Nixon's anti-communism, saying in effect to the people of Vietnam and Cambodia "We have made the decision for

THE WAR IS NOT OVER!



you - you'd be better dead than red". Here is what this Foreign Affairs Ministry of ours told Parliament recently in its annual report about its activities in Indo-china.

Following the withdrawal of New Zealand military forces from Vietnam the Government concentrated its attention on the humanitarian aspects of reconstruction and rehabilitation. It has committed \$10 million in assistance to the countries of Indo-China in the period 1975-77. Of this, \$500,000 has been given to the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UNICEF for use throughout Indo-China, including North Vietnam, and \$500,000 has been earmarked for the second stage of the Nam Ngum hydro-electric scheme in Laos.

That, presumably, is what Mr Nixon would call "full disclosure"! No mention of the one-tenth of a million dollars cash they had just given Lon Nol, for example, bringing to a total of \$300,000 the amount of our public funds thus given *Under Kirk*! Perhaps this grossly misleading account of Foreign Affairs activities on Indochina has some connection with another item a few pages further on in their report.

The Government paid careful attention to the economic side of New Zealand's relationship with the United States. A major achievement was the Presidential decision to increase levels of imports of dairy products included the allocation of substantial quotas to New Zealand, thus recognising this country as a major supplier and unsubsidised exporter. Bilateral economic consultations with the United States were held in Wellington in February 1974.

And the outlook is not good; a special envoy of the US government has recently been in Wellington discussing possible cuts in our beef sales to the US (which have been around \$180 million per year lately). Perhaps an investment of a mere \$40,000 more for Thieu's police boats will seem very reasonable to Mr Corner compared with possible much larger losses of beef sales? **ONLY A MASSIVE EXPRESSION OF CONCERN BY THE NEW ZEALAND PUBLIC IS LIKELY TO TURN OUR FOREIGN POLICY AWAY FROM SUPPORTING NIXON'S SIDE IN THE CONTINUING WARS OF INDOCHINA'**

But how can we express our concern?

- (1) Telegraph, write, phone Mr Kirk, and your own MP regardless of his presumed personal sympathies, urging:-
- (i) reconstruction aid direct to the

DRV and PRG, not to Thieu and Lon Nol, and none of it for military or police activities;

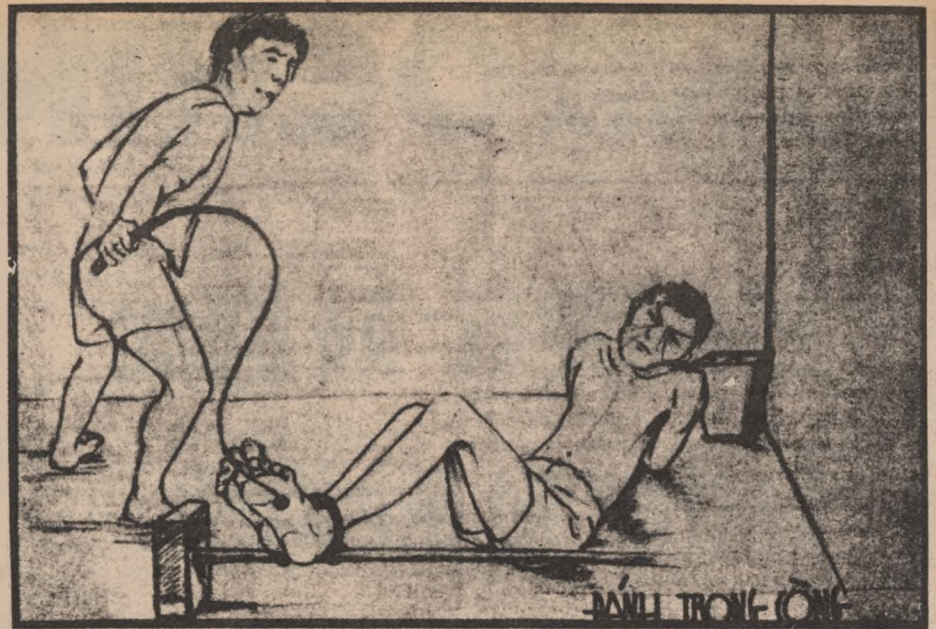
- (ii) recognition, as has been already accorded by over 40 countries, of the Provisional Revolutionary Govt. of the Republic of South Vietnam (the PRG);
- (iii) a public condemnation of the Saigon administration for its crimes against over 100,000 political prisoners and a strong call that General Thieu release them.

- (2) Form deputations with your friends to visit your MP and impress upon him or her your views on our Indochina policy.
- (3) Write letters to the newspapers for positive peace action in Indochina.
- (4) Join RAVPOC (see our article on the political prisoners).
- (5) Send us a contribution to help bring reliable information to New Zealanders through widespread distribution of this and future issues of 'Indochina Report' - cheques or money orders (do not send cash in the mail) to Auckland University Staff for Peace c/- Dr R. Mann University of Auckland Private Bag, Auckland.

HOW CAN WE GET RELIABLE INFORMATION ON INDOCHINA?

You may have noticed that many of the facts we have brought you in 'Indochina Report' were not covered adequately, if at all, by your papers and broadcasting. How can those who wish to keep up to date be well informed?

The Indochina Resource Center was set up in July 1971 by several American Churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Church of Christ) to serve as "an independent clearing house for information on contemporary Indochina". The director is Fred Branfman (author of "Voices from the Plain of Jars"). Its offices in Washington, D.C. and Berkeley, California publish excellent material, notably "Indochina Today", a monthly compilation of articles from the world press and official publications. Nobody can seriously claim to be



This drawing by a former Tiger Cage prisoner shows "beating in a cell." 384 new small Tiger Cages were built by the American construction firm RMK-BRJ in 1971.

SAIGON'S PRISONERS

Amnesty International is an extremely prestigious, non-partisan organisation which works in many countries on behalf of political prisoners around the world - people who have been imprisoned for their beliefs rather than for any crime. The many patrons of Amnesty include the Archbishop of Canterbury (Great Britain), Prof. Gunnar Myrdal (Sweden), Prof. Julius Stone (Australia) and Sir Guy Powles (New Zealand). Amnesty always works for the release of political prisoners (POCs) without any regard whatever for their political tendencies. This humanitarian organisation has also raised a petition of over one million (from 91 countries) for a UN ban on torture.

On November 2, 1972 the New York Times reported that the Chairman of Amnesty International, Sean MacBride (also secretary-general of the International Commission of Jurists) had given a rough estimate of 200,000 POCs held in Indo-china, most of them by the Saigon Government. "Many of these people" he said "are in jail only because they have called for peace." Mr MacBride revealed a draft agreement or protocol which Amnesty was sending to all relevant governments, including of course not only those in Indo-china but also outsiders who were taking part in the war, including the US and NZ. The Amnesty protocol envisaged

procedures for the release of civilian prisoners throughout Indo-china.

On December 17, 1972, representatives of nine Auckland groups concerned about peace met in a deputation organised by Auckland University Staff For Peace with three MPs of the then new government; Dr Finlay, Dr Bassett, and Mr Hunt. Facts on the prisoners were presented and the particular problem was stressed that the NZ government, which had amply dissociated itself from any atrocities committed by "the other side", remained mute on the main offence - the more than 100,000 POCs held by our government's ally the Saigon administration. Facts were

knowledgeable about current affairs in Indochina today without reading "Indochina today". Your library should subscribe: NZ\$70 a year, including airmail, from

Indochina Resource Center
1322 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
U.S.A.

The other main source of accurate information on Indochina is the American Friends Service Committee (112 South 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102, USA), a Quaker organisation which shared the

Nobel Peace prize with its British counterpart back in 1947 (when it meant something) and which has consistently been to the fore in accurate reporting and moral commenting on the realities of Indochina. The AFSC Indochina Program publishes reports from its medical workers in Quang Ngai. Another AFSC project, NARMIC (National Action and Research on the Military-Industrial Complex) produces such fine material as the famous slide shows "The Automated Air War" and "The Post-war War". Write to us to arrange showings of one or both in your school, church or union.



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also provided from unimpeachable sources such as the American Friends Service Committee suggesting strongly that the matter was urgent because torture and even murder appeared to be prevalent in the jails of the Saigon regime.

The MPs were asked to bring the facts before Mr Kirk and to urge him to make a public condemnation of General Thieu for these crimes.

Dr Finlay was reluctant even to mention the matter to Mr Kirk; Dr Bassett and Mr Hunt, however, to their credit, promised to do so.

Since that time, hundreds of letters have poured in to Mr Kirk with this same request; make a public condemnation of this massive crime, in order to show the world that New Zealand is against such atrocities though formerly complicit in them under Holyoake.

A Labour MP told us there were two officials in the Foreign Affairs Dept occupied full-time answering letters on this subject! We have also learned that such letters, addressed to Mr Kirk, are usually not seen by him but are answered by the Foreign Affairs staff.

