

Craccum

Volume 49

Issue 21

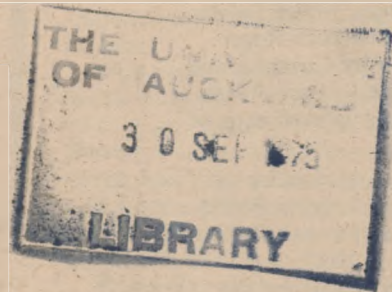


Photo by Murray Cammick

In relation to Maori lands, the government is like a dog crouching under a table on which somebody is crumbling a loaf of bread. Each time that crumbs fall to the ground the government licks them up with its tongue. It hopes in time to devour the whole loaf.

This is the effect of the present Maori land legislation.

— JAMES BAXTER



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Tuesday 30 September 1975.

credits

This penultimate edition of Craccum was assembled under the leadership of Brent Lewis, with Mike Rann lurking in the background. Thanks also to Paul Gilmour for the ads and to Malcolm Walker for another superb layout. Also thanks to Jane Bishop, Brian Chambers, Fraser Folster. And special thanks to Roger Horrocks Murray Cammick and the many others whose efforts go into making up each issue of Craccum;

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ACTION AGAINST ANTI-JEWISH AWARD

A piece of old-fashioned Nazism was brought nearer to its end when Canterbury University recently decided to take no further part in administering the anti-Semitic Lonsdale Scholarship, tenable at Canterbury since 1962.

This decision has been welcomed by the United Nations Association of New Zealand and the Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE), which as far back as 1969 urged universities and education boards to refrain from administering the award. The university has informed me, however, that its legal obligation to admit "qualified students" still remains.

The Lonsdale Scholarship, founded in 1932 as Hitler was gaining power in Germany, has a bizarre history. The benefactor was the late Herbert Ephraim Lonsdale, a Christchurch wholesale jeweller and Canterbury graduate. He allocated ten thousand pounds to provide two annual scholarships for pupils at public high schools in Canterbury and Nelson who could certify that their parents and grand-parents were wholly Anglo-Saxon and specifically, not Jewish.

poems

This time there are four poets - ETHEL BENNETT an Aucklanders whose first collection is soon to be released - TONY BEYER an expatriate Aucklanders now living in Whakatana - MICHEAL SHARKEY another Aucklanders who attends the University and whose work has appeared in numerous local and overseas mags.

KRON

kron left his hands and oesophagus to complete their supper while he ushered me through to the yellow inducement room

his diction was so precise that he had no need of gestures and i soon began to regret the distorts on my laughter tape

then the vibrations started again and the walls pouched and sagged and slid across the floor in ropes of living yellow between our feet

friim he shouted can you hear me and i looked up from what seemed miles away at the alloy plates on my console flickering

kron raised a thin blunt arm and his robots hissed away on their sleek baffles leaving the brief-cassette inside me

he told me again that the task would commence at earthrise and that my reactor must be switched to reserve in the meantime

before i was dismissed kron's hands and the vulgar little thread of pipe he was so coy about came fluttering back to him

i thought once more how frail my master's components were his seamless casing and the bright unjointed tubes it protected

as i trundled down the ramp to the android garage i wondered for the ten thousandth time what power had assembled him

only later when i replaced a damaged bypass coil did i remember the vital questions i had intended to ask

TONY BEYER

north, winter

Taut strung wires snapped
In frozen weather: recollect

That road into the north
Where moss hung spindly

From the cables : you were
Sleeping or you gazed into

The trees and tiny lochs
Until we came to that wide bay

Inside mere islands,
Jagged peaks, the tip

Of sunken ranges, other plains :
Floating as it were

We sat about the tops of
Mountains in a creamboat.

MICHEAL SHARKEY

WANTING TO COMMUNICATE

This is the night
of the great cold
when blood
brittle as pulled glass
stills transparent in the vein
and the heart
is a reflecting prism.

Outside frost lies
on a bed of nails
and the wail of the nightbird
shatters into crystal crotchets
suspended all on a single powerline
for he is Johnny One Note.

In the black throat
of our room
vocal cords petrify
and thoughts are thick oil.

Save me
save me
before i die
of the sky's disease of stars.

E.M. BENNETT

MEAT

wait-out
small birds sundowning
opossum's landward move
hooked by human hunger
engorge failing light
morepork's mood to slay
underwrite these fatal
pressures
it's that way

nerve-prick
stick-crack body-brush
i hear these well
am deaf to certain
pleas

emboss
a shadow on a shadow
nail it to the scope's
black cross

roll shadow roll
a broken wheel spokes flailing
boulders bold outriders
riding down
small stones on the heart's slope
clatter

scalpel !
whipoff udder head
go in groin to brisket
all pipes free
hands haul holusbolus
entrails swim dry ground

shoulder rigor mortis
as palpable as rain upon the face
push down a lousy stream
force cutty grass & nettle bush
go down/get up/go down
wonder at the sense of it

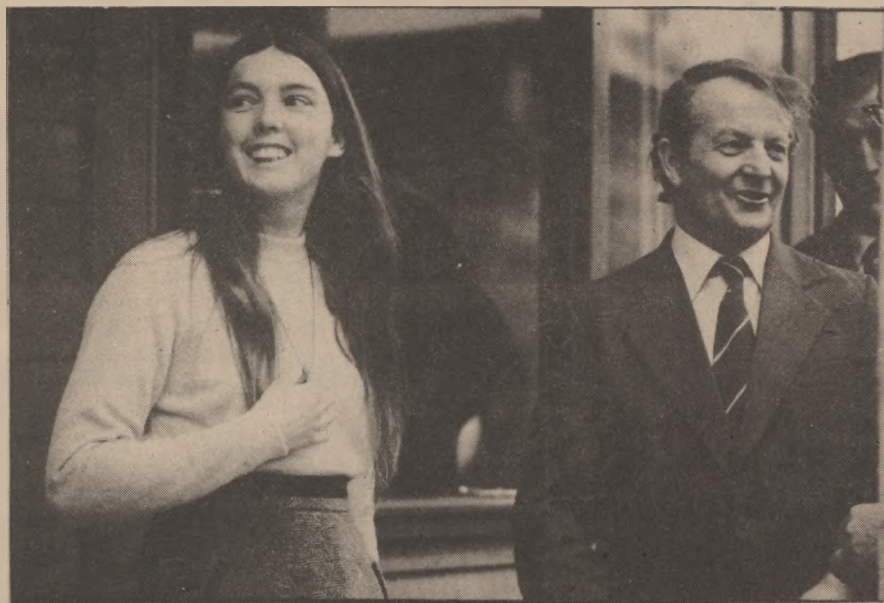
glowworms glow no redder
dole out compassion like the stars
get up/go
crawl broken under calico

this hired tent is a lung's lobe
breathing cold air
collapsing
out there the bush is a black ghoul
squatting
that old skid log rotting
willcrush me to a pleasing shape
rocks by the river shine like headstones
i feel their august presence perching
i die in my bag

the brass face of the agent beams
his ballpoint pays me homage

R.F. BROWN

PRIME MINISTER OPENS STUDENT FLATS



Students are often criticised for being out of step with public opinion, and of seeing complex problems in black and white - but their stand on issues like Vietnam had ultimately been proven right, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rowling, said last week.

"Students have often complained vigorously on things that mattered - like nuclear disarmament - and had eventually won the support of the country", he said.

Mr. Rowling spoke to Craccum at the opening of the student flats in Freeman's Bay.

The Prime-Minister described the completion of the Collingwood St Complex as a "landmark" in the development of student administration in this country.

"These are the first student flats in New Zealand to be designed and built by students. It is a project for which you can feel justly proud."

The six flats will accommodate 34 students, and were financed by the Students' Association, with assistance from the Housing Corporation and the Education Reserve

Trust. The total cost of the project will be \$250,000.00. Mr. Rowling said that the student complex had a significance far beyond its size and was part of the long haul back in the rejuvenation of the Freeman's Bay area.

"So-called urban renewal has unfortunately often meant demolition. Local authorities must realise that urban renewal in inner city areas is not merely the removal of the poor".

Earlier A.U.S.A. President Clare Ward said that the flats were conceived as a community oriented complex that would be fully integrated into the Freeman's Bay area.

The project was initiated in 1972 during the Presidency of Russell Bartlett. Weekly rental is expected to be \$11 per resident.

apology

"In CRACCUM Vol. 49 Issue 20 distributed on 17th September 1975, in the article titled "That Law School Dinner Affair" on page 3, the following statement appeared, attributed to Miss Clare Ward :

"We understand that Mr. Tait accompanied (the Detective) to the New Zealand Herald when the public disclosure of the past criminal record of the student was made."

The reference to Mr. Tait was to the Assistant Commissioner of Police, Mr. Gideon Tait.

"Mr. Tait has advised us that this statement is not true and considers it to be defamatory of him.

"In the circumstances CRACCUM and Miss Ward unreservedly withdraw that statement and apologise to Mr. Tait for any embarrassment or inconvenience it may have caused him."

fighting for F.M.

When *Tiri II* sailed into Auckland's harbour for Radio Hauraki's last ocean-going broadcast, many people expected New Zealand broadcasting would peak with the introduction of competition to the old NZBC's dowdy radio formats.

A group of pirate broadcasters over the last few weeks have proved them wrong.

They say there's a final frontier in radio still to be crossed: FM broadcasting.

"We say that FM is a practical proposition now!" says a spokesman for the group. "And not in five years time as the Director-General of Broadcasting suggests.

The Broadcasting Council estimates that the cost of establishing FM throughout New Zealand will be \$1½ - 2½ million but the pirates say FM could be introduced gradually beginning with a pilot scheme immediately and the establishment of community access stations in 1 - 2 years.

Here, the pirates put their case on the question of FM radio in New Zealand.

The purpose of both commercial and non-commercial radio is to inform and to entertain. As far as informing is concerned, New Zealand radio does well. We have good news services, interviews, educational programmes, and general interest programmes. However, radio's place in the field of entertainment is quickly declining. The quality of our present radio transmissions and reception is lower than that of all but the most humble cassette tape recorder.

Radio is so often relegated to doing nothing more than generating a regular rhythmic background noise, because for serious listening almost any stereo record player offers a superior sound. Total concentration and appreciation of music whether it be Brahms, James Last, Mark Williams, or Pink Floyd, is almost impossible when the music sounds as if it is coming from the next room (with the door closed); when the sound is drowned out by interference every time a car passes; when there is a high pitched whistling persisting over the music, caused by adjacent stations interfering; when Australian stations fade in and out of the background each evening. The present (AM) radio broadcasting system does not lend itself to serious musical appreciation.

The differences between AM and FM in this regard are critical.

There are two main methods for encoding a signal (eg music) in a radio transmitter.

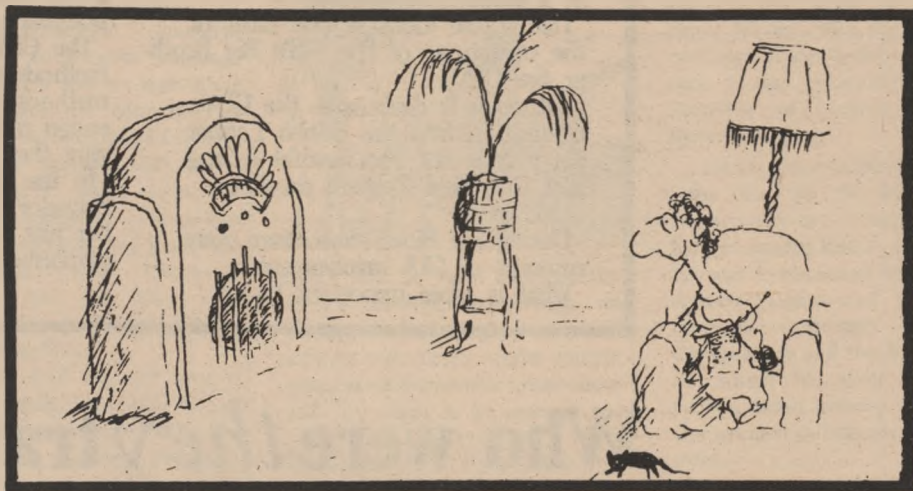
In both systems we start with a radio wave of a particular frequency (12B, for example, uses 1070 KHz).

The first system is the one that all New Zealand stations use, and is called amplitude modulation (AM). The height and therefore power of the basic radio wave is varied with the music. The receiver picks up this variation of power.

The second system is to vary the width of the radio wave with the music; the receiver detecting this variation in width. This is termed frequency modulation (FM). FM requires a wide band of frequencies for its transmission, and is therefore restricted to the very high frequency (VHF) radio bands where there is plenty of radio room.

The advantages of FM over AM are easily listed:

* FM has an improved signal to noise ratio for a given strength of radio wave.



This means that there is much less background hiss in an FM broadcast than in an AM broadcast. This in turn means that music transmitted can retain its full dynamic range; it can go from the quietest pp to the loudest ff, whereas with our conventional AM the soft sounds have to be electronically turned up in volume by a process called "compression" so that they don't get lost amongst the background noise.