Mr Kirk has still not spoken out. Why not? Here are the main reasons given in letters from Foreign Affairs (signed by either Mr Kirk or his associate minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Walding) -

- There may well be POCs in North Vietnam too
- I have the highest regard for Amnesty International
- I'll ask our ambassador in Saigon (General Thornton) to look into it
- General Thornton has been unable to find any evidence of large-scale reclassification of POCs as common criminals
- I've asked General Thornton to have a word in private to General Thieu expressing our concern
- I'm sure you wouldn't want me to upset delicate negotiations by saying anything in public
- Private diplomacy is best
- Saigon does not hold anything like as many prisoners as Amnesty says. It's only (zero to 40,000... fill in whatever number Thieu has most recently given)
- Thieu has released some 5,000 POCs; the next move is clearly up to the National Liberation Front
- General Thornton has visited Con Son prison and found the tiger cages empty

In 1973 Amnesty published in London the book "Political Prisoners in South Vietnam" which detailed the facts, concluding that Thieu still held upwards of 100,000 POCs and stating that the PRG had admitted to holding 637 POCs but had released most of them. Amnesty could not give exact figures (nobody can, for obvious reasons) but was sure that whatever the number of POCs still held by the PRG (presumably) as bargaining chips in the effort to obtain implementation of the Peace Agreement) it was far fewer than those held by Thieu.

In April 1973 Mr Richard Northey, doctoral candidate in Political Studies at the University of Auckland, visited the NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and discussed with an official the reasons why, in spite of Mr Kirk's professed admiration for Amnesty, he refused to believe Amnesty's figures in this case. Mr Northey learned that the Foreign Affairs' sources of information on the question of POCs under Thieu were, in decreasing order of importance:

- (1) Thieu's embassy in Wellington
- (2) The USA embassy in Wellington
- (3) General Thornton

(4) The UK High Commission in Wellington

What this means is that, when Thieu is accused of a crime, on the basis of a great mass of reliable evidence, our Foreign Affairs 'witnesses' on the question are, firstly, the criminal himself; secondly, his chief sponsor; thirdly, a well-known ally of his; and finally, a rather uninterested party not believed to be especially informed on the issue.

Mr Northey further learned that our Foreign Affairs officials refuse to take any notice of Don Luce, co-author of a book on the POCs ('Hostages of War'), a widely respected expert who had lived more than a decade in South Vietnam and is described by 'Time' as being to General Thieu what Ralph Nader is to General Motors. The Foreign Affairs officials also claimed that Don Luce and the American Friends Service were admitted to be unreliable by the Rev. Wilf Ford, a past president of the NZ Methodist church who has visited Vietnam. On checking with Mr Ford, Mr Northey found that he had never said any such thing.

In August 1973, Release All Vietnamese Prisoners of Conscience (RAVPOC) was formed. Nine of Mr Kirk's own MPs fixed to their wrists bracelets with the names of particular POCs held by Thieu. Many hundreds of concerned New Zealanders did likewise, and poured letters in to the Saigon embassy, the US embassy, and Mr Kirk, calling for real efforts towards release of the POCs. Over 1,000 now belong to RAVPOC.

The same month, Mr Whitlam made a public statement condemning Thieu for these crimes. But Mr Kirk, who had made a strong statement about a much smaller number of POCs in the USSR, still refused (and has to this day) to show the world some moral leadership in this problem.



To put in perspective the magnitude of the crime, we can compare the total of POCs under Thieu with the sum total for the rest of the world. If the estimate of the most reliable Vietnamese group (Father Chan Tin's committee to Reform the Prison System of South Vietnam) is correct, Thieu holds over 200,000 POCs, which is more than Amnesty's total for the rest of the world!

What can you do?

Join RAVPOC: send \$1 and your name and address to Box 9012, Wellington. You will receive details of a particular prisoner and be asked to wear his or her name on a bracelet, and to write to the relevant governments urging release.

You will also be put in touch with your local branch of RAVPOC and will have the opportunity to join groups visiting MPs to inform them of the problem and urge them to speak out on it.

Your dollar - or more, if you can spare it, - will bring you a newsletter about the POCs, and will help finance visits to NZ by experts such as Don Luce and perhaps fact-finding missions to Vietnam by New Zealanders.

CAN YOU HELP THE TORTURED PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE: JOIN RAVPOC!!

THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF S. VIETNAM

Michael Stenson
Senior Lecturer in History
University of Auckland

Three organisational roots of the PRG lie in the National Liberation Front formed in 1960 and in its predecessor organisation the Vietminh, formed in 1941. Its social and emotional roots are, however, much deeper, lying in a history of over 100 years of Vietnamese struggle against western colonial domination. In this sense the changing organisations mark but different phases of a continuing campaign for national independence.

The Vietminh won the campaign to evict the French in 1954 but was unable to prevent American intervention to prop up a separate government based on Saigon. The political division of Vietnam imposed by the French was thus maintained by the Americans.

The Vietminh continued, however, to control significant areas of the south throughout the era of the Diem government of 1955-63. And in December 1960 it intensified the struggle for independence and reunification by forming the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (generally known in New Zealand as the NLF).

Like the Vietminh, the NLF was a broad coalition of nationalist groups of varying ideological complexion. It included elements of the Binh Xuyen, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects. And although guided by communists of the Lao Dong Party ((Douglas Pike, author of 'Viet Cong', would say 'directed'), it comprised a great majority of non-communists of the People's Revolutionary Party, the Radical Socialist Party, and the South Viet Nam Democratic Party for example.

According to Pike, the Lao Dong Party

saw the liberation of the south as 'a 2-stage affair: first, the elimination of the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, ... then the establishment of a national democratic coalition government ... that would negotiate with the north for reunification.'

The NLF fully achieved neither task. But it liberated and governed a major part of the south and so weakened the American-supported government in Saigon that the Americans decided to intervene with massive force, in 1964. Resistance was maintained and intensified to the point that in February 1968 the NLF and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) were enabled to mount the Tet offensive which convinced the Americans that they could no longer carry on themselves a ground war in Vietnam.

In the wake of the Tet 1968 the NLF encouraged the formation of an Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces and published a ten point peace programme following the two-stage concept of the Lao Dong party.

Five years ago, in June 1969, with US troop withdrawal imminent, 88 delegates of the NLF and the urban-based Alliance



THIS MAP from *Le Monde*, Jan. 30, 1974, shows the approximate areas of administration of the P.R.G. (grey) and the Thieu government (white). Contested areas are indicated by the cross-hatches.

THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

jointly formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) at a representative congress.

The PRG terms itself provisional because it recognises the reality of deep political divisions in the south. *It therefore retains the original aim of creating a coalition government of the Republic of South Vietnam as a means of reconciliation in the south and then of reunification with the north.*

Its programme in this respect was largely accepted in the Paris Peace Agreement of January 1973, which provided for US withdrawal and the creation of a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord which would hold elections for the creation of a new government.

However as in 1954 a political settlement has once again been frustrated by the US. So far as the US was concerned the Paris Agreement merely paved the way for the withdrawal of American ground combat forces and the maintenance of the war by means of massive financial, arms and technical assistance to the Thieu regime. Political division has thus been maintained and reconciliation frustrated by continuing outside interference. Such is the coercive power of modern weaponry that a massively-funded military and police machine may in fact succeed in maintaining the division of southern Vietnam. The key to reconciliation is thus almost entirely American. The moment they cease supplying Thieu's military machine and between 80 and 92 per cent of the funds for his government budget a Vietnamese political situation will be inevitable.



"You're out of uniform soldier."
24,000 plain-clothes US
Servicemen give the lie
to "US withdrawal".

At this point four common questions can be answered.

1. Is the PRG headed by communists?

The answer is yes, but not only by communists. In Vietnam communism and nationalism have long been inseparable and communists have been the back-bone of anti-colonial resistance. They have, however, always cooperated with a wide variety of non-communist nationalist groups to the extent that the PRG like its predecessors is predominantly non-communist in composition.

2. Is the PRG dominated by North Vietnamese and is the south being invaded by the north?

No, for two reasons.
(a) the PRG is composed of southerners. NLF (southern) forces have always done most of the fighting against the Americans. Northern troops moved south as late as 1965, after American intervention, and even then on only a limited scale.

They have largely withdrawn since Paris. (b) even the Thieu regime regards Vietnam as one country. The south cannot therefore be invaded by the north. There have been only two invasions of Vietnam in the last two centuries, by France and by the USA (and allies such as NZ).

3. Is the PRG a government?

Yes, it has a council of ministers, an administration and armed forces. It collects taxes, provides schools, redistributes land, cares for health and generally provides for the needs of its people. It signed at Paris on an equal basis with the Thieu government. The Agreement itself refers throughout to the 'two parties in the southern zone' on an equal footing. It has been appointed rather than elected because of war conditions; it advocates, however, general elections for coalition government but is denied by the Thieu government.

The PRG lacks only a capital and internationally recognised and defined boundaries to possess all the attributes of a de facto state. Clearly defined boundaries are lacked also by the Thieu government while for the PRG to establish a capital would merely be to invite its obliteration by the world's fourth-largest airforce.