The reason that background noise is much lower for FM than for AM is that noise is generally AM in character.

* FM has better intelligibility at the edge of the service area due to the "capture effect" which tends to make the receiver lock on to the wanted signal.

The capture effect owes its existence to the fact that the height of a frequency modulated wave stays constant, its width being the only thing that varies. Because of this the receiver can be made to pick up only the stronger station on that frequency.

* Since FM transmissions use the vast VHF bands, they can take advantage of the extra room and broadcast two channels of information (stereo) by varying the width of the basic radio wave a bit further. Most FM stations in the world today take advantage of this and broadcast in stereo.

* Also, since there is so much room in the VHF bands, FM stations can transmit all audio frequencies that the ear can detect, making it possible to recreate the exact timbre of any instrument.

Technically, AM stations have a maximum frequency response from 0 to 10 KHz.

FM stations have a maximum frequency response from 0 to 15 KHz.

The quality of an FM transmission is better than that achievable from record pressings.

Why hasn't New Zealand got FM radio?

The first countries to introduce FM (eg USA) did so merely because the AM band was full. New Zealand is a small country and consequently has not got quite enough stations to crowd the AM band. So there has been no direct incentive of this type to introduce FM.

Also up to a few years ago, FM receivers were very complex to build, and they required frequent adjustments to keep them going properly. On the other hand, AM transmissions could be picked up with a crystal set.

A third reason is that VHF coverage is line of sight, as is that of television. To

achieve a nation wide coverage, as was of course a primary objective of the broadcasting service, AM transmitters were used.

Well, you might ask, why is it time for FM now?

* More and more people are becoming seriously interested in music. Instead of being content with listening to an old pick-up plugged into the back of the wireless, they are purchasing expensive stereo systems. Standards of music criticism are becoming higher. AM radio is unable to compete.

* Modern integrated circuits have made possible very advanced FM receivers at very modest prices.

* Full AM coverage of New Zealand has now been achieved. Every home can receive at least one radio station.

* The AM band can only hold a few more stations. Unless FM is introduced, we will not be able to enjoy a wider selection of radio stations.

* With the high cost of records, people should be able to hear them on the radio in distortion-free stereo sound so they can determine whether or not the record is worth buying.

* A full N.Z. FM coverage can now be achieved very simply. The international FM broadcast band (88 - 108MHz) lies between television channels 2 and 4 (TV1 and TV2). The coverage of an FM transmitter is consequently the same as that of a television transmitter. (Television sound is, in fact, monophonic FM). By installing FM translators in TV translator towers, Radio New Zealand could have a national FM programme. The TV translators have all been built with this in mind.

But the question of who should broadcast FM remains. Radio New Zealand technicians are still working on TV2 and Avalon, and so R.N.Z. is not capable of setting up the equipment for FM broadcasting for another five years.

However, private radio stations are eager to start up FM broadcasts. This year (1975) both Radio Hauraki and the University station, Radio B independently submitted to the Postmaster General applications for a license for a low power (Radio Hauraki 3KW, Radio B 1KW) FM noncommercial pilot transmission. The purpose of these proposed transmissions was to demonstrate the benefits of FM radio to Auckland; to determine what sorts of programmes people would want to hear; and to calculate what the demand for

FM receivers would be. Both applications were turned down.

The Government appeared to be of the opinion that Radio New Zealand should be the main contender in FM broadcasting and possibly the only one.

Both Radio Hauraki and Radio Whakatane then had a private consultation with the Postmaster General putting forward their case that if only R.N.Z. get the rights to FM then the listenership of the private stations would dwindle, and so would revenue.

Most radio station studios in New Zealand are capable of being easily converted to stereo operation. The Auckland University radio studios are already in stereo, and they claim they could build a 1KW stereo FM transmitter within 3 months and for less than \$800 by using equipment already on hand.

Radio Hauraki together with the Radio Manufacturers Federation and an assortment of cultural and ethnic groups interested in broadcasting are preparing another application.

Most imported portable radios and hi-fi tuners and stereo systems in the country can receive FM transmission. An estimated 27,000 people in Auckland have such receivers.

Some of the portable FM receivers are not stereo receivers, they can still receive stereo transmissions but they can only pick them up in mono. Even so, the sound quality of an FM portable is vastly superior to that of a similar AM receiver.

People close to an FM transmitter would be able to receive the station with only a short length of wire for an aerial. Listeners further away would need a proper roof mounted aerial (like a TV aerial). Since FM transmissions and TV transmissions use very close radio frequencies, an ordinary TV aerial or even rabbits ears could probably be used to advantage. Most stereo radio tuners come equipped with a length of TV lead-in wire in the shape of a T for use as an aerial.

So that people without FM receivers can receive their programmes, many overseas stations broadcast both on AM and FM, termed by the Americans as "simulcasts".

The Committee on Broadcasting in its Report on the Broadcasting Future stated:

"It is only fair to the arguments of the supporters of FM to agree that high-fidelity stereophonic transmissions would add immensely to the pleasure of the listener to music."

"This is true for music of many kinds. The trend towards buying or building more technically perfect reproducing equipment for the private home is very well established. It has accustomed a considerable section of the music audience - especially the younger audience - to want more from radio than AM can deliver."

"The thought of the range of faithfully reproduced music which stereophonic FM broadcasting could bring into the private house is enough to stimulate any devotee to seek FM's introduction. But the submissions to the Committee did not reveal the existence as yet of any large body of opinion pressing for the change."

it's this silent majority that the pirates hope to mobilise in election year.

FRASER FOLSTER



radio
auckland

92^{mHz}
FM
STEREO

One part of the 'Think tank' affair which hasn't been fully disclosed is the role of New Zealand's own intelligence agency, The SIS.

Protected from scrutiny by a web of regulations it remains an anomaly in a democratic society.

This article looks at one facet of the operations of the SIS's Big Brother, the CIA.

Although it deals with the CIA's infiltration into the British Labour Party it is not too fanciful to suggest that New Zealand parallels could exist.

During the Sutch case there were rumours of CIA involvement.

What is more important to us

though is to look at the techniques.

We know that although they have been sophisticated that some of them were used by people like Sir Ernest Boose as John A. Lee shows in 'For Mine Is The Kingdom'. This enabled him to wield political power and influence.

The CIA is simply updating such methods for its own purposes. Such methods interfere with the basic sovereign rights of nations and that is why they deserve exposure.

In the anniversary of the death of Salvador Allende we should remember just how vulnerable and fragile democracy can be.

Who were *they* travelling with?

The cloak and dagger operations of America's Central Intelligence Agency are only a small part of its total activities. Most of its 2000 million-dollar budget and 80,000 personnel are devoted to the systematic collection of information — minute personal details about tens of thousands of politicians and political organisations in every country in the world, including Britain. And this data, stored in the world's largest filing system at the CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, is used not only to aid Washington's policy-machine, but in active political intervention overseas — shaping the policies of political parties, making and unmaking their leaders, boosting one internal faction against another and often establishing rival breakaway parties when other tactics fail.

In fact the CIA carries out, at a more sophisticated level, exactly the same sort of organised subversion as Stalin's Comintern in its heyday. One of its targets in the years since the Second World War has been the British Labour Party.

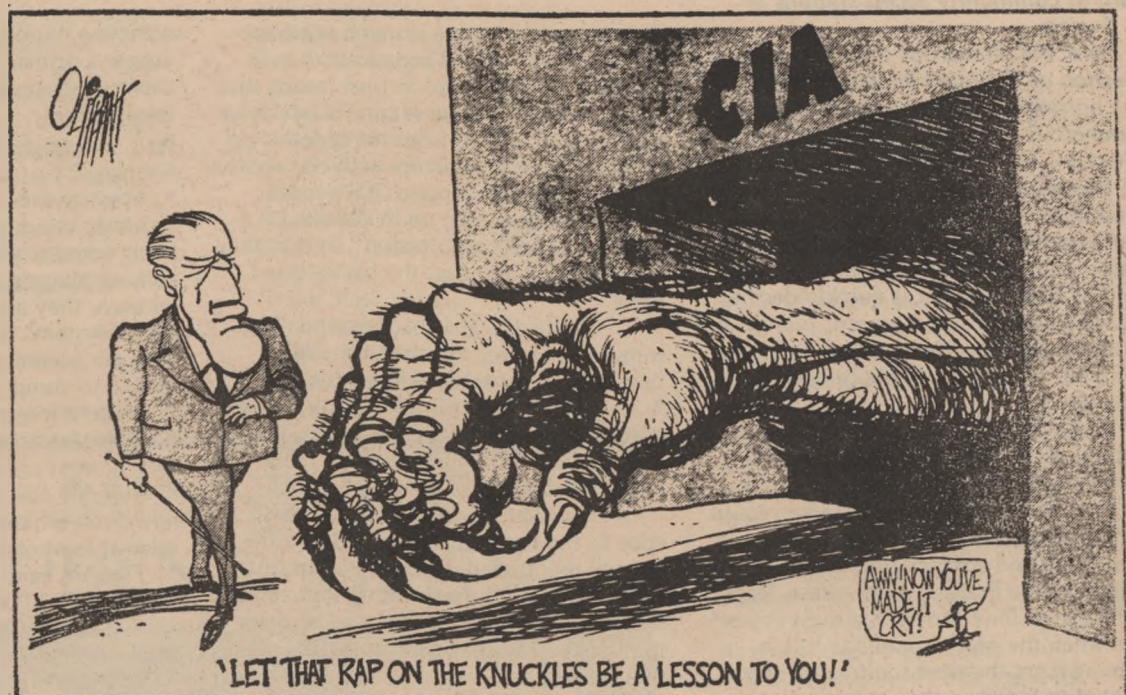
The Labour Party emerged from the war with immense prestige. As the sole mass working-class party in Britain it had the support of a united trades union movement whose power had been greatly enhanced by the war, and it had just achieved an unprecedented electoral victory. The established social democratic parties of Europe had been destroyed by the dictators, while in America all that remained of the socialist movement was a handful of sects whose members were numbered in hundreds. Labour was undisputed head of Europe's social democratic family.

But as the euphoria wore off, old differences began to emerge with prolonged post-war austerity. The Left wanted more Socialism and an accommodation with the Russians, while the Right wanted the battle against Communism to take precedence over further reforms at home. And those who took this latter view organised themselves around the journal *Socialist Commentary*, formerly the organ of anti-Marxist Socialists who had fled to Britain from Hitler's Germany. The magazine was reorganised in the autumn of 1947 with Anthony Crosland, Allan Flanders and Rita Hinden who had worked closely with the émigrés as leading contributors. And *Socialist*

Commentary became the mouthpiece of the Right wing of the Labour Party, campaigning against Left wingers like Aneurin Bevan, whom they denounced as dangerous extremists. Crosland, who ended the war as a captain in the Parachute Regiment, had been President of the Oxford Union, and a year later, in 1947, became Fellow and lecturer in economics at Trinity College, Oxford. Flanders was a former TUC official who became an academic specialist in industrial relations and later joined the Prices and Incomes Board set up by the Wilson Government. Rita Hinden, a University of London academic from South Africa, was secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau — an autonomous section of the Fabian Society which she had set up and directed since the early Forties. In this position she exercised considerable influence with Labour Ministers and officials in the Colonial Office, maintaining close links with many overseas politicians.

The new *Socialist Commentary* immediately set out to alert the British Labour movement to the growing dangers of international Communism, notably in a piece entitled 'Cominformity', written by Flanders during a period spent in the United States studying the American trade union movement. The journal's American connections were further extended by its U.S. correspondent, William C. Gausmann, who was soon to enter the American Government Service, where he rose to take charge of US propaganda in North Vietnam, while support for the moderate stand taken by Crosland, Flanders and Hinden came from David C. Williams, the London Correspondent of the *New Leader*, an obscure New York weekly specialising in anti-Communism. Williams made it his business to join the British Labour Party and to take an active part in the Fabian Society.

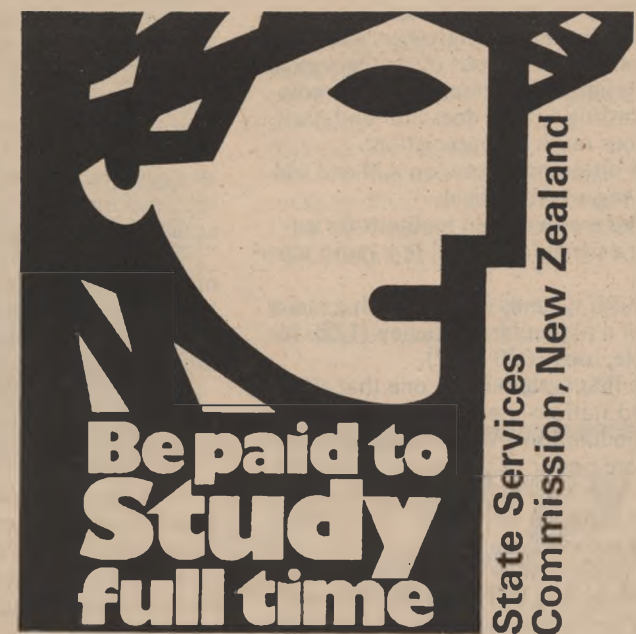
This close American interest in Socialism on the other side of the Atlantic was nothing new. During the war the American trade unions had raised large sums to rescue European labour leaders from the Nazis, and this had brought them closely in touch with American military intelligence and, in particular, with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), whose chief in Switzerland and Germany from 1942 to 1945 was Allen W. Dulles, later, of course, to become



famous as head of the CIA in its heyday.

The principal union official in these secret commando operations had been Jay Lovestone, a remarkable operator who had switched from being the leader of the American Communist Party to working secretly for the US Government. And as the Allied armies advanced, Lovestone's men followed the soldiers as political commissars, trying to make sure that the liberated workers were provided with trade union and political leaders acceptable to Washington — many of these leaders being the émigrés of the *Socialist Commentary* group. In France, Germany, Italy and Austria the commissars provided lavish financial and material support for moderate Socialists who would draw the sting from Left-wing political movements, and the beneficiaries from this assistance survive in European politics to this day — though that is another story.

In America the *New Leader* came to provide one focus for these activities, organising a weekly meeting of minds for professional anti-Communists in the unions, universities and government service, both at home and abroad. It had a relatively large paid staff and a world-wide network of overseas and roving correspondents. Its guiding spirit as Executive Editor and business manager was Sol Levitas, a Russian émigré who had worked with Trotsky and Bukharin during the Russian Revolution of 1917 and had fled from Stalin's prisons to the US in 1923, bringing with him a



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life-long hatred of Bolshevism. Amongst Levitas's "boys", as he liked to call them, were Melvin J. Lasky, an ex-Trotskyist from New York City College who joined the staff in 1941; Daniel Bell, a former Managing Editor of the *New Leader* who is now a professor at Columbia University; and Irving Brown, Lovestone's hatchet man in the European trade unions.

The *New Leader* claimed to be independent, but in 1949 it carried a piece by Allen Dulles advocating a "commission of internal security", to examine subversive influences in the US and to "use the institutions of democracy to destroy them" which, in the light of Dulles's work helping the White House reorganise OSS as the Central Intelligence Agency, was rather like the head of MIS writing for the *New Statesman*. And at this time too, although the *New Leader* was issuing frantic appeals for funds to pay off its \$40,000 worth of debts, it started appearing in April 1950 as a new *New Leader* with an expensive *Time*-like magazine format.

The importance of this dramatically reborn publication for British and European Labour parties was that it now began openly to advocate the infiltration of foreign socialist parties, echoing the arguments of James Burnham who, in his book *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, proposed that "the Western World, led by the United States should go over to the offensive by using the same sort of methods — open and covert — that the Kremlin has so massively employed". Allan Flanders contributed an article to the revamped magazine on the British Labour Movement, and in 1954 Denis Healey, who had entered Parliament as a Labour MP in 1952, became the *New Leader*'s London correspondent.

American Cold War strategy, as Burnham and the *New Leader* had proposed, now moved into the financing of world-wide front organisations, and in June 1950 the free world's top men of letters were duly assembled in the Titania Palace Theatre in the US zone of Berlin, before an audience of 4,000, to launch the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a body whose purpose was to "defend freedom and democracy against the new tyranny sweeping the world". It was no coincidence that the main organiser and chairman of the Congress was Melvin Lasky, who in 1948 had been 'lent' by the *New Leader* to the US High Commission in Berlin, where he had set up a successful literary magazine, *Der Monat*, with the encouragement of General Lucius D. Clay, head of the military government. Nor that the man chosen to head the permanent secretariat of the congress was an official of the American military government, Michael Josselson, who administered and arranged the financing of the vast organisation.

The Congress seemed to have unlimited funds which were said to come from Jay Lovestone's union in America, and CCF, as it came to be known, was soon organising political seminars and student

exchanges, and publishing literature on a world-wide basis in support of the new youth organisations which suddenly emerged to fight the Communists — notably the International Student Conference at Leiden in the Netherlands.

In 1953 the Congress for Cultural Freedom launched *Encounter*, an English language monthly which was an immediate success under the editorship of Irving Kristol, another of Levitas's *New Leader* protégés and an ex-Lovestoneite, and soon a bewildering range of publications in several languages had joined the CCF stable, with *Encounter* becoming one of the most influential journals of liberal opinion in the West.

As the CCF network grew it embraced many prominent figures in the British Labour Party — among them Anthony Crosland, who began attending CCF seminars, where he met Daniel Bell, who was at this period moving away from journalistic red-baiting in the *New Leader* towards academic respectability. Bell's thinking was later summarised in his book *The End of Ideology*, and it formed the basis of the new political thesis set out in the major work that Crosland was now writing and which was published in 1956 under the title *The Future of Socialism*. The book had also been influenced by the arguments put forward at the Conference of the Congress for Cultural Freedom held in the previous year in Milan, where principal participants had included Hugh Gaitskell, Denis Healey and Rita Hinden as well as Daniel Bell and a bevy of American and European politicians and academics.

Put at its simplest, Bell and his colleagues argued that growing affluence had radically transformed the working-class in Europe — and Britain — which was now virtually indistinguishable from the middle-class, and thus Marx's theory of class struggle was no longer relevant. Future political progress, they thought, would involve the gradual reform of capitalism and the spread of equality and social welfare as a consequence of continued economic growth.

Crosland's book, though not original in content, was a major achievement. In over 500 pages it clothed the long-held faith of Labour's new leader Hugh Gaitskell in the academic respectability of American political science and was immediately adopted as the gospel of the Party leadership. Labour's rank-and-file, however, still clung to their grassroots Socialism, and Gaitskell's obvious preferences for the small coterie of cultured intellectuals and visiting foreigners who met at his house in Froggnal Gardens, Hampstead, alienated the Party faithful, and gave added bitterness to the internecine quarrels that were to follow Labour's defeat in the 1959 election.

In 1957 Melvin Lasky had taken over the editorship of *Encounter*



which had, by then, cornered the West's intelligentsia through its prestige and the high fees it was able to pay. Lasky was a trusted member of Gaitskell's inner circle and was often to be seen at his parties in Hampstead, while Gaitskell became at the same time a regular contributor to the *New Leader*. Sol Levitas would drop in at his house on his periodic tours to see world leaders and visit the CCF in Paris.

It was during the Fifties furthermore, that Anthony Crosland, Rita Hinden and the other members of the *Socialist Commentary* group adopted the argument put forcibly in the *New Leader* that a strong united Europe was essential to protect the Atlantic Alliance from Russian attack, and European and Atlantic unity came to be synonymous in official thinking as Gaitskell and his friends moved into the Party leadership. They received transatlantic encouragement, furthermore, from a New York-based group called the American Committee on United Europe, whose leadership was openly advertised in the *New York Times* as including General Donovan, wartime head of OSS, George Marshall, the US Secretary of State, General Lucius D. Clay and Allen Dulles of the CIA.

This high-powered and lavishly-funded pressure group — whose thesis was essentially that a United Europe would defend America's interest against Russia — financed in Europe the so-called 'European Movement', whose inspiration was a friend of Hugh Gaitskell's, Joseph Retinger, an elderly Polish-Jewish Bond, who, after a professional career as an *émigré* *grise*, had come to rest at the Dutch court under the patronage of Prince Bernhard.

Retinger had, furthermore, secretly persuaded Shepard Stone of the US High Commission in Germany to finance his European Movement out of so-called "counter-part funds" — Marshall Aid repayments which the Americans banked in Europe. Later he promoted select gatherings of European and American politicians, businessmen, aristocrats, top civil servants and military leaders to propagate the ideals of Atlantic and European unity. Invitations to these Bilderberg Group meetings — named after the Dutch hotel where the first gathering was held in 1954 — were issued personally by Prince

Bernhard on Retinger's recommendation. Few of those who received the card of invitation embossed with the Royal Netherlands coat of arms declined to spend three or four days in civilised discourse with the world's leaders in luxurious surroundings — certainly not Hugh Gaitskell and Denis Healey, who were founder members of the Group along with such diverse personalities as the President of Unilever and Sir Robert Boothby.

Healey, an ex-Communist, had been head of the International Department at Transport House before entering Parliament in 1951. He was a convinced supporter of Atlantic Union and spread the message through *Socialist Commentary* and the *New Leader*, for whom he wrote nearly 80 articles before joining the Labour Government as Defence Minister in 1964.

While top people were relaxing with Prince Bernhard, the Congress for Cultural Freedom was establishing solid ties with the coming man of the British Labour Party, Anthony Crosland, who was by now acknowledged as the Party's chief theoretician. He had lost his seat at Westminster in the 1955 election, but in the following years was travelling regularly to Paris to plan the International Seminars of the CCF with Melvin Lasky and Michael Josselson under the directorship of Daniel Bell. Michael Josselson, who in 1967 admitted that he had for 17 years been channelling CIA money into the CCF, has described to us Crosland's role at this period. Crosland's contribution, he says, was "encouraging sympathetic people" to participate in the seminars sponsored by the Congress all over the world. Hugh Gaitskell travelled in these years to Congress functions in Milan 1955, New Delhi 1957, the island of Rhodes 1958 and Berlin 1962. Crosland himself travelled to Vienna in 1958, to Berlin in 1960 and to Australia and Japan in 1964 on a Congress-sponsored tour.

He was at this date a member of the International Council of the CCF after nearly a decade working to re-model European Socialism in the image of the American Democratic Party, a cause for the sake of which the CCF had financed a systematic campaign of congresses, seminars and private gatherings for leading Socialists throughout Europe. This had been backed up by the fullest publicity in *Encounter*, *Preuves*, *Monat* and the other CCF journals — whose influence was further extended by discreet arrangements with *Socialist Commentary* for publishing each other's pamphlets and articles.

Rita Hinden was by now the editor of *Socialist Commentary* and playing a similar role to Crosland in picking African participants for Congress seminars. Michael Josselson describes her as "a good friend of ours. We relied entirely on her advice for our African operations". She also visited India and Japan on a CCF-sponsored trip after the Suez crisis, speaking on

the theme that traditional Socialism was irrelevant in a modern capitalist society where there was full employment.

This was the nub of the matter. Many of Europe's Socialist parties still had old-fashioned Marxist notions written into their rule-books, which had become an embarrassment to their leaders. A glaring example was the British Labour Party whose Clause IV — "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange" and so on — sounded to some like a passage from the Communist Manifesto. The proof of its irrelevance seemed provided by the 1959 General Election in which Anthony Crosland regained his seat at Westminster, but which represented a catastrophic defeat for the Labour Party. The day after Labour's defeat, Roy Jenkins, Anthony Crosland and Douglas Jay were among a small group who met with Gaitskell at his home. They decided that the time had come for Labour to drop its old commitments and get rid of its cloth cap image which had become an electoral liability.

Douglas Jay immediately wrote the now celebrated article which appeared in *Forward* the following week, calling for the abandonment of Clause IV and a change in the Labour Party's name. And early in 1960, *Socialist Commentary* commissioned Mark Abram's firm, Research Services Ltd., to carry out an attitude survey on "Why Labour Lost". The results were published in the journal's May to August number, and they confirmed the Gaitskell thesis that nationalisation was a liability. This Abrams survey had been turned down by the Labour Party Executive before the 1959 election as being too costly. But now *Socialist Commentary* found the money to pay for it, and in February 1960 William Rodgers, General Secretary of the Fabian Society since 1953, organised a letter of support to Gaitskell signed by 15 young Parliamentary candidates. Shortly afterwards, a steering committee was set up with Rodgers as chairman, and including some of the signatories of the Gaitskell letter together with Crosland, Roy Jenkins, Patrick Gordon Walker, Jay, other Party members from Oxford and some sympathetic journalists. This group started work on a manifesto to be released in the event of Gaitskell's defeat in the defence debate at the Party Conference. This duly occurred in the autumn of 1960, when the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament triumphed in its campaign to win the Labour Party to a neutralist programme.

So in October 1960 Rodgers and his friends released their manifesto in 25,000 copies with widespread Press coverage. Calling for "Victory for Sanity" — a dig at their old enemies the "Victory for Socialism" group — they appealed to Party members to rally behind Gaitskell and his Conference call to "fight and fight and fight again". They also issued an appeal for funds with which to continue the campaign, and in mid-November Rodgers reported to the steering

ORIENTATION '76

The MASTER IS ALIVE AND WELL and summons the horde in preparation for the festival and subsequent initiation ceremonies. Comprehensive in social fluidics, total in concept realisation, Orientation '76 needs only the cogs and lubrication for bandwagon momenta. I require ideas, resources and manpower — in that order. Next year, it all changes — or it never will. More follows next week. Watch for it all.