4. Should New Zealand recognise the PRG?

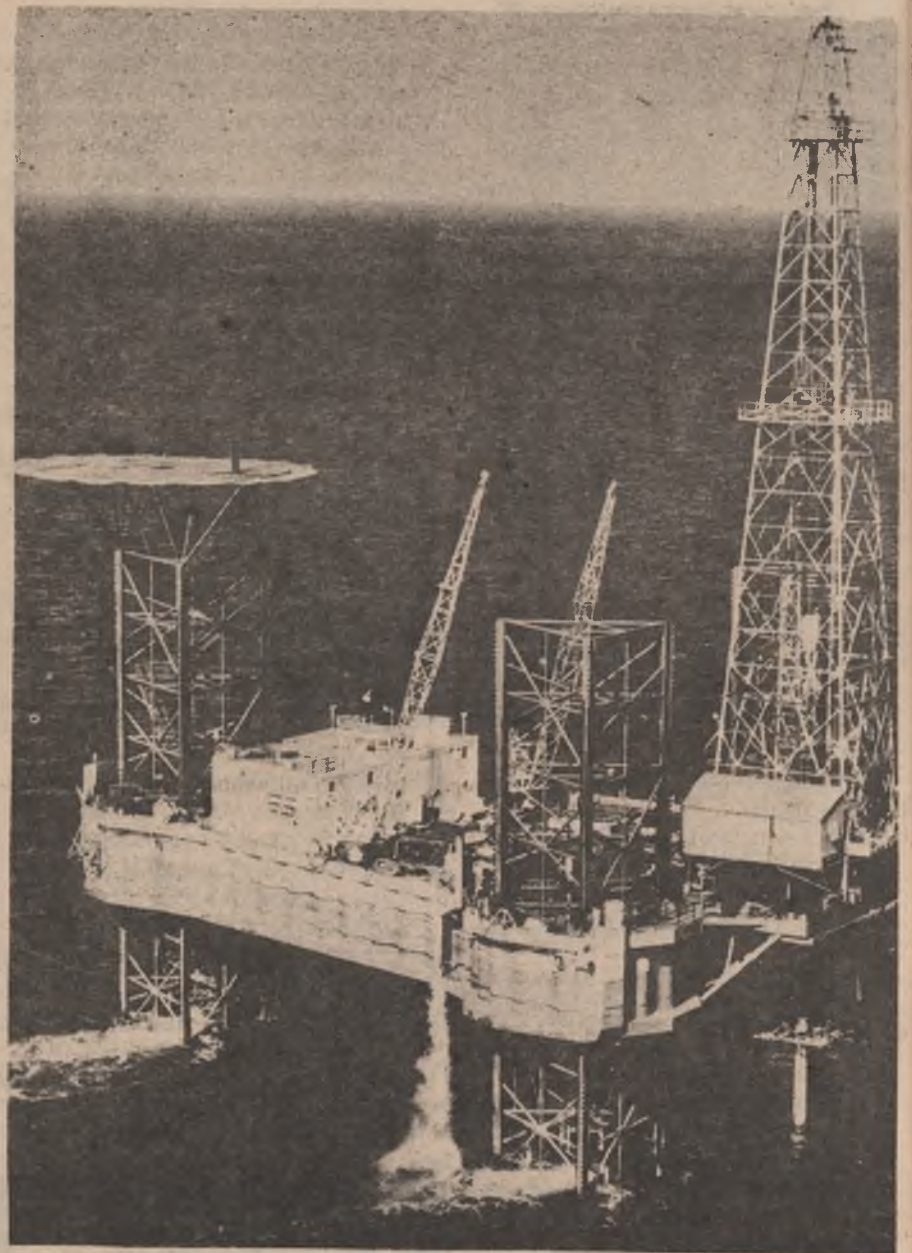
To my mind there can be no doubt that New Zealand should recognise the de facto existence of the PRG. Like the Chilean junta or the Thieu regime it exists and cannot be wished away. The establishment of relations permitting the free exchange of visitors would be of obvious benefit in deepening our knowledge of an important part of Southeast Asia. Moreover, it would assist the only group in south Vietnam which actively works to bring about a political solution to the present conflict. Recognition would thus be an aid to peace, and has indeed been enacted by dozens of countries.

But more than this I believe we should positively assist regimes such as the PRG and DRV which emphasise social justice, human dignity and self reliance. At present, by recognising and aiding the government of Thieu but not that of the PRG, NZ expresses a clear preference for the systematic oppression of Southeast Asians by a military machine which is entirely dependent upon outside support for its survival.

The history of the PRG and its predecessors is quite otherwise. Outside support has been minimal. Support even from the northern part of Vietnam has been limited both financially and numerically. The NLF and PRG have survived and flourished through their own efforts because of their capacity to gain the loyalty of the local population. Their campaign has been more political than military: their main asset has been their capacity to fulfill the social needs of the south Vietnamese peasantry.

The issues seem to me to be crystal clear. Though New Zealand may continue to recognise the political existence of Thieu's government of the Republic of Vietnam, it should in no way condone or aid it in its systematic oppression and terrorisation of the local populace. On the other hand New Zealand should recognise the existence of the PRG as a rival de facto government and actively support it in its efforts to bring about land reform, to improve educational and health standards, and to bring about political reconciliation.

Saigon Opens Second Round of Oil Bidding



SINGAPORE (PNS)—Thirty-four oil exploration companies have qualified for bidding on South Viet Nam's second round of offshore concessions in the South China Sea.

Saigon's National Petroleum Board has announced that 50 "blocks" covering 100,000 square miles have been designated for petroleum exploration and development, with 32 offered now and 18 being held as a national reserve. Contracts are expected to be awarded later this year.

Bidders include the majors Exxon, Shell, Mobil, Gulf and CFP, the French National Petroleum Company.

Increasingly concerned over the threat to their traditional control of crude oil production in the Arab producing states, the major international petroleum giants are seeking alternative sources of supply. Taking advantage of legislation passed by the Saigon government in December, 1970, they are taking claims to the last "open" segment of the South China Sea's vast oil basin, off the Mekong Delta.

In July, 1973, preliminary concessions were awarded Shell, Mobil, Esso Exploration (Exxon) and Sunningdale, a small Canadian company. Shell received three concession blocks, Mobil two, Exxon two and Sunningdale one. Shell later took in Cities Service on a 50-50 joint venture. Kaiyo Oil, a Japanese company backed in part by the Japan Petroleum Development Corporation, joined Mobil as a 30 per cent partner in its two blocks.

Under the terms of these contracts, nine wells must be drilled by July, 1975: three by Shell, two each by Mobil and Sunningdale and one by Esso. Drilling may begin late this year or early 1975.

Similar pressures for early development will probably be included in contracts for this second round. Ships laden with electronic gear have been conducting geological surveys for years in the South

China Sea, and the companies are almost certain to bring in profitable wells.

South Viet Nam's Provisional Revolutionary Government, which under the 1973 Paris Peace Agreement shares sovereignty with the Saigon administration, has denounced Saigon's earlier concession awards. In a July 20, 1973 broadcast, the PRG called the awards "an illegal, traitorous and anti-popular move. The Saigon administration... represents nobody, and has no right to sign any agreement on the extraction of oil in South Viet Nam."

According to the Chase Manhattan Bank, \$35 billion will be invested for petroleum development in the South China Sea over the next decade. Despite the precarious situation of Saigon's Thieu regime, oil men appear relaxed about gambling over the highly promising concession areas.

They reason that even if Thieu goes, a coalition government, and not the PRG, will replace his regime. Moreover, any government in South Viet Nam will need the revenue. They are also encouraged by the 1973 agreement struck by Italy's state company, ENI, and North Viet Nam.

Oil men feel that the present contracts, written along the lines of the old-fashioned Middle East agreements, but even more favorable to the companies, will eventually have to be renegotiated. But they are confident that they will be able to hold on to acreage covered in the leases now being let.

Michael Morrow is a Singapore-based freelance correspondent whose articles have appeared regularly in major U.S. and foreign publications. He is co-author with Leon Howell of Asia, Oil Politics and the Energy Crisis, published last month by IDOC/North America.

FEIFFER

SINCE THE
VIETNAM
CEASE
FIRE:



A
MILLION
NEW
REFUGEES.



OVER
100,000
POLITICAL
PRISONERS.



122,000
SOLDIERS
AND
CIVILIANS
KILLED
OR
WOUNDED.



BUT NONE
OF THEM
OURS.



3-3-73 CHIN AB TIMES

"If men got pregnant abortion would be a sacrament"



JESSICA STAR

Jessica Star, a leader of the abortion rights movement in the US, made a tour of the main NZ centres in July. She gave two speeches when in Auckland. Below are some excerpts from the afternoon speech.

"...Before the US Supreme Court ruled in favour of a woman's right to choose abortion up through the 24th week of pregnancy, one out of four US

women had illegal abortions and 1000 women died each year from the self-induced or back alley abortions...

"...Poor women, uneducated and unsophisticated women are the main victims of anti-abortion laws - women who become so desperate they will go to a back alley quack or do it themselves with wire coat hangers and deadly chemical solutions....

"...How can we have real equality in any society that denies us the right to decide whether to or when to have children?