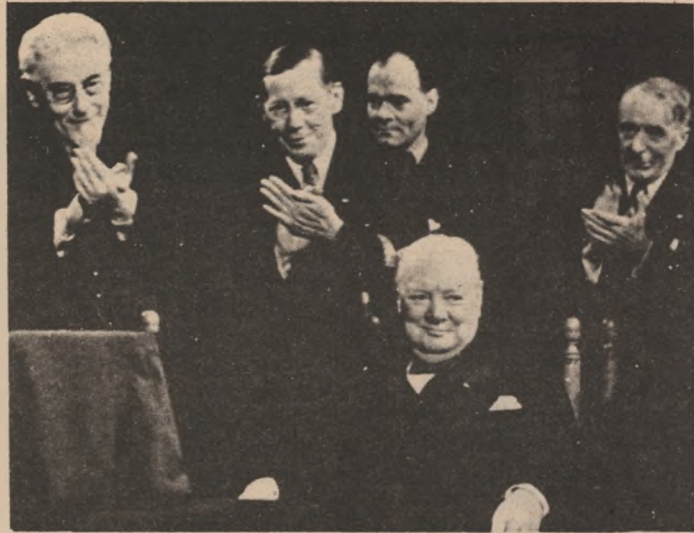
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committee that many small donations had been received, together with a large sum from a source which wished to remain anonymous.

Rodger's windfall enabled the group to take a permanent office and appoint paid staff. The title "Campaign for Democratic Socialism" was chosen and a six-man Executive Committee set up with Rodgers as full-time paid Chairman. The Committee was told that available funds were sufficient for a year's activities, and CDS thus had a start on its opponents who, in spite of their widespread support in Labour constituencies and trades unions, were unable to raise more than a few hundred pounds over the following year and had to rely entirely on volunteer workers. At CDS's disposal were field-workers in the constituencies and unions, whom it supported with travelling expenses, literature and organisational back-up, tens of thousands of copies of the manifesto, pamphlets and other publications, plus a regular bulletin, *Campaign*, circulated free of charge to a large mailing list within the movement. And all this was produced without a single subscription-paying member.

CDS achieved its objectives. The unions cracked under the pressure and the Labour Party returned to the Atlantic fold at the Party Conference in 1961 after a campaign by the most effective pressure group the Party had ever seen. Rodgers was its driving force. With financial backing assured, he created an organisation whose influence was out of all proportion to its original support among Party members. Whoever put up the money could justly claim to have changed the course of the history of the Labour Party and Britain in the 1960s.

Nor did the importance of CDS vanish totally after it had restored the Labour Party to commitment to NATO, for its adherents felt bitterly betrayed when Hugh Gaitskell later qualified his support for Common Market entry at the Brighton Conference in 1962. Standing at the back of the hall Rodgers turned to the Party press officer, John Harris — later Roy Jenkin's PR man — and said "I'm through with that man, John". Anthony Crosland, furthermore, supported Gaitskell's compromise and so also lost the backing of the ardent marketeers, who henceforward rallied around Roy Jenkins.



Retinger (centre left) and friend launch the European Movement at the Congress of the Hague, May 1948. Denis de Rougemont of CCF (centre right).

The main significance of all these divisions was that they helped Harold Wilson to capture the leadership on Gaitskell's death. Finding the Parliamentary Party moulded in the Gaitskell image, its policies firmly rooted in Crosland's *Future of Socialism*, Wilson made no attempt to alter the package which became the programme of the next Labour Government.

Throughout this post-war period the Party apparatus remained firmly in orthodox hands, particularly the International Department of which Denis Healey had been head until he entered Parliament in 1951. Then in 1965 his old post was taken over by J. Gwyn Morgan, one of the rising generation of Party and union officials whose careers began in the National Union of Students, to whose Presidency he had been elected in 1960 on an anti-Communist ticket. As President he took charge of international affairs, representing the Union in the International Student Conference at Leiden, and on leaving the NUS in 1962 he became Assistant General Secretary of ISC in charge of finance. In this capacity he negotiated with the American foundations which supplied the bulk of ISC funds and supervised expenditure of the several million dollars devoted to world-wide propaganda and organisation. In 1964 he became Secretary General of ISC.

In his five years' association with the organisation he visited over 80 different countries and got to know personally many heads of government and leaders of the world's principal social democratic parties. An ardent pro-European and active supporter of Roy

Jenkins, he was an obvious choice to fill the vacant slot as head of Labour's Overseas Department at the beginning of 1965. Two years later Morgan was promoted to the newly-created post of Assistant General Secretary of the Labour Party, with the expectation that he would fill the top job on Harry Nicholas's retirement.

But early in 1967 the US journal *Ramparts* revealed that since the early Fifties the National Student Association of America had, with the active connivance of its elected officers, received massive subventions from the CIA through dummy foundations and that one of these was the Fund for Youth and Student Affairs which supplied most of the budget of ISC. The International Student Conference, it appeared, had been set up by British and American Intelligence in 1950 to counteract the Communist peace offensive, and the CIA had supplied over 90 per cent. of its finance. The Congress for Cultural Freedom was similarly compromised. Michael Josselson admitted that he had been channelling CIA money into the organisation ever since its foundation — latterly at the rate of about a million dollars a year — to support some 20 journals and a world-wide programme of political and cultural activities. Writing of Sol Levitas at the time of his death in 1961, the editor of the *New Leader*, William Bohm said "the most amazing part of the journalistic miracle was the man's gift for garnering the funds which were necessary to keep our paper solvent from week to week and year to year. I cannot pretend to explain how this miracle was achieved... we always worked in an atmosphere

of carefree security. We knew that the necessary money would come from somewhere and that our cheques would be forthcoming."

The "Miracle" was resolved by the *New York Times*: the American Labour Conference for International Affairs which ran the *New Leader* had for many years been receiving regular subventions from the J. M. Kaplan Fund, a CIA conduit.

The CIA had taken the lessons taught back in the early Fifties by Burnham and the *New Leader* to heart. With its army of ex-Communists and willing Socialists it had for a while beaten the Communists at their own game — but unfortunately it had not known when to stop and now the whole structure was threatened with collapse. Rallying to the agency's support, Thomas Braden, the official responsible for its move into private organisations, and Executive Director of the American Committee on United Europe, explained that Irving Brown and Lovestone had done a fine job in cleaning up the unions in post-war Europe. When they ran out of money, he said, he had persuaded Dulles to back them, and from this beginning the world-wide operation mushroomed.

Another ex-CIA official, Richard Bissell, who organised the Bay of Pigs invasion, explained the Agency's attitude to foreign politicians: "Only by knowing the principal players well do you have a chance of careful prediction. There is real scope for action in this area: the technique is essentially that of 'penetration'... Many of the 'penetrations' don't take the form of 'hiring' but of establishing friendly relationships which may or may not be furthered by the provision of money from time to time. In some countries the CIA representative has served as a close counsellor... of the chief of state."

After these disclosures the CCF changed its name to the International Association for Cultural Freedom. Michael Josselson resigned — but was retained as a consultant — and the Ford Foundation agreed to pick up the bills. And the Director of the new Association is none other than Shepard Stone, the Bilderberg organiser who channelled US Government money to Joseph Retinger in the early Fifties to build the European Movement and then became International Director of the Ford Foundation.

When Rita Hinden died at the end of last year after 20 years as editor of *Socialist Commentary*, George Thomson — a pillar of CDS who resigned recently from Labour's front bench with Roy Jenkins — paid tribute to her key role in transforming the Labour Party. In the Fifties, he said, her "ideas were greeted with outraged cries of 'Revisionism'". But by the mid-Sixties the revisionism of *Socialist Commentary* had become the orthodoxy of the Labour Movement. And Denis Healey's comment was equally revealing. "Only Sol Levitas of the American *New Leader*," he said, "had a comparable capacity for exercising a wide political influence with negligible material resources." He obviously hadn't paid a visit to Companies House whose Register shows that in recent years *Socialist Commentary* has been drawing on a capital reserve of over £75,000.

Through its network of front organisations, magazines and subsidies the CIA in the late Fifties and early Sixties had a decisive effect on Socialism throughout Western Europe, and in Britain in particular, but the Gaitskellism that it backed is now on the retreat. For those Labour leaders who, in all innocence, built their careers in the seminars of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the columns of *Encounter* or the *New Leader*, rather than in the trade union branch or on the Conference floor, are now feeling the lack of a mass base within the Party.

Attacked by Gaitskell at the Labour Party Conference in 1960 as a fellow traveller, Michael Foot retorted 'but who are they travelling with?' and the question is one that other members of the Party echo. For the chairmen of the world's largest capitalist organisations, monarchists, ex-Nazis, commanders of the American and German forces, the Crown Princes of Europe and CIA agents do indeed make strange travelling companions for Socialists.



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Land March on Parliament

An elder clutching a crucifix, Dick Stirling can remember "the time when they took my land in Bay of Plenty. I even had to fight them for compensation."

That was he was on Matakite - "the greatest thing for the Maori people since the Treaty of Waitangi."

Walter Connelly has no crucifix but he has a walking stick symbolising his whakapapa. "I'm 73, he explains, "and it's for the young people that I worry. Matakite is a sacred march for the sacred land we have lost."

Religion, in fact, is never far away from Matakite. Says one young marcher: "I've never said so many prayers. When we're not on our feet we're on our knees."

Throughout the land they are marching - the dispossessed and landless; wanderers close to the land, marching - the dispossessed and landless; wanderers close to the land, finding their answer in the land.

There is little bitterness in their faces. One sees however other moods. At times their faces are taut with determination, at others soft with laughter for they laugh a lot. They are humanities riptide and they are on the march...

At St Stephens College the Maori principal who bears the incongruous name of Scotty McPherson greets them saying: "at Te Hapua you were a bud but now you are beginning to flower."

The marchers aren't just Maoris. Many pakehas are marching too. Perhaps their reasons are best summed up by the young American who explained: "I knew the reasons but I couldn't explain them but I felt it was morally correct - we all have a right to land. As I've marched I've also begun to feel that, in a sense I'm marching in redemption of my ancestors."

"Perhaps, says another, "it is us who are dispossessed. They have something to get back to that we just don't have."

Maoris find in Matakite an affirmation, a return, a remembrance. Betty Wark: "I've never felt the force of Maoritanga so strongly as on Matakite."

Dennis Hansen: "I don't think it's amazing at all. I just think it's obvious. Only people who are negative think that it's amazing."

Some liken Matakite to an army. But the marchers, befitted in denims, jeans and greatcoats are more like a straggle of gypsies. They have no slogans to bellow out. Their actions have removed the need for such a crass form of demonstration. Instead they move forward in silence and in peace.

"See those cows," says Viola Walker. "Yeah," I absentmindedly reply. "They're interested too."

And so they are. The marchers sometimes seem like a tribe of Dr Doolittles considering the enormous impact they have on all sorts of beasts.

Whether they are unconsciously stirring up an animals land rights campaign one cannot say but we'll leave that one to 'Straight Furrow'. Although Matakite is spontaneous in expression there is always present a firm, implicit discipline which becomes overt whenever it is needed.

AS the marchers set out one warden tells them: "they tell us that Maoris are losing their dignity - but it's not going to be by this group. If you feel otherwise then you know what to do."

Often the roadsides are lined with local people. In Queen St they are very silent, probably very shocked.

Some Maori construction workers holler out. "Those are the dumb Maoris says a marcher, deprechatingly. "They all think it's a freak show," says another.

The girls of St Benedicts sing out, "for they are jolly good fellows," as the march passes by them.

In the country the march is quite an event. At Meremere the hydro shuts down for a few minutes and the kids from the local school scamper along the footpath.

"Mummy, who are they?"

"They're walking all the way to Wellington."

To the marchers every place has a different mood, every moment a different aspect. Ahead beyond the darkening hills lies the answer and tomorrow the reckoning.

"Every step we take," says a marcher, "is very important for with every step the march takes on a greater dimension in terms of actual integrity."

That is Whina Cooper's theme too. The old lady at maraes emphasizes that Matakite means commitment.

"This is the first time," she says "that the Pakehas have recognised us Maoris. They know we have pride of race."

Being a kuia gives Whina Cooper the right to give counsel and the responsibility to provide direction.

At Te Unga Whaka Whina Cooper finds a dramatic way of urging financial support for Matakite. Jabbing her walking stick into an enormous pharmaceutical jar she takes it out while contributors rush forward with their donations. Forcing the notes down with her stick she continues the process until the jar is finally full.

Although Matakite has significance to Maoridom in general the fact that so many of its leaders are Ngapuhui gives that tribe a special interest in it. Says Barbara Hoera, the Storm-troopers Mama Cass and herself a Ngapuhi: "We've always been silent-going along with the crowd. This is our first stand since we chopped down the the flagpole. I hope it will increase our our mana." Crowds of children

Among the marchers in Auckland are crowds of children, among them two classes from Birkdale Intermediate.

Explains teacher, Mark Gamber-Scott: "it seemed a good way of bringing experience into their education. Only three of the 60 parents objected and the others sent back replies saying things like 'this is a good idea and things like 'this may be a way of letting our children know what it could be like in the future."

The kids themselves seemed pretty firm on what they thought of Matakite. Said one: "It's a way to make other people listen to them. They used to have a lot of land and now they have hardly any"

Hone Tuwhare: "in Whangerei we all stood silent and just looked at Maori Affairs and not one of them came out out, they were so ashamed of themselves."

"What has happened to others," says Viola Walters, "has awakened us to injustices. Look at how money is being being made out of Rupehu after it was given in trust. No longer it will happen no longer."

I left Matakite south of Meremere. They had made me welcome and I was sad to leave.

They, it seemed to me, were involved in an important social experiment. Having made a bridge shake they were going to test their power against Parliament.

It would be wrong however to see Matakite as just another pressure-group for rather than dealing with pragmatics and power games it aims to realize a vision that is as much spiritual and social as it is political.

What Matakite represents is a view that despite the turbulence and traumas the earth remains still.

Like the Cheyenne and the Sioux it is to recapture what is vanished, to re-affirm what is lost. It is a pilgrimage, an odyssey, a rediscovery.

"The Maori is like a potato," wrote Ratana. "Without the land he will not grow."

What Matakite represents is a view that despite the turbulence and traumas of todays society the earth abides forever

Brent Lewis.





TO SOPHIE

Marching together, sister, brother,
is like putting us together like a great family -
without the hassles.

We march sometimes in two's, sometimes three abreast,
but usually at sixes and sevens when the march
controllers aren't looking !

And sometimes, for safety, we march in single file
but never alone,
because our tupunas are there, beside us, in the rain,
and when the sun comes busting out.

Girl, with my arms around you - I don't need 'em'.
True.
And you'll carry the world before you like an
avalanche.

In your young hands hold the future aloft like bright
birds or flowers.
These are your only armaments : and they're good enough.

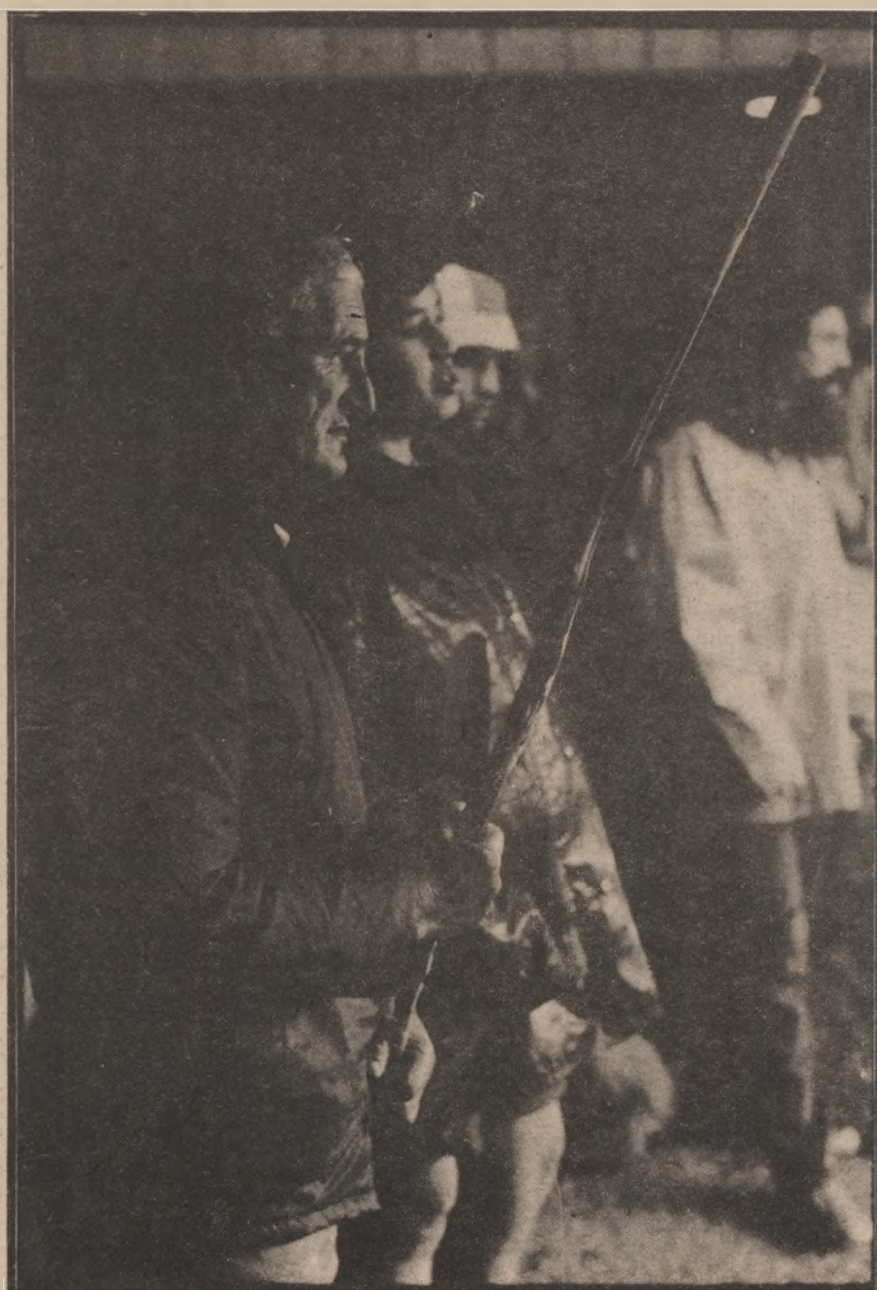
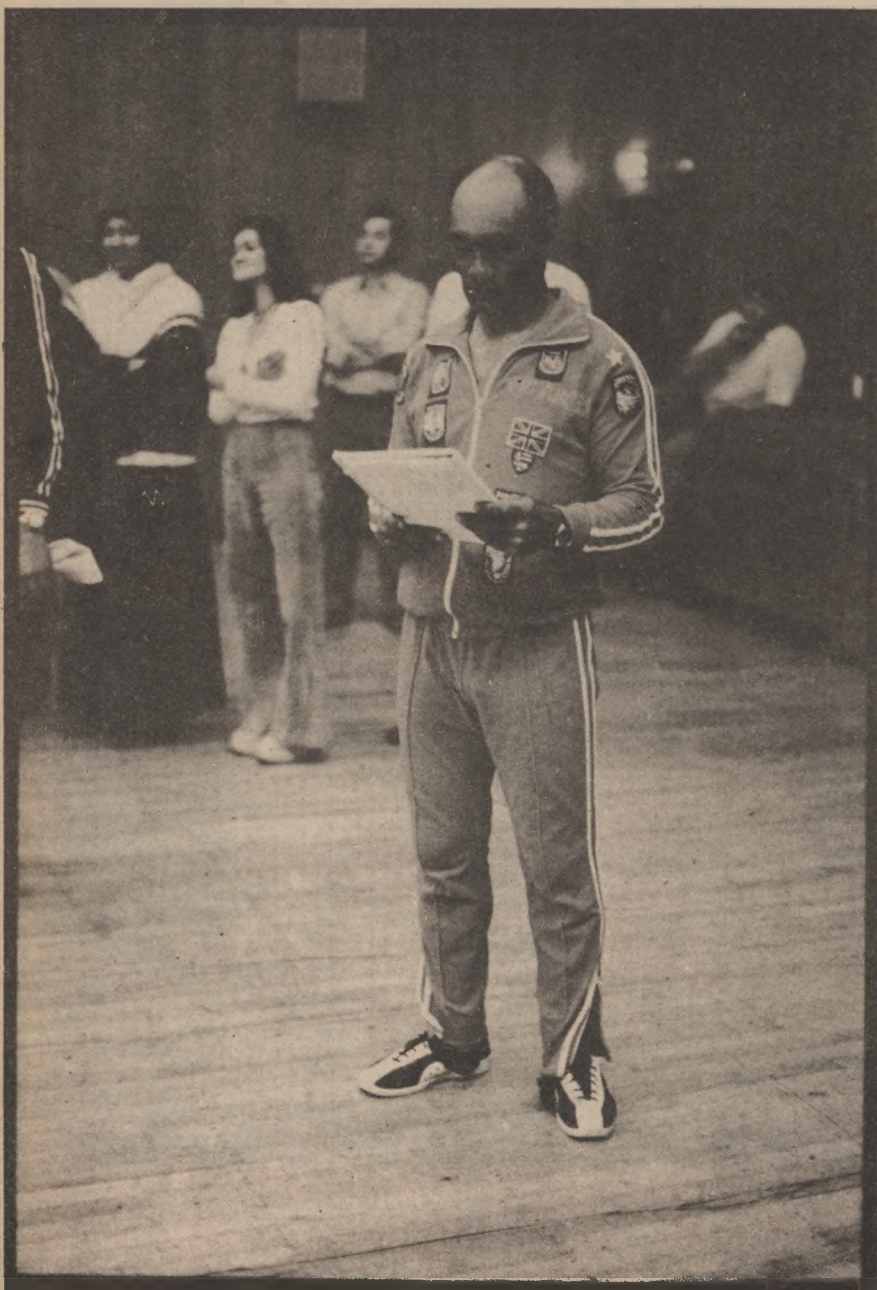
Armed with them alone you could change the ugly face
of greed and power.
Soften the bitterness and hatred among us all.

But maybe I'm talking through a hole in my head,
or arse.
Just remember we walked arm in arm together for a
short time
and forever and with other tribes, other people
with different beliefs,
white and black, red and in between. Great.

See you, when the so-called indestructible walls of
power collapse
before your simple laughter and freshness, your
lithe grace and womanhood.

yes : yes

HONE





lenny

He began in dead end, dead drunk bars telling jokes about his mother in law. His big show biz. break put him in front of a hotel audience, dinner jackets and martinis and who knows, Mr. Ed. Sullivan himself out there one night, behind the lights. But he was risqué and that's the truth. "Lemme just apologise for what I did last night, I'm very sorry, and really - what I'd like to do - what I'd really like to do - is piss on you." He was a dirty talker, and he was on his way. A spell back in the strip clubs, and the Act started to take shape, the Lenny Bruce Act. The late great Californian, hip liberal smoky spotlight small club comedy monologue, Ladies and Gentlemen, Lenny Bruce! And suddenly, there it was, the unspeakable word, he said it, the Big F. the word I never heard til I was ten years old, the final poisonous insult, the ultimate symbol of corruption in minors and the public morals, and he said it! On the screen! in Auckland!! The man said that word and - and nothing happened! Good god! There's somebody on the screen saying the word as though he was sitting

in his own front room, or in a bar, or in class, or on the bus, saying The Word as though he wasn't on camera at all, as though it was the most ordinary thing in the world, as though he said it every day of his life, and - Je-sus!! Did you hear that! He didn't just say the Unspeakable Word, he said the Other One! And now he's saying the Word my mother never knew (she never let on if she did) wow! that's got in on 'oral stimulation', all ends up, and for heaven's sake, what's in a word anyway? Fellatio by any other name would be the same damn thing.

The censor has said that this film is to be a test case. If he doesn't get support from you, then every film that comes into this country will continue to be strained through the fine mesh of timid, tainted chintzy, blue rinse Women's Institute standards. Lenny Bruce said, "The violence of a word," (and incidentally, its obscenity - lies in its suppression." I despise obscenity, and frankly, I don't think Patricia Bartlett and her supporters should be encouraged to perpetuate it.

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the wit of rob muldoon

Muldoon is a genius. A comic genius of note. But in his latest routine 'Saving the Fatherland' he surpasses himself. Economics! A dead bore isn't it. Most of you will read no further. Yet in this sketch Muldoon makes them hilariously funny and in doing so joins the ranks of Swift, Orwell, and Churchill as one of THE great satirists.

He starts the act and propounds his NEW FINAL SOLUTION. He is going to Balance the Books. He's going to do it by reducing our deficit by cutting imports. By holding wages to reduce inflation. By lowering government spending. And by getting government out of business.

The satire here is scathing. That these policies are those used by governments during the Great Depression, indeed are precisely those that got us into the Depression in the first place, is typical of Muldoon.

And to call it a New Solution is typical of his genius.

In his past comedy routines Muldoon has been crude and clownish to say the least. But with this new subtlety he reaches maturity. And this profound irony is heightened for the acute listener by one further, final, most bizarre consequence.

Most of his fans, the Nats, believe every word of it!

Put simply, Muldoon's satire technique is to propound in arrogant tones, with all apparent sincerity, economic policies to save NZ which everyone - bar the Nats - knows will bankrupt NZ.

Immediately he pontificates - 'There is too much socialism; too much government control, the Nats release the balloons. 'Britain' he says, 'with 16% of its economy government owned is in the pooh. That is socialism. Get rid of it!' The irony here is obvious. For France with nearly twice as much government ownership is far less in the shit than Britain.

And West Germany - the richest nation in the EEC - also has far more government ownership.

In fact, as Muldoon sarcastically indicates, socialism saves.

He follows with an almost throw away gag.



Softening to almost Kennedian 'sincerity'...

He's going to control wages. Wage increases cause price increases. Despite its speed of delivery the gag is not missed by the audience.

Economic reviews show clearly that at least 25% of any price increase is extra profit to the capitalist. The knowing laughs echo through the audience.