"...Not only do we need legislation that guarantees equal rights, but we need the repeal of legislation which denies us our ability to control our own reproduction so that we can use our equal status.

"...We are not advocating abortion instead of contraception. In fact, we call upon the medical profession to make the development of contraceptives a priority. No woman would rather have an abortion than use a safe, effective, free contraceptive. What we are saying is we don't have a perfect method and we must have a right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy.

"...There is one perfect method of birth control - celibacy. To many in the anti-abortion camp, this method is seriously proposed to women....

"...A legislator, when asked about the plight of high school women who are denied birth control, answered pompously, 'Let them sleep with their grandmothers'.

"...In Italy...three million get illegal abortions each year, and 20,000 of them die...Even the Vatican has admitted that 11,000 women die each year. Which doesn't seem to bother the hierarchy enough to change its position on birth control!

"...It's amazing to see the kind of fanatical opposition unleashed by the abortion issue...That is because no other issue so fundamentally challenges the government's control over our lives.

Once a woman can decide to end an unwanted pregnancy through a safe, inexpensive abortion, she can make all sorts of decisions about her future....She will have the ability to do whatever she decides is important for her development as a full, total human being....

"...The fear of what women will do with free choice, and how that free choice will effect other areas of society is what leads governments around the world to deny this democratic right... When women no longer fear the punishment of an unwanted pregnancy they will become a real social force throughout the world. And this release of one-half the human race makes the rulers shake in their pants.

"...Of course the abortion prohibitionists don't give the real reasons for their opposition. Instead they hide the truth behind the smokescreen of the fetus. They don't name their organizations things like 'The League to Keep Women Barefoot and Pregnant' or, 'United for Compulsory Pregnancy'.

"...The mystification of the fertilised egg is nothing more than a personal or religious belief which anyone has the right to believe but which no one has the right to shove down the throats of others.

"...Can you imagine the results if Christian Scientists were sitting in Parliament and outlawing hospitals and all medical care? We already know the statistics of abortion deaths resulting from laws which correspond to the private beliefs of a minority.

"...It is absolute slander to claim that women controlling their own bodies (no one else's) is the same as euthanasia laws which allow the state to control and get rid of the old and sick. In fact, women are in the forefront of a fight for individual choice, and against precisely the kind of government control which can lead to euthanasia. We are against forced sterilisation of welfare mothers

and the secret birth control experimentation that is not unusual in the United States. It is the government that controls our lives with abortion laws, just as it is the government that will be responsible for euthanasia laws...Our slogan is choice, not control, and we will be the best defenders of the old and sick to get care from the government instead of death.

"...It was not women who organized the bombing and murder of Vietnamese or the torture and murder of the people in Chile. Where were the anti-abortion forces when pregnant women were napalmed?...If anyone should be accused of destroying innocent life it is...the governments around the world that make murder and war an everyday occurrence. This is the murder of people who we can all agree are total human beings. To put the life of a fertilised egg on a higher plane than these is nothing but hypocrisy. The epitome of such hypocrisy was the well publicised statement by Richard Nixon, commander in chief of the US army. He wrote a letter to the church hierarchy commending their work against abortion and said he couldn't sanction abortion because it went against his deeply held belief in the sanctity of all human life.

So ya might get
chromosome damage,
dizziness,
weight gain,
skin blemishes
cancer....
Ya don't
wanna get
pregnant
do ya?



of straight women we are not forced into reliance upon men for our emotional and financial security.

In becoming feminists we do not risk the threats of a spouse or lover who regards the upgrading of women's place as an insult to his position of power: our lesbian lovers are also our feminist sisters; we strengthen each other to handle the perpetual discriminations of an aggressive society wherein heterosexual males generally ridicule feminism, labelling all feminists a "bunch of lesbians" as if that intended abuse should be sufficient to undermine the validity of the whole cause. They may even regard lesbianism as a ploy, a sexual boycott, a tactic of the movement's lunatic fringe, a temporary measure to barter for our rights.

Yet most of us were lesbians long before we were feminists. Many of us aggressed against our own sisters: we saw that men were winning in society and women were losing out. We loved women yet we related to them in the manner of the dominant prevailing model: chauvinism. When the rebirth of feminism spread a wealth of supportive education to women and repeated such words as "sexism" and "chauvinism", the aspirations and mimicry of the former ideal of male power politics, by some lesbian women, were forced to undergo a major rethink.

To attack the oppressive system of politics structured into the everyday heterosexual relationship means attacking as well all female chauvinism directed towards other women. With this consciousness, radical lesbian and gay feminist groups have been formed in this and overseas countries, intent on promoting the feminist and specific lesbian issues.

From a stage of educating ourselves out of the oppressive moulds, we have moved onto discussions with gay men, clarifying hazy areas. Beyond that, we would hope to penetrate into a far wider community, in the name of both gay and feminist rights.

Maureen Thompson.

FEMINISM & SOCIALISM

As women we have been stunned and then outraged as we came to comprehend the degree to which our lives have been deformed, abilities and ambitions stunted, our self-confidence destroyed, our very characters twisted. Our first reaction was often that it would be easy to convince other women of all this, because it was so obvious. And if we could only convince enough women of the truth, somehow that would change everything.

It rapidly became evident that we were not solving the real problems. The laws that force motherhood on us are still on the books. We have little access to better jobs. In other words, we are faced with the key question: How do we go about changing not just the ideas people hold but the institutions set up to perpetuate and reinforce male supremacy? That question automatically raises others. Where did male supremacy come from? Did it always exist? If not when did it begin? Why?

Discrimination against women is bound up with the subordinate social role which is allotted to us. Unfortunately, the maxim 'a woman's place is in the home' reflects reality. Women have been relegated to a domestic role and everything is geared to maintaining the family and women's position within it. The present social and economic system requires the subordination of women.

Women have not always been second-class citizens. Prior to the dawn of recorded history, women and men functioned as social equals. Women were the main producers and actually developed or invented the basic skills that placed humanity on the road to civilisation - agriculture, tanning, weaving, pottery, architecture and much else.

Women were relegated to an inferior social position only with the rise of class society - society in which the means of production - land, cattle, boats (and later slaves and machines) - passed from communal ownership and control into the hands of individual men. With the division of society into classes came also the patriarchal family as the basic social unit. Women were relegated to domestic servitude and second-class status in society not because it served the needs of those men who own property. The sexual restrictions on women were designed to assure the paternity of the heirs of private property and uphold the patriarchal family as the main mechanism for the transmission of property. The family also took over what had previously been a social obligation responsibility for those who could not produce - the children, aged, and the sick.

The women's Liberation movement, in demanding women's rights is demanding alternatives to the present family set-up. For example, the demand for high-quality child-care facilities is at variance with the supposition that women supply their care free of charge. Similarly the demand for women's right to control of their own reproductive lives through ready access to contraception and legal abortion is another blow against the present family system in which motherhood is considered a matter of duty not choice.

Therefore although the family does meet various human needs, however distortedly, such as love and companionship, it is basically an economic institution. Alternatives must be created that are superior to the present family institution and better able to provide for the needs which are currently met, however poorly, by the family. In this way we can ensure that personal relationships will be a matter of free choice and not economic compulsion. But to achieve these alternatives, major steps in social organisation will be needed.

For example, if the demand for equal pay was properly implemented some industries might go bankrupt. Such industries should be nationalised if the only capitalist alternative is to close them down. Any women thrown out of work should be retrained at full union rates so that they can take on other work. This will require heavy government expenditure.

Similarly, if free, high-quality child-care is to be available to all, it will require far more than the miserly subsidy to existing child-care facilities which is all that the present government provides. This too will require a major reallocation of society's resources. The irrational economy and society we have is simply not up to the task of providing women with full equality. Such a task requires a planned economy; planned and run in the interests of the community as a whole, not for the benefit of a tiny group. This change can only be brought about by the active involvement of the majority to transform society. y. JANET ROTH

"...being a lesbian is not merely indulging in physical acts of foremaking. For the women involved, it is a way of life"

GAY FEMINISM

Lesbians are women, and for all women to be a feminist means an act of self-preservation and growth. For lesbians though, the pressure towards feminism is intensified. Our way of life, which consists largely of a society of women has transferred our dependence onto ourselves, our female lovers, our gay community, our straight sisters, so that unlike the majority



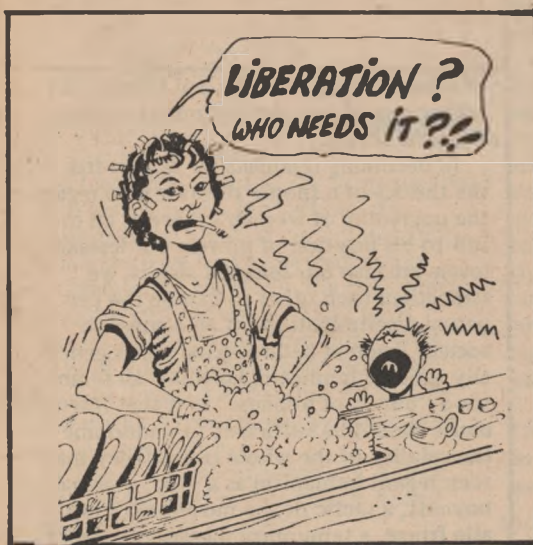
education

concerning women

At the age of 17, just prior to beginning University, I was asked by a woman working as a domestic, "What's the use of all this education for girls when you're only going to get married and have children anyway?" A woman doing a science course at Auckland earlier this year was advised by one of her male Maths lecturers against taking an oceanography scholarship she had been offered in the US because it would reduce her chances in the marriage stakes. These examples illustrate the traditional view of both men and women towards higher education for women — unnecessary and highly undesirable. Women's role of course being wife and mother and little else.