Again the genius flashes. Muldoon will control inflation. It's his Canute impersonation. Holding back the spirals. Inflation is not about his claims concerning his own superhumanity. It is caused by wages rising faster than prices - 5% faster in 1974 in NZ.

From this point Muldoon reveals himself as the intellectuals satirist. The irony is too deep for the Nats needing, as its understanding does, some scant economic knowledge.

For as Muldoon well knows if NZ wages have risen 5% faster than prices, West Germany's wages have risen 100% faster than prices. And they are controlling inflation better than NZ. The same applies to France, Holland and Belgium.

Inflation in fact has little to do with wage rises.

Then the craftsman's touch, another quick throw away quip to counterbalance the intellectualism of the last one. Muldoon wants wages rising slower than prices. The hall erupts with laughter. Only two countries in West Europe have managed this - Southern Ireland and Italy. And they're in the biggest shit of the lot.

One now understands why we have so few comedians in NZ. We don't need them. We have Muldoon.

But now he is into the most profound part of his routine. He adopts his Jehovah expression and elevates himself to his full 5'2". The sarcasm scintillates the Nats, totally sucked in, fiddle with their beads.

The diety will BALANCE THE BOOKS. It is no conjuring trick. That comes later when the maestro makes the immigrants disappear. No. It means reducing overseas debts by cutting imports.

That this is an old Lab. policy fought to the end by National is a side snigger. For this is the Muldoon satiric genius at its apotheosis. So rare an example of irony justifies closer examination to

reveal the complexity of its form.

80% of NZ imports are vital for industrial production. Only 12% are consumer goods such as bananas. That 12% can easily be stopped. But it would only reduce our deficit by a piddling 25%. Which won't balance any books.

To balance the books requires a 60% import cut. And that means taking a helluva bite out of that 80% of vital imports.

In 1968 Muldoon cut imports by only 25%. Production ground down and 10,000 men were unemployed.

A 60% cut as Muldoon expounds will mean 40,000 unemployed.

This is the Muldoon genius. A complicated weave of reasoning produces a final simple irony. 40,000 unemployed.

It would ruin the country.

The absurdity is so apparent the whole audience is bellowing with laughter.

Yet here I see a danger. The Employers Federation believes we need unemployment to lower inflation. This despite the fact that Denmark last year increased theirs by a whopping 312%. With no effect at all on inflation.

The danger is, that, such is the simplicity and ignorance of many of our people that they do not understand Muldoon's brand of satire.

What I mean is, they actually believe what he actually says.

This is certainly true of the Nats. But Employers and Farmers and others are so impressed by his demagoguery especially, they miss the point and are attracted to the illusion.

Already they are talking about 'The Leader' - very ominous.

However, I have been told that this is the final satiric irony of the master satirist. That Muldoon is deliberately encouraging this in order to suck his audience in to the biggest laugh of all.

Come the elections Muldoon will burst the gas filled bag on his shoulders and team up with Dagg for the entertainer of the year award.

God it will be a laugh. The consummate artist. I can't wait. It's got to be true. Oh please, please let it be true!

David Colbourn.

Craccum

UNCLASSIFIED

Piles, vaginal odour? Genital itch? Slanted uteri? Train smashes, slippery things, plastic underwear, leather handrails and dead animals? Are you interested in these things? You could be the penpal I am looking for. Write: 'Edwin', c/o Stud.Ass. All enquirers treated with the utmost confidence. (Please mark personal so we know)

Lost: One Gross of singing fish lost somewhere in Mt Roskill area last Tuesday night. Reward offered, Phone

Henry, come home. I won't do it again, Fluffy Bum.

American Student requires friend or whatever. Wait at Beresfor St Conveniences 8pm Thursday night - Neville.

Want a Career in the Public Service? Plenty of travel, fun and excitement. Minimum Standard 2 education required, preferably overseas born. Join my unusual branch, phone Gilbert at home for immediate attention

Complete collection of Bradfor Universal joints '34 through to '75. Perfect gift for Dad. Apply Herald Box 98767.

Wanted: Green and black things, also little bits. Phone 666-1166.

For Sale 112 singing fish. As is, Where is. Contact Spike, third seat on the left down Vulcan Lane.

Introductory offer! Hystorectomy or anal cauterisation, cheap. Latest Fijian methods used. Phone Dr. Lunge BDS (Dehli) PhD (Physics). Day or night OH 591

Discreet Maths Graduate (PhD or junior lecturer pref.) required to sit Gen. Maths Term paper. Write Nigel PO Box Genuine Enquiries only.

Swop '45 Morris Minor in excellent going order for '74 or '75 Bentley. Must be in good condition, Phone "Dennis"

Young Boy with clean complexion, manipulative tongue and sensitive hands required to serve Mechanical Apprenticeship. Apply in person to Larry, Willows Service Station,

Bits of Uranium required by Physicist. Good Prices paid and no questions asked. Phone Abdul, c/o Studass.

Stomach ailments, brain tumours rot, etc. cured in seconds - Contact Brian Teth.

Flypaper arrangements in your own home - write for our startling catalogue -

Young minded Grasshopper enthusiast urgently requires flat with others interested in vacuuming, dusting, dishwashing etc. Has own baboon. Write Craccum Box 234.

Found: 32 dead fish, appear musical. Phone Felix, c/o Craccum.

For Sale: collection of slightly soiled knickers, bra's etc. Wide range suit connoisseur. Write Deviate, P.O. Box, Auckland.

Widow with varied interests requires young man to play piano etc. Box 371118 Auck.

I will not be responsible for any windows broken in the premises of Norman Fish in Park St. Henderson at 8pm, 5th of October Enric Vitriallo

Cheap lodgings. Must be robust. You will be safe Thursdays and Fridays. Leave note on Engineering Foyer Notice Board.

Would the person who picked up three caterpillar bulldozers which fell off the back of my truck between Huntly and Palmerston North, please return them.

Wanted lift to Napier, no Orange Datsuns need apply. Phone Felicia

SOUTH AFRICA time for a change?

THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE IN SIX MONTHS

One question that I have constantly been asked ever since my departure from South Africa is whether there have been any changes there, or whether there are any signs of change.

Perhaps the most significant result of the Portuguese withdrawal from Angola and Mozambique has been a marked change in attitude by the Nationalist ruling elite. They clearly realise the need for domestic change if they are to capitalise on "the spectacular advances towards détente." The question remains whether they can make these changes or whether they are chained to an ideology which makes advances impossible.

For 20 years South Africa's domestic and foreign policies have been two sides of the same coin. If it is to make any headway in a world dominated by demands for equality and human dignity, South Africa must adjust to meet them. Nobody can expect the legislative edifice of apartheid to be dismantled in a day. In fact, given a quarter century of Nationalist commitment to racial segregation there is reason to doubt that it will ever be dismantled as long as they remain in power.

I think people here and in very many countries are gaining the impression that Mr. Vorster is a reasonable man. This thinking should be put in the context of what is happening in South Africa at present.

In the Rand Daily Mail of 17th January, 1975, the editor wrote:

"While South Africa's spokesmen like Mr. Pik Botha tell the world we are moving away from discrimination, there are almost daily examples to contradict such a view. On the Natal coast recently white holiday makers manhandled local Indians whom they considered to be interlopers on an open beach, and now some whites in Preoria are objecting to the building of an Indian resort at Rodepoort dam.

"In an article this week the Rand Daily Mail's Ameen Akhalwaya provided a timely personal reminder of the injustices and humiliations suffered by our Black citizens in their day-to-day lives. He cannot go to the theatre, dine at a restaurant, hail a taxi or stay at a city hotel - because of apartheid.

"The Indian and coloured people, without even a visionary homeland, are a problem for a Government which has whittled away their rights and offered nothing in return. How much longer must they carry the burden of second-class citizenship?

To receive the right answers we must ask the right questions. There are several questions that we can ask in order to determine whether or not there have been any changes in South Africa. For purposes of discussion I am going to examine these questions within the context of the Separate Development.

GROUP AREAS ACT

What are these questions?

First will the Government repeal the Group Areas Act?

Father Cosmos Desmond, now banned and house arrested under the Suppression of Communism Act, in his book *The Discarded People* describes his journey to several resettlement areas. This book gives you a picture of the thousands of families

which have been uprooted, transported, and then dumped, dumped like garbage, some of them in the open desert. It is an account of callous contempt for human suffering, the ugliness of systematic cruelty, and the self-righteousness of the oppressor. According to figures released by the Southern African Institute for Race Relations, (Annual Surveys) a total of 3,000,000 people have been uprooted under the nefarious Group Areas Act.



Rather than repeal this iniquitous piece of legislation the Government continues to move (with fire and force where necessary) entire communities. In North End, a suburb of East London, where whites, "coloureds", "Indians" and Chinese have happily lived for an historic period of time, the demolishers have moved in and have started to break down the houses that once belonged to these people.

THE PASS LAWS

Second, will Mr Vorster abolish the hated Pass Laws which cause so much hardship to Blacks and which result in almost 2,800 arrests daily?

"The pass is a document issued to all 'Africans' over the age of sixteen years. Pasted in front is the identity card issued under the Population Registration Scheme, and there are pages for entries relating to labour bureaux and influx control, the signatures of employers, poll tax receipts, and taxes imposed by Bantu Authorities, and other particulars. As the books are issued, finger-prints are taken and recorded in a central bureau.

"Unlike the identity card of other races, which must be produced within seven days of demand, the pass must always be carried on the person of the holder and produced on demand, failing which the offender may be arrested on the spot. (Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 165)

"African" women are required by law to carry passes too.

In his talks with the tribal chiefs (euphemistically called Homeland Leaders) in Cape Town on 22nd January, 1975, Vorster rejected their request for the abolition of influx control. He proposed instead the formation of a Committee of three members to investigate ways in which the pass laws could be applied/administered "without causing friction".

THE 'URBAN BANTU'

Third, will Mr. Vorster admit that the "Urban Bantu" are there to stay and grant them free hold property rights?

The towns were not developed by the whites solely. White capital and initiative were buttressed by black labour - without it the diamond and gold mines could not have been developed and the towns would not have arisen. "Africans" participated in the growth of the towns from the out-

Mr. Vorster rejected their demands for a new deal for Urban "Africans". It was after this meeting that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi left the room saying that he was sick and tired of the futile exercises in dialogue. He distributed a memorandum in which he stated, inter alia, that although he had not "at that moment" considered leading his people in civil disobedience that might be the only alternative. Of course his intransigent bossk Vorster, replied that South Africa would be administered "on the basis of law and order" and that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi should reconsider his position and his statement.

THE IMMORALITY ACT

Fourth, will Mr Vorster scrap the Immorality Act?

Of the Immorality Act, Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich*, p. 160 says: "(the Immorality Act) Prohibited illicit carnal intercourse between white and non-white (the original 1927 Act prohibited intercourse only between White and African). No Act has done more to injure the reputation of South Africa in the eyes of the world, for thousands of people, ranging from visiting seamen to Cutch Reformed Church dominees and the private secretary to a Prime Minister, have fallen foul of its provisions and been sent to jail. Over 6,000 people were convicted under this Act between 1950 and 1966 according to figures released by the Minister of Justice in Parliament. By the very nature of the offence, the means of securing evidence is always distasteful, based on snooping and informing, the flashing of torches into motor cars at night, the bursting into of private homes. No reasonable system of morality, furthermore, can tolerate the ethics of the Immorality Act, which condones immorality between people of the same race, but converts it into a criminal offence from the moment that the race groups are different."

The reason for the existence of the Immorality Act is to maintain the "purity" of the White Race. Why should such a private and intimate thing as love between two people, regardless of their race or colour, be under the control of the law? Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, once said that the Government has no place in peoples' bedrooms, a view with which no sensible person can disagree.

Will Mr Vorster, as a token of his genuine desire to bring about change repeal this law which has brought endless misery, broken up families, created scandal and caused many suicides?

GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE WITH INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Will Mr Vorster prevent Government interference with individual rights and civil liberties - banning, house arrests, detention without trial - and restore to the Courts the exclusive right to decide who is guilty and who innocent?

The Corso Information Service in its publication *Apartheid in South Africa*, p. 4, lists a few of the numerous laws which restrict civil liberty in South Africa. We need only cite a few of these:

1. The Suppression of Communism Act, No 44 of 1950 links opposition to apartheid with the furtherance of Communist objectives and empowers the "Minister of Justice" to ban and house arrest any person. No reasons are given for such banning orders and a banned person has no recourse to the Courts of law - of this, more later.
2. Prisons Act of 1959 - restricts the pub-

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3. Bantu Adm 1927 as amended President to re in the public in

4. Public safety authorises the and Governme

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He said th prove that he then naturall right to set a: banned perso the reasons f sons were giv Mr Vorste ing in 1973 c ers. He said t restrictions v

lication of information on prison conditions and prisoners including treatment of political and other inmates ;

3. Bantu Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927 as amended - empowers the State President to remove and banish "Africans" in the public interest ;

4. Public safety Act No. 3 of 1953 - authorises the declaration of emergencies and Government by decree ;

5. Criminal Law Amendment Act - penalizes political protest including exercise of speech to change of public policy and law.