Unfortunately many intelligent young women in today's schools still hold this view. A percentage of 50% female of the total 5th form roll in 1970 dropped to 35% by the 7th form. In the same year less than 28% of university graduates were women. Women made up only 31% of the University roll. By 1972, the proportion of female students had risen to 34% of the total, but this increase is certainly not enough. Of those who gain degrees the largest percentage is at the Bachelor level — 29.8% and only 11% of these continue to Ph. D level.

What causes this low participation of women in higher education in NZ? It is nearly one hundred years since Kate Milligan Edgar graduated from Auckland University; the first woman in the British Empire to do so. Yet the percentage of women enrolled as students is not as high now as it was in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth. The highest point was 47% in 1918. The level of intelligence has little to do with it for women are more likely to gain degrees in the minimum time than men are and are also more likely to gain a Master's degree with honours.



The reason that so few women go into higher education is apparently because of the conflict between intellect and femininity that they have been conditioned into feeling. Society looks upon highly-qualified women as "exceptions" and convinces women that to attain a higher education will severely restrict their opportunities for marriage — still proclaimed as the ultimate aim in life for women.

The reluctance of women to achieve their full potential no doubt has its origins in the continuum of sex role stereotyping throughout the school system. Children learn by example and from the age of five onwards they are unfortunately exposed to the sex-discriminatory examples set by the Department of Education. The majority of their primary school teachers are women yet the 'head' positions are always held by men. At secondary school level, male teachers predominate and they occupy all the top positions (with, of course exception of 'senior headmistress')

Confronted with such a situation, what has the intelligent school girl to look forward to? In a co-educational school especially, she is more likely than not

channelled into the 'arts' subjects — because sciences are masculine — and this is at an age when she has just become aware of her femininity, so social pressures are against her choosing a science course as well. If she looks ahead to University the prospects are grim: she is most probably only prepared for an Arts course and attractive career possibilities do not appear to be provided by higher education.

From the viewpoint of the Women's Liberation Movement, women are effectively discouraged by subtle forces of society's expectations and the not-so-subtle forces of overt discrimination. Society systematically presents women in the media, from the first primary school reader to the extensive coverage of press and T.V., as a housewife and mother, preoccupied only with eliciting the approval of her man or with having the whitest washing in the street, or as a sex symbol. The employed woman is consistently depicted as performing a supporting role to the male-controlled occupation — shop assistant not business woman, receptionist or nurse not doctor, secretary but not executive or professor, technician but not research worker etc. These models actually fairly well represent the situation in society and do nothing to accelerate the emancipation of women from their stereotyped roles.

As well as women being discriminated against in their efforts to obtain higher education, access to University is also limited by their vocational earnings — equal pay has not yet been established in all sectors of the work force and, even if it had been, the higher paid job opportunities are usually open only to men with the result of the total earnings achieved by women being far below those earned by men and thus they find themselves restricted in their planning of courses through lack of finances. This no doubt contributes to the higher percentage of women doing part-time study and a greater number of women students working part-time.

The proposal to give female students an extra \$100 in bursary allowances is a very welcome sign of the recognition of the difficulties of women in this respect. It probably will be seen by many men as being discriminatory against them, but we do not agree. When the time comes that every female student is able to work in the vacation job of her choice with no barriers, economic or social, because of her sex, then we would wish to see the difference removed. However, for this plan to come into being it has to overcome the prejudices and conservatism of the government. This scheme would have the added advantage of showing male students what it is like to "be on the wrong side of the fence", though in a very minor way.

Measures like this are desirable, but still cannot solve the basic problems. The causes of the under-representation of women at universities are a lot deeper than simply economic. The processes of early childhood socialisation begin the pattern which continues, throughout the education system, the vocational system, and every aspect of our lives. There is a need for basic change in the ideology of our society because, without it, women will never reach their potential in any field.

Carol Penman.



BOOKS

MONSTER - Poems by Robyn Morgan

Monster is a revolutionary statement! It is about women, men, relationships, the society which produces these relationships (perverse, mutually crippling and destructive) and, it is a personal statement by a radical feminist; it is a strategy for a Revolution!

The few poems I have chosen to discuss are representative of the themes and sentiments which pervade the collection, feelings which lie dormant in every woman, articulated and concretized by the perceptiveness of Robyn Morgan's feminist consciousness and given a compelling and stunning force and vitality by her original and brilliant use of language.

Satellite is the first of many poems about the perversion of male-female relations through sexist conditioning and the imposition of artificial sex roles on the individual by society. Whilst she is lying beside her husband, a catalogue of household chores swims in the head of a wife in the state of drowsiness before sleep:

dishes and ticking clocks to be laundered,
even his eyes that know these things divide us

The wife muses, with a touch of envious admiration on the revolutionary act of a woman who

rested her head in a moderate oven
of another who deserted husband and home
so that their child might breathe,
a daughter, though human

She drifts off into a man-free fantasy
a moonscape utterly far from him,
a feminist limbo for victims of a male dominated society,

where lesbians, eyes streaming sperm,
rock fatherless daughters on their crescent laps,
spinsters dance naked, brutalised brides
scrub their nightgowns endlessly.

There, these women have escaped from imprisonment in their sex role. This theme runs through many of the poems.

Even Lesbian relationships can be contaminated. Robyn Morgan decries feminists who see lesbianism as a political statement in a plank in someones correct political statement or use it to gain male respect or to convince themselves that they are feminists, or those who set WOMAN up as the ideal who has

honeyed skin
and supple legs
breasts like pears
and a smell of the goddamned sea.

Propagation of this myth has been justified for the subjugation of women through the centuries - i.e. don't pollute this celestial being with such as human rights, knowledge, responsibility.

Lesbian love should be on no other terms than those of unperturbed heterosexual love.

because our minds
challenge and delight each other
and for other qualities I cannot know yet
because they will be hers
concrete, specific, individual,
like her name.

Arraignment is a poem of blazing anger, an obituary to Sylvia Plath, the paragon of sensitivity and vulnerability, dedicated to all women maligned, degraded, exploited by male establishment as she was. It is a searing indictment of the institution of marriage.

it is permissible by law for a man to rape
his wife in body and mind

revealing the bitterness, fury but also the helpless pathos which fuses and substantiates itself in a vision of perverse and malevolent sadism committed on Ted Hughes by his victims.

In such a world a woman has only one course, revolution - But feminist revolutionary strategy is but the same act as that of the woman who puts her head in a moderate oven, it is the mask I choose for my madness and suicide, it is the nihilistic response to a world where now even nothing

has no meaning. The stanzas of the poem *Revolucinations* which express this despair, approach the poignancy and cynicism of Rochester's great nihilistic satire on nothing. The revolucination is experience in the climax of orgasm, an epithymy of the meaning of meaninglessness, at the moment in which life the terminal of disease is about to be created. The revolucination sets its recipient on a cause of self-destructive madness, disguised as revolutionary zeal. It is not only men who are the enemy by the Judas women:

matriarch with a sense of humour,
tough broad, fragile flower . . .
a real pal. earth mother goddess
capable unhysterical real woman friend,
chic swinger and your equal

That camelion who placed women
last, after everything, anything else
She must be destroyed for she is
the ultimate woman in the hands of the boys

This woman (in all of us) must be slaughtered, in order to save her, like Boadaecia kicking herself and her daughters to save them from the Romans; Ted Hughes second wife and daughter for whom the oven fumes were less lethal than a husband's love.



Monster is the best poem in the collection, and are of the most powerful and compelling I have ever read!

It is the crescendo of the revolutionary theme of the whole collection; the last exit in the dance of death; the death cry of a feminist revolutionary. It is a revolt against sexual oppression and is expressed in these terms:

I want a women's revolution like a love
I lust for it.

with an implied pun on the old meaning of *die* (copulate) and where the female genitals becomes the 'monster' men have let loose on themselves. Formerly the 'monster' was subdued, passively bringing forth the males who enslaved it, but now it brings forth revolution.

The poem is also a more powerful and uncompromising restatement of Mao's dictum that a revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner . . . or painting a picture or embroidering a flower, it cannot be anything so refined, so calm and gentle. A revolution is an uprising, an act of violence whereby one class overthrows the authority of another.

Women are the lumpen-proletariat victims of male imperialism. Like Marx's proletariat the fostering of feminist consciousness will lead to a revolution, so total as to destroy the sex distinctions, even the sex act itself.

The Monster, formerly cause and symbol of women's oppression, is now transformed into an emblem of pride, the identification of monster and self is no longer a cause of shame but now, with revolutionary defiance, women can say 'I am a monster and I am proud.'

Raewyn Stone

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NO BUBBLING ENTHUSIASM.

(OR WHERE ED WENT WRONG.)

At a Winter General Meeting attended by sixty odd members of the clique, the President presented his Annual Report. This document could at best be described as an exercise in self congratulation and backscratching but more honestly as a document of half truths and distortions coupled with a consistent sneer campaign at those who hadn't sucked up to his egoship.



THE FORGOTTEN.....

It is so bad that after the executive had read it, Clive Evans, was moved to suggest that in future executive members should cover their own portfolios and the President should only write a general introduction. On the first page, the introduction, Haysom tells us that nohtin has happened this year, as if this was news, and has his first poisonous jibe at the others on his executive.

Education on page two begins with a sobbing tale of self pity about how students hadn't contributed to the Education Development Conference - no mention that the notice of the lunchtime meeting appeared on the morning it was to be held. Late and inadequate notice of events from the office have been a feature of this year and the president shouldn't be allowed to escape the blame (did you know there was going to be a winter general meeting?) by abusing others for their lack of interest.

No mention of the steps leading to the change in examination system either - perhaps too embarrassed to go into this - he supported Dave Pullar and the slots examination system vocally around the executive. Somehow the contribution to the seminar on Student Workload at Victoria was missed out - perhaps because this was the work of one of the non persons who were unnamed throughout the report.

Publications on page three is the next area where personal vindictiveness and half truths cover an interesting story. For the benefit of those who couldn't find it in the president's report this year's 'Craccum' editor was Brent Lewis. Brent is an amiable guy and has spent much of this year being manipulated by Haysom and Cederman who seem to delight in twisting him round. Until Easter, Craccum was all right with a collection of good writers and plenty of involvement. After Easter it rapidly went down hill. The principal cause of this was money. Haysom informed the Craccum Board that they were running

out of money, and by July he was positively gloating over his shortly expected last issue. A casual remark by an old exec. member put the new business manager Glenn Smith, who until then had been following Haysom's line, onto the track of another \$1,400 budgetted for Craccum

which Haysom had been denying us. This is probably why Ed magnanimously said the responsibility for this year's Craccum rested on everyone from the president down.

StudAss calendar was edited by Max Wallace with the opposition of every exec member except Graeme Easte. Cora Baillie (a non person) edited this year's Orientation Handbook designed to be a guide rather than a rave.

Capping book received no comment in the media - only plugs in the two biggest talk-backs in town and in the page 2

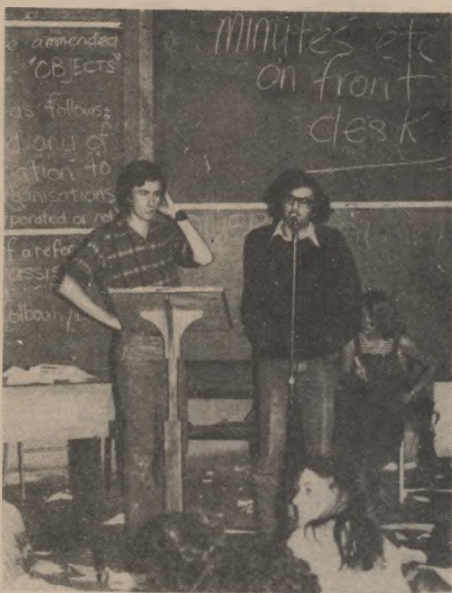
column in the biggest Sunday Newspaper. Perhaps his rather strange view of what are the media is responsible for the President's atrocious public relations through

most of the year. He obviously didn't read the 'book' either from his comments on contents.

Welfare: Cora Baillie (non person) was WVP for most of the year, she got those motor cycle hitching posts installed.

The design by Wayne D. Houston, an architecture student totally impracticable but he was still paid for his sketches of policemen. Cora also started work on

access for physically handicapped students only to find a week after she reported her progress to the executive Ed suggesting privately to the Friends of the University that they should start work in this field.



AND THE FORGETTABLE.

Bob Lack organised a highly successful set of school visits - every exec member was approached and most contributed something. Open Day activities were also organised by this non-person and about four of the exec helped out - Rowe cuttingng potatoes in the kitchen when the chip m machine broke, Rowe and Evans in the servery when the queue got too long and Clive also did his promised stint on the information desk. Some other exec membabers flounced round for a while - looking beautiful but got bored.

Inteinternational and community affairs were er entirely without any initiatives originanating from the Association. Those activities which did occur were due to peoplele with personal interests acting as pressurure groups andprodding the association in into short lumbering bursts of activity. Ed, after pushing Dave Colbourn's "moneney for groups" in exec meetings then se set out to sabotage it with an emotive petietition for a Special General Meeting, his skilkilful handling of this matter resulted in a wewedge being driven Colbourn and Rowe re which affected exec business until after C. Colbourn's resignation in June.

Orierientation controller this year was Peter Ir Falconer, another architecture student. His long summer absence in Dunededin caused the exec to demand his return n or dismissal despite ED's short lived protestations. Peter organised a thoughtful quiet t orientation and was we believe successful in what he set out to do, it was a majojor change from last year's impersonal circus.is.

Capapping in May is the second circus of the yevear. Some nasty people claim there is a casusal relation between our celebrations and ththe complete coverage of Whangarei with h hoax instructions for petrol rationibning. Auckland's motorways received a large ge number of new instructions too. Two engineers were picked up halfway through their r round of promoting 'the three gays' supermrmarkets. Other stunts ranged from traditidional pedestrian crossings to a world sitting ng down record (photos still needed for Guinness) and a casino in Vulcan Lane at lunchnctime. Poor public relations with TV prepresented.

For or the second year senior students went rt round pub crawl in police cars to help pr prevent conflicts. One member left his dutluty at seven to go to a play hence missinging out on getting his name in the 'Heraldald' - this hurt his ego somewhat. The other nr members of the group ended up by chechecking the cells at half past eleven just to to make sure no students had been brought in. We owe thanks to Rodger, Richardard, Cora and Tony for their long sober or day.

Karakarantomba was the cause of the epidemic of cold feet round the executive when in it became too late to stop. Most of its critiritics were initially proponents as was brought out at the April SRC meeting.

Capapping book failed to make a large profit fit because students weren't keen to sell, m most being unenthusiastic even after gettinging the books. The check in and out systemem was perfected but no one bothered to alloallow for the dumping of the complete recordrds - which of course is what happened. It was ras most unfair of teh executive to push responsnibility for distribution onto the vice-pr-president. He had just spent three weeks lks laying it out and was to be in

Wellington for two days during Capping week but as was usual with drudge jobs everyone else was "too busy", if it had been left to the rest of the executive we could still have 3,500 Capping books on a railway wagon filled with empty coffins.

Easter tournament was run by John Woodroffe, Lance Hatfield, Maori Club and four helpers. The president was prominent by his absence.

NZUSA assassinated Aucklander president elect Neil Newman and later increased the levy.

South British shares were a fiasco. After Ross Marks failed to purchase the required shares Ed informed SRC the job would be done properly - he would do it. Later the job inexplicably became Rowe's. After we failed to get to get our small parcels registered in time it was found Sharyn Cederman had considerable experience in this field when she was with NZUSA - but she waited to be asked.

Elton John. The AUSA office sold 800 tickets for the Elton John show in four days during Orientation. Ed helped the promoter of the show, Christopher Cambridge obtain the University Steinway Grand piano. Ed and Sharyn also brought Elton John's piano stool to him before the show.

In defence of these activities may Ed say that because of his involvement in the show we managed to raise \$230 for the Medical Aid Appeal.

The theatre is a quagmire - the executive have yet (8/8/74) to be informed by the President of an extra \$30,000 it is estimated to cost us despite the University giving him this information on July 16th.



EXOTIC IMPORTS

Balinese paintings

Tibetan block prints

Kashneri hand embroidered

scarves and shawls

Moroccan antique beads

Indonesian seaweed bangles

Celebes Is. blankets

Indian kurtahs, flutes, rugs

bells, jewellery, etc.

Japanese lantern shades

mills lane, off swanson st.

The Association Office looks very pretty. It was expected that next year an intercom would be placed outside so students don't have to go in.

Catering sub committee. As a service to the gourmet industry (trouser pocket section) we now charge 11 cents for coffee (up 1c) and tea (up 6c). We opened a Pizza parlour to compete with our hot food servery. It was going to be called the "Haysom Pizza Parlour" but this stopped when someone called it

a 'hot tart bar' and was consequently promptly relegated to being a non-person.

Pre-Senate meetings with the President occurred until he moved to a new flat and seemed to become unwilling to get in to University before 8.30 AM. All meetings had at least half the senate reps present. The reps now confer privately among themselves on most issues.

Council had a new chancellor elected this year. Our student rep Russell Bartlett

played a large part in the elevation of Justice Speight (remember four years to crime doesn't pay psychiatrically unstable mothers of six month old babies.)

The annual report 1974-16 pages 11 blank, illustrated with a selection of photos but this marred by two of the largest having appeared on the cover of the preceding annual report.