6. Criminal Law Amendment Act, No. 56 of 1955 - as amendment in 1965, - permits detention for 180 days without trial.

7. Riotous Assembly Act, No 56 of 1955 - permits extensive restrictions on freedom of assembly.

8. Unlawful Organisations Act, No. 34 of 1960 empowers the State President to declare organisations unlawful and dissolve them by proclamation.

9. Publications and Entertainment Act, No. 26 of 1963 specifies as a criminal offence the freedom of the press where a newspaper strongly criticises apartheid as unjust.

10. General Law Amendment Act, No. 37 of 1963 - authorises the detention of persons without trial for repeated periods of 90 days.

11. Terrorism Act, No. 83 of 1967 - loosens the definition of terrorism, narrows the right of habeas corpus, and substantially eliminates the defence of double jeopardy.

We shall discuss the terrorism act later in this paper.

The Criminal Procedure Act in addition gives the South African Police wide powers of entry of premises, search of persons and property without a search warrant. Any individual can be detained for up to 48 hours or mere suspicion of a crime. The interception of mail and the tapping of telephones by the police are legal.

Bunting, P. 194, says : "From the very inception of their rule in 1948, the Nationalists have held it as a faith that those who are not with them are against them and MUST BE TREATED AS DEADLY ENEMIES. The basis of their power has always been far too narrow for them to practise tolerance towards their opponents. And the nature of their objective has made it impossible for them ever to make concessions to those who differed from them without endangering their whole apartheid programme. The result has been the adoption of the rigid and uncompromising "granite wall" approach which their critics have found to be one of the most objectionable features of their regime.

In April 1974, in a television interview with Mr William Buckley of the U.S.A., Mr Vorster attempted a bigger cover-up of the evils of the "South African way of life" than the bugging or burgling of the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate building. That cover-up angered, astonished and stunned white and black politicians, lawyers, labour leaders, academics and students. And yet a few days later the White electorate returned Vorster to power almost by proverbial landslide.

In his television interview Mr Vorster told millions of American viewers during the week-end preceding the "general election" that only people found to be working and speaking in favour of "Communism" were banned.

He said that if a banned person could prove that he was not a "communist" then naturally the Supreme Court has a right to set aside the banning, and that banned persons were entitled to ask for the reasons for their bans and these reasons were given to them.

Mr Vorster was asked about the banning in 1973 of a number of student leaders. He said that in terms of the law restrictions were placed on the movements

and activities of any person found to work and speak in favour of "communism". Legal experts described this statement as implying that the eight USAS leaders, for example, were either communists or were actively engaged in communist activities.

Professor A.S. Matthews, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Natal (Durban) pointed out that many people who were clearly not Communists - such as trade unionists and leaders of the now defunct Liberal Party - had been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Everyone, the Prime Minister included, knew that they were not Communists and were not furthering the aims of Communism, yet they had no hope of getting the "orders" set aside.

He said also that the Prime Minister had given a totally wrong impression about the rights of banned people with regard to the right of appeal - The fact of the matter was that the Minister of "Justice" has total discretion to impose a banning order and is not subject to Court Control.

The sinister nature of "banning orders" resides in the fact that no one can say who will be next affected, or when and why. There is neither social or legal redress but



only the arbitrary decision of a political enemy. The FINAL opinion comes from the Minister of 'Justice', Jimmy Kruger himself :

"BANNING ORDERS MAY BE LIFTED IF A PERSON CHANGES HIS MENTAL ATTITUDE"

In 1973, a total of 67 persons were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. In 1974 the patterns continued. When new banning orders were not being issued then banning orders which were about to expire were received. In almost all cases banning orders are issued for periods of five years.

Among those whose banning orders were received were : Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe: after having completed a three year jail sentence on Robben Island in 1963 for incitement to break the pass laws, Sobukwe was detained for a further six years by special act of Parliament which empowered the Minister of "Justice" to extend the detention. When he was released from prison in 1969 he was banned and housed arrested under the Suppression of Communism Act. He is presently living under restriction in Kimberley.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu : Wife of Walter Sisulu, ANC leader presently serving a life sentence on Robben Island. After having been banned and house-arrested for ten years her banning order was extended for a further five years.

Mohomed Benoni : A travel agent from Actionville, Benoni, Transvaal, who is presently living out his third five-year period of banning and house arrest.

Immediately upon release persons who have served sentences for political offences on Robben Island, are banned and house arrested. A few names are listed below :

Reggie Vandeyar, 39, married with two children. After completing a 10 year sentence on Robben Island, he was banned and placed under house arrest in May, 1973.

Ernest Moseneke, 27, Engaged to be married. After completing 10 year sentence on Robben Island for PAC Activities has been banned and house arrested.

Dr. Neville Alexander, 37, a brilliant Black academic who was released from Robben Island in April 1974, after serving a 10 year sentence. He was immediately banned and house arrested.

Elizabeth van der Heyden, Marcus Solomons and Reggie Davis who were all released at the same time as Dr. Neville Alexander after having completed a 10 year sentence on Robben Island.

In December 1974, a certain Mr. Marco was released from Robben Island after having completed an 11 year sent-

ence. He was restricted to Ga Rankuwa, a township about 20 kilometers from Pretoria, despite the fact that his wife and family live in Soweto, the Black township near Johannesburg. These are only a few people who are presently enduring the bitter experience of banning and house arrests. In the past 10 years a total of nearly 1,250 people have been subjected to this inhuman, barbaric measure.

The International Commission of Jurists based in Geneva has pointed out that in the past 26 years the South African Government had freed itself of all radical opposition and had amassed an almost limitless arsenal of repression and intimidation. The Jurists made a condemnatory analysis of the affected Organisations' Act which has been enacted to prohibit "overseas money" being used for political purposes, and the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act, and said that both laws are clearly aimed at making it more difficult to oppose the Governments' repressive policies.

NUSAS has been declared an Affected Organisation by the Minister of "Justice".

In September 1974, the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) announced plans for a rally to be held at Curries Fountain Stadium, Durban, on September 25, 1974. The rally was to express solidarity with Frelimo, due to assume power in Mozambique that day. A White businessman, Mr. Cornelius Koekemoer, sent a telegram to the Minister of Justice protesting against the proposed rally. The Minister acted by exercising his arbitrary powers under the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act to ban not only the pro-

posed rally but all meetings organised by SASO and BPC.

What happened made news around the world. The rally was attended by almost 6,000 people who converged on the banks surrounding the stadium. (The stadium was locked). Hundreds of Plainclothes and uniformed policemen armed with batons and truncheons, the special dog squad with 150 alsations, dispersed the crowd inflicting injury on many people.

The same evening the Security Police began to round up prominent members of SASO and BPC. 38 members of these two organisations have since been detained without trial. Neither family, friends or lawyers have access to the detainees. The right of the Court to intervene has been specifically excluded.

The Rand Daily Mail of 8/1/1975 carried the following editorial :

"What is going on? Why is there no explanation of the litter of broken promises? This is no small matter to be dealt with in such cavalier fashion for at stake are the liberties of a considerable number of people who are being held incommunicado under the fearsome provisions of the Terrorism Act.

"Those detained are denied free access to family and lawyers. They are denied recourse to a writ of habeas corpus - the once traditional defence of the individual against arbitrary arrest by an overwhelming authority. They are in jail, entirely at the mercy of the authorities.

"No reason has been given for detaining them. All that is known is that, starting in September after planned pro-Frelimo rallies, the Security Police arrested about 40 Blacks. The figure could be higher; it could be lower. Right up to this week the police - reflecting an alarming arrogance - continue to avoid revealing the exact number.

"Whatever the detainees might be alleged to have done, this is no way to treat them. No society can afford to have anyone treated in this way - because the extent of power being exercised by the State is so vast and so pervasive that it is a danger to each of us. South Africa dare not tolerate this indefinite detention without trial."

Mr. Alan Fine, a 21 year-old Commerce student and member of the Wages Commission of the University of The Witwatersrand was detained by Security Police after he left Lourenco Marques on the 4.30 pm train on Wednesday January 8, for Johannesburg. The following day Mr. Fine was detained for approximately 23 days before he was released without any charges having been brought against him.

All this has been happening while Mr. Vorster has been involved in the kind of diplomatic moves he has been making over Rhodesia.

EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION ACT

Will Mr. Vorster scrap the Extension of University Education Act which only prescribes Black education and prevents students from choosing whatever faculties teachers and facilities they think best?

The so-called Extension of University Education Act, enacted in 1959, made it a criminal offence for any "non-white" student to register at any of the hitherto open universities without the written consent of the Minister. Instead, the Act provided for the establishment of special university colleges for "non-white" Students who were to be separated on racial and ethnic lines.

The Academic Freedom Committees of the Cape Town and Witwatersrand Universities, in a booklet recently published say it is commonplace that informers are present on university campuses. The authors of the booklet say this is a serious inhibiting factor on free and open discussion of controversial topics.

In the 15 years since university apartheid was imposed a disturbingly large number of further legislative and administrative invasions of academic freedom has taken place. All these are detailed in the booklet. The open universities describe also their own record of opposition and protest to these measures, and the steps they have taken to eliminate racial discrimination on their campuses.

continued

The list of invasions and restrictions makes gloomy reading. Teaching staff have been forced out of their posts by banning orders under the Suppression of Communism Act. Their numbers include distinguished scholars such as Professors H.J. Simons and Eddie Roux, and Dr Raymond Hoffenburg (now occupying a top medical professional post in Britain).

In 1968 the Government pressured UCT into rescinding the appointment of a Black to a senior lectureship in Social Anthropology. Others with academic posts have been refused residence permits and several distinguished academic visitors have been denied visas.

It is important to note that the booklet describes the situation prevalent on White campuses. The situation on Black campuses is far more oppressive. Rigorous control is maintained over the activities of students so that the universities are in fact glorified high schools.

Further restrictions that have directly and indirectly affected the universities

are contained in the draconian security laws legislation such as the Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act. In practice, as the authors make clear, they seriously limit frank and open discussion, thereby hindering the universities in fulfilling their proper role.

However, much these universities have opposed Government measures they have been branded increasingly by the international community as being part of the white South African establishment. This has meant academic boycotts, reluctance by foreign universities to offer hospitality to visiting South African representatives from international conferences.

CONCLUSION

It is impossible - and indeed unnecessary - to review within the confines of this article the entire spectrum of the apartheid society with its job reservation, discrimination in wages and salaries, segregation in sport, separate queues, entrances, pathways

bridges, beaches, buses, post offices, parks, etc.

I believe that taken together, those two speeches by Mr. Vorster and Mr. Pik Botha amounted - at most - to an admirable declaration of enlightened intent. What they were in fact saying was: we want to co-operate constructively with Mozambique; we would like to see a durable settlement in Rhodesia; we accept the international status of South West Africa and intend letting its people decide their future for themselves. At home meanwhile we intend eliminating race discrimination from our national life, and we offer the hand of friendship to Black Africa.

These are fine sentiments but there is simply no change of Vorster being able to reach these admirable goals by way of separate development. As long as apartheid remains the political framework, the words of this declaration - no matter how sincerely uttered - must remain empty.