Liquor - A committee with Hohn Woodroffe, John Lennon and Kevin Manley made submissions to the Royal Commission on the Sale of Liquor. We got about 1/8 page in the Herald but

the presence of non person Rowe as Chairman made it unnoteworthy for the Annual Report.

Bugging - Haysom's gall really shows through here - in his report he complained about the mildness of the conclusion. Craccum's reporter and members reported that the committee deliberately hammered the other participants because they believed revealing the liaison between President and Secretary would seriously harm the Association. So the only persons white washed were Ed and Sharyn!

PARADISE LOST.

Part II - As Lewis exposes the NARS!

There is a time in all the histories of nations when the people prefer limbo to direction. Conservative governments traditionally exemplify these desires but in times when people are no longer content to be saddled in complacency and wish to realise national expectations then these forces find themselves come adrift from their electorate.

Conservative governments are elected precisely because of the voters desire for drift. In fact, Massey's and Holland's years of office were years when people simply wanted affluence without direct political intervention. Cycles change however, and people.

The mandate of social democratic governments however is to create ferment necessary to charge society with a purpose. It is over the question of lull versus advancement that our elections are fought.

Conferences themselves invariably reflect these priorities. National's, must work on the assumption that any desire for change is only transitory and that inevitably society having experienced and being sated with change will once more wish to consolidate this.

Sometimes however, a seismic shock may rift a conservative party to destroy its apparent unity. This happened in Britain to an extent with the advent of Powell and the Monday club; it could easily have happened in France after the death of Pompidou and it was happening in New Zealand with the ascent of Muldoon.

Out of a ferment of discontent within a traditional party new perspectives may even arise. A party not being sure of itself may in actual fact opt for changes far more radical than anything else in its past history would suggest.

It is too easy however to capsule the discontents of people with the National party as simply as being antagonism to Muldoon. Sure, one could hear comments like 'I never liked the man, but now I think the bastard is Paranoid.'

A change of style can often engineer however a change of substance. Did what Marshall represent mean more than just a gentle opposition or was he rather symbolic of a traditional liberalism which was actually the main stream of National's history?

It is very easy to see Muldoon as a person who is not by ideals but by power. Demagogues have re-occured many times within the history of political parties and their short-lived tenure tends to suggest that although they excite emotions these are transitory. Political parties after all, in sophisticated societies have electorates which are antagonistic to towards overt and unbridled chauvinism.

What was happening at National Party Conference were two streams of thought thought vying for recognition while attempting to camouflage their differences to achieve a nebulous unity. The classic Muldoon stance of bash 'em, birch 'em was muted. His support for the Fri and homosexual law reform, added to the fact that he was well known as a horticulturist, tended to suggest that there was more than just figures to him

His ability to prove that he always had been a closet liberal was ultimately what the conference was about. If he was unable then he could easily be headed for the trough of despair.

There is no monopoly on the form of change. The debate on Saturday night on directions for the National Party proved that.

Barry Brill felt that environment was the most important issue of the '70's. But where does one begin and where does one end? These immortal sentiments worthy of Goldilocks and proving that all that glitters is not... were his prognosis for the

future.

Julian Watts saw the fundamental need as developing long term policies.

Hugh Templeton, ex-Rhodes scholar and former member for Awarua, defined National's philosophy as having a trinity of values. These were the maintenance of democracy, the improving of our multi-racial society, and the working out of anti-inflationary techniques in a developing country.

Julian Watts felt that the '70's must be a decade for the go-getters and ambitious. Which led Jim Melay to ask what is wrong with the policies of pragmatism?

Barry Brill felt that pragmatism came after the initial consideration of the greatest possible development of people.

Ken Scott was rather having a bad bout of philosophy obviously when he said 'let's not get tied up with semantics but let's stick to principles.'

Barry Brill saw the fundamental difference between National and Labour as lying in Labour's continual adherence to obsolete class-based policies.

Ultimately the session suggested that delegates felt that change was needed and

that flexibility was an essential part of coping with it. Laissez-faire had been replaced by technocracy which suggested an end to ideology in the interests of efficiency and good management.

The emotional highlight of the conference was obviously the valedictory speech of Jack Marshall.

To most New Zealanders Marshall was an enigma. He was the diplomat par excellence and his image of subdued conservatism fitted in very well with the Kiwi consciousness.

His rapport with the electorate at large and indeed with the rank and file of the party was very high but like Arnold Noydmeyer he was unable to master the act of being in opposition.

In the end the National Party caucus came to bury Jack Marshall not to praise him for the party that was demanding dynamic leadership looking backward seemed no answer.

Sometimes Marshall seemed more nonchalant than nostalgic. So they said goodbye to Mr Chips, handing him in his departure an envelope which is rumoured in the sickest joke of all to contain a book voucher for 'The Rise and Fall of a Young Turk'.

Marshall said that it was a moment of

mixed emotions. 'I feel deeply about what has happened but you can rely on me that I'll keep my feelings under control'.

Most of what I want to say concerns politics which is easier.'

'It is said that there is a time in the affairs of men which leads on to fortune (or despair)'. Those last two words were not uttered by Marshall the speech was full of little touches like that.

'The door opened for me and I took the opportunity three valuable years of apprenticeship. We won in '49 with the slogan 'it's time for change'... We all said we would make the pound go further and we lived to regret it.

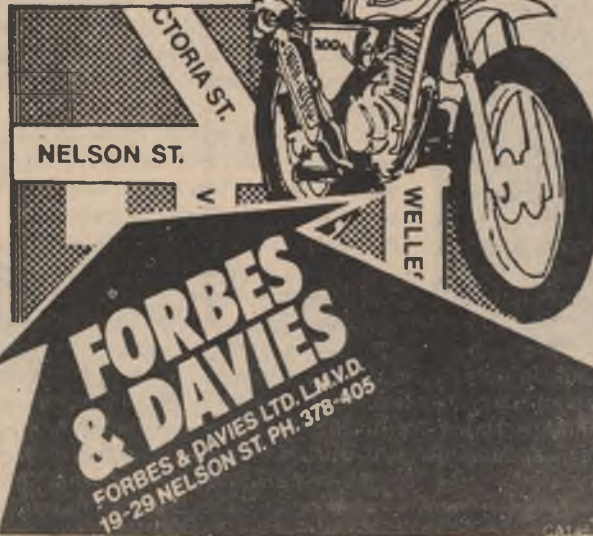
Then the doors opened again. One day Syd Holland said 'do you think you should be in cabinet. I thought it was an odd question and said no, but he said we've expanded you're in.'

'Doors were opening and shutting so fast I became deputy leader in government and within three months deputy leader of the opposition.

continued on back page !?@!*

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WELLINGTON: Willis St.; WHANGAREI: Rathbone St.

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RECORD REVIEWS



CROSBY, STILLS, NASH & YOUNG

TOUR A RECORD BREAKER

The recent tour of U.S.A. by Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young has smashed the records set by the Dylan/Band tour - the takings have doubled those of the Dylan tour. And C,S,N and Y fans have a lot of listening pleasure coming their way. The first chance will be an album in a few week's time (cover by Joni Mitchell) featuring revised versions of songs from their earlier albums. After that there are all sorts of possibilities - one rumour from the States has it that they may release a four album set (one album of C,S, N and Y) singing Stills, one of them singing Young etc. etc.

LOOK OUT!!

Wyn Drabble

NEW YOUNG ALBUM A GEM

Sorry I can't go into this in detail - I'm writing it within minutes of closing time. for this week's issue. But "On the Beach" is a gem of an album and it has plenty of variation. It has the heavier sounds (a la "After the Gold Rush"), songs with funky bass beats (a la "Harvest") and his quieter more acoustic sounds, reminiscent of his solo stuff on "Four way Street". And you ain't heard nothing like "For the Turnstile". It starts off with just YOUNG singing and playing banjo (and you won't believe the drive he gets out of that combination) and then the sound is augmented by tasteful steel guitar - an unforgettable track. Side Two is fairly slow but beautifully tasteful. Young fans and music lovers alike - you must buy this album. I was addicted to it after one listening. Because I don't have another minute to rave, all I can say is get out there and listen to the man (Album supplied by W.E.A.)

Wyn Drabble.



NEIL YOUNG

WINDFALL — Rick Nelson and the Stone Canyon Band

Remember lovely little Ricky from the 50's and 60's — well this is still the same guy, but not of course the same sort of music. Over the last few years he's been recording and doing concerts again showing that he can write and sing just like the younger muso's of today. It comes across as a sort of country-rock. Not much to say about this album — just nice easy, clean-cut country rock that plods along without offending, and without being brilliant. (Album supplied by PYE)

Wyn Drabble

GYPSY SYMPHONY — Wendy Waldman

Got a record, played the first track and me thought that this girl must become a big star. She's just got everything you need to make it - lyrics that just aren't there because you need words, impressive music and originality. I say originality even though I could perhaps describe her as a fusion of Joni Mitchell, Carole King and Maria Muldaur - there are things about this album that remind me of all of these women, yet the finished result is WENDY WALDMAN. Wendy herself wrote all the tracks on the album and plays acoustic guitar, dulcimer and piano as well - and some behind there's a great back-up section including, multi-strings and horns on some tracks. And there's a great range of sounds from gentle tear-jerkers to blasting cockers. She makes the same sort of initial impact with this album as Maria Muldaur did with her single 'Midnight at the Oasis', but she goes one up on Ms Muldaur in that she's singing her own compositions. In short, she's a sensational 'must' for the New Faces section of your record collection. Buy her! (Album supplied by WEA)

Wyn Drabble

EATING OUT

Last time your reporter tried Fisherman's Wharf. Some days later suffering feelings of remorse he decided his report was a little unkind. So back he went and it wasn't only bad - it was bloody awful.