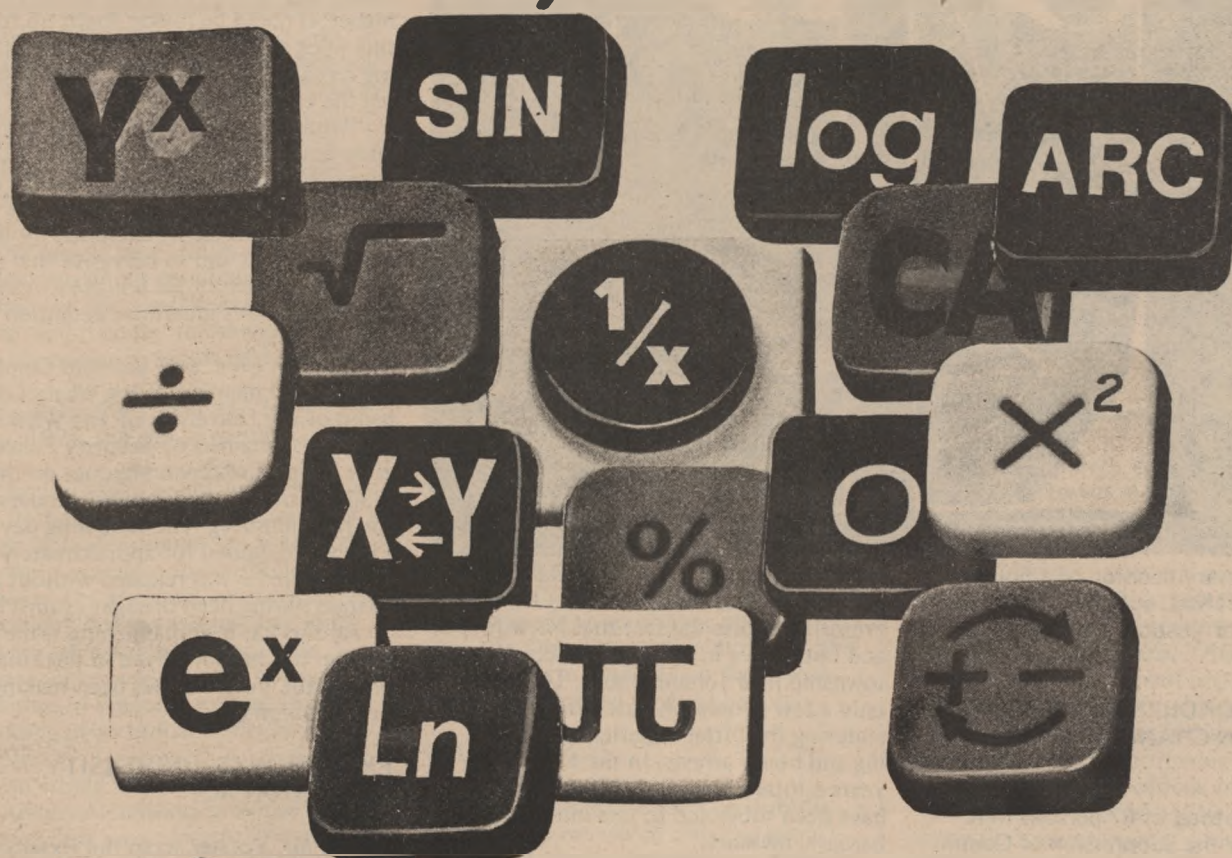
This is not a matter of opinion but of plain demonstrable fact. More than half

the Black population today live in so-called "White" South Africa, and as the population explodes the proportion increases - In the face of this the "Bantustans", badly fragmented and comprising only 13% of the total land area with few industrial growth points, can never hope to accommodate the bulk of the Black people - At best, say the experts, they may with vigorous development eventually be able to accommodate between 15 and 18 million - but by then the total Black population will have swelled to somewhere around 50 million.

So the vast majority of Blacks will still be living in "white" South Africa, still outnumbering the whites four to one, or thereabouts. And in terms of Government policy they will still be denied basic civil rights; still regarded as "temporary sojourners" in the land where they were born and where they live and work permanently.

HENRY ISSACS

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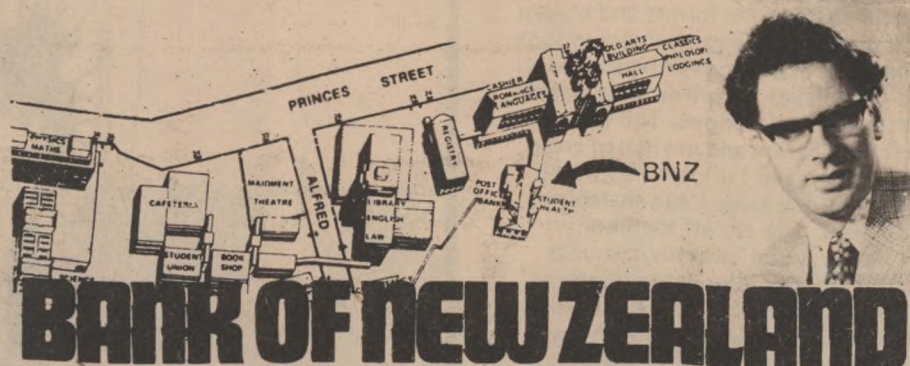
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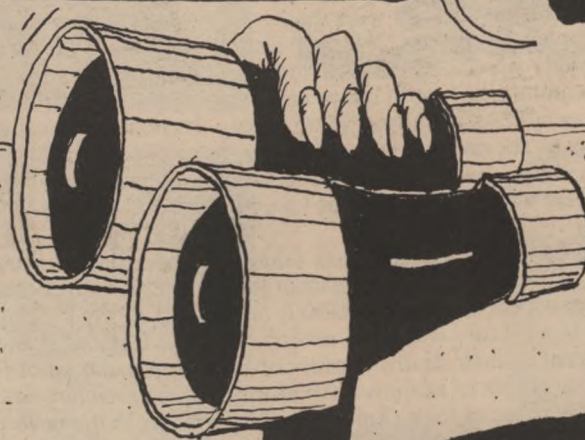
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"THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF COMMUNITY STANDARDS WAS URGED TO WATCH A NUDIST GATHERING AND THEN COMPLAIN...."

I'm not sure
 which I enjoy most —
 watching or complaining..



maksm. walker

(A New Zealander, returned after many years in New York, reviews local television.)

The Dada manifesto of 1918 contains the pronouncement: God can afford not to be successful. It's a privilege that two-channel TV apparently shares. Why else would they put up with the interminable breakdowns, the blank spots in programming while the camera stares fixedly at some waterfall the studio slide collector wants to bore us with, or the perpetual homilies on energy saving, plain speaking bon appetizing till they urge us to bed at 11 pm. Such watch! as Sidney Greenstreet says in "Casablanca."

Daytime TV in New York is taken up with soaps and game shows. We already have our share of the former and we can count on getting the game shows as soon as corporate avarice can be persuaded to yield the goodies for prizes. As a matter of fact, I like these shows. The formula of self humiliation and uninvited greed is unbeatable, and I think Kiwis would go for it as soon as they can snatch cars, boats, world trips etc off the floor. "Let's make a deal" was my favourite because it makes no pretence of having the contestant display more than the minimal skill of choosing between two boxes. As long as he comes dressed as a roast beef sandwich he's in.

Our version has the puritanical intrusion of questions in its format. Apart from the occasional joy of seeing the questioner himself flub the question the delay in waiting for the bag to open dissipates any genuine hysteria Selwyn might have managed to whip up. My interest in whether Mrs. Collingwood of Hawera knows which of the Bachs was worse than his bite is, as they say, of a low order.

An obvious way to look at offerings on New Zealand TV would be to compare the local with the imported. But as we know that is no contest. New Zealand attempts at drama suffer from being a poor imitation of British social realism. There's a perpetual bitchiness that hangs over "Coronation Street" that is a measure of a static society where, as my friends' landlady told him, all that is left is Britain's "moral authority." (None too well displayed in the Rovers Return).

But such shows do have the authenticity of locale and the hum and buzz of a culture which takes itself for granted. The speech idiom, the assurance of manner are familiarly British. So strong are they that I suspect I hear New Zealand actors trying to reproduce those tones in their own productions.

But realism is, as Sartre pointed out, founded on a false premise of a world in which there is no perceiver, no locatable viewpoint: less there, you might say, than meets the eye. British TV seems to domesticate what it touches, even "War and Peace", which came out looking like Jane Austen. In fact the only episode I enjoyed was that in which the action was interpreted to me by the coolly analytical eye of a marxist. For him, Napoleon was an imperialist upstart whom the heroic peasantry threw off, and Tolstoy's christian mysticism a form of bourgeois self deception. A degree of seriousness I'm sure Tolstoy would have approved. I'm not so sure he would have approved a Pierre who carried on like a yenta.

Anyhow, I'd prefer to see local TV attempt to push the level of fantasy higher in the hope of producing more than merely mimetic reality, complicated as that might be. Why, asks my daughter, should they show us their lives when our own are more interesting? Mirabile dictu!

I might as well admit I'm biased in favour of American shows. The comedies aim at cosmic disproportion and the dialogue of MASH, for instance, seems to be verbally exhibitivite in the way Elizabethan drama can at its looniest. Puns,



tv tales

mistakes, zeugma and misapposite yokings of the most exuberant nonsense tell us what comedy is all about - if Freud hadn't already done so. What ya see is not what ya get Flip Wilson.

An interesting exercise is to analyse the stock comic situations in British and American comedies. Ask yourself why English comedians never miss a chance to show a lavatory routine and why Americans have a series of routines involving the schlimazel, like Felix, in the "Odd Couple". Sexual misadventure is big in American programs while Sid James and the alluring cleavage seem to dominate the staple British sexual comedy. Choice erotic fantasy of the year is between Edith Bunker and Miss Sharples - or Marples.

But if sex is funny both sides of the Atlantic, race isn't. I was appalled at the Black and White Minstrels with their bland Sambo stereotypes. "Nigger" just ain't a funny word in the States; nor are its representations, even in dance routines, acceptable in a country where racial antagonisms are easily provoked. In any case, what does the blackface add to the choreography? Nothing so far as I could see.

Nor did I crack up at the Dave Allen take-off of the Japanese businessman the other night. That old casual racism is out of place in a century where six million people went to their deaths because of discriminatory racial notions. "All in the Family" is about as far as American TV dare go. Some say that is too far already.

For a long time I went to bed early. Late shows never kept Marcel up, but that was prior to Johnny Carson. The talk shows are the insomniac's delight in New York: about 15 million see Carson

nightly. Mainly he just chats to those who as Daniel Boorstin said, are famous for being famous. Now if you like gossip, as I do, the chance to hear Herman Kahn think the unthinkable or Liz Taylor do it is terrific.

Really, Americans like to hear stories about their heroes in much the same way, I imagine, the Greeks did theirs. It's a way of creating tribal intimacy, McLuhan's global village, through the electronic envelope of TV - and in the intimacy of your bedroom. Well, I'm waiting for Max Cryer to come up with something. But until he learns to prepare his background material and to ask decent questions, I'll have to wait.

Matter of fact, New Zealand interviewers could all do some homework before they start their questions. Too often they include the presumed answer in the question itself, leaving the subject to repeat the answer in rearranged syntax or to change ground.

Maybe Breton was right in saying dialectic is an amusing machine which carries us - in a stupid manner - to opinions we would have had in any case. Also, the interviewers should learn to let go instead of snapping at the heels of their topics when they threaten to get out of line.

In fact, reporters come in for a special dose of my six o'clock spleen. How difficult is it, for example, to look up the pronunciation of foreign names. They can't even handle "Sinai", despite its being in the news every second night.

Beyond malpronunciations, they lack enough information on most items so that their news coverage has no prospective: historical, political, philosophical, pastoral tragi-comical.... At least Fred Dagg has the banality, as he points out.

I used to enjoy the news but I'm beginning to think Philo T Farnsworth wasted his time there among the vacuum tubes if it means we get the TV 1 & 2 twins. If only Derek Payne would get off his motorcycle and spend some days in the library.

"Tonight at Nine" is exempted from this censure: Keith Ovenden has an intelligent scrupulosity which I like.

Both networks could, though, learn from McLuhan's dicta on what the medium is about. How many, for instance, will remember the excellent things Miss Wilson of the Values party said about nuclear power for the fluttering of her scarf and the avuncular reassurance of Mr Bailey's manner. Activity on TV carries more impact than discourse no matter how rational. (I'll bet you can't remember where Ford was going when he fell down the steps). The effect of the "image" is well documented in Joe McGuiness' Selling of the President. Good reading in an election year since I don't think we can rely on much shrewd political analysis from our investigative reporters.

Brian Edwards was a hope that looks now as if it will disappear in pursuit of a vision of private virtue and public excess. To come on his show in the middle of the smoking lung machine or the dwarfs of the audience climbing the steps to provoke cardiac arrest, or even in the flights of the wunderkind, is to imagine a scenario from a contemporary Hieronymus Bosch. Right now he bites off less than he can chew.

I have two last shots: The first is at detective, private eye, cop type programs. You either like them or you don't. I do. The pursuit of the pathological is the American style with a nodding concession to Bogart of the "Maltese Falcon" and "The Big Sleep". Kojak is my favorite and, I guess, it's a question of style: the hard guy means, well style. Callan too, but he is touched by the "Spy Who Came In From The Cold" genre: seedy, cynical; an Existenz hero for the seventies, one you can't afford to like, with a touch of the bullying schoolboy.

Like the Western, the detective film struggles to assert a, usually primitive, ethic of self reliance in a morally unambiguous world. But in Callan the moral world has itself been undermined by the duplicity of his own side; even the foreign agents are often more principled. In American crime shows, we know who we're against.

Unless you're home early you miss the best of the children's programmes. Flintstones have worn a bit thin but I like "Lost in Space" with Dr Smith as epicene saboteur with a fondness for alliteration, and a knowall robot who pours opprobrium on him and gets his plug pulled in revenge.

Both American and British programs have their different kinds of fatuousness. The convention of wise, understanding, compassionate parents and cooly smart kids, as in the Brady Bunch, shows up the Americans. It's the delusion they prefer. British seem to overestimate the child's capacity to be informed, disciplined, educated. Maybe to overstate it, they see the adult in the child, the Americans the child in the adult. And we? So far only a few kids' shows to judge by. My guess is we'll be on the side of practicality and a spritz of creativity.

I've left the question of the putative harm of TV to others; I'm not of the "you become what you watch" school. Likewise commercials: if more mean no licence fee, let's have more. After all, the joy of TV is to be able to leave in the middle, talk about it, ridicule it, sleep in front of it, Polyphemus mit diodes. Trauma, drama, dreamer should be cognates?

Gemini