Both had rump steak and ordered it medium rare. What arrived appeared (toasted) to have been steamed for an hour. My friend who by this stage was somewhat billicose cut his steak in two, called the waitress 'Is this medium rare?', 'Yes, the light in here makes it darker.' 'Take it back.' 'I can't.' Sometime later mine host asked us if everything was alright (prior to the bill).

We said it very definitely wasn't. He said 'Well why didn't you send it back to the kitchen.' Upon reflection your reporter cannot in good faith recommend the food, yet and atmosphere, and view is magic.

There is a new Pancake Kitchen in Parnell Road, apparently under the same control as Maxi's Pizza house. No doubt some of you will remember my remarks about my cooked pizzas. Well I'll be darned if they aren't serving pre-cooked pancakes. Ofen tough at the edges, but filling appertising and they are cheap. Service excellent - silver tables and surroundings, clean and bringt. The pancake place in Vulcan Lane does make much better pancakes.

'Hedonist'

HALLORAN

Been around the tourist centres in the South Island recently and was horrified at the shitty level of commercialism that has developed there.

In Queenstown there is a "travelodge" type unit on every corner, the locals don't like other locals, (we're not big enough spenders) and the local townspeople are being priced out of their retirement because of the ridiculous costs of goods and services. Virtually all the service industry is in the hands of the Yanks or Aussies with polite Japanese bobbing and weaving all over the place with their cameras. Commerce likes the Japs the most. No parties, never complain, about the shitty service and they create no local scandal.

Remember how hard you fought to stop them raising the level of Lake Manapouri? Well don't quite expect to see a scenic beauty all on its own without the pleasures of a boat trip from \$6 return of a real scenic flight at \$20 per person.

What they haven't yet touched is the scenery and this is still the best around. Bet our commercial wizards are looking for a way to charge us for this soon too.

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other Southern-supported obstructions that were intended to emasculate the purpose of the original legislation. They also remember Ford's frequent counsel against "moving too fast". America's blacks and other minorities will thus be looking to the new President to add flesh to his pledge of supporting "equal justice for all Americans."

Ford's reputation as being Mr Clean, unlike his predecessor at the White House, seems well earned. Before being confirmed as Nixon's vice President, Ford was investigated by 450 FBI agents who dug into his finances, his friendships, his correspondence — none of which produced any evidence of misconduct. However, the new President has been touched, if only lightly (and unconvincingly), by the shadow of scandal. After his 1970 Congressional campaign, Ford was accused of failing to report at least \$11,500 in contributions made in 1969

by stockbrokers, bankers, conservative medicos and the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths Union of Kansas City. According to Newsweek the cheques had been sent to Republican headquarters in Washington, which funnelled the same amount back to Ford re-electing committees. Ford, however, defended the handling of his campaign financial reports as being "within the law". He insisted that he did not know where the two committees received their money. Again, the Washington Star-News revealed that Ford's last campaign (1972) was financed by a slush fund, of which \$38,000 came from a secret (but legal) fund raising set-up that concealed the names of the donors.

Ford was also accused by former Washington lobbyist Robert Winter-Berger in his book "The Washington Payoff," of being involved in some small stock deals connected with his member-

ship on the board of the Old Kent Bank and Trust Company, of Grand Rapids. Winter-Berger also claims that Ford did unspecified favours for an unnamed client in return for \$50,000 donated to Republican candidates — but not Ford — in 1970. Ford has denied both accusations and Time reports that almost no one takes them seriously.

In fact, even Ford's political opponents concede that the new President is a "straight arrow". When Ford was nominated by President Nixon to replace the disgraced Spiro Agnew, he was pictured as a solid, decent, God-fearing man. When, in turn, it was time for Nixon's disgrace, Ford's "all American Boy" image has seemingly been left untainted by the sins of his mentor — and long-time friend.

Said Ford: "I am not a saint and I am sure I have done things I might have done better or differently or not at all. I have also left undone things that I should have

done. But I believe and hope that I have been honest with myself and with others, that I have been faithful to my friends and fair to my opponents, and that I have tried my best to make this great Government work for the good of all Americans."

After many months of seeing their leaders indicted, convicted or jailed on Watergate — connected charges — Ford's "honest John" image will meet with great approval from most Americans. President Johnson once jibed that Ford was unable to do two things at the same time — "like walking and chewing gum."

However, Ford's "plodder" reputation might well be in tune with what America's "silent majority" wants most in 1974.

Stability and consensus government might well prove America's most effective medicine (or anaesthetic) — at least until 1976. Perhaps "Harper's Magazine" summed up Ford best in a recent flattering piece entitled "In praise of honest ignorance."

Mike Rann

CHINESE CULTURE

The latest thing on campus is the new Chinese Cultural Club, which is being formed so its members can enjoy a little Chinese culture. Some of us learning Mandarin would also like to organise some help with this language. Membership is open to all: we consider that language and nationality are irrelevant factors when it comes to listening to speakers, watching films, learning how to play mah jong, sampling Chinese wine and food or meeting with Chinese musical instruments. These are some of the activities we hope to plan.

A world view wider than the undergrad reading room! A horizon more distant than Rangitoto! If

English is your only language then you need it more than otherwise.

Our first meeting was on the last Tuesday of July. We chose to be apolitical, to meet again at 7.30 in the top common room, and to have Miss Helen Speight as President. We also decided that we want a lot more members prepared to organise or be organised, and not to be disturbed by the odd idiot mumbling away in Gwoyeu or the bright Cantonese.

Hugh Cook.

EXPOSE continued.

"The years of the second national government the years of the export drive and years of diversification.

My term as Minister of Labour I didn't seek but I didn't shirk. It was a most demanding portfolio I held but taught me a lot about human nature.

My term as Prime Minister was short, and sweet. In retrospect it will be seen as a vintage year.

In that year we introduced legislation bringing in accident compensation and equal pay. Environmental impact reports were brought in but it was all too late to turn the ebbing tide of our fortunes and the incoming tide of Labour. In opposition I had to provide a style of leadership in those difficult times... You will, I hope, feel I handed over the party in good shape. My decision to retire was my own...not

to do so would be to split the party... You must go forward as a united party. United we stand and united we shall win.

Marshall in defeat gave the speech that could have easily led to victory. It is a paradox that while leading the party he was unable to inspire it as much as he did the day that he left the leadership. It was obvious from the tumultuous and generous applause that he received that if the delegates at that moment had been offered a choice they would have unhesitatingly have chosen him as leader once more;

There were moments of that conference that one could remember, like the candidate for women's vice-president who said she was standing because she that a woman was the female equivalent of the male, or listening to Mrs Tolhurst, another candidate for the exalted position practising her lines to an empty town hall at 5 o'clock on Saturday night with only her husband there to correct and ending with the immortal lines 'its time to elect a woman to join the ranks of the freedom fighters'.

Or yet again the Goldwynism from one young delegate arguing against ending of restrictions on cannibals: 'show me the facts and I still wouldn't believe them'.

In the end it remained for George Chapman who as the conference proceeded proved even more detestable than I first thought to sum up. He described the conference

as a turning point of the National party on its way back to victory in 1975.

There were ideas it is true and in many cases they were well articulated but the debate was restricted and arbitrary. One did not get an idea of any comprehensive plan to change society. Perhaps this was a conscious choice for conservative parties emphasize their legacy and their ability to rule which tends to pre-empt discussion of ideas. There is however a rift within the party caused by the change of leadership.

Whether Muldoon has the ability to adapt to the style of his new position and reconcile the polarities that he creates will in a large part determine whether National will win in '75.

It seems however that many people within the party recognise that traditional postures are not adequate to the present and the status quo in order to perpetuate must be leavened by the new concerns—those of ecology, population control, and what are known as values issues. The floating vote however is not captured on the merely trendy but also on the ability to convince the public their party represents the best consensus of the future.



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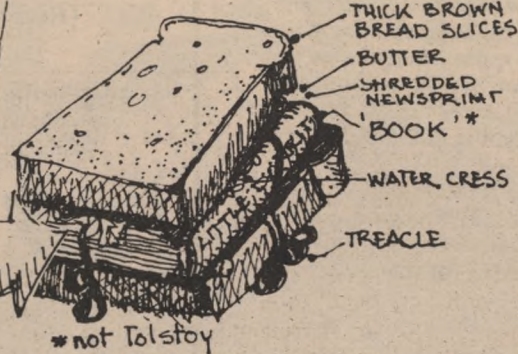


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